THE 35th ANNUAL

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ALMANAC

96th CONGRESS

1st SESSION - 1979

PUBLISHED BY

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY INC.

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CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

Almanac

96th CONGRESS

1st SESSION....1979

VOLUME XXXV

Congressional Quarterly Inc.

Washington, D.C.

CQ 1979 Almanac

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Library of Congress No. 47-41081
International Standard Book No. 0-87187-141-6

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1414 22nd Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

Congressional Quarterly Inc.

Congressional Quarterly Inc. is an editorial research service and publishing company serving clients in the fields of news, education, business and government. Congressional Quarterly, in its basic publication, the CQ Weekly Report, covers Congress, government and politics. Congressional Quarterly also publishes hardbound reference books and paperback books on public affairs. The service was founded in 1945 by Henrietta and Nelson Poynter.

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ERRATA

1975 Almanac, pp. 3-S, 5-S, 6-S, 9-S, 31-S, 43-S - in the Senate vote charts, under New Hampshire, McIntyre should be listed first, then Vacancy. P. 66-S - Durkin should be the first name, then McIntyre.

1976 Almanac, pp. 2-S, 7-S - in the Senate vote charts, under New Hampshire, Durkin should be the first name, then McIntyre.

1977 Almanac, p. 44-H - vote 132 should read: 132. HR 5970. Fiscal 1978 Defense Procurement Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize appropriations of $35.9 billion for weapons procurement and military research programs of the Defense Department in fiscal 1978. Passed 347-43: R 132-1; D 215-42 (ND 133-42; SD 82-0), April 25, 1977.

1978 Almanac, Index, p. 1 - Americans for Democratic Action; p. 2 - Americans for Constitutional Action; p. 5 - Chamber of Commerce; p. 6 - Committee on Political Education; p. 20 - National Farmers Union — remove references to pp. 25-A - 30-A.

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GLOSSARY OF CONGRESSIONAL TERMS

Act—The term for legislation which has passed both houses of Congress and has been signed by the president or passed over his veto, thus becoming law.

Also used technically for a bill that has been passed by one house and engrossed. *(See Engrossed.)*

Adjournment Sine Die—Adjournment without definitely fixing a day for reconvening; literally "adjournment without a day." Usually used to connote the final adjournment of a session of Congress. A session can continue until noon, Jan. 3, of the following year, when by law it automatically terminates.

Adjournment to a Day Certain—Adjournment under a motion or resolution which fixes the next time of meeting. Neither house can adjourn for more than three days without the concurrence of the other. A session of Congress is not ended by adjournment to a day certain.

Amendment—Proposal of a member of Congress to alter the language or stipulations in a bill or act. It is usually printed, debated, and voted upon in the same manner as a bill.

Appeal—A senator's challenge of a ruling or decision made by the presiding officer of the Senate. The senator appeals to members of the chamber to override the decision. If carried by a majority vote, the appeal nullifies the chair's ruling. In the House the decision of the Speaker traditionally has been final, with no appeal to the members to reverse his stand. To appeal a ruling would be considered an attack on the Speaker.

Appropriation Bill—Grants the actual monies approved by authorization bills, but not necessarily to the total permissible under the authorization bill. An appropriation bill originates in the House, and normally is not acted on until its authorization measure is enacted. General appropriations bills are supposed to be enacted by the seventh day after Labor Day before the start of the fiscal year to which they apply, but in recent years this has rarely happened. *(See Continuing Appropriations.)* In addition to general appropriations bills, there are two specialized types. *(See Deficiency and Supplemental.)*

Authorization Bill—Authorizes a program, specifies its general aim and conduct, and unless "open-ended," puts a ceiling on monies that can be used to finance it. Usually enacted before the related appropriation bill is passed. *(See Contract Authorization.)*

Bills—Most legislative proposals before Congress are in the form of bills, and are designated as HR (House of Representatives) or S (Senate) according to the house in which they originate and by a number assigned in the order in which they were introduced, from the beginning of each two-year congressional term. "Public bills" deal with general questions, and become Public Laws if approved by Congress and signed by the president. "Private bills" deal with individual matters such as claims against the government, immigration and naturalization cases, land titles, etc., and become Private Laws if approved and signed.

The introduction of a bill, and its referral to an appropriate committee for action, follows the process given in "How A Bill Becomes Law." *(See also Concurrent Resolution, Joint Resolution, Resolution, in this Glossary.)*

Bills Introduced—In the Senate, any number of senators may join in introducing a single bill. In the House, until 1967 only one member's name could appear on a single bill. Between 1967 and 1978 there was a limit of 25 cosponsors on any one bill. A resolution adopted in 1978 eliminated the ceiling on the number of cosponsors, beginning at the start of the 96th Congress.

Many bills in reality are committee bills and are introduced under the name of the chairman of the committee or subcommittee as a formality. All appropriation bills fall into this category, as do many other bills, particularly those dealing with complicated, technical subjects. A committee frequently holds hearings on a number of related bills, and may agree on one of them or on an entirely new bill. *(See Clean Bill and By Request.)*

Bills Referred—When introduced a bill is referred to the committee which has jurisdiction over the subject with which the bill is concerned. The appropriate reference for bills is spelled out in Senate and House rules. Committee jurisdictions in the House were reorganized in 1974. Bills are referred by the Speaker in the House and the presiding officer in the Senate. Appeals may be made from their decisions.

Budget—The document sent to Congress by the president in January of each year estimating government revenue and expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year and recommending appropriations in detail. The president's budget message forms the basis for congressional hearings and legislation on the year's appropriations.

By Request—A phrase used when a senator or representative introduces a bill at the request of an executive agency or private organization but does not necessarily endorse the legislation.

Calendar—An agenda or list of pending business before committees of either chamber. The House uses five legislative calendars. *(See Consent, Discharge, House, Private and Union Calendar.)*

In the Senate, all legislative matters reported from committee go on a single calendar. They are listed there in order, but may be called up irregularly by the majority leader either by a motion to do so, or by obtaining the unanimous consent of the Senate. Frequently the minority leader is consulted to assure unanimous consent. Only cloture can limit debate on bills thus called up. *(See Call of the Calendar.)*

The Senate also uses one non-legislative calendar, for treaties, etc. *(See Executive Calendar.)*

Calendar Wednesday—In the House on Wednesdays, committees may be called in the order in which they appear in Rule X of the House Manual, for the purpose of bringing up any of their bills from the House or the Union Calendars, except bills which are privileged. General debate is limited to two hours. Bills called up from the Union Calendar are considered in Committee of the Whole. Calendar Wednesday is not observed during the last two weeks of a session, and may be dispensed with at other times — by a two-thirds vote. It usually is dispensed with.

Call of the Calendar—Senate bills which are not brought up for debate by a motion or a unanimous consent

agreement are brought before the Senate for action when the calendar listing them in order is "called." Bills considered in this fashion are usually non-controversial, and debate is limited to five minutes for each senator on a bill or on amendments to it.

Chamber—Meeting place for the total membership of either the House or the Senate, as distinguished from the respective committee rooms.

Clean Bill—Frequently after a committee has finished a major revision of a bill, one of the committee members, usually the chairman, will assemble the changes plus what is left of the original bill into a new measure and introduce it as a "clean bill." The new measure, which carries a new number, is then sent to the floor for consideration. This often is a timesaver, as committee-recommended changes do not have to be considered one at a time by the chamber.

Clerk of the House—Chief administrative officer of the House of Representatives with duties corresponding to those of the secretary of the Senate. *(See Secretary of the Senate.)*

Cloture—The process by which a filibuster can be ended in the Senate, other than by unanimous consent. A motion for cloture can apply to any measure before the Senate, including a proposal to change the chamber's rules. It requires 16 senators' signatures for introduction and the votes of three-fifths of the entire Senate membership (60 if there are no vacancies), except that to end a filibuster against a proposal to amend the Standing Rules of the Senate a two-thirds vote of senators present and voting is required. It is put to a roll-call vote one hour after the Senate meets on the second day following introduction of the motion. If voted, cloture limits each senator to one hour of debate. A proposal must come to a final vote after 100 hours of debate.

Committee—A subdivision of the House or Senate which prepares legislation for action by the parent chamber, or makes investigations as directed by the parent chamber. There are several types of committees. *(See Standing, Select or Special.)* Most standing committees are divided into subcommittees, which study legislation, hold hearings, and report their recommendations to the full committee. Only the full committee can report legislation for action by the House or Senate.

Committee of the Whole—The working title of what is formally "The Committee of the Whole House [of Representatives] on the State of the Union." Unlike other committees, it has no fixed membership. It is comprised of any 100 or more House members who participate — on the floor of the chamber — in debating or altering legislation before the body. Such measures, however, must first have passed through the regular committees and be on the calendar.

Technically, the Committee of the Whole considers only bills directly or indirectly appropriating money, authorizing appropriations, or involving taxes or charges on the public. Actually, the Committee of the Whole often considers other types of legislation. Because the Committee of the Whole need number only 100 representatives, a quorum is more readily attained, and business is expedited. Before 1971, members' positions were not individually recorded on votes taken in Committee of the Whole except for automatic roll calls in the absence of a quorum.

When the full House resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole, it supplants the Speaker with a "chairman." The measure is debated or amended, with votes on amendments as needed. When the committee completes its action on the measure, it dissolves itself by "rising." The Speaker returns, and the full House hears the erstwhile chairman of the committee report that group's recommendations.

At this time members may demand a roll-call vote on any amendment *adopted* in the Committee of the Whole. The last vote is on passage of the legislation in question.

Concurrent Resolution—A concurrent resolution, designated H Con Res or S Con Res, must be adopted by both houses but does not require the signature of the president and does not have the force of law. Concurrent resolutions generally are used to make or amend rules applicable to both houses or to express the sentiment of the two houses. A concurrent resolution, for example, is used to fix the time for adjournment of a Congress. It might also be used to convey the congratulations of Congress to another country on the anniversary of its independence.

Conference—A meeting between the representatives of the House and Senate to reconcile differences between the two houses over provisions of a bill. Members of the conference committee are appointed by the Speaker and the president of the Senate and are called "managers" for their respective chambers. A majority of the managers for each house must reach agreement on the provisions of the bill (often a compromise between the versions of the two chambers) before it can be sent up for floor action in the form of a "conference report." There it cannot be amended, and if not approved by both chambers, the bill may go back to conference under certain situations, or a new conference may be convened. Elaborate rules govern the conduct of the conferences. All bills which are passed by the House and Senate in slightly different form need not be sent to conference; either chamber may "concur" in the other's amendments. *(See Custody of the Papers.)*

Congressional Record — The daily, printed account of proceedings in both House and Senate chambers, with debate, statements and the like incorporated in it. Committee activities are not covered, except that their reports to the parent body are noted. Highlights of legislative and committee action are embodied in a Digest section of the *Record*, and members are entitled to have their extraneous remarks printed in an appendix known as "Extension of Remarks." They may edit and revise remarks made on the floor, and frequently do, so that quotations reported by the press are not always found in the *Record*.

Beginning on March 1, 1978, the *Record* incorporated a procedure to distinguish remarks spoken on the floor of the House and Senate from undelivered speeches. At the direction of Congress, all speeches, articles and other materials members inserted in the *Record* without actually reading them on the floor were set off by large black dots. However, a loophole allows a member to avoid the dots if he delivers any portion of the speech in person.

Congressional Terms of Office—Begin on Jan. 3 of the year following a general election and are for two years for representatives and six years for senators.

Consent Calendar—Members of the House may place on this calendar any bill on the Union or House Calendar which is considered to be non-controversial. Bills on the Consent Calendar are normally called on the first and third Mondays of each month. On the first occasion when a bill is called in this manner, consideration may be blocked by the

objection of any member. On the second time, if there are three objections, the bill is stricken from the Consent Calendar. If less than three members object, the bill is given immediate consideration.

A bill on the Consent Calndar may be postponed in another way. A member may ask that the measure be passed over "without prejudice." In that case, no objection is recorded against the bill, and its status on the Consent Calendar remains unchanged.

A bill stricken from the Consent Calendar remains on the Union or House Calendar.

Continuing Appropriations—When a fiscal year begins and Congress has not yet enacted all the regular appropriation bills for that year, it passes a joint resolution "continuing appropriations" for government agencies at rates generally based on their previous year's appropriations.

Contract Authorizations—Found in both authorization and appropriation bills, these authorizations are stopgap provisions which permit the federal government to let contracts or obligate itself for future payments from funds not yet appropriated. The assumption is that funds will be available for payment when contracted debts come due.

Correcting Recorded Votes—Rules prohibit members from changing their votes after the result has been announced. But frequently, hours, days, or months after a vote has been taken, a member announces that he was "incorrectly recorded." In the Senate, a request to change one's vote almost always receives unanimous consent. In the House, members are prohibited from changing their votes if tallied by the electronic voting system installed in 1973. If taken by roll call, it is permissible if consent is granted. Errors in the text of the *Record* may be corrected by unanimous consent.

Custody of the Papers—To reconcile differences between the House and Senate versions of a bill, a conference may be arranged. The chamber with "custody of the papers" — the engrossed bill, engrossed amendments, messages of transmittal — is the only body empowered to request the conference. That body then has the advantage of acting last on the conference report when it is submitted.

Deficiency Appropriations—An appropriation to cover the difference between an agency's regular appropriation and the amount deemed necessary for it to operate for the full fiscal year. In recent years deficiency bills have usually been called supplemental appropriations.

Dilatory Motion—A motion, usually made upon a technical point, for the purpose of killing time and preventing action on a bill. The rules outlaw dilatory motions, but enforcement is largely within the discretion of the presiding officer.

Discharge a Committee—Occasionally, attempts are made to relieve a committee from jurisdiction over a measure before it. This is rarely a successful procedure, attempted more often in the House than in the Senate.

In the House, if a committee does not report a bill within 30 days after the bill was referred to it, any member may file a discharge motion. This motion, treated as a petition, needs the signatures of 218 members (a majority of the House). After the required signatures have been obtained, there is a delay of seven days. Then, on the second and fourth Mondays of each month, except during the last six days of a session, any member who has signed the petition may be recognized to move that the committee be discharged. Debate on the motion to discharge is limited to 20 minutes, and if the motion is carried, consideration of the bill becomes a matter of high privilege.

If a resolution to consider a bill *(see Rule)* is held up in the Rules Committee for more than seven legislative days, any member may enter a motion to discharge the committee. The motion is handled like any other discharge petition in the House.

Occasionally, to expedite non-controversial legislative business, a committee is discharged upon unanimous consent of the House, and a petition is not required. *(For Senate procedure, see Discharge Resolution.)*

Discharge Calendar—The House calendar to which motions to discharge committees are referred when they have the necessary 218 signatures and are awaiting action.

Discharge Petition—In the House, a motion to discharge a committee from considering a bill. The motion, or petition, requires signatures of 218 House members.

Discharge Resolution—In the Senate, a special motion that any senator may introduce to relieve a committee from consideration of a bill before it. The resolution can be called up on a motion for approval or disapproval, in the same manner as other matters of Senate business. *(For House procedure, see Discharge a Committee.)*

Division Vote—Same as Standing Vote. *(See below.)*

Enacting Clause—Key phrase in bills saying. "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives. . . ." A successful motion to strike it from legislation kills the measure.

Engrossed Bill—The final copy of a bill as passed by one chamber, with the text as amended by floor action and certified to by the clerk of the House or the secretary of the Senate.

Enrolled Bill—The final copy of a bill which has been passed in identical form by both chambers. It is certified to by an officer of the house of origin (House clerk or Senate secretary) and then sent on for signatures of the House Speaker, the Senate president, and the U.S. president. An enrolled bill is printed on parchment.

Entitlement Program—A federal program that guarantees a certain level of benefits to persons who meet the requirements set by law. It thus leaves no discretion to Congress as to how much money to appropriate.

Executive Calendar—This is an additional, non-legislative calendar, in the Senate, on which presidential documents such as treaties and nominations are listed.

Executive Document—A document, usually a treaty, sent to the Senate by the president for consideration or approval. These are identified for each session of Congress as Executive A, 95th Congress, 1st Session; Executive B, etc. They are referred to committee in the same manner as other measures. Unlike legislative documents, however, treaties do not die at the end of a Congress, but remain "live" proposals until acted on by the Senate or withdrawn by the president.

Executive Session—Meeting of a Senate or a House committee (or, occasionally, of the entire chamber) which only the group's members are privileged to attend. Fre-

quently witnesses appear at committee meetings in executive session, and other members of Congress may be invited, but the public and press are not allowed to attend.

Expenditures—The actual spending of money as distinguished from the appropriation of it. Expenditures are made by the disbursing officers of the administration; appropriations are made only by Congress. The two are rarely identical in any fiscal year; expenditures may represent money appropriated one, two or more years previously.

Filibuster—A time-delaying tactic used by a minority in an effort to prevent a vote on a bill which probably would pass if brought to a vote. The most common method is to take advantage of the Senate's rules permitting unlimited debate, but other forms of parliamentary maneuvering may be used. The stricter rules in the House make filibusters more difficult, but they are attempted from time to time through various delaying tactics arising from loopholes in House rules.

Fiscal Year—Financial operations of the government are carried out in a 12-month fiscal year, beginning on Oct. 1 and ending on Sept. 30. The fiscal year carries the date of the calendar year in which it ends.

Floor Manager—A member, usually representing sponsors of a bill, who attempts to steer it through debate and amendment to a final vote in the chamber. Floor managers are frequently chairmen or ranking members of the committee that reported the bill. Managers are responsible for apportioning the time granted supporters of the bill for debating it. The minority leader or the ranking minority member of the committee often apportions time for the minority party's participation in the debate.

Frank—A member's facsimile signature on envelopes, used in lieu of stamps, for his official outgoing mail, thus postage-free. Also the privilege of sending mail postage-free.

Germane—Pertaining to the subject matter of the measure at hand. All House amendments must be germane to the bill. The Senate requires that amendments be germane only when they are proposed to general appropriation bills, bills being considered under cloture, or, often, when proceeding under an agreement to limit debate.

Grants-in-Aid—Payments by the federal government which aid the recipient state, local government or individual in administering specified programs, services or activities.

Hearings—Committee sessions for hearing witnesses. At hearings on legislation, witnesses usually include specialists, government officials and spokesmen for persons affected by the bills under study. Hearings related to special investigations bring forth a variety of witnesses. Committees sometimes use their subpoena power to summon reluctant witnesses. The public and press may attend "open" hearings, but are barred from "closed" or "executive" hearings.

The committee announces its hearings, from one day to many weeks in advance, and may invite certain persons to testify. Persons who request time to testify may be turned down by the committee, but most requests are honored.

Both houses have rules against conducting committee hearings in secret, but the House's are much more stringent.

Hold-Harmless Clause—A provision added to legislation to ensure that recipients of federal funds do not receive less in a future year than they did the previous year, if a new formula for allocating such funds would result in a reduction in the amount. To hold a state or city government "harmless" means that neither would be responsible for providing the additional funds or services to make up the difference between the level of benefits previously received and that which would be allowed under the new formula. The federal government would be obliged to provide the additional funds or benefits. This clause has been used most frequently to soften the impact of sudden reductions in federal aid.

Hopper—Box on House clerk's desk where bills are deposited on introduction.

House—The House of Representatives, as distinct from the Senate, although each body is a "house" of Congress.

House Calendar—Listing for action by the House of Representatives of public bills which do not directly or indirectly appropriate money or raise revenue.

Immunity—Constitutional privilege of members of Congress to make verbal statements on the floor and in committee for which they cannot be sued or arrested for slander or libel. Also, freedom from arrest while traveling to or from sessions of Congress or on official business. Members in this status may be arrested only for treason, felonies or a breach of the peace, as defined by congressional manuals.

Joint Committee—A committee composed of a specified number of members of both the House and Senate. Usually a joint committee is investigative in nature, such as the Joint Economic Committee. Others have housekeeping duties such as the joint committees on Printing and on the Library of Congress.

Joint Resolution—A joint resolution, designated H J Res or S J Res, requires the approval of both houses and the signature of the president, just as a bill does, and has the force of law if approved. There is no real difference between a bill and a joint resolution. The latter is generally used in dealing with limited matters, such as a single appropriation for a specific purpose.

Joint resolutions also are used to propose amendments to the Constitution. They do not require a presidential signature, but become a part of the Constitution when three-fourths of the states have ratified them.

Journal—The official record of the proceedings of the House and Senate. The Journal records the actions taken in each chamber, but, unlike the *Congressional Record*, it does not include the verbatim report of speeches, debates, etc.

Law—An act of Congress which has been signed by the president, or passed over his veto by Congress; for example, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (HR 7152) became Public Law 88-352 during the 88th Congress.

Legislative Day—The "day" extending from the time either house meets after an adjournment until the time it next adjourns. Because the House normally adjourns from day to day, legislative days and calendar days usually coincide. But in the Senate, a legislative day may, and

frequently does, extend over several calendar days. *(See Recess.)*

Legislative Veto—A procedure permitting either the House or Senate, or both chambers, to review proposed executive branch regulations or actions and block or modify those with which they disagree. The specifics of the procedure may vary, but Congress generally provides for a legislative veto by including in a specific piece of legislation a provision that administrative rules or actions taken to implement the legislation are to go into effect at the end of a designated period of time unless blocked by either or both houses.

Lobby—A group seeking to influence the passage or defeat of legislation. Originally the term referred to persons frequenting the lobbies or corridors of legislative chambers in order to speak to lawmakers.

The definition of a lobby and the activity of lobbying is a matter of differing interpretation. By some definitions, lobbying is limited to attempts at direct influence by personal interview and persuasion. Under other definitions, lobbying includes attempts at indirect influence, such as persuading members of a group to write or visit their representative or senators, or attempting to create a climate of opinion favorable to a desired legislative action.

The right to attempt to influence legislation is based on the First Amendment to the Constitution, which says Congress shall make no law abridging the right of the people "to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Majority Leader—Chief strategist and floor spokesman for the party in nominal control in either chamber. He is elected by his party colleagues and is virtually program director for his chamber, since he usually speaks for its majority.

Majority Whip—In effect, the assistant majority leader, in House or Senate. His job is to help marshal majority forces in support of party strategy and legislation.

Manual—The official handbook in each house prescribing its organization, procedures and operations in detail. The Senate manual contains standing rules, orders, laws and resolutions affecting Senate business; the House manual is for operations affecting that chamber. Both volumes contain previous codes under which Congress functioned and from which it continues to derive precedents. Committee powers are outlined. The rules set forth in the manuals may be changed by chamber actions also specified by the manuals.

Marking Up a Bill—Going through a measure, in committee or subcommittee, taking it section by section, revising language, penciling in new phrases, etc. If the bill is extensively revised, the new version may be introduced as a separate bill, with a new number. *(See Clean Bill.)*

Minority Leader—Floor leader for the minority party. *(See Majority Leader.)*

Minority Whip—Performs duties of whip for the minority party. *(See Majority Whip.)*

Morning Hour—The time set aside at the beginning of each legislative day for the consideration of regular routine business. The "hour" is of indefinite duration in the House, where it is rarely used. In the Senate it is the first two hours of a session following an adjournment, as distinguished from a recess. The morning hour can be terminated earlier if the morning business has been completed. The business includes such matters as messages from the president, communications from the heads of departments, messages from the House, the presentation of petitions, reports of standing and select committees, and the introduction of bills and resolutions.

During the first hour of the morning hour in the Senate, no motion to proceed to the consideration of any bill on the calendar is in order except by unanimous consent. During the second hour, motions can be made but must be decided without debate. Senate committees may meet while the Senate is in the morning hour.

Motion—Request by a member for any one of a wide array of parliamentary actions. He "moves" for a certain procedure, or the consideration of a measure or a vote, etc. The precedence of motions, and whether they are debatable, is set forth in the House and Senate manuals.

Nominations—Appointments to office by the executive branch of the government, subject to Senate confirmation. Although most nominations win quick Senate approval, some are controversial and become the topic of hearings and debate. Sometimes senators object to appointees for patronage reasons — for example, when a nomination to a local federal job is made without consulting the senators of the state concerned. Then a senator may use the stock objection that the nominee is "personally obnoxious" to him. Usually other senators join in blocking such an appointment out of courtesy to their colleague.

One Minute Speeches—Addresses by House members at the beginning of a legislative day. The speeches may cover any subject, but are limited strictly to one minute's duration. By unanimous consent, members may also be recognized to address the House for longer periods after completion of all legislative business for the day. Senators, by unanimous consent, are permitted to make speeches of a predetermined length during the Morning Hour.

Override a Veto—If the president disapproves a bill and sends it back to Congress with his objections, Congress may override his veto by a two-thirds vote in each chamber. The Constitution requires a recorded vote. The question put to each house is: "Shall the bill pass, the objections of the president to the contrary notwithstanding?" *(See also Pocket Veto and Veto.)*

Pair—A "gentlemen's agreement" between two lawmakers on opposite sides to withhold their votes on roll calls so their absence from Congress will not affect the outcome of a recorded vote. If passage of the measure requires a two-thirds majority, a pair would require two members favoring the action to one opposed to it.

Two kinds of pairs — special and general — are used; neither is counted in vote totals. The names of lawmakers pairing on a given vote and their stands, if known, are printed in the *Congressional Record.*

The special pair applies to one or a series of roll-call votes on the same subject. On special pairs, lawmakers usually specify how they would have voted.

A general pair in the Senate, now rarely used in the chamber, applies to all votes on which the members pairing are on opposite sides, and it lasts for the length of time pairing senators agree on. It usually does not specify a senator's stand on a given vote.

The general pair in the House differs from the other pairs. No agreement is involved and the pair does not tie up votes. A representative expecting to be absent may notify the House clerk he wishes to make a "general" pair. His name then is paired arbitrarily with that of another member desiring a general pair, and the list is printed in the *Congressional Record.* He may or may not be paired with a member taking the opposite position. General pairs in the House give no indication of how a member would have voted. *(See Record Vote.)*

Petition—A request or plea sent to one or both chambers from an organization or private citizens' group asking support of particular legislation or favorable consideration of a matter not yet receiving congressional attention. They are referred to appropriate committees and are considered or not, according to committee decisions.

Pocket Veto—The act of the president in withholding his approval of a bill after Congress has adjourned — either for the year or for a specified period. However, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit on Aug. 14, 1974, upheld a congressional challenge to a pocket veto used by former President Nixon during a six-day congressional recess in 1970. The court declared that it was an improper use of the pocket veto power. When Congress is in session, a bill becomes law without the president's signature if he does not act upon it within 10 days, excluding Sundays, from the time he gets it. But if Congress adjourns within that 10-day period, the bill is killed without the president's formal veto.

Point of Order—An objection raised by a member that the chamber is departing from rules governing its conduct of business. The objector cites the rule violated, the chair sustaining his objection if correctly made. Order is restored by the chair's suspending proceedings of the chamber until it conforms to the prescribed "order of business." Members sometimes raise a "point of no order" — when there is noise and disorderly conduct in the chamber.

President of the Senate—Presiding officer of the upper chamber, normally the vice president of the United States. In his absence, a president pro tempore (president for the time being) presides.

President pro tempore—The chief officer of the Senate in the absence of the vice president. He is elected by his fellow senators. The recent practice has been to elect to the office the senator of the majority party with longest continuous service.

Previous Question—In this sense, a "question" is an "issue" before the House for a vote and the issue is "previous" when some other topic has superseded it in the attention of the chamber. A motion for the previous question, when carried, has the effect of cutting off all debate and forcing a vote on the subject originally at hand. If, however, the previous question is moved and carried before there has been any debate on the subject at hand and the subject is debatable, then 40 minutes of debate is allowed before the vote. The previous question is sometimes moved in order to prevent amendments from being introduced and voted on. The motion for the previous question is a debate-limiting device and is not in order in the Senate.

Private Calendar—Private House bills dealing with individual matters such as claims against the government, immigration, land titles, etc., are put on this calendar. When it is before the chamber, two members may block a private bill, which then is recommitted to committee.

Backers of a private bill thus recommitted have another recourse. The measure can be put into an "omnibus claims bill" — several private bills rolled into one. As with any bill, no part of an omnibus claims bill may be deleted without a vote. When a private bill goes back to the floor in this form, it can be defeated only by a majority of those present. The private calendar can be called on the first and third Tuesdays of each month.

Privilege—Privilege relates to the rights of members of Congress and to the relative priority of the motions and actions they may make in their respective chambers. The two are distinct. "Privileged questions" concern legislative business. "Questions of privilege" concern legislators themselves. *(See below.)*

Privileged Questions—The order in which bills, motions and other legislative measures are considered by Congress is governed by strict priorities. A motion to table, for instance, is more privileged than a motion to recommit. Thus, a motion to recommit can be superseded by a motion to table, and a vote would be forced on the latter motion only. A motion to adjourn, however, would take precedence over this one, and is thus considered of the "highest privilege."

Pro Forma Amendment—*(See Strike Out the Last Word.)*

Questions of Privilege—These are matters affecting members of Congress individually or collectively.

Questions affecting the rights, safety, dignity and integrity of proceedings of the House or Senate as a whole are questions of privilege of the House or Senate, as the case may be.

Questions involving individual members are called questions of "personal privilege." A member's rising to a question of personal privilege is given precedence over almost all other proceedings. An annotation in the House rules points out that the privilege of the member rests primarily on the Constitution, which gives him a conditional immunity from arrest and an unconditional freedom to speak in the House.

Quorum—The number of members whose presence is necessary for the transaction of business. In the Senate and House, it is a majority of the membership (when there are no vacancies, this is 51 in the Senate and 218 in the House). A quorum is 100 in the Committee of the Whole House. If a point of order is made that a quorum is not present, the only business in order is either a motion to adjourn or a motion to direct the sergeant-at-arms to request the attendance of absentees.

Readings of Bills—Traditional parliamentary law required bills to be read three times before they were passed. This custom is of little modern significance except in rare instances. Normally the bill is considered to have its first reading when it is introduced and printed, by title, in the *Congressional Record.* Its second reading comes when floor consideration begins. (This is the most likely point at which there is an actual reading of the bill, if there is any.) The third reading (usually by title) takes place when action has been completed on amendments.

Recess—Distinguished from adjournment in that a recess does not end a legislative day and, therefore, does not

interfere with unfinished business. The rules in each house set forth certain matters to be taken up and disposed of at the beginning of each legislative day. The House, which operates under much stricter rules than the Senate, usually adjourns from day to day. The Senate often recesses.

Recommit to Committee—A simple motion, made on the floor after a bill has been debated, to return it to the committee which reported it. If approved, recommittal usually is considered a death blow to the bill. In the House a motion to recommit can be made only by a member opposed to the bill, and in recognizing a member to make the motion, the Speaker gives the minority position preference over the majority.

A motion to recommit may include instructions to the committee to report the bill again with specific amendments or by a certain date. Or the instructions may be to make a particular study, with no definite deadline for final action. If the recommittal motion includes instructions, and it is adopted, floor action on the bill continues and the committee does not formally reconsider the legislation.

Reconsider a Vote—A motion to reconsider the vote by which an action was taken has, until it is disposed of, the effect of suspending the action. In the Senate the motion can be made only by a member who voted on the prevailing side of the original question, or by a member who did not vote at all. In the House it can be made only by a member on the prevailing side.

A common practice after close votes in the Senate is a motion to reconsider, followed by a motion to table the motion to reconsider. On this motion to table, senators vote as they voted on the original question, to enable the motion to table to prevail. The matter is then finally closed and further motions to reconsider are not entertained. In the House, as a routine precaution, a motion to reconsider usually is made every time a measure is passed. Such a motion almost always is tabled immediately, thus shutting off the possibility of future reconsideration except by unanimous consent.

Motions to reconsider must be entered in the Senate within the next two days of actual session after the original vote has been taken. In the House they must be entered either on the same day or on the next succeeding day the House is in session.

Recorded Vote—A vote upon which each member's stand is individually made known. In the Senate, this is accomplished through a roll call of the entire membership, to which each senator on the floor must answer "yea," "nay" or, if he does not wish to vote, "present." Since January 1973, the House has used an electronic voting system both for yeas and nays and other recorded votes in the Committee of the Whole. *(See Teller Vote.)*

The Constitution requires yea-and-nay votes on the question of overriding a veto. In other cases, a recorded vote can be obtained by the demand of one-fifth of the members present.

Report—Both a verb and a noun, as a congressional term. A committee which has been examining a bill referred to it by the parent chamber "reports" its findings and recommendations to the chamber when the committee returns the measure. The process is called "reporting" a bill.

A "report" is the document setting forth the committee's explanation of its action. House and Senate reports are numbered separately and are designated S Rept or H Rept. Conference reports are numbered and designated in the same way as regular committee reports.

Most reports favor a bill's passage. Adverse reports are occasionally submitted, but more often, when a committee disapproves a bill, it simply fails to report it at all. Some laws require that committee reports (favorable or adverse) be made. When a committee report is not unanimous, the dissenting committeemen may file a statement of their views, called minority views and referred to as a minority report. Sometimes a bill is reported without recommendation.

Rescission—An item in an appropriation bill rescinding, or canceling, funds previously appropriated but not spent. Also, the repeal of a previous appropriation by the president to cut spending, if approved by Congress under precedures in the Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974.

Resolution—A simple resolution, designated H Res or S Res, deals with matters entirely within the prerogatives of one house or the other. It requires neither passage by the other chamber nor approval by the president, and does not have the force of law. Most resolutions deal with the rules of one house. They also are used to express the sentiments of a single house, as condolences to the family of a deceased member or to give "advice" on foreign policy or other executive business. *(Also see Concurrent and Joint Resolutions.)*

Rider—An amendment, usually not germane, which its sponsor hopes to get through more easily by including it in other legislation. Riders become law if the bills embodying them do. Riders providing legislative directives in appropriations bills are outstanding examples, though technically they are banned. The House, unlike the Senate, has a strict germaneness rule; thus riders are usually Senate devices to get legislation enacted quickly or to bypass lengthy House consideration, and, possibly, opposition.

Rule—The term has two specific congressional meanings. A rule may be a standing order governing the conduct of House or Senate business and listed in the chamber's book of rules. The rules deal with duties of officers, order of business, admission to the floor, voting procedures, etc.

In the House, a rule also may be a decision made by its Rules Committee about the handling of a particular bill on the floor. The committee may determine under which standing rule a bill shall be considered, or it may provide a "special rule" in the form of a resolution. If the resolution is adopted by the House, the temporary rule becomes as valid as any standing rule, and lapses only after action has been completed on the measure to which it pertains.

A special rule sets the time limit on general debate. It may also waive points of order against provisions of the bill in question, such as non-germane language, or against specified amendments intended to be proposed to the bill. It may even forbid all amendments or all amendments except, in some cases, those proposed by the legislative committee that handled the bill. In this instance it is known as a "closed" or "gag" rule as opposed to an "open" rule, which puts no limitation on floor action, thus leaving the bill completely open to alteration. *(See Suspend the Rules.)*

Secretary of the Senate—Chief administrative officer of the Senate, responsible for direction of duties of Senate employees, education of pages, administration of oaths,

receipt of registration of lobbyists and other activities necessary for the continuing operation of the Senate.

Select or Special Committee—A committee set up for a special purpose and, generally, for a limited time by resolution of either House or Senate. Most special committees are investigative in nature.

Senatorial Courtesy—Sometimes referred to as "the courtesy of the Senate," it is a general practice — with no written rule — applied to consideration of executive nominations. Generally, it means that nominations from a state are not to be confirmed unless they have been approved by the senators of the president's party of that state, with other senators following their lead in the attitude they take toward such nominations.

Sine Die—See Adjournment sine die.

Slip Laws—The first official publication of a bill that has been enacted into law. Each is published separately in unbound single-sheet or pamphlet form. It usually takes two to three days from the date of presidential approval to the time when slip laws become available.

Speaker—The presiding officer of the House of Representatives, elected by its members.

Special Session—A session of Congress after it has adjourned sine die, completing its regular session. Special sessions are convened by the president of the United States under his constitutional powers.

Standing Committees—Committees permanently authorized by House and Senate rules. The standing committees of the House were last reorganized by the committee reorganization act of 1974. The last major reorganization of Senate committees was in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

Standing Vote—A non-recorded vote used in both the House and Senate. A standing vote, also called a division vote, is taken as follows: Members in favor of a proposal stand and are counted by the presiding officer. Then members opposed stand and are counted. There is no record of how individual members voted. In the House, the presiding officer announces the number for and against. In the Senate, usually only the result is announced.

Statutes-at-Large—A chronological arrangement of the laws enacted in each session of Congress. Though indexed, the laws are not arranged by subject matter nor is there an indication of how they affect previous law. *(See U.S. Code.)*

Strike from the Record—Remarks made on the House floor may offend some member, who moves that the offending words be "taken down" for the Speaker's cognizance, and then expunged from the debate as published in the *Congressional Record.*

Strike Out the Last Word—A move whereby House members are entitled to speak for a fixed time on a measure then being debated by the chamber. A member gains recognition from the chair by moving to strike out the last word of the amendment or section of the bill then under consideration. The motion is pro forma, and customarily requires no vote.

Substitute—A motion, an amendment, or an entire bill introduced in place of pending business. Passage of a substitute measure kills the original measure by supplanting it. A substitute may be amended.

Supplemental Appropriations—Normally, these are passed after the regular (annual) appropriations bills, but before the end of the fiscal year to which they apply. Also referred to as "deficiencies."

Suspend the Rules—Often a time-saving procedure for passing bills in the House. The wording of the motion, which may be made by any member recognized by the Speaker, is: "I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill. . . ." A favorable vote by two-thirds of those present is required for passage. Debate is limited to 40 minutes and no amendments from the floor are permitted. If a two-thirds favorable vote is not attained, the bill may be considered later under regular procedures. The suspension procedure is in order on the first and third Mondays and Tuesdays of each month and usually is reserved for non-controversial bills.

Table a Bill—The motion to "lay on the table" is not debatable in either house, and is usually a method of making a final, adverse disposition of a matter. In the Senate, however, different language is sometimes used. The motion is worded to let a bill "lie on the table," perhaps for subsequent "picking up." This motion is more flexible, merely keeping the bill pending for later action, if desired.

Teller Vote—In the House, members file past tellers and are counted as for or against a measure, but they are not recorded individually. The teller vote is not used in the Senate. In the House, tellers are ordered upon demand of one-fifth of a quorum. This is 44 in the House, 20 in the Committee of the Whole.

The House also has a recorded teller vote procedure, now largely supplanted by the electronic voting procedure, under which the individual votes of members are made public just as they would be on a yea-and-nay vote. This procedure, introduced in 1971, forced members to take a public position on amendments to bills considered in the Committee of the Whole. *(See Recorded Vote.)*

Treaties—Executive proposals — in the form of resolutions of ratification — which must be submitted to the Senate for approval by two-thirds of the senators present. Before they act on such foreign policy matters, senators usually send them to committee for scrutiny. Treaties are read three times and debated in the chamber much as are legislative proposals. After approval by the Senate, they are ratified by the president.

Unanimous Consent—Synonymous with Without Objection. *(See below.)*

Union Calendar—Bills which directly or indirectly appropriate money or raise revenue are placed on this House calendar according to the date reported from committee.

U.S. Code—A consolidation and codification of the general and permanent laws of the United States arranged by subject under 50 titles, the first six dealing with general or political subjects, and the other 44 alphabetically arranged from agriculture to war and national defense. The code is now revised every six years and a supplement is published after each session of Congress.

Veto—Disapproval by the president of a bill or joint resolution, other than one proposing an amendment to the

Constitution. When Congress is in session, the president must veto a bill within 10 days, excluding Sundays, after he has received it; otherwise it becomes law with or without his signature.

When the president vetoes a bill, he returns it to the house of its origin with a message stating his objections. The veto then becomes a question of high privilege. *(See Override a Veto.)*

When Congress has adjourned, the president may pocket veto a bill by failing to sign it. *(See Pocket Veto.)*

Voice Vote—In either the House or Senate, members answer "aye" or "no" in chorus, and the presiding officer decides the result. The term also is used loosely to indicate action by unanimous consent or without objection.

Whip—See Majority Whip.

Without Objection—Used in lieu of a vote on non-controversial motions, amendments or bills, which may be passed in either the House or the Senate if no member voices an objection.

HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW

Note: Parliamentary terms used below are defined in the Glossary.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

A House member (including the resident commissioner of Puerto Rico and non-voting delegates of the District of Columbia, Guam and the Virgin Islands) may introduce any one of several types of bills and resolutions by handing it to the clerk of the House or placing it in a box called the hopper. A senator first gains recognition of the presiding officer to announce the introduction of a bill. If objection is offered by any senator the introduction of the bill is postponed until the following day.

As the next step in either the House or Senate, the bill is numbered, referred to the appropriate committee, labeled with the sponsor's name, and sent to the Government Printing Office so that copies can be made for subsequent study and action. Senate bills may be jointly sponsored and carry several senators' names. Until 1978, the House limited the number of members who could co-sponsor any one bill; the ceiling was eliminated at the beginning of the 96th Congress. A bill written in the Executive Branch and proposed as an administration measure usually is introduced by the chairman of the congressional committee which has jurisdiction.

Bills—Prefixed with "HR" in the House, "S" in the Senate, followed by a number. Used as the form for most legislation, whether general or special, public or private.

Joint Resolutions—Designated H J Res or S J Res. Subject to the same procedure as bills, with the exception of a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution. The latter must be approved by two-thirds of both houses and is thereupon sent directly to the administrator of general services for submission to the states for ratification rather than being presented to the president for his approval.

Concurrent Resolutions—Designated H Con Res or S Con Res. Used for matters affecting the operations of both houses. These resolutions do not become law.

Resolutions—Designated H Res or S Res. Used for a matter concerning the operation of either house alone and adopted only by the chamber in which it originates.

COMMITTEE ACTION

A bill is referred to the appropriate committee by a House parliamentarian on the Speaker's order, or by the Senate president. Sponsors may indicate their preferences for referral, although custom and chamber rule generally govern. An exception is the referral of private bills, which are sent to whatever group is designated by their sponsors. Bills are technically considered "read for the first time" when referred to House committees.

When a bill reaches a committee it is placed upon the group's calendar. At that time it comes under the sharpest congressional focus. Its chances for passage are quickly determined — and the great majority of bills fall by the legislative roadside. Failure of a committee to act on a bill is equivalent to killing it; the measure can be withdrawn from the group's purview only by a discharge petition signed by a majority of the House membership on House bills, or by adoption of a special resolution in the Senate. Discharge attempts rarely succeed.

The first committee action taken on a bill usually is a request for comment on it by interested agencies of the government. The committee chairman may assign the bill to a subcommittee for study and hearings, or it may be considered by the full committee. Hearings may be public, closed (executive session), or both. A subcommittee, after considering a bill, reports to the full committee its recommendations for action and any proposed amendments.

The full committee then votes on its recommendation to the House or Senate. This procedure is called "ordering a bill reported." Occasionally a committee may order a bill reported unfavorably; most of the time a report, submitted by the chairman of the committee to the House or Senate, calls for favorable action on the measure since the committee can effectively "kill" a bill by simply failing to take any action.

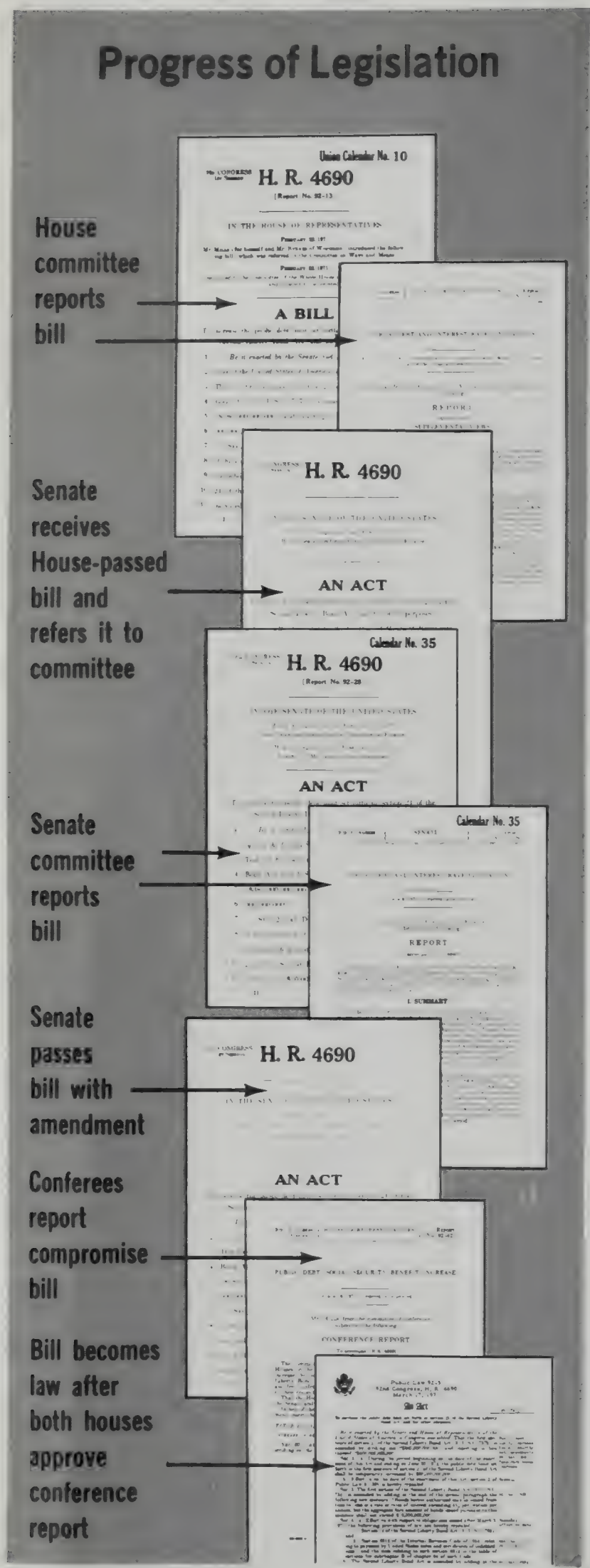
When a committee sends a bill to the chamber floor, it explains its reasons in a written statement, called a report, which accompanies the bill. Often committee members opposing a measure issue dissenting minority statements which are included in the report.

Usually, the committee "marks up" or proposes amendments to the bill. If they are substantial and the measure is complicated, the committee may order a "clean bill" introduced, which will embody the proposed amendments. The original bill then is put aside and the "clean bill," with a new number, is reported to the floor.

The chamber must approve, alter, or reject the committee amendments before the bill itself can be put to a vote.

FLOOR ACTION

After a bill is reported back to the house where it originated, it is placed on the calendar.



There are five legislative calendars in the House, issued in one cumulative calendar titled Calendars of the United States House of Representatives and History of Legislation. The House calendars are:

The Union Calendar to which are referred bills raising revenues, general appropriation bills and any measures directly or indirectly appropriating money or property. It is the Calendar of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

The House Calendar to which are referred bills of a public character not raising revenue or appropriating money or property.

The Consent Calendar to which are referred bills of a non-controversial nature that are passed without debate when the Consent Calendar is called on the first and third Mondays of each month.

The Private Calendar to which are referred bills for relief in the nature of claims against the United States or private immigration bills that are passed without debate when the Private Calendar is called the first and third Tuesdays of each month.

The Discharge Calendar to which are referred motions to discharge committees when the necessary signatures are signed to a discharge petition.

There is only one legislative calendar in the Senate and one "executive calendar" for treaties and nominations submitted to the Senate. When the Senate Calendar is called, each senator is limited to five minutes' debate on each bill.

DEBATE. A bill is brought to debate by varying procedures. If a routine measure, it may await the call of the calendar. If it is urgent or important, it can be taken up in the Senate either by unanimous consent or by a majority vote. The policy committee of the majority party in the Senate schedules the bills that it wants taken up for debate.

In the House, precedence is granted if a special rule is obtained from the Rules Committee. A request for a special rule is usually made by the chairman of the committee that favorably reported the bill, supported by the bill's sponsor and other committee members. The request, considered by the Rules Committee in the same fashion that other committees consider legislative measures, is in the form of a resolution providing for immediate consideration of the bill. The Rules Committee reports the resolution to the House where it is debated and voted upon in the same fashion as regular bills. If the Rules Committee should fail to report a rule requested by a committee, there are several ways to bring the bill to the House floor — under suspension of the rules, on Calendar Wednesday or by a discharge motion.

The resolutions providing special rules are important because they specify how long the bill may be debated and whether it may be amended from the floor. If floor amendments are banned, the bill is considered under a "closed rule," which permits only members of the committee that first reported the measure to the House to alter its language, subject to chamber acceptance.

When a bill is debated under an "open rule," amendments may be offered from the floor. Committee amendments are always taken up first, but may be changed, as may all amendments up to the second degree, i.e., an amendment to an amendment to an amendment is not in order.

Duration of debate in the House depends on whether the bill is under discussion by the House proper or before

the House when it is sitting as the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union. In the former, the amount of time for debate is determined either by special rule or is allocated with an hour for each member if the measure is under consideration without a rule. In the Committee of the Whole the amount of time agreed on for general debate is equally divided between proponents and opponents. At the end of general discussion, the bill is read section by section for amendment. Debate on an amendment is limited to five minutes for each side.

Senate debate is usually unlimited. It can be halted only by unanimous consent by "cloture," which requires a three-fifths majority of the entire Senate except for proposed changes in the Senate rules. The latter requires a two-thirds vote.

The House sits as the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union when it considers any tax measure or bill dealing with public appropriations. It can also resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole if a member moves to do so and the motion is carried. The Speaker appoints a member to serve as the chairman. The rules of the House permit the Committee of the Whole to meet with any 100 members on the floor, and to amend and act on bills with a quorum of the 100, within the time limitations mentioned previously. When the Committee of the Whole has acted, it "rises," the Speaker returns as the presiding officer of the House and the member appointed chairman of the Committee of the Whole reports the action of the committee and its recommendations (amendments adopted).

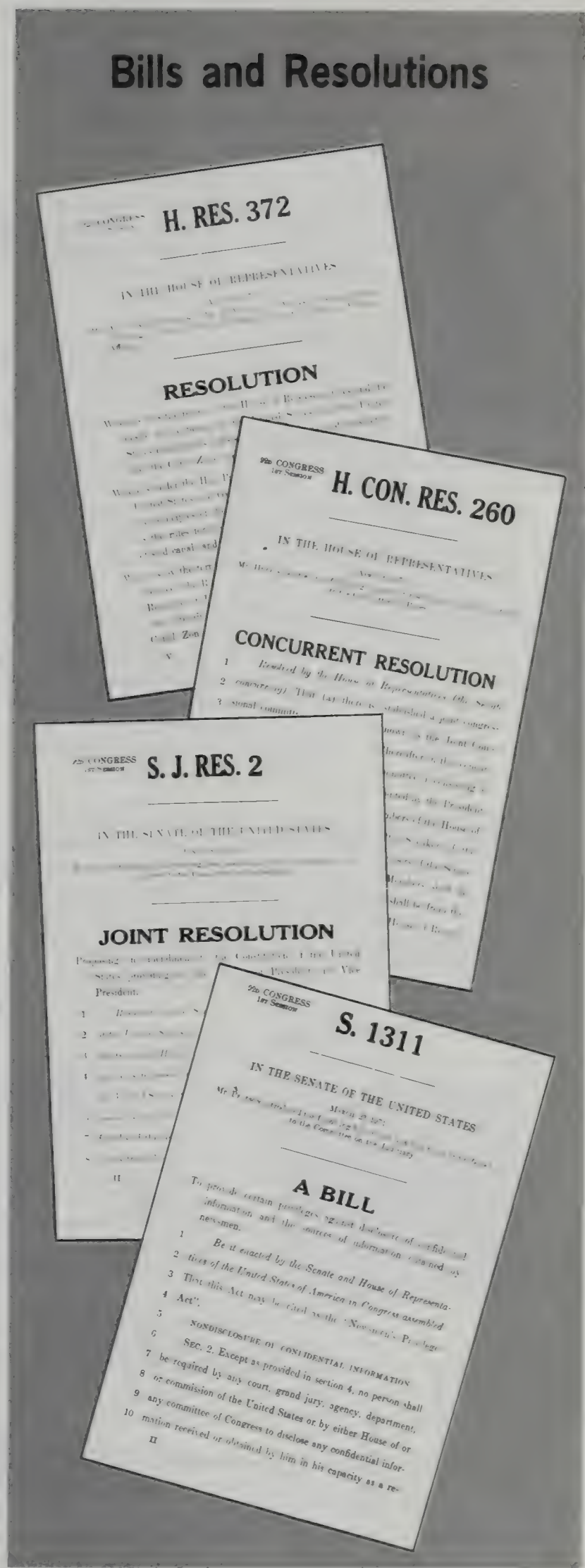
VOTES. Voting on bills may occur repeatedly before they are finally approved or rejected. The House votes on the rule for the bill and on various amendments to the bill. Voting on amendments often is a more illuminating test of a bill's support than is the final tally. Sometimes members approve final passage of bills after vigorously supporting amendments which, if adopted, would have scuttled the legislation.

The Senate has three different methods of voting: an untabulated voice vote, a standing vote (called a division) and a recorded roll call to which members answer "yea" or "nay" when their names are called. The House also employs voice and standing votes, but since January 1973 yeas and nays have been recorded by an electronic voting device, eliminating the need for time-consuming roll calls.

Another method of voting, used in the House only, is the teller vote. Traditionally, members filed up the center aisle past counters; only vote totals were announced. Since 1971, one-fifth of a quorum can demand that the votes of individual members be recorded, thereby forcing them to take a public position on amendments to key bills. Electronic voting now is commonly used for this purpose.

After amendments to a bill have been voted upon, a vote may be taken on a motion to recommit the bill to committee. If carried, this vote removes the bill from the chamber's calendar. If the motion is unsuccessful, the bill then is "read for the third time." An actual reading usually is dispensed with. Until 1965, an opponent of a bill could delay this move by objecting and asking for a full reading of an engrossed (certified in final form) copy of the bill. After the "third reading," the vote on final passage is taken.

The final vote may be followed by a motion to reconsider, and this motion itself may be followed by a move to lay the motion on the table. Usually, those voting for the bill's passage vote for the tabling motion, thus safeguarding the final passage action. With that, the bill has been



formally passed by the chamber. While a motion to reconsider a Senate vote is pending on a bill, the measure cannot be sent to the House.

ACTION IN SECOND HOUSE

After a bill is passed it is sent to the other chamber. This body may then take one of several steps. It may pass the bill as is — accepting the other chamber's language. It may send the bill to committee for scrutiny or alteration, or reject the entire bill, advising the other house of its actions. Or it may simply ignore the bill submitted while it continues work on its own version of the proposed legislation. Frequently, one chamber may approve a version of a bill that is greatly at variance with the version already passed by the other house, and then substitute its amendments for the language of the other, retaining only the latter's bill designation.

A provision of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 permits a separate House vote on any non-germane amendment added by the Senate to a House-passed bill and requires a majority vote to retain the amendment. Previously the House was forced to act on the bill as a whole; the only way to defeat the non-germane amendment was to reject the entire bill.

Often the second chamber makes only minor changes. If these are readily agreed to by the other house, the bill then is routed to the White House for signing. However, if the opposite chamber basically alters the bill submitted to it, the measure usually is "sent to conference." The chamber that has possession of the "papers" (engrossed bill, engrossed amendments, messages of transmittal) requests a conference and the other chamber must agree to it.

CONFERENCE. A conference undertakes to harmonize conflicting House and Senate versions of a legislative bill. The conference is usually staffed by senior members (conferees), appointed by the presiding officers of the two houses, from the committees that managed the bills. Under this arrangement the conferees of one house have the duty of trying to maintain their chamber's position in the face of amending actions by the conferees (also referred to as "managers") of the other house.

The number of conferees from each chamber may vary, the range usually being from three to nine members in each group, depending upon the length or complexity of the bill involved. There may be five representatives and three senators on the conference committee, or the reverse. But a majority vote controls the action of each group so that a larger representation does not give one chamber a voting advantage over the other chamber's conferees.

Theoretically, conferees are not allowed to write new legislation in reconciling the two versions before them, but this curb sometimes is bypassed. Many bills have been put into acceptable compromise form only after new language was provided by the conferees. The 1970 Reorganization Act attempted to tighten restrictions on conferees by forbidding them to introduce any language on a topic that neither chamber sent to conference or to modify any topic beyond the scope of the different House and Senate versions.

Frequently the ironing out of difficulties takes days or even weeks. Conferences on involved appropriation bills sometimes are particularly drawn out.

As a conference proceeds, conferees reconcile differences between the versions, but generally they grant concessions only insofar as they remain sure that the chamber they represent will accept the compromises. Occasionally, uncertainty over how either house will react, or the positive refusal of a chamber to back down on a disputed amendment, results in an impasse, and the bills die in conference even though each was approved by its sponsoring chamber.

Conferees sometimes go back to their respective chambers for further instructions, when they report certain portions in disagreement. Then the chamber concerned can either "recede and concur" in the amendment of the other house, or "insist on its amendment."

When the conferees have reached agreement, they prepare a conference report embodying their recommendations (compromises). The reports, in document form, must be submitted to each house.

The conference report must be approved by each house. Consequently, approval of the report is approval of the compromise bill. In the order of voting on conference reports, the chamber which asked for a conference yields to the other chamber the opportunity to vote first.

FINAL STEPS. After a bill has been passed by both the House and Senate in identical form, all of the original papers are sent to the enrolling clerk of the chamber in which the bill originated. He then prepares an enrolled bill which is printed on parchment paper. When this bill has been certified as correct by the secretary of the Senate or the clerk of the House, depending on which chamber originated the bill, it is signed first (no matter whether it originated in the Senate or House) by the Speaker of the House and then by the president of the Senate. It is next sent to the White House to await action.

If the president approves the bill he signs it, dates it and usually writes the word "approved" on the document. If he does not sign it within 10 days (Sundays excepted) and Congress is in session, the bill becomes law without his signature.

However, should Congress adjourn before the 10 days expire, and the president has failed to sign the measure, it does not become law. This procedure is called the pocket veto.

A president vetoes a bill by refusing to sign it and before the 10-day period expires, returning it to Congress with a message stating his reasons. The message is sent to the chamber which originated the bill. If no action is taken there on the message, the bill dies. Congress, however, can attempt to override the president's veto and enact the bill, "the objections of the president to the contrary notwithstanding." Overriding of a veto requires a two-thirds vote of those present, who must number a quorum and vote by roll call.

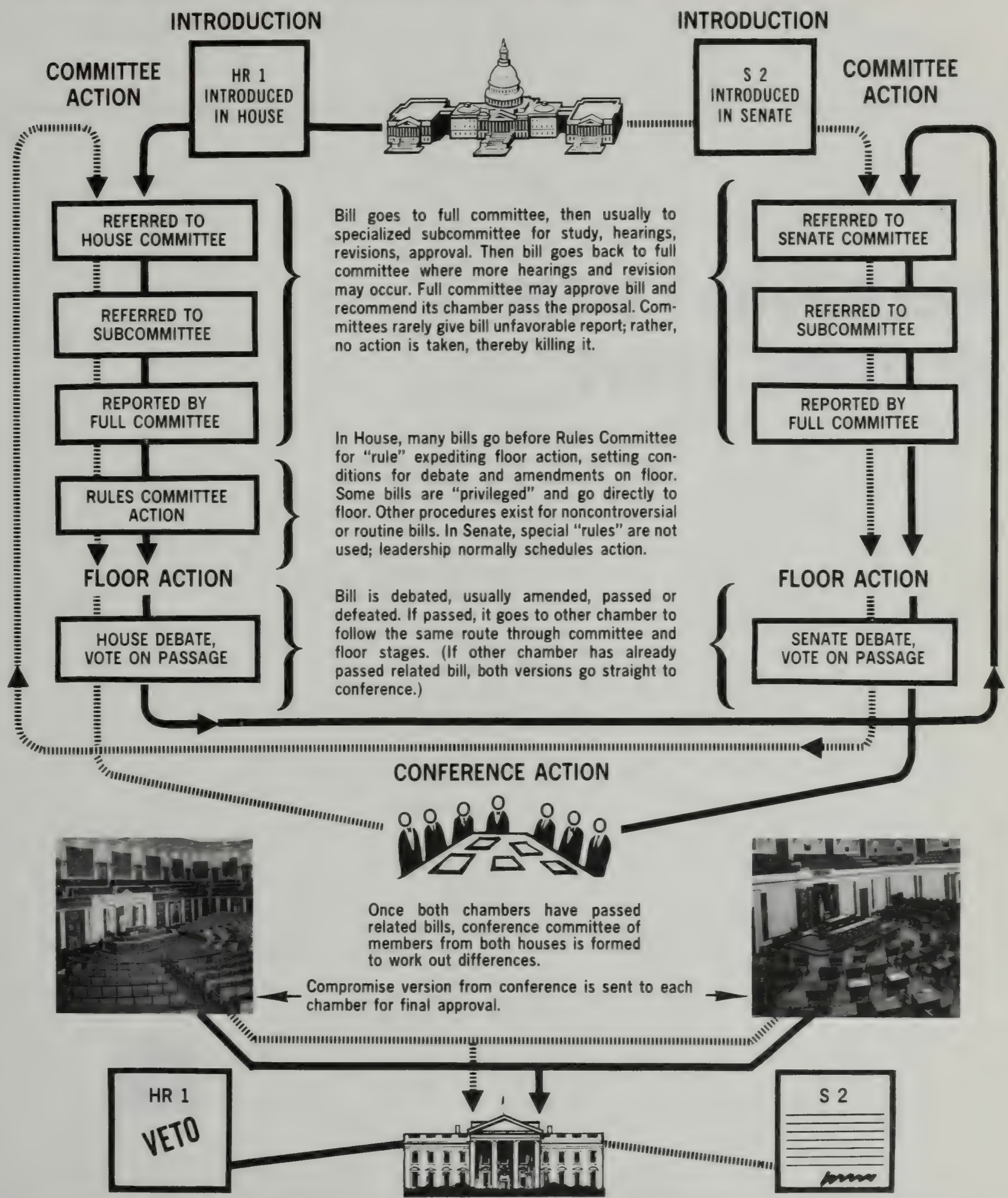
Debate can precede this vote, with motions permitted to lay the message on the table, postpone action on it, or refer it to committee. If the president's veto is overridden by a two-thirds vote in both houses, the bill becomes law. Otherwise it is dead.

When bills are passed finally and signed, or passed over a veto, they are given law numbers in numerical order as they become law. There are two series of numbers, one for public and one for private laws, starting at the number "1" for each two-year term of Congress. They are then identified by law number and by Congress — i.e., Private Law 21, 90th Congress; Public Law 250, 90th Congress (or PL 90-250).

HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW

This graphic shows the most typical way in which proposed legislation is enacted into law. There are more complicated, as well as simpler, routes, and most bills fall by the wayside and never become law. The process is illustrated with two hypothetical bills, House bill No. 1 (HR 1) and Senate bill No. 2 (S 2).

Each bill must be passed by both houses of Congress in identical form before it can become law. The path of HR 1 is traced by a solid line, that of S 2 by a broken line. However, in practice most legislation begins as similar proposals in both houses.



Compromise version approved by both houses is sent to President who can either sign it into law or veto it and return it to Congress. Congress may override veto by a two-thirds majority vote in both houses; bill then becomes law without President's signature.

96TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

CQ

Session Began With Few Major Changes

The 96th Congress began its life Jan. 15, 1979, in a businesslike and deceptively harmonious atmosphere.

The beginning was largely free from the major rules upheavals of the past and gave little indication of the budget, defense and energy battles that were to come. *(Session summary, p. 11)*

During the short House and Senate sessions Jan. 15, newly elected members were sworn in, top party leaders in both houses were returned to their posts and House Democrats easily pushed through a package of procedural rules revisions they had approved at party caucuses in December.

There were important actions to come in the following days, including a significant change in the Senate filibuster rule and further blows delivered to the already comatose House seniority system.

A Younger Congress

The representatives and senators that gathered in the halls of Congress in mid-January were a younger group than any in the last 30 years. The average age was 49.5 years, the first Congress since World War II in which the figure dropped below 50. *(Box, p. 5)*

Of the 433 sitting members of the House, 220 had served four years or less. Of 100 senators, 55 had served six years or less.

For a second Congress in a row, there were no House members 80 years or more. Before 1977, there was an octogenarian in every House since 1939.

As usual, the House was younger than the Senate. A larger than usual influx of 77 new House members reduced the average age of that chamber to 48.8. The Senate remained above 50, with an average of 52.7, but even that figure was the lowest for the Senate in the postwar period.

Republicans were younger than Democrats, although not by very much. In the two chambers together, Republicans averaged 49.1 years, Democrats 49.8 years.

House Actions

In the House, there was only token controversy on opening day. After swearing-in ceremonies, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., was re-elected Speaker on a 268-152 party-line vote. O'Neill was first elected to the post in 1977. *(Vote 1, p. 2-H)*

No changes were made in other leadership posts. Rep. Jim Wright, D-Texas, was re-elected majority leader, and Rep. John Brademas, D-Ind., was reappointed Democratic whip during party meetings in December. Republicans had elected Rep. John J. Rhodes, Ariz., and Robert Michel, Ill., to the GOP leader and whip posts, respectively.

Senate Actions

Just before the Senate convened, party caucuses elected leaders for the 96th Congress. Sens. Robert C. Byrd, D-W. Va., and Howard H. Baker Jr. R-Tenn., were unopposed as majority and minority leaders, respectively.

Sens. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., and Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, also were re-elected without opposition to their offices as assistants to the party leaders.

Races for three secondary leadership spots in the Republican Party resulted in an overall victory for GOP moderates. The closest race, for chairmanship of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, was won by Sen. H. John Heinz III, Pa. Heinz defeated conservative Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, Utah, 21-20.

Moderate Sen. Bob Packwood, Ore., defeated conservative Sen. James A. McClure, Idaho, 22-19, to become chairman of the Republican Conference. But conservative Sen. Jake Garn, Utah, became secretary of the conference by defeating Sen. John H. Chafee, R.I.

Elected president pro tem of the Senate was Sen. Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash. The position traditionally goes to the senator of the majority party with the longest period of service. Magnuson was first elected to the Senate in 1940.

Filibuster Changes

The Senate immediately began a debate on proposals to limit filibuster tactics used by a minority of members to block controversial legislation. Majority Leader Byrd pre-

96th Congress Leadership

SENATE

President Pro Tempore — Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash.
Majority Leader — Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va.
Majority Whip — Alan Cranston, D-Calif.
Democratic Conference Secretary — Daniel K. Inouye, D-Hawaii

Minority Leader — Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn.
Minority Whip — Ted Stevens, R-Alaska
Republican Policy Committee Chairman — John Tower, R-Texas
Republican Conference Chairman — Bob Packwood, R-Ore.
Republican Conference Secretary — Jake Garn, R-Utah

HOUSE

Speaker — Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass.
Majority Leader — Jim Wright, D-Texas
Majority Whip — John Brademas, D-Ind.

Minority Leader — John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz.
Minority Whip — Robert H. Michel, R-Ill.
Republican Conference Chairman — Samuel L. Devine, R-Ohio
Republican Policy Committee Chairman — Bud Shuster, R-Pa.

Public Laws

A total of 187 bills cleared by Congress in 1979 became public laws, the smallest number since pre-World War II sessions. Following is a list of the number of public laws enacted since 1965:

Year	Public Laws	Year	Public Laws
1979	187	1971	224
1978	410	1970	505
1977	223	1969	190
1976	383	1968	391
1975	205	1967	249
1974	402	1966	461
1973	247	1965	349
1972	483		

sented a package of changes aimed at limiting dilatory tactics used to delay a final vote on a bill even after three-fifths of the Senate has voted to invoke cloture and end debate. As introduced, Byrd's proposals also included pre-cloture debate limits.

The Senate debated these proposals for six weeks before finally it approved changes that dropped much of Byrd's plan but included a crucial filibuster change. By a 78-16 vote Feb. 22, the Senate approved a resolution (S Res 61) guaranteeing that when three-fifths of the Senate had voted to invoke cloture on a bill, a final vote on the legislation must be taken after no more than 100 hours of debate. *(Details of change, Congress and Government chapter)*

The Senate during the year was not plagued by filibusters as it had been in recent sessions. This undoubtedly was a result to some extent of the rules change. But it also was due to Byrd's practice of not bringing to the floor controversial bills if a possible filibuster would prevent consideration of other legislation. *(Box on cloture votes, p. 13)*

Committee Organization

A number of new committee leaders emerged to head Senate and House panels as the 96th Congress began.

In full committees, the changes resulted almost entirely from vacancies created by departures from Congress in 1978.

One House member, Rep. Charles D. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., voluntarily relinquished his chairmanship of the District of Columbia Committee. In several House subcommittees, however, the persons normally in line to become chairmen were defeated by lower ranking challengers or voluntarily gave up their posts. *(Details below)*

In the Senate, the Foreign Relations Committee was taken over by Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, and the Judiciary Committee by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass. In the House, these persons became committee chairmen: Reps. Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss., Appropriations; Richard Bolling, D-Mo., Rules; Don Fuqua, D-Fla., Science and Technology; James M. Hanley, D-N.Y., Post Office and Civil Service; Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla., Standards of Official Conduct; and Ronald V. Dellums, D-Calif., District of Columbia.

Whitten Challenge, Other Voting. Whitten was the only member in line for a House chairmanship who faced significant opposition. But he easily won approval from the Democratic Caucus Jan. 23 by a vote of 157-88. All other chairmen were elected by even more lopsided margins. *(Voting, box, p. 10)*

A coalition of consumer, environmental and civil rights groups had been campaigning against Whitten, and three younger Democrats circulated a "Dear Colleague" letter opposing him. However, Rep. Edward P. Boland, D-Mass., next in line of seniority on the committee, did not campaign for the chairmanship. In addition, Whitten had the support of House Speaker O'Neill.

The anti-Whitten coalition, coordinated by Ralph Nader's Congress Watch, challenged Whitten's party loyalty and procedural fairness. The coalition said Whitten had a 40 percent party unity voting record for the 95th Congress and alleged that he used the chairmanship of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee to dominate the panel's consideration of controversial issues and to legislate through the appropriations process.

One other chairman who was challenged when he first ran in 1977, Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., was comfortably re-elected chairman of the International Relations Committee (later renamed Foreign Affairs). The vote was 228-17.

In 1975, three committee chairmen were ousted by the caucus. *(1975 Almanac p. 32)*

Diggs, Flood Give Up Chairmanships. Two members of the House — Diggs and Rep. Daniel J. Flood, D-Pa. — voluntarily relinquished committee and subcommittee chairmanships. The two members faced both criminal charges and House investigations of conduct in violation of chamber rules. Diggs had been convicted by a court of illegally diverting his congressional employees' salaries to personal use.

Diggs at first said he would not seek re-election as House District of Columbia Committee chairman. This po-

Membership Changes, 96th Congress

Party	Member	Died	Resigned	Successor	Party	Elected	Sworn In
			HOUSE				
D	Leo J. Ryan - Calif.	11/18/78		William H. Royer	R	4/3/79	4/9/79
R	William A. Steiger - Wis.	12/4/78		Thomas E. Petri	R	4/3/79	4/9/79
D	Abner J. Mikva-Ill.		9/26/79	John E. Porter	R	1/22/80	1/24/80

Age Structure of Congress

(Average ages at start of first session)

	House	Senate	Congress
1949	51.0	58.5	53.8
1951	52.0	56.6	53.0
1953	52.0	56.6	53.0
1955	51.4	57.2	52.2
1957	52.9	57.9	53.8
1959	51.7	57.1	52.7
1961	52.2	57.0	53.2
1963	51.7	56.8	52.7
1965	50.5	57.7	51.9
1967	50.8	57.7	52.1
1969	52.2	56.6	53.0
1971	51.9	56.4	52.7
1973	51.1	55.3	52.0
1975	49.8	55.5	50.9
1977	49.3	54.7	50.3
1979	48.8	52.7	49.5

sition, like all committee chairmanships, is automatically subject to a caucus vote. He then said he would not seek to hold on to his chairmanship of the House International Relations Subcommittee on Africa. Most subcommittee chairmen are elected only by members of the full committee. However, Democrats meeting in caucus in December 1978 adopted a rule that would require the caucus to vote on a subcommittee chairman if the full committee had elected someone convicted of a felony carrying a sentence of at least two years.

The second subcommittee chairman to step down was Flood, who was facing trial on bribery charges. He headed the House Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations Subcommittee. All of the Appropriations subcommittee chairmanships are automatically subject to caucus votes. *(Separate stories, Congress and Government chapter)*

Committee Assignments. Assignments to most House and Senate committees were accomplished quickly as Congress began and were routinely approved by the two parties.

However, in the House two Democratic challengers succeeded in defeating the recommendations of the leadership-dominated Steering and Policy Committee, which makes nominations for committee assignments. The recommendations usually are routinely approved by the Democatic Caucus.

The caucus Jan. 23, however, voted to put Rep. Wyche Fowler, D-Ga., on the Ways and Means Committee, bumping Rep. Sam B. Hall Jr., D-Texas, who had been nominated. James R. Jones, D-Okla., won caucus approval to get on the Budget Committee, defeating nominee Joseph L. Fisher, D-Va.

Setbacks for Seniority System

The time-honored congressional seniority system took a beating in the House Jan. 30 and 31 as three junior Democrats defeated more senior colleagues in elections for subcommittee chairmanships.

Traditionally, committee and subcommittee chairmanships are filled by the most senior majority party member on each panel. Only rarely had the seniority system been successfully challenged. The most notable example was the 1975 coup in which junior members engineered the defeat of three committee chairmen.

The 1975 ousters were successful largely because the chairmen involved were considered autocratic leaders who did not give fair treatment to junior members. This wasn't the issue in 1979 because the three defeated members were making their first try for the chairmanships.

Several members said the subcommittee upsets may have set a new anti-seniority precedent. Instead of challenging a senior member for autocratic behavior, in the 1979 races "members were voting on whether one candidate's views are closer to theirs than the others," said Rep. Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., one of the defeated candidates.

Other Democrats agreed that ideology was a major factor in the races.

In all three cases, the successful junior challengers were more liberal than the members they defeated, and a heavy concentration of liberal young Democrats on the committees helped put them in office.

Waxman-Preyer

The most dramatic subcommittee race ended in a victory for Rep. Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif. He defeated Preyer for the chairmanship of the House Commerce Health Subcommittee. Preyer ranked three slots ahead of Waxman in seniority on the full Commerce Committee.

Preyer was vulnerable because of his large stock holdings in two pharmaceutical companies. The subcommittee had jurisdiction over drug legislation.

Some Commerce Committee members also were unhappy when Preyer criticized a Jan. 11 surgeon general's report linking smoking with several health problems. Preyer represented a tobacco-growing district.

Waxman, who began campaigning for the job in late 1978, came under attack when he gave campaign contributions to 10 Commerce Committee Democrats from a political campaign fund he established.

However, Waxman's contributions and Preyer's stock holdings were only side issues, according to several committee members. When committee Democrats met Jan. 30 to choose subcommittee chairmen, the choice between Waxman and Preyer was made primarily on ideology, they said.

Member's Occupations

	House			Senate			
Occupation	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	Total
Agriculture	10	9	19	2	4	6	25
Business or Banking	71	56	127	15	14	29	156
Education	44	13	57	4	3	7	64
Engineering	0	2	2	0	0	0	2
Journalism	6	5	11	2	0	2	13
Labor leaders	3	1	4	0	0	0	4
Law	135	70	205	43	22	65	270
Law enforcement	4	1	5	0	0	0	5
Medicine	1	5	6	1	0	1	7
Public service/Politics	22	19	41	7	5	12	53
Clergymen	4	2	6	0	1	1	7
Scientists	2	0	2	1	1	2	4

Most Members Cite Religious Affiliation . . .

Members of Congress are much more likely than most people to claim a religious affiliation.

During the 1970s, as church affiliation in the country as a whole hovered near the 60 percent mark, the number of members of Congress identifying with one denomination or another remained above 90 percent.

At the beginning of the 96th Congress, 509 of the 533 sitting members cited a specific religious affiliation, according to a survey by Congressional Quarterly. Nineteen others said they were "Christian" or "Protestant" but specified no denomination. Only five cited no religious connection at all.

It was not so clear whether members of Congress actually went to church more often than other people, or whether they were simply reluctant to say that they didn't.

Some church officials believe it is mostly politics. "People want to have a politician identifying himself with some denomination," said Mary Cooper, an executive of the National Council of Churches. "We haven't reached the point where very many members of Congress can list themselves as having no religion and get away with it."

Shift in Denominations

But while the number of members of Congress identifying with one denomination or another remained constant during the 1960s and 1970s, the denominational breakdown changed considerably.

Since the early 1960s, the Protestant groups which traditionally dominated congressional delegations lost strength and Jewish and Roman Catholic representation increased significantly.

This was most noticeable in the House. In 1961, the first year Congressional Quarterly kept track of these statistics, some 31 percent of the House members were either Methodist or Presbyterian, then the two most common Protestant affiliations in the House. By 1979, the figure for the two denominations was 25 percent.

Catholics, who comprised 20 percent of the House in 1961, had increased to 27 percent — an increase in absolute numbers from 88 to 116. In 1961 there were 11 Jewish members of the House of Representatives. In 1979, there were 23. The number of Jewish senators rose from one to seven.

Perhaps most interesting, many of the new Catholic and Jewish members of Congress were coming from overwhelmingly Protestant areas, something that was not common in the past.

In the 96th Congress, Nevada, South Dakota, Arizona and Vermont were all represented by Catholic senators. There were Jewish House members from Dallas, Wichita, and Kalamazoo.

In 1961, eight of the 11 Jewish House members came from the New York City area, with one each from Chicago, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Spokesmen for several religious organizations said they were encouraged by the dispersal of religious representation, and saw it as a reflection of declining religious prejudice throughout the country.

"Religion is not as important a designation politically as it was," said Cooper of the National Council of Churches. "In 1961 Catholicism was still a huge issue. I think anti-Catholicism has declined significantly since [President] Kennedy. There used to be a feeling in some parts of the country that if a Roman Catholic were elected to high office we'd all be sold to Rome."

Bad Form

"It's no longer good form to be overtly bigoted in this country," said Milt Ellerin of the American Jewish Committee. "Years ago fair campaign practices committees used to

Religious Affiliations

Religion	House D	House R	House Total	Senate D	Senate R	Senate Total	Congress Total
African Methodist Epis.	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Apostolic Christian	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Baptist	33	10	43	6	5	11	55
Central Schwenkfelder	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Christian	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Christian Churches	0	2	2	0	0	0	2
Churches of Christ	3	2	5	0	0	0	5
Church of God	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Christian Science	0	3	3	0	1	1	3
Disciples of Christ	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Eastern Orthodox	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Episcopal	29	22	51	5	12	17	68
Evangelical Free	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
First Christian Church	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
Greek Orthodox	2	1	3	2	0	2	5
Jewish	18	5	23	5	2	7	30
Latter-Day Saints	3	4	7	1	3	4	11
Lutheran	5	11	16	2	2	4	20
Methodist	32	26	58	13	6	19	77
Presbyterian	25	27	52	10	2	12	65
Roman Catholic	93	23	116	9	4	13	129
Seventh Day Adventist	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Society of Friends	0	2	2	0	0	0	2
Unitarian	7	1	8	2	2	4	12
United Church of Christ and Congregationalist	5	5	10	1	1	2	12
Unspecified Christian	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Unspecified Protestant	10	7	17	3	0	3	20
Unaffiliated	4	1	5	0	0	0	5

. . . But Denominational Division Has Shifted

be kept busy running down instances of this sort of thing in election years. Today you just don't see it."

Another spokesman for the American Jewish Committee, Karen Adler, cited the example of Democratic Rep. Dan Glickman, elected and overwhelmingly re-elected from a Wichita-based district. "Religion is no longer a criterion in these places," Adler said. "Dan Glickman had established himself in the community. It didn't matter whether he was Jewish, Episcopalian, or anything else."

In most states, experts agree, many voters are now unaware of a candidate's religion. When they know, most of them do not seem to care.

Overrepresentation

Until recent years, neither Catholics nor Jews were represented in Congress in proportion to their numbers in American society. That began to change in the 1960s. Catholics, with 22 percent of the population, had a little more than 24 percent of the membership in the 96th Congress. Jews, who comprise about 3 percent of the population, make up a little more than 5 percent of Congress.

Nearly all religious denominations were at least slightly overrepresented in Congress, because religious affiliation itself is overrepresented.

But some denominations were overrepresented to a much greater degree than others. Episcopalians and Presbyterians, while they comprised a smaller part of Congress than in the past, still had by far the highest representation per capita.

Episcopalians were a relatively small religious denomination in the United States, claiming about 3 million people. Presbyterians, with 3.7 million, were a slightly larger group. Each had less than 2 percent of the population. But the 70 Episcopalians in the 96th Congress made up more than 13 percent of its membership, and the 60 Presbyterians more than 11 percent.

There were more Baptists in the United States than there are members of any other Protestant group. Twelve Baptist organizations together claimed more than 16 million members, but lagged behind both Episcopalians and Methodists in congressional membership, with 56 in the 96th Congress.

Methodists, second to Baptists in the country, were the leading Protestant denomination in Congress. There were 75 Methodists in the two chambers combined, but this was a far smaller number than in the Congresses of the 1960s.

Only one major religious denomination was actually underrepresented in Congress. Lutherans made up nearly 5 percent of the nation's population, but they comprised only 3.7 percent of Congress.

There is no simple explanation of why some denominations do so much better than others at electing their adherents to Congress. Some analysts point out that in some states Lutherans are a predominantly rural group, generally living outside the population centers where congressional candidates tend to come from.

Baptists are also traditionally rural, and are slightly underrepresented in comparison to other Protestant groups.

But the concentration of Baptists in the Deep South provides a consistent regional base. Of the 56 Baptists in the 96th Congress, 36 came from Southern states.

Episcopalian Success

A variety of theories have been offered to explain why Episcopalians do so well in politics.

There is some disagreement about whether being Episcopalian helps people win elections, or whether people first win elections and then join the Episcopal Church. "There are a great many converts to the Episcopal Church who started out in another church but who became successful and switched over," said Constant Jacquet, editor of the Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches.

Jacquet and other experts agree that the Episcopal Church, high in socio-economic status in most communities, often serves as point of initial contact for civic leaders interested in running for office.

Some experts believe that the varying political success of religious denominations is due in part to their organizational styles.

The Episcopal church is organized on a regional basis into dioceses, so that people who are active in one church often get to know their counterparts in other cities nearby.

Baptists, Methodists and other Protestant denominations tend to be loosely organized beyond the individual congregational unit, a result of historic suspicion of political interference in local church affairs. This style, according to the theory, makes it difficult for a member of these denominations to gain in political influence on the basis of church activities.

The Mormon Church, perhaps the best organized church in the nation on a regional basis, is not overrepresented in Congress. But the extreme concentration of Mormons in Utah and a few other western states probably works against overrepresentation of the group at the congressional level.

Denominations in Congress

In all, more than two dozen religious denominations were represented in Congress by at least one member.

There were two Quakers — House Republicans J. Kenneth Robinson of Virginia and Edwin Forsythe of New Jersey.

Three House members and two senators belonged to the Greek Orthodox church, and one House member, Indiana Democrat Adam Benjamin Jr., was Assyrian Orthodox.

The single most overrepresented denomination, however, remained the Schwenkfelder Church, a Protestant group based in Pennsylvania.

Numbering only 2,748 adherents in the United States, the Schwenkfelder Church had 1 percent of the senators, thanks to the presence of Richard S. Schweiker, Republican of Pennsylvania, who was planning to retire at the end of the 96th Congress.

Bidding for subcommittee chairmanships was done by seniority on the full committee. Thus, the committee Democrats first took a secret ballot vote on Preyer's bid for the health panel. He lost 12-15.

Waxman then bid for the post and was elected 21-6.

Several members, including Preyer, credited Waxman's win to an aggressive lobbying campaign by Waxman and outside groups supporting him.

Waxman, who had the backing of consumer, environmental and labor groups, argued in his campaign that he would be a more aggressive chairman with more liberal views on national health insurance and other issues before the panel.

Eckhardt-Murphy

In another Commerce Committee upset, Rep. Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas, defeated Rep. John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., for the chairmanship of the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee.

The former chairman, Rep. John E. Moss, D-Calif. (1953-79), had transformed that panel into a national forum on a variety of consumer and business issues.

Commerce Democrats said Murphy's bid was resented by many members because he already chaired the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. He was also chairman of a Merchant Marine subcommittee, and chairman of the Select Outer Continental Shelf Committee.

Murphy had also developed a reputation as a defender of special interest groups, particularly the maritime industry. Eckhardt was considered more likely to continue Moss' aggressive oversight of oil companies and other powerful industries.

Commerce members also were disturbed by news reports that Murphy was under investigation by the Justice Department for tax evasion and other possible legal violations.

When Murphy bid for the Oversight panel, he was defeated 9-18. Eckhardt was then approved 26-1.

Votes on House Chairmen

	Yes	No
Rules - Bolling	226	19
Appropriations - Whitten	157	88
Ways & Means - Ullman	211	33
Agriculture - Foley	234	11
Armed Services - Price	223	22
Banking - Reuss	234	11
Budget - Giaimo	235	4
District of Columbia - Dellums	229	16
Education & Labor - Perkins	228	18
Government Operations - Brooks	236	9
House Administration - Thompson	238	7
Interior & Insular Affairs - Udall	241	4
International Relations - Zablocki	228	17
Interstate & Foreign Commerce - Staggers	224	20
Judiciary - Rodino	234	11
Merchant Marine & Fisheries - Murphy	202	42
Post Office & Civil Service - Hanley	233	11
Public Works - Johnson	229	15
Science & Technology - Fuqua	235	10
Small Business - Smith	236	9
Veterans Affairs - Roberts	215	28

Moffett

Toby Moffett, D-Conn., pulled off the third coup by winning the chairmanship of the Environment, Energy and Natural Resources subcommittee after Government Operations Committee Democrats rejected three more senior members for the job.

The first committee Democrat to bid for the post at a Jan. 31 meeting was Glenn English, D-Okla., who was defeated 10-14. Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., and David W. Evans, D-Ind., each were defeated, 8-16. Moffett was then elected 16-8.

Government Operations subcommittees were largely oversight panels, but Moffett was expected to use his position to aggressively push energy issues.

Financial Disclosure Changes

In separate actions, the House and Senate significantly trimmed back the financial disclosures that members of Congress and their top aides must make public every year.

The House changed its rules (H Res 5) on the first day of the 96th Congress with no debate and little public notice. The Senate changed its rules (S Res 220) Aug. 3 by a vote of 50-29.

In both instances, the House and Senate eliminated the generally tougher disclosure requirements in House and Senate rules and substituted for them the requirements of the 1978 Ethics in Government Act (PL 95-521). The law differed somewhat in its application to each chamber. The House rules change took effect in 1979; the Senate change was to take effect in 1980.

Besides requiring less stringent disclosures, the Senate rules change eliminated audits of senators' disclosure statements by the General Accounting Office (GAO). The House rules had not called for GAO audits.

The net result of the changes in both the Senate and House was to make it more difficult for the public to determine their elected representatives' financial status and interests, including the value of their biggest assets, the detailed holdings of their spouses and dependents; the existence and value of their personal residences; their real estate dealings, and many details of their personal liabilities.

Democratic Caucus Rules

House Democrats began a move, in December 1978, to take a subcommittee chairmanship away from Michigan's Rep. Diggs, who had been convicted two months earlier on mail fraud and other charges. Diggs resigned his chairmanship of the House Foreign Affairs Africa Subcommittee in January 1979 just as Democrats were ready to take the post away from him.

But the Democrats rejected attempts to take subcommittee chairmanships from Flood, who had been indicted on bribery charges, and California Democrats Charles H. Wilson and Edward R. Roybal, who had been reprimanded by the House in 1978 in connection with the Korean influence-peddling scandal. Flood resigned his subcommittee chairmanship in January 1979, and said he would resign from the House Jan. 31, 1980.

The Diggs action was a hesitant step by the Democrats to strip power and influence from a member who had been convicted of a felony. But the action fell far short of demands by some members, especially Republicans, that Diggs be expelled from the House, or at least deprived of his right to vote.

Vetoes Cast by President Carter

Following is a list of the 20 public bill vetoes by President Carter during the first and second sessions of the 95th Congress and the first session of the 96th.

Although substantial for a Democratic president with a Congress of his own party, Carter's veto mark was a significant drop from the record of his two immediate predecessors — both Republicans working with a Democratic Congress. Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Richard M. Nixon vetoed 66 and 43 bills, respectively. Unlike Ford or Nixon, Carter did not have any of his vetoes overridden.

In two years in office, Carter already had vetoed more public bills than John F. Kennedy did in three years (nine) and Lyndon B. Johnson did in five years (13). Like Carter, Democrats Kennedy and Johnson had no vetoes overridden by the Democratic Congress.

Thirteen of Carter's vetoes were pocket vetoes, accomplished by his refusal to sign certain bills after Congress adjourned.

Carter still trailed the all-time veto leaders by a large margin. Franklin D. Roosevelt vetoed 635 bills during his 12 years in office, and Grover Cleveland vetoed 584 during his two separate four-year terms.

In one of only two override attempts, the House Sept. 7, 1978, sustained his veto of a weapons procurement bill (HR 10929) which authorized funding for a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier that Carter opposed.

In the other override attempt, the House Oct. 5, 1978, sustained Carter's veto of a public works appropriation bill which included funding for water projects that Carter wanted to kill. *(For details on all of the vetoed bills, see 1977 and 1978 Almanacs; for text of 1980 veto message, see appendix-Presidential Messages.)*

1977

1. S 1811 (Energy Administration Authorization)
   Vetoed: Nov. 5
   No Override Attempt
2. HR 2521 (Rabbit Meat Inspection)
   Vetoed: Nov. 9
   No Override Attempt

1978

3. HR 3161 (Firefighters Workweek)
   Vetoed: June 19
   No Override Attempt
4. HR 10882 (Sikes Act Amendments)
   Vetoed: July 10
   No Override Attempt
5. HR 10929 (Weapons Procurement Authorization)
   Vetoed: Aug. 17
   House sustained Sept. 7, 191-206
6. HR 12928 (Public Works Appropriations)
   Vetoed: Oct. 5
   House sustained Oct. 5, 223-190*
7. HR 9370 (Aquaculture Act)
   Pocket vetoed: Oct. 18
8. HR 11445 (Small Business Amendments)
   Pocket vetoed: Oct. 23
9. S 1104 (Legionville Historic Site)
   Pocket Vetoed: Nov. 2
10. HR 11092 (Navajo-Hopi Lands)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 2
11. HR 11861 (Navy-Maritime Advisory Board Act)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 2
12. HR 11580 (Lottery Materials Exports)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 4
13. HR 9518 (Ocean Shipping Rebates)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 4
14. HR 6536 (D.C. Employees' Pensions)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 4
15. S 1503 (Tris Ban)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 4
16. HR 13719 (Guam/Virgin Islands Payments)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 4
17. S 2416 (Nurse Training Programs)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 11
18. HR 11545 (Meat Import Act)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 11
19. HR 9937 (Textile Tariffs)
    Pocket vetoed: Nov. 11

1980

20. S 2096 (HEW Dioxins Study)
    Vetoed: Jan. 2, 1980

*Veto overrides require a two-thirds majority vote.

In an unusual closed-door session Dec. 6, 1978, the Democrats accepted a proposal requiring a vote of the full caucus on any subcommittee chairman convicted of a felony carrying a sentence of at least two years. Ordinarily, the caucus voted only on full committee chairmen, and the chairmen of the House Appropriations subcommittees.

House Democrats also made the following changes in their rules:

Budget Committee Terms. The number of terms that Democrats could serve on the House Budget Committee was increased from two to three. Seven committee members would have had to leave the committee under the two-term limit. The caucus also voted to permit Budget Committee Chairman Robert Giaimo, D-Conn., to serve a fourth term on the committee.

Naming Subcommittee Chairman. The caucus adopted an amendment locking in place existing practices for selecting subcommittee chairmen. Under the rule, all subcommittees — except Appropriations — must continue to allow bidding for subcommittee chairmanships by members of the full committee.

Getting Subcommittee Seats. The caucus adopted a rule requiring continuous bidding for subcommittee seats. Under the rule, committees were required to allow each member to choose one subcommittee assignment before any member could choose a second one. The Appropriations Committee was exempted from the change. The new rule was expected to open up more choice assignments to junior members. Another new rule limited each Democrat to five subcommittee seats on House standing committees.

Bills Under Suspension. The caucus also formalized guidelines for bills considered under suspension of the rules. The guidelines prohibited any bill with an estimated cost of over $100 million in a single fiscal year from being put on the suspension calendar unless the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee granted a request from the Speaker to waive the rule. If an exception were made, members would have to be notified at least four days in advance that the bill was coming up under suspension. The guidelines also required at least three legislative days advance notice of all other bills brought up under suspension, except in emergencies or at the end of a congressional session.

House Rules

On a party-line vote of 241-156, the House Jan. 15 adopted a series of House Rules changes. Most of the changes, proposed by House Democratic leaders, made minor procedural changes aimed at reducing time consumed by roll-call votes. House Majority Leader Wright said the changes would cut down on "dilatory tactics sometimes employed by the other party."

Among the changes adopted by the House:

- Only one vote on approving the previous day's journal would be allowed.
- Members could not demand reading of a conference report if the report had been available for three days prior to floor consideration.
- If a recorded quorum call were demanded just prior to a vote on an amendment to a bill, a recorded vote on the amendment could be limited to five minutes (instead of the 15 minutes normally required). The same change was approved for a vote on passage of a bill if that vote came immediately after a roll call on a motion to recommit the bill to committee.
- The Speaker would be authorized to name the House's three non-voting delegates and the resident commissioner from Puerto Rico to select committees and House-Senate conference committees.
- The Speaker could defer and "cluster" roll-call votes on passage of bills and on adoption of rules reported from the Rules Committee.
- A requirement for a second on a motion to suspend the rules and pass a bill would be eliminated unless the bill had not been made available to members at least one day prior to the vote.

Appropriations Voting

The House Democratic Caucus — consisting of all Democratic members — approved subcommittee chairmen for the House Appropriations Committee Feb. 6.

As expected, the 13 members nominated by Appropriations Committee Democrats won easy approval in the party caucus.

By secret ballot, members voted "yes" or "no" on each nominee. The results were:

	Yes	No
Agriculture — Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss.	180	35
Defense — Joseph P. Addabbo, D-N.Y.	207	9
District of Columbia — Charles Wilson, D-Texas	206	8
Foreign Operations — Clarence D. Long, D-Md.	197	19
Housing — Edward P. Boland, D-Mass.	213	3
Interior — Sidney R. Yates, D-Ill.	213	4
Labor-Health, Education and Welfare — William H. Natcher, D-Ky.	210	6
Legislative — Adam Benjamin Jr., D-Ind.	211	5
Military Construction — Gunn McKay, D-Utah	211	6
Public Works — Tom Bevill, D-Ala.	197	19
State, Justice, Commerce and Judiciary — John M. Slack, D-W.Va.	210	6
Transportation — Robert Duncan, D-Ore.	207	9
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government — Tom Steed, D-Okla.	203	13

- Printed copies of reports on bills would have to be available to members at least two days before the legislation could be brought up on the floor.
- As part of the House ethics code, members would be prohibited from letting any outside group use the words "Congress of the United States," "House of Representatives" or "official business" on a letterhead or envelope.
- The number of members required to stand in support of a request for a recorded vote on an amendment considered in the committee of the whole was increased from 20 to 25.
- The limit on the amount a member could accept as a speaking fee was increased to $1,000 from $750.

First Session of the 96th: A Contradiction

The first session of the 96th Congress passed into history as a contradiction.

Members came to Washington in 1979 spurred by a nationwide anti-government mood. Legislators, even some of the more liberal ones, talked bravely of the need to limit federal spending. They agreed that the influence of Uncle Sam had become too pervasive and needed to be curbed.

That rhetoric continued through the year, but this session of Congress probably will not be remembered as a conservative one that restrained the powers of government.

It more likely will be recalled as just the opposite: a session where members voted for massive new spending efforts and laid the groundwork for significant new federal involvement in the lives of American businesses and citizens.

Federal Role in Energy

At the end of the first session, Congress was on the verge of enacting legislation that would enormously expand the federal role in an area that will be crucial to the United States for decades to come — energy.

In addition, Congress approved federal help for the financially ailing Chrysler Corp., the nation's 10th largest corporation and third largest auto maker. The package gave Chrysler $1.5 billion in government loan guarantees provided the company came up with at least an equal amount from other sources.

It also was a year when advocates of more defense spending finally recouped from the travails of the Vietnam era and won a pledge of extra billions for the military from a president who initially was opposed to such increases.

The most massive expansion of the federal role was in the package of energy legislation that was the focus of congressional debate most of the year. It called for spending billions of dollars on synthetic fuels development and imposing a major federal presence in the energy industry.

Nearing approval at year's end were programs to provide for:

- A $227 billion dollar federal tax on "windfall" oil company profits resulting from decontrol of oil prices. The legislation would transfer control over the expenditure of those billions of dollars from private hands to the federal government, one of the largest transfers in history.

- $20 billion to develop new synthetic sources of energy, such as oil from shale and gas from coal, and creation of a new quasi-governmental agency to run the program. Congressional allies of President Carter said this was the only way to get the job done. But energy companies said creation of the semi-public agency put the government in direct competition with their industry and was a distinct threat to the future of private energy industry ownership.

- Creation of a new federal agency with the virtually unprecedented power to act in place of federal, state or local agencies that did not meet deadlines for speeding construction of priority energy projects. Still to be worked out was whether the board would have the power to actually override substantive federal laws that obstructed these efforts.

- Establishment of federally mandated conservation controls that could be imposed on states in the event of energy shortages.

- A framework for putting a nationwide gasoline rationing plan in place in case it were needed in an emergency.

Session Summary

Although both chambers completed their legislative business for the year by Dec. 21, 1979, the first session of the 96th Congress did not formally end until the morning of Jan. 3, 1980. The leadership decided to keep the House in session and the Senate on 24-hour call throughout the holiday season as long as Iranian militants continued to hold Americans hostage in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

The Senate adjourned *sine die* Dec. 21 at 3:17 a.m. The House completed its business and adjourned for the day at 11:33 p.m., Dec. 20, but House leaders scheduled *pro forma* sessions for Dec. 24, Dec. 27, Dec. 31 and Jan. 3.

The first session, which convened at noon Jan. 15, 1979, lasted 354 days — 84 days longer than the second session of the 95th Congress, and eight days longer than the first session. The session tied with the second session of the 65th Congress (1918) and the first session of the 93rd Congress (1973) as the seventh longest in history. *(CQ Guide to Congress, 2nd Edition, p. 339)*

The Senate met 167 days during the year, while the House met 173 days. There were 10,171 bills and resolutions (7,459 House, 2,712 Senate) introduced during the session, a decrease of 5,215 from the first session of the 95th Congress. The large decrease was primarily attributed to a new House rule permitting unlimited co-sponsorship of legislation. The president signed 187 public bills into law and vetoed one.

During 1979, there were 672 House recorded votes — well below the record 834 in 1978. The Senate's 497 recorded votes were 191 fewer than the record 688 taken in 1976.

Following are the recorded vote totals for the decade:

Year	House	Senate	Total
1979	672	497	1,169
1978	834	516	1,350
1977	706	635	1,341
1976	661	688	1,349
1975	612	602	1,214
1974	537	544	1,081
1973	541	594	1,135
1972	329	532	861
1971	320	423	743
1970	266	418	684

Uncontrollable Events

These new federal commitments were all the more extraordinary because they came at a time when money — or the lack of it — was central to the debate on practically every piece of legislation before Congress.

The nation's anti-spending mood did not end; it continued to have a signficant impact on the action of legislators. In spite of this, the energy, Chrysler and defense programs were able to move through Congress because of external events not under the government's control.

Support for the energy package was grounded in troubled U.S. relations with oil-exporting nations and a continuing upward spiral in the cost of imported oil.

These trends were exacerbated by the crumbling of relations between the United States and Iran after militant Iranians seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and held 50 Americans hostage for the return of that nation's deposed shah, Mohammad Riza Pahlavi.

Domestically, Chrysler executives told government leaders the giant auto manufacturing firm would face bankruptcy early in 1980 without federal aid, creating the specter of much higher unemployment just months before a national election.

Advocates of higher defense spending, using the the Iranian hostage situation as example, argued more vigorously than ever before that America's strength, respect and influence in the world was declining, and that U.S. military strength was falling far behind that of the Soviet Union. The advocates were aided by the Carter administration's desire to win Senate ratification of the strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II) with the Soviet Union. Senate defense boosters indicated they couldn't even consider voting for SALT II unless military outlays were increased substantially.

Economic Issues Ignored

But if Congress acted with determination on energy and some other issues, it acted virtually not at all on the economic troubles of the nation.

Faced with double-digit inflation and the threatened onset of a recession, Congress — much like the president — didn't seem to know what to do. Both branches of government showed restraint in prescribing the usual medicine for recessionary ailments: a federal tax cut. Faced with uncertainty about economic problems, it appeared both were marking time until 1980 to decide whether federal action would help or worsen America's economic problems. In the meantime, the inflation fight was carried on largely by the Federal Reserve which acted to force interest rates to the mid-teens.

The legislators acted more decisively on foreign policy, giving Carter an important victory on his new China policy. That called for improved relations with the People's Republic of China and an end to formal relations with Taiwan.

But Congress showed little interest in social, consumer and environmental legislation, all of which had been hallmarks of congressional sessions during much of the decade. Nevertheless, members approved Carter's request to create a separate Department of Education. The action seemed remarkable, coming at a time when public opinion was decidedly against larger government bureaucracy — a view that Carter had helped nurture in his election campaign and presidency. But the president's request and Congress' approval made more sense when viewed as the fulfillment of a political commitment to the National Education Association, one of the largest labor organizations in the country. The NEA lobbied hard for the department and then endorsed Carter for re-election when it passed.

Energy Package

Without a doubt, congressional action on an energy package was the year's most significant accomplishment.

Carter had learned from his experience with the 95th Congress, when he presented the legislators with a full-blown, far-reaching package of bills that most members had never seen before. This year, he did better when he borrowed heavily from congressional initiatives.

In a year that began with an Iranian crisis when the shah was forced to leave his country and ended with another one when the hostages were seized, Congress had ample reminders of the heavy American dependence on oil imports. In between those events, Americans suffered through long gasoline lines in the spring and early summer, and saw the cost of a gallon rise above a dollar.

But Congress passed no laws to force Americans to conserve. Instead, the energy package funadamentally was one to promote new production.

One element of it was billions of dollars for a major government program to boost development of synthetic fuels. Another was establishment of a special high-level federal organization, the Energy Mobilization Board, to give a shortcut through the bureaucracy to the developer of a major pipeline, refinery or synthetic fuels plant. If a state or local government were holding up a project, the board could step in and act for the local agency.

House-Senate conferees were working out the details of both the synfuels and "fast track" proposals as the session drew to a close.

Congress began work on both of those programs early in the year. But President Carter helped them along in July when he incorporated the basic concepts in his own energy package. The president wanted synthetic fuels to be the major beneficiary of revenues from his proposed oil windfall profits tax.

Carter proposed the tax in April, when he announced a gradual end to domestic controls on the price of oil. He said the "windfall" to producers should be recaptured for the public. The tax had been expected to have trouble in Congress, but the president's case was bolstered by rapidly escalating world oil prices and large oil industry profits.

At the end of December, House-Senate conferees were working out the details of a tax that would bring in $277 billion of the $1 trillion in additional oil industry income expected by 1990. Other federal and state taxes would further reduce the industry windfall.

Modest Accomplishments

Although the 96th Congress made considerable progress toward enactment of a wide-ranging energy package, the members' desire to curb federal activities was reflected in Congress' modest legislative accomplishments in other areas. There was a growing realization that the federal budget wasn't open-ended, and that government spending decisions required some distasteful choices. Congress enacted only 187 public laws in 1979, the smallest number since pre-World War II sessions.

Congressional leaders had the unpleasant job of presiding over a three-way tug of war between traditional Democratic liberals seeking bread-and-butter social program

spending, conservative Democrats — joined by Republicans — interested in balancing the budget, and a third, more ideologically diverse group wanting increased defense spending even if that meant unbalancing the budget.

The spending debate was complicated by the SALT II treaty before the Senate. This agreement at first was seen as a means of controlling defense spending but ultimately it became the core of arguments to increase spending.

Another complication was the maverick role played by President Carter. Although Democratic presidents usually have supported generous social program spending, this president was unenthusiastic; that left liberal Democratic congressional leaders out on a limb.

Tied in Knots Over Money

This three-way tension was one principal reason that the 96th Congress tied itself in knots over the budget and appropriating process.

Bills setting budget targets and increasing the federal debt limit were repeatedly caught up in political crossfires and delays.

In a seemingly random response to what they perceived to be the political realities of the moment, lawmakers increased spending for a wide variety of programs, rejected a spending enforcement measure and missed nearly every deadline in the 1974 Budget Act.

Congress ultimately approved a final budget for 1980 that was $15.6 billion higher than the spending target adopted in the spring. But the House refused to accept Senate language instructing certain committees to trim $3.6 billion from spending bills to meet their budget limits.

Budget leaders then began to think of new ways to control congressional spending proclivities, including legislation to limit total spending to a fixed percentage of the gross national product.

Congress didn't even clear three regular appropriations bills for fiscal 1980 — legislative, Labor-HEW and foreign aid — because of a variety of controversies including abortion, a congressional pay hike, and spending levels. Money for these activities was provided under stop-gap resolutions.

National Security, Foreign Affairs

In national security affairs, the post-Vietnam era came definitively to an end in 1979.

Congress made the smallest cut in the defense budget in a decade for the new fiscal year, 1980, and the Senate voted in September to support a 5 percent annual increase above the rate of inflation in the defense budget for the following two years, 1981 and 1982. The House didn't take a position on the latter two years.

The Carter administration tried to channel this newfound consensus for higher defense spending into support for the U.S.-Soviet SALT II agreement. But global threats to U.S. interests from the Soviet Union and from Third World countries left many senators leery of new agreements with the Moscow.

At year's end, the SALT treaty's fate remained in doubt. The Senate did not even begin debate.

Congress reluctantly went along with the president's policies on a number of key foreign affairs issues.

The legislators approved Carter's Taiwan relations bill, a key part of the president's new China policy announced in December 1978. But legislation to give Peking most-favored-nation trade status was still pending at session's end.

Also passed, after protracted House debate, was legislation to implement the 1978 Panama Canal treaties. The latter provided the House with its first opportunity to debate the treaties, and it was evident from the close votes on the implementing bill that the treaties might have been defeated had the House had a voice in the 1978 debate.

Congress also approved the president's request for aid to Turkey and for flexibility on lifting sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

Although foreign aid was as unpopular as ever, one of Carter's biggest foreign policy victories of the year, negotiating the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, was reflected in the speedy approval with which Congress approved the special $4.8 billion in aid to the two countries requested by the administration.

Congress gave major trade legislation overwhelming approval.

Social Programs, Environment and Commerce

Despite rising opposition to social legislation during 1979, the president won victories on three of his major social program proposals.

Legislation to create a new Department of Education was cleared in September. The House passed bills to reform

Senate Cloture Votes, 1977-79

Following is a list of all cloture votes taken by the Senate in the 95th Congress (1977-78) and the first session of the 96th Congress (1979). Cloture motions required a majority of three-fifths of the Senate (60 members) for adoption, under a rule adopted in 1975; previously cloture could be invoked by a two-thirds majority vote of those senators present and voting.

On Feb. 22, the Senate approved by a 78-16 vote a resolution (S Res 61) guaranteeing that when three-fifths of the Senate has voted to invoke cloture, a final vote on the bill must be taken after no more than 100 hours of debate. *(Vote 6, p. 2-S)*

The four cloture votes in 1979 brought to 144 the total number of cloture votes taken since the adoption of Rule 22 first allowed them in 1917. *(Complete listing of cloture votes from 1919 through 1976, 1977 Almanac p. 813)*

Issue	Date	Vote	Yeas Needed 3/5 Majority
Draft Resisters Pardons	Jan. 24, 1977	53-43	60
Campaign Financing	July 29, 1977	49-45	60
Campaign Financing	Aug. 1, 1977	47-46	60
Campaign Financing	Aug. 2, 1977	52-46	60
Natural Gas Pricing	Sept. 26, 1977	77-17	60
Labor Law Revision	June 7, 1978	42-47	60
Labor Law Revision	June 8, 1978	49-41	60
Labor Law Revision	June 13, 1978	54-43	60
Labor Law Revision	June 14, 1978	58-41	60
Labor Law Revision	June 15, 1978	58-39	60
Labor Law Revision	June 22, 1978	53-45	60
Revenue Act of 1978	Oct. 9, 1978	62-28	60
Energy Taxes	Oct. 14, 1978	71-13	60
Windfall Profits Tax	Dec. 12, 1979	53-46	60
Windfall Profits Tax	Dec. 13, 1979	56-40	60
Windfall Profits Tax	Dec. 14, 1979	56-39	60
Windfall Profits Tax	Dec. 17, 1979	84-14	60

the nation's welfare system and to expand an existing health program for poor children.

Carter was not so successful in other health areas. Congress refused to pass the president's hospital cost control bill despite his argument that it would save consumers money and help fight inflation. The president and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., continued to spar over the scope of national health insurance legislation. Meanwhile, Sen. Russell B. Long, D-La., working closely with administration officials, began drafting a more limited health insurance plan in the Finance Committee which he headed.

There was relatively little environmental legislation. A bill to protect Alaska lands from development passed the House, but stalled in the Senate where it had died in 1978. Despite repeated attempts to block construction of the Tellico Dam in Tennessee because of the threat to the tiny snail darter fish, President Carter in September signed legislation permitting the project to be finished.

Congress moved slowly toward getting the federal government out of regulating some aspects of business.

The Federal Trade Commission was the major focus of these efforts. Both houses of Congress moved toward enactment of bills restricting the commission's ability to regulate unfair and deceptive business practices.

In another area, Congress made slow progress on legislation to deregulate the railroad and trucking industries.

Politics, General Government

The last two pieces of the election reform package unveiled by President Carter in 1977 — public financing of House general election campaigns and direct election of the president — died in 1979. The first two parts — election day voter registration and relaxation of the Hatch Act — died in 1977.

The public financing measure was killed in the House Administration Committee, while the constitutional amendment to abolish the electoral college was defeated on the Senate floor.

Legislation overhauling the basic federal regulatory apparatus — including new "sunset" proposals — made some progress, but there was no floor action on the proposals.

In internal matters, the Senate early in the session changed its rules to prevent the use of the post-cloture filibuster to delay or kill legislation.

Both chambers were forced to judge the conduct of some of their members. The Senate voted to "denounce" Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., for financial wrongdoing. The House censured Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., after Diggs admitted he had violated House rules by padding his congressional office payroll and accepting kickbacks from some of his employees.

Although Rep. Daniel J. Flood, D-Pa., was charged with violating House rules by accepting bribes, Flood's extended periods of hospitalization for a series of ailments prevented the House from taking any disciplinary action against him in 1979. Flood said he would resign his seat at the end of January 1980.

Late in the year, Rep. Charles H. Wilson, D-Calif., was charged by the House Standards Committee with payroll padding, converting campaign funds to personal use and lying to a committee attorney. Wilson denied the charges. Further proceedings were expected in early 1980.

Two Old Chestnuts

Two old chestnuts — busing and abortion — continued to dog Congress in 1979.

Busing foes suffered a severe setback when the House decisively turned back a constitutional amendment banning court-ordered busing. A handful of other busing amendments also were rejected during the year.

The fight over prohibiting federal funding of abortions continued, with the tough anti-abortion position of the House gaining supremacy.

In a major victory for abortion foes, the Senate backed away from an exception to anti-funding language of past years which allowed use of federal funds for abortions when two doctors certified that a continued pregnancy would severely damage the mother's health.

The language still allowed abortion funding to save the mother's life or in cases of promptly reported rape or incest. But the elimination of the two-doctor exception was a major setback for abortion advocates.

The tough anti-abortion language found its way into various bills during the session.

White House: Some Improvement

The White House got better marks from some members of Congress for its leadership skills in 1979 than in earlier years.

CQ's presidential support voting study showed that the president's support in Congress on issues on which Carter had taken a clear stand dropped slightly from 1978, but he still won on about three out of four votes.

Nevertheless, the relationship the two branches remained contentious.

Congress continued to receive little guidance from the White House on most issues. Much of the time, Carter seemed content to announce a legislative goal and then to sit back and let Congress work its will. The Carter White House lobbied vigorously on only a handful of bills.

To a considerable extent, the White House's weak leadership reflected the president's own political problems. Carter's credibility on the Hill was hurt by his low standing in the polls. Members had little incentive to support controversial proposals from a president with as little political attraction as Jimmy Carter's.

Chaos in the House

But Jimmy Carter's troubles on the Hill paled next to the problems of House leaders. Throughout the year, the House continually teetered on the brink of chaos, and occasionally fell over.

The first session laid bare a growing schism among House Democrats and brought out a new unity within the Republican Party.

Conservative strategists found that if a sufficient number of conservative Democrats voted with a unified Republican bloc, the majority party could be denied a victory.

Helping to turn the strategy into a trend were the lack of party discipline in the House, the breakdown of the power of the committee chairmen and party leaders, an increasing militancy on the part of younger Republicans and the ability of many Democrats to be re-elected without help from their party or their president.

Although a conservative coalition had been a common fixture in earlier Congresses on certain votes, it became more and more common in 1979.

Combined with conservative delaying tactics, the shifting lines of power at times paralyzed the House and led many members to question the Democratic leadership's ability to make the House function.

Oversight: Little Credit from the Voters

Above all, the 96th Congress was to have been the "oversight Congress."

As an alternative to enactment of new spending efforts, legislators wanted to emphasize oversight of existing governmental activities to eliminate obsolete programs and improve those in need of work.

Congressional leaders said they had received a clear signal from voters to cut spending and to improve existing federal programs rather than create new ones.

It didn't work out quite that way.

Members rediscovered the old truth that elected politicians receive little credit from the public for "oversight" work. "It's very tough," observed Rep. Norman Y. Mineta, D-Calif. "It's time-consuming, painstaking investigative work. And there's no political appeal in it. There's much more appeal in getting a bill passed and saying, 'Here's what my bill will do for senior citizens.' "

Within months after the session began, the oversight effort was dwindling. "The press started writing about the do-nothing Congress," said House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., D-Mass. The "do-nothing" label stung many members. "I thought, 'you can't win for losing around here,' " Mineta lamented.

By the end of the year, the evidence was at best ambiguous that the 96th Congress had done anything unusual in oversight. Instead, members were looking for ways to achieve concrete accomplishments for constituents to which they could point in the 1980 election year.

Whether the first session did anything unusual in oversight remained in dispute at the end of the 1979. Republicans saw no evidence of extra oversight, and dismissed the effort as a public relations exercise.

Democrats countered with their own analysis.

During the first 11 months of the 96th Congress, the House increased its formal oversight activity by about 20 percent over the first 11 months of the 95th Congress, according to statistics compiled by the House Select Committee on Committees.

Compared to the 94th Congress, formal oversight activity in the 96th was up by more than 50 percent, the committee found.

These were among the findings cited in a Dec. 17 memo to O'Neill. The memo was written by the staff of the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee.

From Jan. 1 through the end of November 1979, according to the Select Committee statistics cited in the memo, 1,339 oversight meetings were held by House committees and subcommittees, compared to 1,117 and 868 held during the first 11 months of the 95th and 94th Congresses, respectively.

At the same time, the number of committee sessions devoted to legislation and other purposes dipped slightly in the opening months of the 96th Congress compared to the 95th, the Select Committee found.

"Oversight now accounts for nearly 40 percent of all House committee meetings," wrote Steering Committee aide Spencer M. Smith. He termed this finding "an important and dramatic trend for the Congress as a governing institution."

The report conceded there was no way to measure the quality of this work.

The Democratic leaders' difficulties climaxed in mid-September when the House in one week defeated a continuing appropriations bill, the second budget resolution, Panama Canal implementing legislation and a bill to hike the public debt limit.

'Everything Fell Apart' — O'Neill

"Everything fell apart," said House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., in an interview. "We came back after our August vacation and it was clear Kennedy was going to run [for president]. The members were telling us Carter was weak. What were they going to do? They were thinking, 'How am I going to protect myself?' "

Following that week, Democratic leaders tried to crack the party whip. The leaders said they would begin considering a member's voting record in handing out committee assignments and other favors.

O'Neill said he called in "a couple [of Democrats] to show them their [voting] records. . . . I told them that with their record of voting against us, they'd be better off joining the Republican Party."

He said the members claimed they weren't aware they had been voting so conservatively. "They said they'd change," he said. "Confession is good for the soul."

Many Democrats later said the exercise in party discipline was more form than substance. Yet others maintained it worked.

"The train got off the track," O'Neill said. "But it hasn't happened since then. We only had one bad week."

Not everyone was convinced of the Democrats' newfound cohesiveness, however.

"They can't seem to get their act together," Minority Leader John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz., told a reporter. "Next year will be hideous."

"I think there's a great desire to get their act together," added Rep. Dave Stockman, R-Mich. "But because of the underlying differences in region, generation and ideology, I don't see any move toward putting the House in order. The desire is there, but not the ability."

Shift in Senate

Increased conservative strength also led to shifting bases of power in the Senate. But the shift manifested itself in a different way. A perceptible slowdown in the legislative pace in the Senate was the most discernible sign of the conservatives' increasing power in the 96th Congress.

This was because of the reluctance of Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., to bring legislation to the floor if it appeared that controversial proposals would so embroil the Senate that a time limit on debate and voting could not be obtained.

As a result, the Senate experienced few long delays on legislation during the year, and no filibusters until late in the fall when controversy over taxation of oil windfall profits caused some "extended debate." Even that filibuster was a pale shadow of the filibusters of yesteryear.

A summary of legislative action during the first session of the 96th Congress follows.

Agriculture

Milk Price Supports. Congress cleared legislation (HR 4167) keeping milk price supports at the same level authorized by the 1977 farm bill through September 1981 — at 80 percent parity.

Like the 1977 milk program, which expired in March, HR 4167 required the secretary of agriculture to support the price of milk at not less than 80 percent of parity. Parity is an index designed to give farmers the buying power they had during the 1910-1914 base period. The bill also extended authority to make semiannual adjustments in the price support level.

Under the federal program, the Commodity Credit Corporation buys surplus dairy products to keep the price from falling below the support level. Neither chamber went along with a Carter administration proposal that would have resulted in lower semiannual adjustments of CCC purchases if butter, cheese and non-fat dry milk exceeded certain levels.

Meat Imports. Congress approved legislation (HR 2727) establishing a new formula for setting quotas on imported meat.

Supporters said the change would smooth out fluctuations in domestic meat supplies. Under the bill's "countercyclical" formula, more foreign meat would enter the country when domestic supplies were low and prices were rising. When domestic supplies were plentiful, quotas would shrink the quantity of meat imports. Existing law did just the opposite.

Crop Insurance. The Senate approved legislation (S 1125) to set up a nationwide program of federally subsidized crop insurance and to phase out the disaster aid payments to farmers that have cost the government nearly half a billion dollars a year since 1974.

The elimination of disaster aid was a focal point of opposition. Some farm groups felt that the "free" disaster aid was a much better deal for farmers than crop insurance, even though the insurance plan included federal subsidies of 20 percent to 40 percent of premium cost.

Several major farm groups, including the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Farmers Union, were involved in the profitable private crop hail and fire insurance business.

The Senate bill also continued the federal disaster aid program through the 1981 crop year, while the new insurance program was being put in place. There was opposition to this provision from senators who thought the dual coverage wasteful.

The House Agriculture Committee approved similar legislation (HR 4119) by a one-vote margin, but no further action occurred.

Sugar Bill and Treaty. A two-year standoff between the Carter administration and Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, on the International Sugar Agreement appeared to be ending when the Senate endorsed the pact.

But separate legislation to authorize U.S. participation in key elements of the treaty was snared by continuing objections from a coalition of consumers and cane sugar refiners seeking lower sugar prices. Citing objections of these groups, Rep. Charles A. Vanik, D-Ohio, chairman of the Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee, refused to consider House floor action on the implementing bill (HR 6029) until 1980, although the Ways and Means Committee did finish work on the measure.

The ISA established a new system of sugar-marketing quotas for the 50 participating nations and was intended to keep world prices of sugar between 11 and 21 cents a pound. Church, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had blocked the pact because he thought his Idaho sugar beet growers and other domestic producers needed a new domestic price support program as well.

In 1979, the Carter administration acceded to Church's demands. But consumer and refiners' groups, joined by organized labor and industrial users of sugar, persuaded the House Oct. 23 to defeat an administration-backed sugar bill (HR 2172), 158-249.

HR 2172 combined a new domestic price support program, ISA implementing provisions and minimum wage hikes for agricultural sugar workers.

After House action, Church and other interested members of Congress went forward with an alternative plan that was worked out with the Carter administration. The Agriculture Department agreed to use existing law to maintain a 15.8 cents a pound sugar "market objective," up from an earlier 15 cents level but the same as in the defeated bill. Church's committee quickly reported the ISA and the Senate passed it days later.

Vanik subsequently moved the implementing bill but said he might fight the bill next year if upcoming ISA decisions were unsatisfactory.

Congress and Government

Filibuster Rule. The Senate tightened its rules at the beginning of the 96th Congress to prevent a minority of the Senate's members from using the post-cloture filibuster tactic to delay or kill a bill.

The Senate approved by a 78-16 vote Feb. 22 a resolution (S Res 61) requiring the Senate to hold a final vote on a bill within 100 hours of debate after the Senate had voted to cut off debate on the bill by invoking cloture. All time spent on quorum calls, roll-call votes and other parliamentary procedures would be counted in computing the 100-hour debate limit.

Senate Rule 22 already had limited each member to just one hour of debate after cloture had been invoked. But in 1976, then-Sen. James B. Allen, D-Ala. (1969-78), began using parliamentary techniques such as seeking repeated quorum calls and recorded votes on dozens of amendments in order to delay or kill a bill or win compromises by using up far more time than the rules allotted. The technique soon was picked up by other senators.

Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., had proposed a more ambitious plan to restrict both pre- and post-cloture filibuster delaying tactics. When strong Republican opposition developed, however, the majority leader decided to take up only the 100-hour limit.

Senate Outside Income Limit. The Senate in early 1979 delayed for four years one of the most controversial provisions of its two-year-old code of ethics.

After five minutes of debate and with only about six senators on the floor at the time, the Senate March 8 by voice vote delayed until 1983 a strict limitation on the amount of money senators may earn in addition to their congressional salary. No one requested a recorded vote. Government reform groups considered the action a significant setback in their battle to stiffen congressional standards of conduct.

The ceiling was 15 percent of a senator's pay, or $8,625 at the salary of $57,500 then in effect. Many senators earn

substantial outside income each year, mostly from speeches. In 1978, 59 senators earned more than $8,625.

Following a public outcry, senators March 28 did take a roll call vote, but — as expected — decided 44-54 not to reimpose the limitation they had suspended a few weeks earlier.

The limit had gone into effect on Jan. 1, 1979, only three months before the Senate voted to delay it. A similar 15 percent limit remained in effect in the House. Both limits were approved in 1977 as part of strengthened ethics codes.

Talmadge 'Denounced'. Following a lengthy investigation and hearings, the Senate in 1979 voted overwhelmingly to "denounce" Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., for financial misconduct. The vote was 81-15.

The Talmadge proceeding was the first Senate disciplinary case to go to the Senate floor since 1967 when Thomas J. Dodd, D-Conn., was censured.

The Senate Select Ethics Committee had begun looking into Talmadge's finances in the spring of 1978 following press reports of irregularities in his campaign and office expense accounts. The committee held hearings in the spring and summer of 1979 on five charges of misconduct against Talmadge.

Although the Ethics Committee did not recommend Talmadge's censure, it concluded the senator should be "denounced" for "gross neglect of his duty" and conduct that was "reprehensible and tends to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute." It said Talmadge "knew, or should have known" of the improper acts he was accused of committing.

Talmadge maintained the financial misconduct was the work of his staff and claimed a "personal victory" in the committee's failure to conclude that he had intentionally violated Senate rules.

Diggs Censure. Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., was censured by the House July 31 for misuse of his office staffing funds. The House voted to censure Diggs after rejecting a Republican-led move to expel him from the House.

The 414-0 vote to censure Diggs marked the first time since 1921 that the House had taken such an action against a member.

The vote occurred after Diggs admitted in a letter to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct that he had violated House rules and agreed to be censured in return for ending the committee's investigation into his financial affairs.

In the letter, Diggs admitted he padded his office payroll and accepted kickbacks from some of his congressional office employees, and agreed to repay the Treasury $40,031.66 plus interest.

In November, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia upheld Diggs' October 1978 conviction on 29 felony counts. Diggs said he would seek reconsideration of the decision by the court.

Flood. Claiming declining health, Rep. Daniel J. Flood, D-Pa., announced in the fall of 1979 that he would resign from the House Jan. 31, 1980. Despite his announced resignation, the Pennsylvania Democrat still faced a criminal retrial and a continuing investigation of his financial affairs by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

Flood was charged with accepting more than $50,000 in bribes between 1971 and 1976 in return for using his influence as chairman of the House Labor-HEW Appropriations Subcommittee. Flood's first trial ended in a hung jury Feb. 3, but a rash of medical problems led to a string of delays in the scheduling of his retrial. At year's end, a U.S. district judge set a hearing for Jan. 14, 1980, to determine Flood's ability to stand trial.

The House Standards Committee in mid-December postponed further action on disciplinary proceedings against Flood.

Wilson. Rep. Charles H. Wilson, D-Calif., was charged by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct with 15 violations of House rules, including alleged payroll padding, accepting kickbacks and converting campaign funds to personal use.

The committee Dec. 13 told Wilson it had "reason to believe" he had accepted gifts from an individual with a direct interest in legislation before Congress, placed the same individual on his congressional payroll and paid him more than his duties required, converted campaign funds to his personal use and testified falsely under oath to a Standards Committee attorney.

Wilson denied the charges and had three weeks to formally respond. The committee was expected to continue work on the case in 1980.

Public Financing, Electoral College. Supporters of legislation to overhaul the nation's election laws lost two battles in 1979 and were thwarted in a third.

Advocates of election law revision came closest to success Oct. 19 when the House adopted by a 217-198 vote an amendment to the Federal Election Commission (FEC) authorization bill (S 832) limiting the amount political action committees (PACs) could contribute to House candidates. Sponsored by Democrat David R. Obey of Wisconsin and Republican Tom Railsback of Illinois, the measure would prohibit any House candidate from receiving more than $70,000 from PACs in any two-year election cycle. Under existing law, there was no limit on how much House candidates could receive from PACs.

The proposal also would reduce the amount one PAC could give a candidate from $10,000 to $6,000 in primary and general elections combined. Of the $6,000, no more than $5,000 could be taken from a PAC in a single election.

Although the House vote was a significant triumph for its major backers — such as Common Cause and the AFL-CIO — the threat of a Republican filibuster prevented any Senate action before the end of the 1979 session.

The push for the Obey-Railsback plan came in the wake of the House Administration Committee's rejection of a bill (HR 1) to provide partial federal funding for House general election campaigns.

House candidates who accepted public money to match private funds they raised would have been required to observe spending limits.

Supporters of HR 1 had hoped to make the bill palatable by minimizing the role of the controversial FEC. But when the committee voted May 24, half of the Democrats joined with all the Republicans to decisively defeat it, 8-17.

Republicans denounced it as an unnecessary new government spending program that would benefit incumbents. On the other hand, some of the Democratic opponents represented safe, one-party districts and apparently were concerned that they might have faced stiffer competition if the public financing plan had passed.

Another coalition of Republicans and dissident Democrats combined in the Senate July 10 to defeat a proposed constitutional amendment that would abolish the Electoral College and elect the president by direct popular vote (S J Res 28).

S J Res 28 ran ahead by a vote of 51-48, but fell 15 votes short of the required two-thirds majority of those present and voting needed to approve a constitutional amendment.

Supporters of S J Res 28 blamed defections by several Northern liberals for the margin of defeat. Major Jewish and black groups extensively lobbied the Northern senators, arguing that the voting strength of black and Jewish voters is maximized under the Electoral College system because both groups are concentrated in urban areas of the large electoral vote states.

However, Republicans and Democrats did agree on legislation to eliminate the red tape in the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) and to encourage political party activity.

The bill dealt primarily with non-controversial problems created by the FECA. None of the changes was dramatic by itself. But as a whole the legislation constituted a significant overhaul of the FECA.

Lobby Disclosure. House floor action on a lobby disclosure bill was postponed until 1980 after the bill (HR 4395) was reported Nov. 5 by the House Judiciary Committee.

HR 4395 would require major lobbying organizations that spend $5,000 or more per calendar quarter making "lobbying communications" to register and to file quarterly reports with the clerk of the House disclosing their expenditures in attempting to influence legislation.

"Lobbying communications" were defined to include both written and oral communications to members of Congress and congressional employees designed to influence the content of bills, resolutions or treaties before Congress.

Violations of the law would be punishable by civil penalties, including fines of up to $100,000 for knowing violations in any single case.

During markup the Judiciary Committee rejected proposals to require the disclosure of expenditures for grassroots lobbying and the disclosure of the names of organizations contributing more than $3,000 a year to lobby groups. Proponents of increased disclosure of lobbying efforts strongly urged inclusion of these two provisions. In the last Congress, both provisions were added by floor amendment to the bill approved by the full House.

Congressional/Executive Pay Raises. With much anguish, the House and Senate approved a 5.5 percent fiscal 1980 pay raise for members of Congress and federal executives whose salaries exceed $47,500. That increase raised the salaries of senators and representatives to $60,662.50 from the existing $57,500.

Other government bureaucrats got 7 percent and federal judges were expected to receive 12.9 percent once a court suit is settled.

The judges technically were also given the 5.5 percent hike, but their actual increase was expected to be 12.9 percent as a result of complicated developments that accompanied the entire pay raise issue.

Each of these groups — Congress, top-level executive bureaucrats and judges — was entitled to a 12.9 percent hike on Oct. 1, 1979, under existing pay review procedures. Soon after that date, Congress rolled back the hikes for each group to 5.5 percent, largely because members feared the political repercussions of accepting so large an increase themselves when other Americans were hard-pressed with rampant inflation.

However, a provision of the Constitution says that a judge's pay cannot be reduced during his term of office. Thus, once the 12.9 percent figure took effect Oct. 1, it was locked in place. However, as 1979 drew to a close, judges' paychecks were no larger than before Oct. 1 because the issue was tied up in a federal lawsuit to determine which increase applied.

Pay hikes for the three groups were covered by a 1975 law intended to provide yearly cost-of-living increases for government workers.

The vehicle for the fiscal 1980 increase was a continuing appropriations bill (H J Res 412) providing emergency funds for federal agencies whose regular fiscal 1980 appropriations had not yet cleared Congress. Action on the measure was slowed by House-Senate differences on pay and also on the issue of federally funded abortions. It was finally approved Oct. 12, almost two weeks after the new fiscal year began and just before thousands of federal workers faced payless paydays because their agencies had run out of authority to spend money while members of Congress bickered over their own level of pay.

Federal Pay Reform. President Carter sent Congress a plan to overhaul the federal pay system (HR 4477, S 1340). Hearings were held by both House and Senate committees, but no action taken. The proposal — which was designed to hold down future pay increases — was opposed by federal workers and their allies in Congress.

Carter claimed the plan could save $3 billion a year by making government compensation scales more comparable to private sector salaries. Key features would change the data base used in determining comparable salaries for federal workers. Wage surveys would, for instance, include fringe benefits in calculations, look at state and local government pay levels, and compare by locality pay for white-collar workers.

Revolving Door Ethics. Congress passed legislation softening restrictions on former government officials who go to work for private companies that have dealings with federal agencies that employed the officials.

The bill (S 869), proposed by the Carter administration, amended the Ethics in Government Act of 1978. That measure banned high-level government officials from "assisting in representing" another person before their previous government employer for two years after he or she left office.

Under the new provision, the ban would be applied only to matters an official participated in "personally and substantially." In addition, the ban would apply only to personal appearances of the ex-official before his old agency.

Postal Safety Standards. The House Oct. 22 approved a bill (HR 826) that would bring the United States Postal Service under federal occupational safety regulations.

Influenced by the Postal Service's high on-the-job injury rate, the House voted to subject the agency to the same Occupational Safety and Health Administration rules that private employers currently face.

The bill would not permit imposition of criminal penalities on the Postal Service. Instead, the service could receive fines of up to $10,000 a violation or $1,000 a day for failure to correct a violation.

Regulatory Reform. Efforts to revamp the federal regulatory system went slowly in Congress in 1979. Although a number of reform bills were introduced — including an omnibus reform proposal by the administration — floor action was put off until 1980.

The Senate moved more quickly than the House, with the Government Operations Committee and a Senate Judiciary subcommittee working on a number of regulatory reform bills. One bill was the adminstration's omnibus proposal (S 755). On Dec. 18, a group of ideologically diverse senators introduced a new proposal that reportedly had the backing of a wide variety of political, consumer and business interests. This bill (S 2147) was sponsored by Sens. John C. Culver, D-Iowa, Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., Charles Mc. Mathias Jr., R-Md., Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, and Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del.

In a move that indicated it was responding to reform pressures, the Senate adopted a provision aimed at making it easier to challenge federal regulations in court. The Senate approved an amendment Sept. 7 to S 1477, a bill reorganizing federal courts, that would shift the legal burden to federal agencies to prove the validity of their regulatory actions.

The House Small Business Committee reported a bill designed to ease federal regulation of small businesses (HR 4660). That proposal was promptly referred to the House Judiciary Committee, which held hearings on the administration plan and other regulatory reform proposals. No further action on HR 4660 occurred in 1979.

Sunset. "Sunset" legislation — a goal of government reformers for years and the Carter administration since it took office — made some progress in both chambers during 1979. At the same time, key members of Congress proposed changes in the legislation that represented a retreat from some of the traditional sunset concepts.

Under the classic sunset model, all government programs would be subject to periodic congressional review. Programs would automatically terminate unless Congress acted to extend them before a specified date.

In both House and Senate in 1979, modifications were proposed to require a review only of those programs designated in advance by each Congress, and to let a program die only if Congress specifically voted to kill it. Although sunset legislation had gone nowhere in the House in prior years, the Rules Subcommittee on the Legislative Process completed hearings and began marking up a modified bill (HR 5858) late in the year.

In the Senate, a sunset bill passed by an overwhelming vote in 1978. A new examination of the concept was undertaken by the Governmental Affairs Committee in 1979. By session's end, no further action had occurred.

Legislative Veto. At least 230 House cosponsors backed a bill that would permit a one-house congressional veto of proposed federal regulations. Supporters of the bill (HR 1776), including chief sponsor Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., were unable to get the legislation out of committee. The Carter administration opposed legislative veto provisions as unconstitutional.

However, the principal action on the issue in 1979 came on a specific proposal to allow Congress veto power over regulations issued by the Federal Trade Commission. Business groups had lobbied strongly for the vote provision. *(See Federal Trade Commission, p. 31)*

Postal Reform. The House passed legislation Sept. 7 to raise federal subsidies to the U.S. Postal Service and make the agency more accountable to Congress and the president. In the Senate, where support was less enthusiastic, there was no action on the bill.

HR 79, approved by the House 350-14, would abolish the Postal Board of Governors and mandate presidential selection of the postmaster general, subject to confirmation by the Senate. Because it provided for increased federal subsidies to the Postal Service in an effort to hold down future rate increases, the bill won the support of postal unions and major mail users.

Although the administration did not oppose the bill outright, its expressed a number of reservations about it, including its price tag.

GAO Subpoena Powers. The House easily approved a bill to give the General Accounting Office (GAO), an investigative arm of Congress, additional legal powers to uncover government waste and financial abuse.

HR 24, passed Oct. 29 by voice vote, authorized GAO to sue federal agencies if they did not turn over requested documents within 20 days. The agency also could subpoena documents from non-federal entities such as federal contractors or local governments and seek a court order to compel release of the information if necessary.

The bill also permitted the GAO to audit federal agencies' unvouchered expenditures. These are confidential funds spent at the discretion of the president or an agency head. In addition, the measure gave Congress a say in appointing the GAO's chief officer, the comptroller general. A 10-member commission of Senate and House members would recommend persons for the job, but the president could ignore the suggestions.

Economic Affairs/Labor

Budget. The fiscal 1980 budget was conceived in inflation, nurtured in the politics of the balanced budget, and born on the edge of recession.

Not surprisingly, then, its development tied Congress in knots, straining longstanding political coalitions and slowing action to the point that the timetable for budget decisions was seriously breached. In fact, Congress didn't complete action on the second budget resolution until Nov. 28, 59 days after the beginning of the budget year and 74 days past the deadline set by the Congressional Budget Act.

Early in the year, the balanced budget movement had a powerful effect on congressional budget-writers. A number of state legislatures and possible presidential candidates clamored for a constitutional amendment prohibiting deficits. Conservatives pushed the federal government to the brink of legal insolvency by stalling debt limit legislation until given assurances they would be given a chance to vote on balancing the budget. The Senate Budget Committee then laid out a strategy to balance the budget by fiscal 1981, but it said the price of achieving that goal would be steep — namely, no tax cuts until 1982.

After a long and arduous battle, especially in the House, which was divided sharply along partisan and ideological lines, Congress adopted a first budget resolution (H Con Res 107) that promised to bring the deficit down to $23 billion, $5.4 billion less than President Carter proposed in January, and keep the government on track toward a balanced budget in the future.

As the year progressed, it became clear that the first resolution had been based on unduly optimistic predictions for the economy and inaccurate estimates of the cost of government programs.

Moreover, Senate consideration of the SALT II arms limitation treaty with the Soviet Union ironically created a strong push in that chamber for a substantial increase in military spending above the hike President Carter had already recommended.

As the signs of impending recession grew, so did the demand for tax cuts to stimulate the economy and offset the loss in purchasing power resulting from inflation. The demand came mostly from Republicans, but a few influential Democrats also joined in.

For the second budget resolution (S Con Res 53) Congress bought Senate support for the SALT II treaty by providing an extra $5.7 billion over the first resolution for defense spending. But House liberals put a price tag on the extra military funds: more spending for domestic social programs.

In sum, Congress' spending limit for fiscal 1980 increased $15.6 billion in the second resolution. But lawmakers were able to keep the federal government's deficit below $30 billion by increasing their estimates of tax collections.

As Congress prepared to go home for the year, there were strong doubts it could stick even to that more generous budget. While the unemployment rate remained surprisingly stable, virtually all experts were predicting a recession in 1980.

And to make fiscal discipline yet more difficult to enforce, the House rejected $3.6 billion in "reconciliation" orders included in the Senate's initial second resolution as a way to force committees to live within their spending limits.

The final budget adopted by Congress dropped those orders, but warned committees that they would not be bailed out with a third resolution to cover increases in spending.

Congress' subsequent failure to approve anticipated spending cutbacks prompted House Budget Committee Chairman Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., and other key members to propose legislation imposing strict legal limits on federal spending. A floor vote was expected early in 1980.

Multilateral Trade. Congress overwhelmingly approved legislation (HR 4537) aimed at reducing non-tariff barriers to international trade. The bill made the changes in domestic law that were necessary to carry out the multilateral trade agreements signed in Geneva April 12.

Working under a unique process laid out in the 1974 Trade Act, members of the two congressional tax-writing committees wrote the bill in consultation with administration trade officials.

The administration had anticipated a tough fight for the legislation, but most of the controversy was eliminated during the drafting phase, when concessions were made to head off threatened opposition from key industries such as textiles and steel.

No amendments were permitted once the bill was formally introduced.

Major provisions of the trade bill overhauled the U.S. countervailing duty law, which was designed to protect domestic industry against foreign subsidies on imported goods; speeded investigations and imposition of penalties under both the countervailing duty law and anti-dumping statutes, which barred imports at prices below home market prices; established a new system of customs valuation; discouraged discrimination against foreign suppliers in bidding for government purchases; and curbed the use of product standards that in fact are disguised barriers to free trade.

In separate action, Congress endorsed an administration plan to reorganize the government's trade functions. The plan, which took effect Nov. 30, consolidated administrative responsibility in the Commerce Department while strengthening the policy role of the special trade representative.

Chrysler Aid. Facing a record loss of $1 billion in 1979, the giant Chrysler Corp. rushed a request to Washington for government financial backing, accompanied by a warning that the firm would fold if it failed to receive aid by year's end.

Such assistance — in the form of loan guarantees — was approved by President Carter Nov. 1, and the House Banking Committee quickly cleared the $3 billion aid plan he sent to Congress.

But the Senate proved a tougher sell, and reported a much tightened bill. It required that Chrysler workers take a three-year wage freeze and set exact dollar contributions from the company's bankers, dealers, suppliers and localities.

That tough stance forced House proponents to modify their legislation (HR 5860), increasing the pay sacrifice by workers. They introduced that new plan as a substitute to the committee bill during general debate Dec. 13.

By Dec. 18, Congress had cleared its calendar of most major legislation, and began full-time work on the Chrysler question. The House approved a $3.4 billion aid plan that day, with Senate passage of a tougher $3.6 billion bill coming Dec. 19.

On Dec. 20, conferees huddled for six hours to design a compromise bill that would pass both chambers, and emerged early that evening with a plan that split the difference between the two versions at $3.5 billion.

The compromise was rushed to the House floor, where it was approved by a vote of 241-124 — and then was sent across the Capitol to the Senate. A short filibuster postponed final action there until early Dec. 21, when the Senate approved the compromise, 43-34.

Banking Deregulation. Congress completed action before adjournment on stopgap legislation (HR 4998) rescuing several kinds of interest-bearing checking services from a court-ordered Dec. 31 ban.

The temporary measure became necessary when the House and Senate proved unable to compromise their differences over broader banking legislation drafted by their respective Banking committees.

The Senate committee used its checking account bill (S 1347) to make major changes in banking regulation, including a provision to phase out interest rate ceilings on savings accounts.

The House panel initially reported legislation that simply authorized interest-bearing checking accounts, including both the specific services that would be blocked by the court decision, which Congress had never authorized, and NOW (negotiable order of withdrawal) accounts, currently authorized in seven states.

That bill (HR 4986) was approved by an overwhelming margin on the House floor. But after the Senate passed its omnibus legislation, the House Banking panel extended the scope of the checking account measure by adding new Federal Reserve membership requirements.

That meant Banking Committee members had to reconcile two vastly different bills in conference — an exercise they quickly abandoned in favor of extending the special checking accounts for 90 days and providing early hearings on broader banking issues.

Countercyclical Aid. Congress failed to complete consideration of President Carter's $1 billion, one-year plan to help the nation's poorest areas battle high unemployment and recession.

The legislation (S 566) sailed through the Senate early in August but bogged down in the House, where two key chairmen blocked the plan on grounds it was another form of revenue sharing. They also argued the program distributed aid to states and cities on the basis of unreliable local unemployment statistics.

After a White House meeting with Carter late in November, however, Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee Chairman L. H. Fountain, D-N.C., and Government Operations Chairman Jack Brooks, D-Texas, agreed to sponsor a revised bill that would slash the unemployment aid allocation and change the "trigger" for the recession program.

Their panels quickly cleared the bill (HR 5980), although changes in full committee brought it closer to the administration's original two-phase plan.

Under the first phase of the committee-approved bill, areas with high unemployment immediately would receive $250 million in "targeted fiscal assistance" payments. The Senate-passed bill (S 566) allowed $340 billion for this program. Phase two would be triggered when the gross national product and "real wages" declined for two quarters. The spending cap for both programs would be $1 billion.

The House began debate on the legislation Dec. 14, but the measure was pulled from the floor following adoption of an amendment cutting $100 million from the targeted fiscal assistance program. Sponsors said it would be called up again in the second session.

Economic Development. After encountering stiff jurisdictional opposition in Congress, President Carter abandoned two plans to reorganize the government's urban development programs.

First to disappear was his national development bank, an idea proposed but not considered during the 1978 session of Congress. The bank was to have administered aid programs for decaying cities and towns.

In its place Carter substituted a reorganization plan that would have increased the powers of the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration by shifting programs from the Farmers Home Administration, the Small Business Administration and other agencies.

The alternative plan also was dropped, however, when it appeared that territorial squabbles over how to divide up the agencies might doom Carter's economic development reauthorization bill (S 914).

That legislation, providing $1.8 billion for loan guarantees and several billion dollars in loans and grants to troubled cities and towns, was approved by the Senate in August and by the House in November.

By session's end, however, conferees had not finished work on a compromise bill. The major difference between the two versions was a standby, $2 billion anti-recession public works program approved by the House but opposed by the Carter administration.

Davis-Bacon Act Repeal. The Davis-Bacon Act, one of organized labor's most cherished laws, withstood an assault launched by business groups in 1979.

Opponents in both chambers made several piecemeal attempts to repeal the law, which requires federal contractors to pay prevailing area wages. But each attack failed.

The major assault came during work on the Senate military construction authorization bill (S 1319), which included a provision waiving the act for defense projects. The bill was referred back to the Labor Committee for study, where the exemption was removed.

During action on housing authorization bills in both the House and the Senate, lawmakers rejected amendments that would have exempted certain rehabilitation projects from the act.

Real Wage Insurance. President Carter's proposal to provide a tax break for workers who restrained their wage demands — "real wage insurance" — died a quiet death on Capitol Hill.

The plan, which was designed to give unions an incentive to cooperate in the fight against inflation by granting workers a 1 percent tax credit for the first $20,000 in wages if they stayed within the 7 percent wage guidelines, never really caught the imagination of the legislators.

At one point it looked as if the House Ways and Means Committee might actually approve the measure, purely along party lines, as a boost to Carter's anti-inflation efforts. But the only action the committee took was to provide for the program's revenue loss in its budget report to the House Budget Committee.

And it was there the proposal died. Early in April, the Budget Committee voted to slash $2.5 billion in estimated real wage insurance costs from the budget. The Senate Budget Committee never even considered the program.

Social Security Taxes. A number of bills to roll back Social Security taxes and alter the way the system is financed were introduced early in the session, but none made any headway in 1979. Congress instead postponed consideration of the issue until 1980, in time to head off a large tax increase scheduled for 1981.

Energy

Windfall Profits Tax. When President Carter announced in April he would gradually end price controls on domestic oil, he also asked Congress for a tax to capture some of the "windfall" profits oil companies would enjoy from decontrol. Over the next decade, the industry was expected to get an extra $1 trillion in pre-tax income.

Initial congressional reaction was skeptical, but the president's cause was aided by rapidly escalating world oil prices and large oil industry profits.

In June, the House passed a windfall tax bill (HR 3919) that was expected to bring in $277 billion in revenues by 1990.

The Senate bill, which exempted oil produced by independent companies and put a lower tax on hard-to-get oil, would cost the industry an estimated $178 billion in the next decade.

A House-Senate conference committee was expected to end up with a tax somewhere between the two.

President Carter had wanted the windfall tax revenues funneled into a trust fund to help the poor pay their heating bills and to fund alternative energy and energy-saving programs such as synthetic fuels and mass transit improve-

ments. But Congress, eager to retain control over annual aid programs, refused to link the revenues with the programs.

Synthetic Fuels. The House was first on the synthetic fuels bandwagon, betting more than $3 billion on development of liquids and gases from coal, shale, tar sands and other alternative energy sources. President Carter picked up the campaign a month later, in July, when he asked that synfuels get the largest chunk of revenue that would be raised by the windfall profits tax — $88 billion in the next decade. He also proposed that an Energy Security Corporation run the program.

By the time the Senate considered the proposal (S 932), critics of a crash program had slashed the price tag to an initial $20 billion investment and had converted the security corporation to a Synthetic Fuels Corporation. That still was too much for the Senate Banking Committee, which drafted a more modest $3 billion program supported by an odd coalition that included the Sierra Club, the American Petroleum Institute and the Chamber of Commerce. The conservationists feared the environmental effects of a crash program, while the business interests objected to having the government directly involved in energy development. But the Banking Committee proposal lost in the Senate.

House-Senate conferees were headed toward approval of a $20 billion package.

Energy Mobilization Board. Congress was already considering legislation (S 1308) to put energy projects on a "fast track" through the bureaucracy when President Carter asked in July for an energy mobilization board to do the same thing.

In both the House and Senate, the proposed broad powers for the board prompted criticism from environmentalists and advocates of states' rights. But they generally were unsuccessful in attempts to weaken the authority of the board, which would be able to act in place of a state or local agency that failed to meet deadlines for speeding energy project construction.

The Senate also voted to allow the mobilization board to waive procedural rules, such as time requirements, but not substantive laws, such as air or water quality standards.

The House, on the other hand, voted to allow waiver of substantive federal law if the president and both houses of Congress approved.

Both houses agreed that laws passed after construction began on a project could be waived.

House-Senate conferees were working to reconcile the differences.

Nuclear Energy. The March accident at the Three Mile Island reactor in Pennsylvania jolted Congress into renewed concern about nuclear safety. But little progress was made on new legislation as members groped toward consensus on what should be done. Attempts to halt new reactor construction for six months were rejected in both houses of Congress.

In December, after considering a Three Mile Island report by a presidential commission, President Carter asked Congress to give more authority to the chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission so it could respond more quickly in an emergency. Action on that proposal was expected early in 1980.

Also in December, the Senate Energy Committee reported a bill (S 685) requiring that within a year the federal government design and find a site for a vault-type storage facility for nuclear waste. That was expected to force congressional action on waste legislation in 1980, though the House Interior Committee had not supported that approach.

Rationing, Conservation. Cutbacks in Iranian oil exports early in the year focused congressional attention on how ill-prepared the federal government was to deal with fuel shortages. In response, the administration sent Congress a standby plan that would use coupons to ration gasoline.

The 1975 Energy Policy and Conservation Act required that both the House and Senate approve the plan before it could go "on the shelf" until an emergency. Then, if the president decided actually to impose rationing, either house could block the move.

But legislators were skittish about voting for rationing, even if only for a standby plan. The administration revised its proposal twice to get it through the Senate, promising to give special attention to the needs of rural residents. But in the more urban-oriented House, members were worried that suburbanites and city dwellers would get shortchanged by the scheme. In a blow to the president and the Democratic leadership, the House May 10 rejected the standby plan, thus killing it.

The trials of the plan spurred energy leaders in both chambers into action. In the Senate, J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., and other Energy Committee members drafted a plan (S 1030) that emphasized conservation, not rationing, and gave most responsibility to the states. If states didn't comply, the federal government could step in and impose conservation measures.

In the House, John D. Dingell, D-Mich., and others still wanted to make the government better prepared for rationing, but realized that Congress would probably balk at even the most carefully drawn standby plan. So they decided to rewrite the 1975 law, deleting the requirement that Congress approve the plan.

The House at first balked, and an amendment restoring congressional review of the standby plan was adopted. But a few days later, after arm-twisting by the Democratic leadership, the vote was reversed.

The House bill gave up some congressional authority over a standby rationing plan but also sharply restricted the president's powers. Rationing could be proposed only during a 20 percent gasoline shortage. Conservation measures could be imposed on a state only if there were a 10 percent shortage.

When conferees met to reconcile the two versions, they faced two major issues: congressional review of the standby plan and a restriction of rationing and conservation moves to periods of severe shortage.

Senate conferees argued that Congress should have a chance to react formally to a standby plan. And the senators, as well as the administration, did not want a strict limit on rationing and conservation to periods when the shortage was a specified percentage.

After several weeks, conferees reached a compromise. Congress would have a chance, albeit limited, to reject a standby proposal. To disapprove a plan, both houses would have to vote against it. The president could veto their rejection. Congress could override the veto, but it would require a two-thirds vote in each house.

The compromise also gave Congress the authority to waive the provision limiting rationing to periods of a 20 percent shortage. And it provided that the federal govern-

ment could not impose conservation on a state with an approved conservation plan unless there were an 8 percent shortage.

Environment

Alaska Lands. The traditional conflicts between environmentalists and developers were again responsible for Congress' failure to complete action in 1979 on Alaska lands legislation.

In May, the House overwhelmingly passed a bill (HR 39) setting aside and generally closing to development 125.4 million acres of Alaska as national parks, wildlife refuges, forests and wild and scenic rivers. The vote was a victory for environmentalists and the Carter administration, which had been urging members to turn down a less environmentally stringent proposal backed by industry and Alaska's representatives.

In the Senate, the Energy Committee reported a bill in October setting aside 102.2 million acres, but it never reached the floor because Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, refused to accede to a time agreement limiting debate. Stevens, who wanted to tie up as little land as possible with the measure, feared that an environmentalist-backed bill would be substituted on the floor for the committee's more pro-industry measure.

However, still hanging over the Alaska delegation was a threat from Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus. Andrus said that if Congress did not move quickly on an Alaska bill next year he would extend for 20 years temporary land withdrawals made in December 1978. Andrus and President Carter withdrew 110 million acres from development to preserve them until Congress completed action on the legislation. *(1978 Almanac p. 724)*

Endangered Species, Tellico Dam. The long-running controversy over the Tennessee Valley Authority's Tellico Dam came to an end in 1979. Congress ordered completion of the dam, the Endangered Species Act notwithstanding, and the flood gates were finally closed on Nov. 30.

The Supreme Court halted construction of the dam in 1978, arguing that it violated the act because it would destroy the habitat of the snail darter, a tiny endangered fish. Congress then amended the law, setting up a special board with the power to grant exemptions. But in January the panel refused to exempt Tellico. *(1978 Almanac p. 707)*

In June, still angered by the decision, Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., tried to get Congress to grant an exemption for Tellico. But the Senate refused to go along, and voted 43-52 against an exemption amendment offered by Baker to the Endangered Species Act reauthorization (S 1143).

However, proponents of the dam persisted in the House and successfully slipped an exemption for Tellico into the fiscal 1980 energy and water development appropriations bill (HR 4388).

When the appropriations bill reached the Senate, members again turned down a Tellico exemption. But on Sept. 10, when it became clear House conferees would not budge, the senators reversed themselves, 48-44, and gave the go-ahead to Tellico.

President Carter signed the bill Sept. 26 over the strenuous objections of environmentalists, but apparently in exchange for a promise from congressional leaders that the Endangered Species Act would be reauthorized without substantive changes.

Strip Mining. In the first effort to knock down a major environmental law to ease the energy shortage, the Senate passed a bill (S 1403) in September designed to weaken the 1977 strip mining law (PL 95-87). *(1977 Almanac p. 617)*

The Senate bill would have allowed states to design their strip mining plans without following the 151 pages of tough regulations written by the Office of Surface Mining to carry out the law.

Environmentalists attributed the overwhelming Senate vote, 68-26, to the influence of Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd and Public Works Committee Chairman Jennings Randolph, both powerful Democrats from coal-producing West Virginia.

But the bill never surfaced in the House because of opposition from Interior Chairman Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., who complained it would gut the strip mining act before it had had time to work. An attempt by another West Virginia Democrat, Nick J. Rahall, to discharge the bill from Udall's committee failed.

However, many of the problems that caused the controversy were defused by year's end because states that had been having trouble with the federal regulations — particularly West Virginia — were working out their difficulties with the Office of Surface Mining.

Water Policy. President Carter's attempts to reform the nation's water policy made little progress in 1979. Carter's plan, announced in 1978, was intended to require states to share project costs and sought to apply strict environmental and benefit tests to projects before they were authorized or funded. *(1978 Almanac, p. 759)*

But in October, the House Public Works Committee reported an onmibus water projects bill (HR 4788) that ignored most of Carter's proposals. The bill, which never made it to the floor, not only did not require states to share project costs, but provided for the federal government to pick up some costs that had traditionally been borne by local governments. In addition, the bill authorized several projects for which no feasibility studies had been completed, and waived cost-benefit requirements on other projects.

A similar bill (S 703) never made it out of the Senate Environment Subcommittee on Water Resources. But during markup, the subcommittee killed efforts to set up a water project fund that would be distributed to states that agreed to share in project costs.

There were no skirmishes in 1979 on the traditional water projects battleground — the energy and water development appropriations bill (HR 4388). Two projects the administration opposed were included in the Senate version of the bill, but they were removed when Carter threatened a veto.

Oil Spill and Hazardous Waste Superfund. President Carter's plan to set up a $1.6 billion "superfund" to pay for cleanup of oil and hazardous waste spills and dumps made little progress.

Although the issue was within the jurisdiction of three House committees — Merchant Marine, Public Works and Commerce — only Merchant Marine had made any progress by year's end. It reported an oil spill liability bill (HR 85) May 15, but the measure did not reach the floor.

In the Senate, a bill (S 1480) dealing with hazardous waste cleanup did not make it past the hearing stage.

Department of Natural Resources. The president announced in March but scrapped in May after running into

congressional opposition, an ambitious plan to create a new Department of Natural Resources.

The plan included an effort to move the U.S. Forest Service from the Agriculture Department and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration from the Commerce Department into the new agency. But the plan was dropped when it ran into stiff opposition from timber interests who wanted the Agriculture Department to retain control over the Forest Service. Influential members of the Agriculture committees had sought to block the move.

Wilderness Lands. Twenty-four bills were introduced in the House and six in the Senate to carry out President Carter's April 16 proposal that 15.4 million acres of national forests be designated wilderness.

The president's recommendations were based on the administration's second roadless area review and evaluation (RARE II). Carter also proposed that 36 million acres — 60 percent of the nation's national forests — be opened to logging, oil, gas and mineral exploration and recreational vehicles.

None of the bills had cleared by year's end and only three had been passed by one house of Congress. One of those was S 2009, which established the 2.2 million-acre River of No Return Wilderness in Idaho, the largest wilderness area in the contiguous United States. It was passed by the Senate Nov. 20.

The debate over wilderness in 1980 was expected to involve a controversial proposal (HR 6070), sponsored by Agriculture Committee Chairman Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., that would release non-wilderness lands throughout the nation from future wilderness consideration if they had not been designated wilderness by Jan. 1, 1984. Conservationists vowed to fight the bill.

Foreign Policy

Relations With Taiwan, Peking. Congress moved quickly and firmly to repair ties with Taiwan after Carter announced in December 1978 that he was extending diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China and ending all U.S. government relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan. Carter also served notice that the 1955 mutual defense treaty between the United States and Taiwan would be terminated as of Jan. 1, 1980.

In less than two months, Congress completely rewrote legislation submitted by Carter to establish informal ties with Taiwan. The Taiwan Relations Act (HR 2479), cleared March 29, established an American Institute on Taiwan to carry on unofficial economic and cultural relations after the U.S. Embassy in Taipei was closed. The bill also granted Taiwan nearly all the rights accorded other nations, including diplomatic privileges for its representatives and legal standing in U.S. courts.

More important for future relations with the island, Congress included language that came close to promising U.S. support for Taiwan in the event of an invasion by mainland China. The resolution said any effort to determine Taiwan's future by "other than peaceful means" would be considered "a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States."

At the request of Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., and other conservative members, the federal courts stepped in to decide whether Carter had the authority to end the Taiwan defense treaty without congressional consent. A U.S. District Court judge in October said he didn't, but that was overturned by an appeals court. The Supreme Court dismissed Goldwater's suit Dec. 13, but didn't rule on the substance of his charges.

Congress failed to complete action in 1979 on a trade agreement between the United States and Peking. A resolution approving the agreement (S Con Res 47, H Con Res 204), which extended most-favored-nation status to Peking, was approved by the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance committees in December, but did not reach the floor of either house in 1979.

Panama Canal Treaty Implementation. Emotionally and politically the most difficult foreign policy issue before Congress in 1979 involved legislation to implement the 1978 Panama Canal treaties.

Although most members agreed that the treaty no longer could be blocked, many House conservatives still maintained that Congress could kill the treaties by rejecting or emasculating the implementing legislation, and thus prevent Panama from ever taking over the canal. Angered that they had no role in approving the treaties in 1978, House members insisted on giving Congress more control over canal operations than President Carter wanted. In April the House narrowly defeated efforts that would have had the effect of overturning the treaties, but it subsequently attached provisions that Carter said violated the treaties.

After the Senate approved a bill closer to Carter's position, a conference committee submitted a compromise that gave conservatives most of what they wanted, but eliminated the possible treaty violations.

The House first killed even that compromise on Sept. 20, forcing another conference. A hastily constructed second compromise finally won congressional approval Sept. 25, just five days before the treaty took effect Oct. 1.

The final version (HR 111) established a government agency called the Panama Canal Commission to supervise the canal through 1999, when Panama assumes complete control of the waterway. The new law also created procedures for setting tolls on the canal, authorized immigration to the United States for several thousand canal workers, mostly West Indians, and created a special civil service system for canal employees.

Sanctions on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. The approval in December of a peace agreement for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, followed by President Carter's decision to lift sanctions on Dec. 15, ended 14 years of debate over the need for economic sanctions against that troubled nation. Conservatives in Congress for years had sought to end the sanctions, which were imposed by the United Nations to punish the white minority government of Prime Minister Ian Smith.

When a black-led government was elected in April under a plan devised by Smith, conservatives saw their chance to finally end the embargo. The Senate voted in May and again in July to lift the sanctions (HR 3363). But the House backed Carter's recommendation that the United States not lift sanctions until Great Britain — Rhodesia's colonial ruler — had acted.

In July Congress decided to give Carter until Nov. 15 to lift the sanctions. When that deadline arrived, Carter refused to end them because British-sponsored peace talks were under way in London. On Dec. 5 those talks produced a cease-fire agreement among the British, the Rhodesian government elected in April and the guerrilla factions that had been fighting to overthrow the regime in Salisbury.

The December peace agreement, and the arrival in Salisbury of a British governor to supervise new national elections, made moot legislation (S 2076) requiring Carter to lift the sanctions.

Special Middle East Aid. Unlike the reception given most other foreign aid requests during the year, Congress overwhelmingly approved a special $4.8 billion economic and military aid package to help Egypt and Israel meet the expenses of implementing their March 26 peace treaty. Carter proposed the aid in April, and Congress cleared the measure (S 1007) June 28.

Israel received an $800 million grant for the construction of two new air bases in the Negev desert, to replace bases in the Sinai Peninsula that Israel handed over to Egypt under terms of the treaty, and $2.2 billion in long-term, low-interest loans for arms purchases. Egypt received $1.5 billion in loans for arms purchases, a $200 million grant for economic programs and a $100 million economic aid loan.

Congress also approved, with virtually no debate, Carter's guarantee to supply Israel with oil if that nation could not obtain oil from other sources. The oil guarantee was included in legislation (S 737) extending federal export controls.

Indochinese Refugee Aid. U.S. aid to Indochinese refugees topped $900 million in fiscal 1980 as Congress gave its approval to numerous administration requests. About half the money was intended for the care of refugees in Southeast Asia and to settle up to 14,000 refugees a month in the United States. The other half was to pay for welfare, food stamps and schooling for the refugees after they settled in the United States.

Congress in 1978 also responded to international pleas for aid to hundreds of thousands of starving Cambodians. In November Congress approved nearly $100 million for food and medicine being shipped to Cambodia by international relief agencies (HR 4955).

Foreign Aid Reorganization. In spite of widespread complaints about shuffling bureaucratic boxes, Congress approved a Carter plan to reorganize the foreign aid program. Congress also went along with the president's request to give the Peace Corps greater independence within ACTION.

Carter's proposal called for establishing a new agency, the International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA), to supervise most of the existing foreign aid programs. A key goal of the reorganization was to take the Agency for International Development, which administers foreign aid, out of the State Department. Both houses accepted the reorganization in July. IDCA started operations in October.

Foreign Aid Appropriations. The annual foreign aid appropriations bill, always one of the most unpopular measures in Congress, was tied up in a conference committee at session's end. However, foreign aid was covered under an energency appropriations resolution (H J Res 440) that indefinitely continued funding at the fiscal 1979 level. The 1980 bill (HR 4473) contained between $7 billion and $8 billion as well as numerous controversial legislative provisions.

With the appropriations bill blocked, the future of another Carter proposal funded by the bill, the Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, became uncertain. The institute's purpose was to coordinate all research on aid programs for developing countries.

Aid to Turkey. For the second year in a row, Congress heeded President Carter's plea for assistance to Turkey. But approval came only after several months of emotional debate that pitted one house against the other.

Carter in 1978 convinced Congress to lift an arms embargo against Turkey, a key NATO ally that was facing severe economic problems. After that initiative, he asked Congress in April 1979 for a special $50 million grant to enable Turkey to buy arms and equipment for its armed forces. The Senate approved the request in June, but the House overwhelmingly rejected it. Pro-Greek House members insisted the United States should not bolster Turkey's military while Ankara continued to occupy Cyprus.

After a full summer of negotiations, a House-Senate conference committee produced a compromise that included the following special aid: low-interest military loans of $50 million for Turkey and $42 million for Greece; and a $75 million economic aid grant for Turkey, which could be used to buy military equipment. The compromise was approved by both houses in October as part of the fiscal 1980 military aid bill (HR 3173).

Emergency Aid to Nicaragua. Conservatives managed to delay final action on an administration request (HR 6081, S 2012) for $75 million in emergency aid to Nicaragua. Carter sought the money to shore up business interests in the country in an attempt to prevent Marxist elements from getting the upper hand after leftist Sandinista guerrillas ousted the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in July. Conservatives in Congress charged that Nicaragua would become "another Cuba" whether or not the United States provided aid.

Health/Education/Welfare

Health

Hospital Cost Control. The House emphatically refused to approve the Carter administration's proposal to impose standby mandatory limits on hospital revenues. President Carter had called the plan critical to his administration's anti-inflation efforts.

The rejected proposal was a far cry from Carter's original 1977 cost control plan, which would have imposed mandatory limits on annual hospital revenue increases. His plan would have limited those to 9 percent a year.

By 1979, to win congressional support, Carter had made substantial compromises which weakened his proposal. One change gave hospitals a chance to voluntarily limit their revenue increases; mandatory federal limits would be imposed only if they failed. The bill also allowed so many exemptions that fewer than half of U.S. hospitals could ever come under federal controls.

Then two House committees further weakened the bill, adding legislative veto and sunset provisions and exempting still more hospitals from the program.

The changes made no difference. By a 234-166 vote, with 99 Democrats opposing their party's president, the House Nov. 15 passed a substitute (HR 2626) that simply created a national study commission on hospital costs. White House press secretary Jody Powell called the bill a "joke."

The administration did not press for a Senate vote on mandatory controls, reportedly because the president had

no chance of winning there. The Labor and Human Resources Committee reported the administration bill (S 570) in May with a few minor changes. The Finance Committee rejected the president's plan, and approved instead a milder revision (HR 934) of Medicare and Medicaid payments for hospitals, along with some other money-saving changes in those two federal health programs for the aged and the poor.

The House vote appeared to end congressional action on hospital costs as a separate piece of legislation, but administration officials refused to concede that the issue was dead. Late in the year, Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris told a House committee that the president would not sign any national health insurance bill unless it included a hospital cost control provision.

Child Health Care. The House Dec. 11 handed President Carter a legislative victory when it approved a broadened version of his proposal to upgrade and expand a Medicaid health screening and treatment program for needy children.

The Child Health Assurance Program (CHAP) bill (HR 4962) made several significant changes in Medicaid coverage for children and pregnant women. To eliminate inequities in state programs, it established a national income-eligibility standard to override lower state standards, and barred states from limiting beneficiaries' use of the mandated medical services. It also required coverage of all children meeting the income standard, regardless of family structure; more than half the states now exclude needy children in two-parent families from Medicaid.

The bill would make an additional five million children and 220,000 pregnant women eligible for health care under Medicaid, at a possible federal cost of nearly $2 billion a year by 1984. The Senate Finance Committee reported a less ambitious version (S 1204) July 30. It was not brought to the floor in 1979.

These actions represented significant steps forward for the CHAP program, which had been on congressional back burners since Carter proposed it in 1977. But the plan's future was still in doubt because it had become entangled in two larger, highly political issues: abortion and national health insurance.

The House added two controversial abortion amendments to the bill, banning Medicaid abortions except to save the life of the mother, and telling states they did not have to pay for such abortions out of state funds either. In the Senate, Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., indicated that S 1204 could be one element of a larger national health plan, and put off floor action while the committtee worked on that bill.

Abortion. Congress wrestled with the issue of federally funded abortions in 1979 as never before when the House added strong anti-abortion language to six fiscal 1980 appropriations bills: Labor-HEW (HR 4389), foreign aid (HR 4473), Defense (HR 5359), District of Columbia (HR 4580) and two continuing appropriations resolutions (H J Res 412, H J Res 440) to fund agencies whose regular appropriation bills hadn't been approved by the beginning of the new fiscal year.

After a protracted battle over one of these (H J Res 412), the Senate finally accepted language that was essentially the tough House position on the emotional issue. The language permitted Medicaid funding of abortions only when required to save the mother's life or in cases of rape or incest that are promptly reported to a law enforcement or public health agency. Dropped was a third exception — which the Senate in past years had insisted on — that permitted funding of abortions when two physicians certified that continued pregnancy would cause severe and lasting damage to the mother's health.

Once this abortion language was approved in H J Res 412, it was then included in the second continuing resolution and in the District of Columbia and Defense Department funding bills. Each of these cleared Congress before the session ended. But the foreign aid and Labor-HEW bills were not completed, the latter solely because of the abortion issue.

The House also added anti-abortion provisions to two authorization bills — the Department of Education bill (S 210) and the Child Health Assurance Program bill (HR 4962). Conferees dropped the provision from S 210.

National Health Insurance. President Carter's 1976 campaign promise of comprehensive national health insurance remained unfulfilled at the end of 1979 and appeared likely to become a 1980 election issue.

Administration officials worked closely during the year with the Senate Finance Committee on a modest plan that Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., said might be voted on by the Senate early in 1980.

Carter scaled down his campaign commitment because he said the nation could afford no more than gradually phased in changes. Carter's chief rival for the 1980 Democratic nomination, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., presented his latest health plan (HR 5191, S 1270) in May.

Kennedy provided a major role for the private insurance industry in his plan and adopted the idea of phasing it in as a concession to Carter, he noted. He argued that in the long run his plan would be less costly than Carter's "piecemeal" approach.

Kennedy's labor allies objected strenuously to the core of Carter's and Long's plans: "catastrophic" health insurance that requires individuals to pay hefty "deductibles" themselves before a plan begins to pay medical bills.

The two major elements of Carter's bill (HR 5400, S 1812) were a unified public program, merging and improving Medicaid and Medicare, and mandatory catastrophic coverage for working Americans, financed largely by employers.

Carter also included cost controls on hospitals and on physicians participating in the public program, and coverage for prenatal, maternal and infant care.

By the end of the year, the Finance Committee had tentatively approved a mandatory, employer-financed catastrophic plan, and had agreed to some changes in Medicare. It had also approved Child Health Assurance Program legislation, and finished work on a series of changes in Medicare and Medicaid to curb federal health spending.

Meanwhile, a basically different proposal, designed to promote competition among medical care providers, was finding favor among members opposed to more federal spending and federal regulation.

Health Planning. Congress decided to continue federal support for the controversial national network of regional and state health planning agencies for another three years. The agencies, authorized by the 1974 planning act, were charged with reviewing hospital and other health resources and blocking construction and major medical equipment purchases that appear to be unneeded. Some critics said the system was not tough enough, while others

claimed it burdened health care providers with costly and time-consuming regulation.

The extension cleared by Congress Sept. 21 (S 544) partially closed one loophole in the 1974 law by requiring state approval for major medical equipment located in doctors' offices if it was to be used on hospital inpatients. It also provided for special treatment by the planning process for prepaid comprehensive group medical practices, eliminated a requirement that local planning decisions conform to national guidelines, and loosened deadlines for states to enact their own planning laws.

Food and Drug Law Amendments. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., quietly steered a controversial collection of changes in federal drug law through the Senate, leaving both consumer and drug industry groups displeased.

Ralph Nader's Health Research Group issued a scathing denunciation of the bill (S 1075), charging that it dangerously weakened existing law. Drug manufacturers complained that it didn't sufficiently relieve them of excessive federal regulation. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) was generally pleased with the measure.

The bill passed by the Senate Sept. 26 gave the FDA new powers to take hazardous drugs off the market and mandated more drug information for consumers. But agency officials hinted they might not press for House action in 1980 in order to avoid the anti-regulation majority that dominates the House Commerce Health Subcommittee that would handle the bill.

Congress also had been expected to review federal food safety law in connection with an expiring ban on FDA action against the artificial sweetener saccharin. But the only congressional action was House approval of a two-year extension (HR 4453) of the saccharin ban moratorium that had expired in May. The FDA had proposed to eliminate saccharin from the food supply after laboratory tests linked it to cancer in rats.

At year's end, a group of conservative senators was asking the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee to take up the issue, but the panel's health subcommittee was still waiting for two scientific reports on saccharin. The FDA had not begun any new action against saccharin, despite the fact that it appeared to be technically in violation of the statutory requirement to bar food additives shown to be carcinogenic in humans or laboratory animals. FDA officials said they were still waiting for a congressional decision on the matter.

Vietnam Veterans' Health. Legislation authorizing special psychological counseling and drug and alcoholism treatment programs for Vietnam veterans was finally cleared by Congress, eight years after it was introduced. Recognizing that some of the veterans were experiencing unique psychological problems, Congress approved a bill (S 7) authorizing special care, including in some cases treatment outside the Veterans Administration (VA) health system. Some younger veterans, troubled by the nation's ambivalent attitude toward the Vietnam War itself, distrust the VA system.

Old-line veterans' groups such as the American Legion and their congressional supporters, particularly in the House, are protective of the VA system, and they weren't happy with the demands of their younger colleagues. The House for years had ignored legislation providing special counseling and drug- and alcohol-abuse programs that had been passed four times by the Senate since 1971.

What finally got the bill moving in 1979 was a compromise in which the Senate agreed to drop its opposition to a longstanding objective of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee: authority to approve or kill major construction projects for VA hospitals and other medical facilities. Opponents in the Appropriations Committee protested vigorously, but the compromise went forward relatively smoothly.

Education

Department of Education. Determined lobbying efforts by the National Education Association (NEA) and other educational interest groups, backed by the Carter administration, overcame strenuous opposition in the House to win congressional approval of legislation (S 210) establishing a separate Department of Education.

After passing the Senate easily in April, 72-21, the bill ran into serious trouble in the House, where opponents subjected it to dozens of amendments during many days of floor debate. The bill finally passed in July, but only by four votes, 210-206.

House conservatives argued that the department would lead to more federal control over education. Liberal opposition to the bill in the House increased after opponents succeeded in adding a series of conservatively oriented amendments on controversial social topics such as abortion, busing and school prayer.

The legislation finally cleared Congress Sept. 27 after conferees eliminated the controversial House amendments. The Senate margin was large again, 69-22. In the House, the vote was closer (215-201), but larger than some observers had expected after the conservative-backed amendments were dropped.

The new department was composed mostly of education programs formerly housed in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). President Carter appointed Judge Shirley M. Hufstedler of the Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals to be the first secretary of education. She took office Dec. 6; the new department was to begin operations within six months of that date.

Busing Amendment. House liberals and their civil rights allies blocked passage of an anti-busing constitutional amendment. Not only did busing foes fail to win the two-thirds majority necessary to propose a constitutional amendment, but they failed to get even a majority. The July 24 vote was 209-216.

The amendment (H J Res 74) would have barred school systems or the courts from compelling any student to attend a public school other than the one nearest his or her home to achieve racial desegregation. It also would have given Congress the power to pass legislation to enforce the amendment. The language was modified on the floor in an attempt to make it more acceptable; the original wording was so broad that many members feared it would prohibit all busing for any reason.

The amendment was brought to the floor via the rarely used discharge petition procedure. Busing foes got a majority of House members (218) to sign a petition discharging the Judiciary Committee from consideration of the amendment after trying unsuccessfully for years to get the committee to approve the proposal.

Defeat of the amendment was attributed to three principal factors: unwillingness of many members, even some who opposed busing, to tamper with the Constitution, particularly in such relatively hasty fashion; dissatisfaction

with the original language of the amendment; and a powerful lobbying campaign by civil rights, labor and religious groups.

Higher Education. The House Nov. 7 passed an extension of higher education programs (HR 5192) that would substantially increase the amount of federal assistance to college students.

Although it was cut back somewhat on the House floor, the bill would still increase by almost 50 percent the limits on grants to students under the Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG) program. The Carter administration opposed the increase, saying it could add $1.8 billion a year to BEOG costs.

However, the bill had strong support from higher education lobbyists, and benefited from the political popularity of student aid programs. It represented a compromise in a longstanding dispute between high-cost and low-cost schools over how to limit individual BEOG awards.

A companion student loan program authorization in the Senate was put aside until 1980. The Senate bill would extensively restructure the Guaranteed Student Loan and National Direct Student Loan programs.

Welfare

Welfare Reform. Responding to President Carter's decision to seek limited, incremental reforms in the welfare system, the House Nov. 7 passed its first major welfare reform bill in eight years.

Carter's efforts to make much more comprehensive changes in the welfare system had been unsuccessful in the 95th Congress.

The bill approved by the House (HR 4904) retained the basic structure of existing welfare programs, but established a national minimum benefit for families on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and required states to provide benefits to eligible two-parent families where the principal wage-earner was unemployed. The minimum benefit provision required all states to provide AFDC benefits that — when combined with food stamps — would give each family an income equal to 65 percent of the federal poverty level. Thirteen states did not meet the standard at the time the bill was passed.

An important element in the bill's political support was a provision increasing federal contributions to state welfare costs by about $900 million a year.

The bill had a narrow escape on the House floor when conservative critics of the welfare system came within five votes — 200-205 — of attaching an amendment to give the states block grants to spend as they pleased and authority to set work requirements for welfare recipients.

In the Senate, the bill went to the Finance Committee whose Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., favors a proposal to toughen work requirements and move toward greater state control of welfare programs.

Food Stamps. Faced with possible sharp cutbacks in food stamp benefits, Congress Aug. 2 approved legislation (HR 4057) to allow spending an additional $620 million on the program in fiscal 1979.

The Carter administration and food program advocates had urged passage of the bill because rising food prices and increased participation had pushed the program's 1979 cost over the $6.2 billion spending ceiling set by Congress in 1977. The bill as approved allowed spending of up to $6.8 billion, thus ensuring full operation of the program through the end of the fiscal year.

Critics of the food stamp program sharply attacked what they saw as its widespread fraud and waste. But they held off attempting to add major cost-saving amendments because of the emergency nature of the bill, which had to pass quickly in order to avoid a reduction of benefits if the funds ran out.

However, program costs are expected to exceed the statutory ceiling in fiscal 1980 and 1981 too, giving critics a new opportunity to propose cost-saving changes. The Senate in 1979 passed a bill (S 1309) removing the 1980-81 spending caps, but the measure had not been acted on by the House before the year ended.

Fuel Aid. With winter approaching, Congress moved quickly to aid poor families burdened with sharply higher home heating costs. The new assistance came in response to rapid increases in the price of home heating oil and other fuels which threatened to leave many people on fixed incomes with the choice of paying their heating bills or buying food and other necessities.

A total of $1.6 billion was approved for heating assistance in the winter of 1979-80. Most of that, $1.35 billion, was included in the Interior Department appropriations bill (HR 4930) cleared by Congress Nov. 9.

The $1.6 billion was for distribution in three parts: $400 million to recipients of Supplemental Security Income; $400 million for energy crisis intervention programs of the Community Services Administration; and $800 million to the states which could distribute their share either to families on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) or to a broader range of poor and lower-middle-income people.

A related measure (S 1724), later added by the Senate to the windfall profits tax bill (HR 3919), would authorize home heating assistance in fiscal 1981 and 1982. It would allow spending of up to $3 billion in 1981 and $4 billion in 1982 for home heating assistance programs run by the states.

Law Enforcement/Judiciary

Criminal Code. The Senate Judiciary Committee ordered reported Dec. 4 legislation (S 1722) that would revise and update the federal criminal code.

In addition to creating some new offenses for white-collar and organized crime and stiffening penalties for environmental offenses, the bill would create a new sentencing scheme that eliminates parole.

A similar bill was considered by the House Criminal Justice Subcommittee.

The Senate Judiciary Committee also ordered reported a bill (S 114) that would revive the death penalty for more than a dozen federal crimes, including treason, espionage in specified circumstances and deaths associated with certain felonies.

Magistrates. Congress cleared legislation Sept. 28 to expand the authority of federal magistrates. S 237 allowed magistrates to hold jury and non-jury trials in both civil matters and criminal misdemeanor cases if the parties consented. The bill also provided merit selection to appoint magistrates and allowed part-time magistrates to preside over certain cases.

Speedy Trial. At the urging of the Justice Department, Congress postponed for a year strict time limits for conducting federal criminal trials.

As cleared by Congress July 31, S 961 put off until July 1, 1980, the requirement that any federal case be dismissed if it were not brought to trial within 100 days of a defendant's arrest. The bill amended the 1974 Speedy Trial Act (PL 93-619).

Court Reform. The Senate passed legislation Oct. 30 that would create a new federal appeals court for patent cases and a new trial level court to hear suits involving claims against the government.

S 1477 also contained a controversial amendment by Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., that would make it easier to challenge federal regulations in court. The bill was sent to the House, but not acted on. Similar bills were pending in a House Judiciary subcommittee.

Judicial Discipline. The Senate passed a bill Oct. 30 to provide procedures for disciplining judges short of removing them from office through impeachment. S 1873 would allow the judicial councils of the 11 federal circuits to investigate and rule on complaints against judges. A council could request a judge's voluntary retirement or take other disciplinary action if it found the judge unable to perform his duties for specified reasons. A council's decision could be appealed to a new Court of Judicial Conduct and Disability, made up of five federal judges appointed by the U.S. chief justice. S 1873, which also was made part of the court reform package (S 1477), *(above)*, was sent to the House but was not acted on.

Supreme Court Jurisdiction. The Senate April 9 passed S 450, which would give the Supreme Court almost complete discretion to determine the cases it will hear. The bill would eliminate most of the classes of cases the court is now required to consider. However, the Senate adopted a controversial amendment by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., designed to return prayer to the nation's public schools. The House did not consider S 450.

Rights of Institutionalized. The House passed legislation (HR 10) May 23 that would allow the federal government to go to court to protect the rights of persons confined in state institutions.

A similar bill (S 10) was ordered reported Nov. 2 by the Senate Judiciary Committee, but no action was taken on the Senate floor.

Both S 10 and HR 10 would allow the attorney general to file suit in federal court to protect the rights of persons confined in state prisons, mental institutions, juvenile facilities and centers for the chronically ill.

FBI Charter. The House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights and the Senate Judiciary Committee began work on administration proposals (S 1612, HR 5030) to establish a charter for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Hearings were held but no action was taken by either panel.

The charter generally would write into law the agency's existing authority. It would, however, expand the FBI's present authority to obtain certain records in the hands of third parties and to investigate terrorism.

Oil Company Mergers. The Senate Judiciary Committee approved by a 9-8 vote a controversial bill to prohibit 18 major oil producers from acquiring or merging with other large corporations.

S 1246 was intended to force the producers to spend their profits on new energy development. The bill was an orphan of a more sweeping measure, S 600, that would have banned mergers of conglomerate corporations with assets or annual sales of more than $2 billion. S 600 died a quiet death when supporters saw they had little chance of winning committee approval.

Illinois Brick. The Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Monopolies and Commercial Law Subcommittee approved bills to overturn a 1977 Supreme Court decision restricting consumer lawsuits under the Clayton Act.

S 300 and the House bill would reverse the court's *Illinois Brick* decision and allow consumers and other indirect purchasers to sue alleged price fixers for triple damages under the Clayton Act.

S 300 was ordered reported by the Senate panel May 8, but a filibuster threat by senators opposed to the bill blocked floor consideration. The House bill, approved by the subcommittee Sept. 18, had not been scheduled for full committee consideration by the end of the year.

LEAA Reform. Congress late in the year cleared for the president a compromise plan for restructuring the embattled Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

Under the plan, part of the LEAA reauthorization bill (S 241), an Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics (OJARS) would be created to set broad program policies jointly with LEAA.

The LEAA would remain responsible for administering grant programs to states, but the agency's research and statistical work would be done by two new agencies, the Bureau of Justice Statistics and the National Institute of Justice. OJARS would coordinate administration for the LEAA and the two new divisions.

Admitting Refugees. The Senate passed a bill (S 643) Sept. 6 that would permit greater numbers of refugees from Indochina and elsewhere to settle in the United States. The bill would raise to 50,000 from 17,400 the number of refugees who can be admitted into the United States each year. Special procedures would be available for the president to admit more refugees in emergencies. The bill also would raise the ceiling on the number of immigrants allowed to enter from any part of the world from 290,000 to 320,000.

The House Dec. 20 overwhelmingly approved HR 2816, which was similar to S 643 in the limits it would establish for refugees and immigrants but differed in other areas. The differing versions were sent to conference.

Fair Housing. The House Judiciary Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee approved a bill (HR 2540) Aug. 2 that would substantially strengthen federal authority to eradicate housing discrimination.

The bill would empower the Department of Housing and Urban Development to bring administrative actions against alleged discriminators. Currently, HUD has no authority to bring such actions and can only attempt to settle discrimination disputes.

A similar bill (S 506) was under consideration in a Senate Judiciary subcommittee.

Constitutional Convention. A Senate Judiciary subcommittee held hearings on two bills (S 3 and S 1710) that would establish procedures for Congress to call a convention for the purpose of proposing amendments to the Constitution when petitioned by two-thirds of the states.

The Constitution permits amendments to be proposed in this fashion, but the mechanism has never been used; there are no specific procedures in current law for Congress to call such a convention. The bills cover the manner in which states would call for a convention, the scope of any proposed convention and other issues. The bills were intro-

duced as the number of states seeking a convention to propose a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution neared the required number.

National Security

SALT II Treaty. A prolonged debate over controversial energy and economic legislation, particularly an oil windfall profits tax bill, prevented Senate floor consideration in 1979 of the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II).

But the delay was fortuitous for the treaty's backers, who conceded they were well short of the two-thirds Senate majority needed to approve the treaty. The treaty was signed by President Carter and Soviet President Brezhnev on June 18 at a Vienna summit conference.

During Senate committee hearings on the pact in July, administration witnesses, led by Defense Secretary Harold Brown and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, argued that the treaty was militarily advantageous to the United States because it placed constraints on a further buildup of Soviet strategic arms but did not hinder any U.S. weapons programs planned by the administration. Some defense hard-liners were skeptical that Carter would press Congress for the extra funds needed for a U.S. buildup, but both supporters and opponents agreed the treaty had gathered political momentum by early August.

It was lost quickly, however, by the disclosure in late August that 3,000 Soviet troops were stationed in Cuba. The episode underscored treaty opponents' arguments that the treaty should not be approved while Moscow was attacking U.S. interests around the world. The seizure of U.S. Embassy employees in Iran in early November reinforced many undecided senators' general unease about the U.S. political and military position abroad and further weakened chances for Senate approval of SALT.

By the end of the year, most observers agreed there were not enough firmly committed Senate votes either to approve the treaty or to reject it. But to win, treaty supporters needed to pick up almost all of the remaining uncommitted senators.

Defense Spending. Partly because of the administration's emphasis on the military advantages to the United States of the arms limitation treaty, defense hard-liners were able to use the SALT hearings to argue for a substantial increase in future defense budgets.

The Carter administration already had committed itself, in concert with the other NATO members, to annual defense spending increases of 3 percent above the rate of inflation. But some Senate conservatives, whose support was deemed essential to SALT II, insisted they would support the treaty only if Carter promised to seek annual increases of 5 percent over the next several years.

That proposal won the support of a Senate majority Sept. 18 during debate on the second concurrent resolution (S Con Res 36). By a 55-42 vote, the Senate called for a 5 percent annual increase in defense spending for fiscal 1981 and 1982.

On Dec. 13, Defense Secretary Harold Brown told the Senate Armed Services Committee that Carter's January 1980 budget would recommend $157 billion for defense for fiscal 1981 — about 5.5 percent above the previous year's request.

Nuclear Aircraft Carrier. Unlike 1978, when it upheld Carter's veto of a $2.1 billion nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, Congress in 1979 rejected Carter's request for a smaller, $1.6 billion oil-powered carrier and substituted the long-contested nuclear ship, which would be the fifth in the U.S. fleet.

The House voted 112-286 against dropping the nuclear carrier from the annual weapons procurement authorization bill (HR 4040). And the Senate rejected a similar amendment to the fiscal 1980 defense appropriations bill (HR 5359) by a 20-72 vote.

M-X Missile. By large margins, both houses rejected moves to kill an estimated $30 billion program to develop a mobile, intercontinental missile, called the M-X, to eventually replace the increasingly vulnerable U.S. Minuteman missile. Congress approved Carter's request for a $670 million appropriation to begin building prototypes of the new missile. Carter announced his decision to go ahead with the M-X on June 8.

But there was considerable skepticism on Capitol Hill about the specific launching system for the new missile chosen by President Carter. On Sept. 7, he recommended a "racetrack" plan in which each missile would be shuttled at random among 23 unprotected underground launch sites.

The Senate went on record against the administration making a commitment to any particular launching system for the M-X.

Military Base Closures. In the final version of the fiscal 1980 military construction authorization bill (S 1319), Congress required the Pentagon to defer an administration plan to close certain military bases — and to make substantial cutbacks in civilian employment at many others — until it had assessed the social and economic impact on the surrounding communities.

In addition, the Senate version of the bill had included a flat prohibition against a proposed cutback at Loring Air Force Base in Maine. But Loring was not covered in the final bill because the Pentagon had dropped the proposal before Congress completed action on the bill.

Also under strong congressional pressure, the Defense Department decided to defer for at least 18 months a proposed cutback at Fort Dix, a major Army training base located in New Jersey.

Draft Registration/Military Pay. The House voted 163-252 in September against a proposal to resume mandatory registration of 18-year-old males in order to permit the military draft to be resumed quickly during a future international emergency.

The House Armed Services Committee had added the registration provision to the fiscal 1980 weapons procurement authorization bill (HR 4040).

The Senate also debated the registration issue, but agreed not to bring to a vote in 1979 separate legislation (S 109) to resume registration.

A broad coalition of conservatives and liberals supported an across-the-board military pay raise, which, they said, was needed to ease the difficulties the Defense Department was having in attracting new recruits and in retaining experienced career personnel, particularly those with special skills. An amendment to the defense appropriations bill (HR 5359) that would have given military personnel a 3.4 percent pay raise, in addition to the 7 percent raise received by all federal civilian and military employees on Oct. 1, was killed, 44-40, on a procedural vote in November.

Transportation/Commerce

Federal Trade Commission. Although Congress failed to resolve a dispute over a congressional veto of Federal Trade Commission actions, an anti-regulatory climate and heavy business lobbying on the Hill fueled efforts to restrain what critics called a runaway agency.

FTC funding has not been included in the normal appropriations procedure since fiscal 1977 because the House has demanded a veto while the Senate has opposed it.

Veto supporters say a congressional veto is necessary to control the agency, whose rules have the weight of law for businesses. Opponents, including President Carter, contend that the veto is unconstitutional because it encroaches on the power of the executive branch.

The House passed an authorization bill (HR 2313) subjecting the FTC's regulatory actions to a one-chamber veto and banning some activities, such as regulating the funeral home industry.

The Senate Commerce Committee approved a bill (S 1991) that did not include a veto provision but did force the FTC to stop or reassess a number of major proceedings, including a proposed rule governing children's television advertising.

Rail, Trucking Deregulation. Enactment of airline deregulation legislation in 1978 did little to ease the way for railroads and truckers.

President Carter called for lifting federal regulation of these two industries to increase competition and to allow them to respond better to market conditions. Resistance from sections of both industries made members reluctant to consider the legislation. But after the Interstate Commerce Commission proposed easing trucking regulations on its own, Senate Commerce Committee Chairman Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev., pledged to get a bill enacted by June 1980. Congress told the ICC not to act until Congress had reviewed the issue.

After holding hearings on the administration rail bill, the Commerce Committee on Nov. 27 ordered reported its own bill (S 1946) allowing railroads limited flexibility in setting individual rates and simplifying some regulatory procedures.

Amtrak Cuts, Milwaukee Aid. The Carter administration sought to cut 43 percent of Amtrak's financially ailing passenger rail routes. The ambitious plan ran into trouble when a gas shortage hit in the spring and complaints began coming in from thousands of would-be passengers scrambling for seats.

In addition, members of Congress from areas that would lose trains protested vigorously.

But most members believed some cuts were necessary, and Congress passed legislation (HR 3996) that set formulas for determining which trains would be continued. The new law eliminated six trains on Oct. 1, or about 16 percent of Amtrak's 27,000 miles of routes.

Congress also cleared emergency legislation (S 1905) on Nov. 2 to get trains moving on the bankrupt Milwaukee Railroad, which ended service on about half of its 9,800 miles of track the day before.

Grain and coal state members were concerned about the economic consequences of a shutdown. The law guaranteed assistance to the railroad, the nation's seventh largest. Shippers and employees were given time to prepare a plan to take over rail service. The ICC was given until until Jan. 15, 1980, to act on the plan.

Pipeline Safety, Hazardous Materials. Legislation (S 411) providing stronger federal regulation of the pipeline transportation and storage of hazardous natural and petroleum gases and liquids was cleared by Congress. Members were increasingly concerned about accidents involving exploding liquefied natural gas and liquefied petroleum gas, which are used for home heating and cooking, industrial and other purposes.

The House and Senate did not resolve differences on bills (HR 3205, S 1141) in a related area. Those bills authorized increased funding for federal safety programs involving the non-pipeline transportation of dangerous gases and chemicals.

Rebating, Maritime Policy. Congress cleared legislation (S 199) to strengthen enforcement of laws barring rebates, which are kickbacks resulting in lower shipping rates than those filed with the Federal Maritime Commission. The law was similar to a bill passed in 1978 but pocket vetoed by President Carter. His objections were resolved by the 1979 proposal which gave the president the authority under national defense or foreign policy considerations to reverse penalties.

In a related area, Carter finally revealed his program for revitalizing the U.S. maritime industry, two years later than expected. He proposed relaxing antitrust restrictions on groups of shipowners and groups of shippers that fix rates, set routes and make other industry agreements. Members grew tired of waiting for Carter and introduced their own bills (HR 4769, S 1457-1463) first. They called for broader antitrust immunity for segments of the industry than favored by Carter.

Communications Rewrite. Opposition from the broadcasting industry, citizen groups and other organizations forced Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin, D-Calif., to retreat from a three-year effort to rewrite the 1934 Communications Act and to strike provisions from his bill (HR 3333) affecting radio and television.

Congressional action did not occur on his scaled-down proposal or a related Senate bill (S 611) which primarily focuses on the telecommunications industry. A presidential message in support of competition in the industry did not dislodge the stalled bills that would partly deregulate the industry.

Van Deerlin and House Commerce Committee leaders did reach agreement, however, on further revised legislation late in the session.

The bill generally would allow telecommunications firms to compete with the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (AT&T) in a wide variety of services. At the same time, the bill would lift restrictions barring the telephone monopoly from offering data processing and other services. The new services would have to be offered through new AT&T subsidiaries with separate accounting and marketing divisions.

AT&T is protective of its telephone network but wants to enter some telecommunication fields now not open to it. The smaller firms fear AT&T would overcome them.

Aircraft Noise. Congress was bogged down for many months in its second attempt in two years to pass legislation easing compliance with federal aircraft noise standards, but conferees eventually reached a compromise.

The Senate easily passed legislation (S 413) to exempt some aircraft from the standards and to grant delays for others. But House action on that bill and a House committee bill (HR 3942) also exempting some aircraft, was held

up by a group of members who contended that the legislation would unnecessarily allow some aircraft to avoid meeting the federal standards.

A suprise parliamentary maneuver by the Senate bill's sponsor, Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev., revived the legislation by attaching the Senate language to a House airport development bill (HR 2440) and forcing a conference.

After several sessions, conferees agreed on the compromise with limitations on exemptions for two-engine planes and three-engine craft. The compromise was reached after Cannon agreed to concessions wanted by the House critics and top administration officials. The White House had hinted that it would veto legislation that overrode the noise standards.

A vote on the compromise did not occur during 1979. House supporters withdrew the compromise from the floor on Dec. 20 because many members were confused about its provisions.

Consumer Issues. Consumer advocates considered the attack on the Federal Trade Commission and an unrelated sugar price subsidy bill to be the major consumer issues before Congress in 1979.

However, there were a number of other lesser consumer issues before Congress during the year.

Funds for the Rail Public Counsel Office were deleted from the transportation funding bill and the office's duties turned over to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The office had been created to represent consumer rail interests before the ICC.

The Carter administration joined an unusual alliance of business and consumer groups seeking to increase the availability of insurance to protect businesses involved in lawsuits against their products.

Hearings began but no action was taken on a bill (HR 5976) designed to make it easier for businesses to buy product liability insurance. The insurance industry opposed the legislation. Under the legislation, businesses could form groups to provide self-insurance or to negotiate for less costly insurance.

The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration's (NHTSA) funding authorization (S 1159, HR 2585) became the focus of two controversial issues: automobile bumper standards and air bag safety devices. Congress had not settled differences between the House and Senate bills by year's end.

On the Senate side, Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., won an amendment that would roll back the federal bumper standard, which in effect favors steel bumpers and helps the steel bumper industry in his state. The amendment was at the expense of Appropriations Committee Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash., and his state's aluminum industry.

On the House side, an amendment was added to the bill to prevent enforcement of the federal standard requiring motor vehicles to be equipped with passive restraints — air bags or involuntary seatbelts — unless customers were given a choice of passive restraints or voluntary seatbelts. The amendment was actually a symbol of opposition to the standard. The standard doesn't go into effect until the fall of 1981 for some 1982 model cars, while the amendment was tied to the one-year life of the bill, which expired Sept. 30, 1981.

The Senate tried for the second year to amend the 1968 Truth in Lending Act, but the bill (S 108) was bottled up by House Consumer Affairs Subcommittee Chairman Frank Annunzio, D-Ill., who charged that it did not retain all of the consumer safeguards in the existing law.

The bill, attacked by consumer groups, simplified the law's language requiring certain credit disclosures, eliminated other disclosure requirements and limited the civil liability of lenders for "technical" violations. Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., the bill's sponsor, said many creditors have had trouble complying with the law because of its complexity. ▮

Characteristics of the 96th Congress

Lawyers may dominate American politics, but their numbers in Congress are slowly declining. The 96th Congress will have fewer lawyers in it than any Congress during the 30 years in which Congressional Quarterly has been keeping occupational statistics. Some 270 senators and representatives have law degrees, just over 50 percent of the membership.

The number of lawyers in the Senate has remained relatively constant, although the current figure of 65 represents a slight decline from two years ago. But the House figures have changed dramatically. In this Congress, for the first time in at least 30 years, lawyers will make up less than a majority of the House. The 205 sitting members with law degrees will be outnumbered by the 228 members who do not have them. The drop in the number of lawyers from 220 in 1977 to 205 this year marks the steepest decline recorded in any two-year period.

Whatever the reason, the legal profession is not represented among incoming House members the way it once was. Only 28 of the first-term representatives have law degrees. No such trend is evident, however, among senators. Fourteen of the 20 people elected to the Senate for the first time in 1978 are lawyers, a higher percentage than in the chamber as a whole.

Senate—Birth Dates, Occupations, Religions, Seniority

(Seniority rank is within the member's party)

ALABAMA

Heflin (D)—June 19, 1921. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 50.

Stewart (D)—Feb. 8, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 45.

ALASKA

Gravel (D)—May 13, 1930. Occupation: real estate developer. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 24.

Stevens (R)—Nov. 18, 1923. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 7.

ARIZONA

DeConcini (D)—May 8, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

Goldwater (R)—Jan. 1, 1909. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 8.

ARKANSAS

Bumpers (D)—Aug. 12, 1925. Occupations: businessman, lawyer, farmer, governor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 35.

Pryor (D)—Aug. 29, 1934. Occupations: lawyer, governor. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 47.

CALIFORNIA

Cranston (D)—June 19, 1914. Occupations: journalist, business executive. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 24.

Hayakawa (R)—July 18, 1906. Occupations: teacher, writer, college president. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 21.

COLORADO

Hart (D)—Nov. 28, 1937. Occupations: lawyer, lecturer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 36.

Armstrong (R)—March 16, 1937. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 30.

CONNECTICUT

Ribicoff (D)—April 9, 1910. Occupations: lawyer, governor, secretary of HEW. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 16.

Weicker (R)—May 16, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 13.

DELAWARE

Biden (D)—Nov. 20., 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.

Roth (R)—July 22, 1921. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 12.

FLORIDA

Chiles (D)—April 3, 1930. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 27.

Stone (D)—Sept. 22, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 33.

GEORGIA

Nunn (D)—Sept. 8, 1938. Occupations: lawyer, farmer. Religion: Methodist: Seniority: 28.

Talmadge (D)—Aug. 9, 1913. Occupations: lawyer, governor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 5.

HAWAII

Inouye (D)—Sept. 7, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 18.

Matsunaga (D)-Oct. 8, 1916. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 41.

IDAHO

Church (D)—July 25, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 6.

McClure (R)—Dec. 27, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 15.

ILLINOIS

Stevenson (D)—Oct. 10, 1930. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 25.

Percy (R)—Sept. 27, 1919. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Christian Science. Seniority: 5.

INDIANA

Bayh (D)—Jan. 22, 1928. Occupations: lawyer, farmer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 19.

Lugar (R)—April 4, 1932. Occupations: business executive, farmer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 23.

IOWA

Culver (D)—Aug. 8, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 34.

Jepsen (R)—Dec. 23, 1928. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 32.

KANSAS

Dole (R)-July 22, 1923. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 9.

Kassebaum (R)—July 29, 1932. Occupation: broadcasting executive. Religion: Episcopal: Seniority: 25.

KENTUCKY

Ford (D)-Sept. 8, 1924. Occupations: business executive, governor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 32.

Huddleston (D)—April 15, 1926. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 30.

LOUISIANA

Johnston (D)—June 10, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 29.

Long (D)—Nov. 3, 1918. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 3.

MAINE

Muskie (D)—March 28, 1914. Occupations: lawyer, governor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 11.

Cohen (R)—Aug. 28, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 30.

MARYLAND

Sarbanes (D)—Feb. 3, 1933. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 43.

Mathias (R)—July 24, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 9.

MASSACHUSETTS

Kennedy (D)—Feb. 22, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 15.

Tsongas (D)—Feb. 14, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 48.

MICHIGAN

Levin (D)—June 28, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 50.

Riegle (D)—Feb. 4, 1938. Occupations: pricing analyst, instructor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 40.

MINNESOTA

Boschwitz (R)—Nov. 7, 1930. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 27.

Durenberger (R)—Aug. 19, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 24.

MISSISSIPPI

Stennis (D)—Aug. 3, 1901. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 2.

Cochran (R)—Dec. 7, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 26.

MISSOURI

Eagleton (D)—Sept. 4, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 23.

Danforth (R)—Sept. 5, 1936. Occupations: lawyer, clergyman. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 19.

MONTANA

Baucus (D)—Dec. 11, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 46.

Melcher (D)—Sept. 6, 1924. Occupation: veterinarian. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 42.

NEBRASKA

Exon (D)—Aug. 9, 1921. Occupations: business executive, governor. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 49.

Zorinsky (D)—Nov. 11, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 38.

NEVADA

Cannon (D)—Jan. 26, 1912. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 12.

Laxalt (R)—Aug. 2, 1922. Occupation: lawyer, business executive, governor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 17.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Durkin (D)—March 29, 1936. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 37.

Humphrey (R)—Oct. 9, 1940. Occupation: airline co-pilot. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 32.

NEW JERSEY

Bradley (D)—July 28, 1943. Occupations: author, businessman, professional athlete. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 50.

Williams (D)—Dec. 10, 1910. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 10.

NEW MEXICO

Domenici (R)—May 7, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 16.

Schmitt (R)—July 3, 1935. Occupations: astronaut, consulting geologist. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 23.

NEW YORK

Moynihan (D)—March 16, 1927. Occupations: professor, writer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

Javits (R)—May 18, 1904. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 3.

NORTH CAROLINA

Morgan (D)—Oct. 5, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 36.

Helms (R)—Oct. 18, 1921. Occupation: editor, business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 16.

NORTH DAKOTA

Burdick (D)—June 19, 1908. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 13.

Young (R)—Dec. 6, 1897. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 1.

OHIO

Glenn (D)—July 18, 1921. Occupations: astronaut, business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 31.

Metzenbaum (D)—June 4, 1917. Occupations: lawyer, business executive. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 39.

OKLAHOMA

Boren (D)—April 21, 1941. Occupations: lawyer, professor, governor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 49.

Bellmon (R)—Sept. 3, 1921. Occupations: farmer, governor. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 10.

OREGON

Hatfield (R)—July 12, 1922. Occupations: associate professor, dean, governor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 6.

Packwood (R)—Sept. 11, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 11.

PENNSYLVANIA

Heinz (R)—Oct. 23, 1938. Occupations: management consultant, lecturer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 22.

Schweiker (R)—June 1, 1926. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Central Schwenkfelder. Seniority: 9.

RHODE ISLAND

Pell (D)—Nov. 22, 1918. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 14.

Chafee (R)—Oct. 22, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 20.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Hollings (D)—Jan. 1, 1922. Occupations: lawyer, governor. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 22.

Thurmond (R)—Dec. 5, 1902. Occupations: lawyer, judge, governor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 2.

SOUTH DAKOTA

McGovern (D)—July 19, 1922. Occupation: professor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 17.

Pressler (R)—March 29, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 31.

TENNESSEE

Sasser (D)—Sept. 30, 1936. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.

Baker (R)—Nov. 15, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 5.

TEXAS

Bentsen (D)—Feb. 11, 1921. Occupations: lawyer, judge, business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 26.

Tower (R)—Sept. 29, 1925. Occupation: instructor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 4.

UTAH

Garn (R)—Oct. 12, 1932. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 18.

Hatch (R)—March 22, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 23.

VERMONT

Leahy (D)—March 31, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 36.

Stafford (R)—Aug. 8, 1913. Occupations: lawyer, governor. Religion: Congregational. Seniority: 14.

VIRGINIA

Byrd (Ind)—Dec. 20, 1914. Occupations: editor, publisher, business executive. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 21.

Warner (R)—Feb. 18, 1927. Occupations: lawyer, farmer, Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 29.

WASHINGTON

Jackson (D)—May 31, 1912. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 4.

Magnuson (D)—April 12, 1905. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 1.

WEST VIRGINIA

Byrd (D)—Nov. 20, 1917. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 9.

Randolph (D)—March 8, 1902. Occupations: journalist, editor, professor, business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 8.

WISCONSIN

Nelson (D)—June 4, 1916. Occupations: lawyer, governor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 20.

Proxmire (D)—Nov. 11, 1915. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 7.

WYOMING

Simpson (R)—Sept. 2, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 28.

Wallop (R)—Feb. 27, 1933. Occupations: rancher, business executive. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 23.

House—Birth Dates, Occupations, Religions, Seniority

(Seniority rank is within the member's party)

ALABAMA

1 **Edwards (R)**—Sept. 20, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 8.

2 **Dickinson (R)**—June 5, 1925. Occupations: lawyer, judge, business executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 8.

3 **Nichols (D)**—Oct. 16, 1918. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 23.

4 **Bevill (D)**—March 27, 1921. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 23.

5 **Flippo (D)**—Aug. 15, 1937. Occupation: accountant. Religion: Church of Christ. Seniority: 50.

6 **Buchanan (R)**—March 19, 1928. Occupation: clergyman. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 8.

7 **Shelby (D)**—May 6, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 54.

ALASKA

AL **Young (R)**—June 9, 1933. Occupations: teacher, river boat captain. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 23.

ARIZONA

1 **Rhodes (R)**—Sept. 18, 1916. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 1.

2 **Udall (D)**—June 15, 1922. Occupations: lawyer, professional athlete. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 12.

3 **Stump (D)**—April 4, 1927. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Seventh-Day Adventist. Seniority: 50.

4 **Rudd (R)**—July 15, 1920. Occupations: lawyer, FBI agent. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.

ARKANSAS

1 **Alexander (D)**—Jan. 16, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 26.

2 **Bethune (R)**—Dec. 19, 1935. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 35.

3 **Hammerschmidt (R)**—May 4, 1922. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 12.

4 **Anthony (D)**—Feb. 21, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 54.

CALIFORNIA

1 **Johnson (D)**—Dec. 2, 1907. Occupations: railway supervisor, labor executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 10.

2 **Clausen (R)**—April 27, 1923. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 6.

3 **Matsui (D)**—Sept. 17, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 54.

4 **Fazio (D)**—Oct. 11, 1942. Occupations: journalist, public official. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 54.

5 **Burton, John (D)**—Dec. 15, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 40.

6 **Burton, Phillip (D)**—June 1, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 19.

7 **Miller (D)**—May 17, 1945. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

8 **Dellums (D)**—Nov. 24, 1935. Occupation: psychiatric social worker. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 30.

9 **Stark (D)**—Nov. 11, 1931. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 35.

10 **Edwards (D)**—Jan. 6, 1915. Occupations: lawyer, business executive. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 17.

11 **Vacant**

12 **McCloskey (R)**—Sept. 29, 1927. Occupations: lawyer, lecturer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 13.

13 **Mineta (D)**—Nov. 12, 1931. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.

14 **Shumway (R)**—July 28, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 35.

15 **Coelho (D)**—June 15, 1942. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.

16 **Panetta (D)**—June 28, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.

17 **Pashayan (R)**—March 27, 1941. Occupations: lawyer, businessman. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 35.

18 **Thomas (R)**—Dec. 6, 1941. Occupation: political science professor. Religion: Conservative Baptist. Seniority: 35.

19 **Lagomarsino (R)**—Sept. 4, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 25.

20 **Goldwater (R)**—July 15, 1938. Occupation: stock broker. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 16.

21 **Corman (D)**—Oct. 20, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 11.

22 **Moorhead (R)**—May 6, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 22.

23 **Beilenson (D)**—Oct. 26, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 50.

24 **Waxman (D)**—Sept. 12, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 44.

25 **Roybal (D)**—Feb. 10, 1916. Occupations: social worker, public health educator, business executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 17.
26 **Rousselot (R)**—Nov. 1, 1927. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Christian Science. Seniority: 18.
27 **Dornan (R)**—April 3, 1933. Occupation: journalist. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.
28 **Dixon (D)**—Aug. 8, 1934. Occupations: administrative assistant, lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 54.
29 **Hawkins (D)**—Aug. 31, 1907. Occupations: social worker, real estate broker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 17.
30 **Danielson (D)**—Feb. 20, 1915. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 30.
31 **Wilson (D)**—Feb. 15, 1917. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 17.
32 **Anderson (D)**—Feb. 21, 1913. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 26.
33 **Grisham (R)**—Jan. 10, 1923. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 35.
34 **Lungren (R)**—Sept. 22, 1946. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 35.
35 **Lloyd (D)**—Sept. 27, 1922. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 44.
36 **Brown (D)**—March 6, 1920. Occupations: management consultant, lecturer, radio commentator. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 33.
37 **Lewis (R)**—Oct. 21, 1934. Occupations: public official, business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 35.
38 **Patterson (D)**—Oct. 25, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Congregational. Seniority: 44.
39 **Dannemeyer (R)**—Sept. 22, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 35.
40 **Badham (R)**—June 9, 1929. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 30.
41 **Wilson (R)**—April 5, 1916. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 1.
42 **Van Deerlin (D)**—July 25, 1914. Occupation: journalist. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 17.
43 **Burgener (R)**—Dec. 5, 1921. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 22.

COLORADO

1 **Schroeder (D)**—July 30, 1940. Occupations: lawyer, lecturer, instructor. Religion: Congregational. Seniority: 35.
2 **Wirth (D)**—Sept. 22, 1939. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 44.
3 **Kogovsek (D)**—Aug. 16, 1941. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.
4 **Johnson (R)**—June 2, 1930. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 22.
5 **Kramer (R)**—Feb. 19, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 35.

CONNECTICUT

1 **Cotter (D)**—July 18, 1926. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.
2 **Dodd (D)**—May 27, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
3 **Giaimo (D)**—Oct. 15, 1919. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 10.
4 **McKinney (R)**—Jan. 30, 1931. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 20.
5 **Ratchford (D)**—May 24, 1934. Occupation: lawyer, state official. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 54.
6 **Moffett (D)**—Aug. 18, 1944. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

DELAWARE

AL **Evans (R)**—Nov. 5, 1931. Occupation: insurance and mortgage broker. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 30.

FLORIDA

1 **Hutto (D)**—May 12, 1926. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 54.
2 **Fuqua (D)**—Aug. 20, 1933. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 17.
3 **Bennett (D)**—Dec. 2, 1910. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Disciples of Christ. Seniority: 3.
4 **Chappell (D)**—Feb. 3, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 26.
5 **Kelly (R)**—July 31, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 27.
6 **Young (R)**—Dec. 16, 1930. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 20.
7 **Gibbons (D)**—Jan. 20, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 17.
8 **Ireland (D)**—Aug. 23, 1930. Occupation: banker. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 50.
9 **Nelson (D)**—Sept. 29, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 54.
10 **Bafalis (R)**—Sept. 28, 1929. Occupation: investment banker. Religion: First Christian Church. Seniority: 22.
11 **Mica (D)**—Feb. 4, 1944. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.
12 **Stack (D)**—April 29, 1910. Occupation: law enforcement officer, lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.
13 **Lehman (D)**—Oct. 5, 1913. Occupation: teacher, business executive. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 35.
14 **Pepper (D)**—Sept. 8, 1900. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 17.
15 **Fascell (D)**—March 9, 1917. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 7.

GEORGIA

1 **Ginn (D)**—May 31, 1934. Occupations: teacher, congressional aide, business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 35.
2 **Mathis (D)**—Nov. 30, 1940. Occupation: television news director. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 30.
3 **Brinkley (D)**—Dec. 22, 1930. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 23.
4 **Levitas (D)**—Dec. 26, 1930. Occupation: lawyer. Religion Jewish. Seniority: 44.
5 **Fowler (D)**—Oct. 6, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 51.
6 **Gingrich (R)**—June 17, 1943. Occupation: educator. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 35.
7 **McDonald (D)**—April 1, 1935. Occupation: physician. Religion: Independent Methodist. Seniority: 44.
8 **Evans (D)**—Nov. 10, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Christian. Seniority: 50.
9 **Jenkins (D)**—Jan.4, 1933. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 50.
10 **Barnard (D)**—March 20, 1922. Occupation: banker. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 50.

HAWAII

1 **Heftel (D)**—Sept. 30, 1924. Occupation: broadcast executive. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 50.
2 **Akaka (D)**—Sept. 11, 1924. Occupations: educator, state government official. Religion: Congregational. Seniority: 50.

IDAHO

1 **Symms (R)**—April 23, 1938. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 22.
2 **Hansen (R)**—Sept. 14, 1930. Occupations: educator, businessman. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 26

ILLINOIS

1 **Stewart (D)**—Aug. 6, 1915. Occupation: insurance executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 54.
2 **Murphy (D)**—April 16, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.
3 **Russo (D)**—Jan. 23, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
4 **Derwinski (R)**—Sept. 15, 1926. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 3.
5 **Fary (D)**—April 11, 1911. Occupation: realtor, tavern owner. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 45.
6 **Hyde (R)**—April 18, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 27.
7 **Collins (D)**—Sept. 24, 1931. Occupation: auditor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 37.
8 **Rostenkowski (D)**—Jan. 2, 1928. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 10.
9 **Yates (D)**—Aug. 27, 1909. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 20.
10 **Mikva (D)**—Jan. 21, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 43.
11 **Annunzio (D)**—Jan.12, 1915. Occupations: teacher, businessman. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 21.
12 **Crane (R)**—Nov. 3, 1930. Occupations: professor, advertising manager. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 17.
13 **McClory (R)**—Jan. 31, 1908. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Christian Science. Seniority: 5.
14 **Erlenborn (R)**—Feb. 8, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 8.
15 **Corcoran (R)**—May 23, 1939. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.
16 **Anderson (R)**—Feb. 15, 1922. Occupation: lawyer, foreign service officer. Religion: Evangelical Free. Seniority: 4.
17 **O'Brien (R)**—June 17, 1917. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 22.
18 **Michel (R)**—March 2, 1923. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Apostolic Christian. Seniority: 2.
19 **Railsback (R)**—Jan. 22, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 12.
20 **Findley (R)**—June 23, 1921. Occupation: publisher. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 4.
21 **Madigan (R)**—Jan. 13, 1936. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 22.
22 **Crane (R)**—Jan. 10, 1936. Occupation: dentist. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 35.
23 **Price (D)**—Jan. 1, 1905. Occupation: journalist. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 2.
24 **Simon (D)**—Nov. 29, 1928. Occupation: publisher. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 44.

INDIANA

1 **Benjamin (D)**—Aug. 6, 1935. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Eastern Catholic. Seniority: 50.
2 **Fithian (D)**—Nov. 3, 1928. Occupations: professor, farmer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.
3 **Brademas (D)**—March 2, 1927. Occupation: college teacher. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 10.
4 **Quayle (R)**—Feb. 4, 1947. Occupations: lawyer, journalist. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 30.
5 **Hillis (R)**—March 6, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 20.
6 **Evans (D)**—Aug. 17, 1946. Occupations: teacher, assistant principal. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
7 **Myers (R)**—Feb. 8, 1927. Occupations: banker, farmer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 12.
8 **Deckard (R)**—March 7, 1942. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 35.
9 **Hamilton (D)**—April 20, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 21.
10 **Sharp (D)**—July 15, 1942. Occupation: associate professor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.
11 **Jacobs (D)**—Feb. 24, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 41.

IOWA

1 **Leach (R)**—Oct. 15, 1942. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 30.
2 **Tauke (R)**—Oct. 11, 1950. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 35.
3 **Grassley (R)**—Sept. 17, 1933. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 27.
4 **Smith (D)**—March 23, 1920. Occupations: farmer, lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 10.
5 **Harkin (D)**—Nov. 19, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
6 **Bedell (D)**—March 5, 1921. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.

KANSAS

1 **Sebelius (R)**—Sept. 10, 1916. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 15.
2 **Jeffries (R)**—June 1, 1925. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 35.
3 **Winn (R)**—Aug. 22, 1919. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Christian Church. Seniority: 12.
4 **Glickman (D)**—Nov. 24, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 50.
5 **Whittaker (R)**—Sept. 18, 1939. Occupation: optometrist. Religion: Christian Church. Seniority: 35.

KENTUCKY

1 **Hubbard (D)**—July 7, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 44.
2 **Natcher (D)**—Sept. 11, 1909. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 5.
3 **Mazzoli (D)**—Nov. 2, 1932. Occupations: lawyer, lecturer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.
4 **Snyder (R)**—Jan. 26, 1928. Occupations: lawyer, realtor. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 11.
5 **Carter (R)**—Sept. 2, 1910. Occupation: physician. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 8.
6 **Hopkins (R)**—Oct. 25, 1933. Occupation: stock broker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 35.
7 **Perkins (D)**—Oct. 15, 1912. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 3.

LOUISIANA

1 **Livingston (R)**—April 30, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 32.
2 **Boggs (D)**—March 13, 1916. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 36.
3 **Treen (R)**—July 16, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 22.
4 **Leach (D)**—March 30, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 54.
5 **Huckaby (D)**—July 19, 1941. Occupa-

tion: farmer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 50.

6 **Moore (R)**—Oct. 4, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 28.

7 **Breaux (D)**—March 1, 1944. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 32.

8 **Long (D)**—May 4, 1923. Occupations: lawyer, farmer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 34.

MAINE

1 **Emery (R)**—Sept. 1, 1948. Occupation: state legislator. Religion: Congregational. Seniority: 27.

2 **Snowe (R)**—Feb. 21, 1947. Occupation: public official. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 35.

MARYLAND

1 **Bauman (R)**—April 4, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 24.

2 **Long (D)**—Dec. 11, 1908. Occupation: professor, author. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 17.

3 **Mikulski (D)**—July 20, 1936. Occupation: politician, social worker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.

4 **Holt (R)**—Sept. 17, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 22.

5 **Spellman (D)**—March 2, 1918. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 44.

6 **Byron (D)**—July 26, 1932. Occupation: civic volunteer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 54.

7 **Mitchell (D)**—April 29, 1922. Occupation: professor. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 30.

8 **Barnes (D)**—Sept. 3, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 54.

MASSACHUSETTS

1 **Conte (R)**—Nov. 9, 1921. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 3.

2 **Boland (D)**—Oct. 1, 1911. Occupation: registrar of deeds. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 4.

3 **Early (D)**—Jan. 31, 1933. Occupations: teacher, coach. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

4 **Drinan (D)**—Nov. 15, 1920. Occupations: lawyer, professor, clergyman, author. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.

5 **Shannon (D)**—April 4, 1952. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.

6 **Mavroules (D)**—Nov. 1, 1929. Occupation: personnel supervisor. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 54.

7 **Markey (D)**—July 11, 1946. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 48.

8 **O'Neill (D)**—Dec. 9, 1912. Occupation: insurance broker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 4.

9 **Moakley (D)**—April 27, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 35.

10 **Heckler (R)**—June 21, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 12.

11 **Donnelly (D)**—March 2, 1947. Occupation: educator. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.

12 **Studds (D)**—May 12, 1937. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 35.

MICHIGAN

1 **Conyers (D)**—May 16, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 21.

2 **Pursell (R)**—Dec. 19, 1932. Occupation: educator, businessman. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 30.

3 **Wolpe (D)**—Nov. 2, 1939. Occupations: educator, congressional aide. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 54.

4 **Stockman (R)**—Nov. 10, 1946. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 30.

5 **Sawyer (R)**—March 21, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 30.

6 **Carr (D)**—March 27, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 44.

7 **Kildee (D)**—Sept. 16, 1929. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.

8 **Traxler (D)**—July 21, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 39.

9 **Vander Jagt (R)**—Aug. 26, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 10.

10 **Albosta (D)**—Dec. 5, 1925. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.

11 **Davis (R)**—July 31, 1932. Occupation: funeral director. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 35.

12 **Bonior (D)**—June 6, 1945. Occupation: politician. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.

13 **Diggs (D)**—Dec. 2, 1922. Occupations: business executive, mortician. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 7.

14 **Nedzi (D)**—May 28, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 14.

15 **Ford (D)**—Aug. 6, 1927. Occupation: lawyer, justice of the peace. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 21.

16 **Dingell (D)**—July 8, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 8.

17 **Brodhead (D)**—Sept. 12, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

18 **Blanchard (D)**—Aug. 8, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 44.

19 **Broomfield (R)**—April 28, 1922. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 2.

MINNESOTA

1 **Erdahl (R)**—Feb. 27, 1931. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 35.

2 **Hagedorn (R)**—Nov. 27, 1943. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 27.

3 **Frenzel (R)**—July 31, 1928. Occupation: business executive. Religion: unaffiliated. Seniority: 20.

4 **Vento (D)**—Oct. 7, 1940. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.

5 **Sabo (D)**—Feb. 28, 1938. Occupation: public official. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 35.

6 **Nolan (D)**—Dec. 17, 1943. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

7 **Stangeland (R)**—Feb. 8, 1930. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 31.

8 **Oberstar (D)**—Sept. 10, 1934. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

MISSISSIPPI

1 **Whitten (D)**—April 18, 1910. Occupations: lawyer, school principal. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 1.

2 **Bowen (D)**—Oct. 21, 1932. Occupation: assistant professor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 35.

3 **Montgomery (D)**—Aug. 5, 1920. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 23.

4 **Hinson (R)**—March 16, 1942. Occupations: public official, congressional aide. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 35.

5 **Lott (R)**—Oct. 9, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 22.

MISSOURI

1 **Clay (D)**—April 30, 1931. Occupations: real estate broker, business executive, union representative. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 26.

2 **Young (D)**—Nov. 27, 1923. Occupation: pipefitter. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
3 **Gephardt (D)**—Jan. 31, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: unspecified. Seniority: 50.
4 **Skelton (D)**—Dec. 20, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Christian. Seniority: 50.
5 **Bolling (D)**—May 17, 1916. Occupations: teacher, coach. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 3.
6 **Coleman (R)**—May 29, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 29.
7 **Taylor (R)**—Feb. 10, 1928. Occupation: automobile dealer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 22.
8 **Ichord (D)**—June 27, 1926. Occupations: instructor, lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 11.
9 **Volkmer (D)**—April 4, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
10 **Burlison (D)**—March 15, 1935. Occupations: lawyer, instructor. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 26.

MONTANA

1 **Williams (D)**—Oct. 30, 1937. Occupation: administrator for family education program. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.
2 **Marlenee (R)**—Aug. 8, 1935. Occupation: rancher. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 30.

NEBRASKA

1 **Bereuter (R)**—Oct. 6, 1939. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 35.
2 **Cavanaugh (D)**—Aug. 1, 1945. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
3 **Smith (R)**—June 30, 1911. Occupations: farmer, housewife. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 27.

NEVADA

AL **Santini (D)**—Aug. 13, 1937. Occupations: lawyer, instructor, judge, justice of the peace. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1 **D'Amours (D)**—Oct. 14, 1937. Occupations: lawyer, instructor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
2 **Cleveland (R)**—June 13, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 5.

NEW JERSEY

1 **Florio (D)**—Aug. 29, 1937. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
2 **Hughes (D)**—Oct. 17, 1932. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 44.
3 **Howard (D)**—July 24, 1927. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 21.
4 **Thompson (D)**—July 26, 1918. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 7.
5 **Fenwick (R)**—Feb. 25, 1910. Occupation: public administrator. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 27.
6 **Forsythe (R)**—Jan. 17, 1916. Occupations: businessman, association executive. Religion: Society of Friends. Seniority: 19.
7 **Maguire (D)**—March 11, 1939. Occupation: consultant. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 44.
8 **Roe (D)**—Feb. 28, 1924. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 29.
9 **Hollenbeck (R)**—Dec. 29, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.
10 **Rodino (D)**—June 7, 1909. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 3.
11 **Minish (D)**—Sept. 1, 1916. Occupation: labor executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 17.
12 **Rinaldo (R)**—Sept. 1, 1931. Occupation: industrial relations consultant. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 22.
13 **Courter (R)**—Oct. 14, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 35.
14 **Guarini (D)**—Aug. 20, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.
15 **Patten (D)**—Aug. 22, 1905. Occupations: lawyer, teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 17.

NEW MEXICO

1 **Lujan (R)**—May 12, 1928. Occupation: insurance broker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 15.
2 **Runnels (D)**—March 17, 1924. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 30.

NEW YORK

1 **Carney (R)**—July 1, 1942. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 35.
2 **Downey (D)**—Jan. 28, 1949. Occupation: county legislator. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.
3 **Ambro (D)**—June 27, 1928. Occupation: town supervisor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
4 **Lent (R)**—March 23, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 20.
5 **Wydler (R)**—June 9, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 5.
6 **Wolff (D)**—Jan. 4, 1919. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 21.
7 **Addabbo (D)**—March 17, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 11.
8 **Rosenthal (D)**—June 8, 1923. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 16.
9 **Ferraro (D)**—Aug. 26, 1935. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.
10 **Biaggi (D)**—Oct. 26, 1917. Occupations: lawyer, police detective. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 26.
11 **Scheuer (D)**—Feb. 6, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 41.
12 **Chisolm (D)**—Nov. 30, 1924. Occupation: educational consultant. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 26.
13 **Solarz (D)**—Sept. 12, 1940. Occupation: educator. Religion. Jewish. Seniority: 44.
14 **Richmond (D)**—Nov. 15, 1923. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 44.
15 **Zeferetti (D)**—July 15, 1927. Occupation: correction officer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
16 **Holtzman (D)**—Aug. 11, 1941. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 35.
17 **Murphy (D)**—Aug. 3, 1926. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 17.
18 **Green (R)**—Oct. 16, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 33.
19 **Rangel (D)**—June 11, 1930. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 30.
20 **Weiss (D)**—Sept. 17, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 50.
21 **Garcia (D)**—Jan. 9, 1933. Occupation: computer engineer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 52.
22 **Bingham (D)**—April 24, 1914. Occupations: lawyer, journalist. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 21.
23 **Peyser (D)**—Sept. 7, 1921. Occupation: insurance manager. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 53.
24 **Ottinger (D)**—Jan. 27, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion. Jewish. Seniority: 42.

25 **Fish (R)**—June 3, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 15.
26 **Gilman (R)**—Dec. 6, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 22.
27 **McHugh (D)**—Dec. 6, 1938. Occupation: lawyer. Relgion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
28 **Stratton (D)**—Sept. 27, 1916. Occupaton: instructor, lecturer, commentator, announcer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 10.
29 **Solomon (R)**—Aug. 14, 1930. Occupaton: investment and insurance broker. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 35.
30 **McEwen (R)**—Jan. 5, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 8.
31 **Mitchell (R)**—May 8, 1923. Occupation: optometrist. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 22.
32 **Hanley (D)**—July 19, 1920. Occupation: funeral director. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 21.
33 **Lee (R)**—Aug. 18, 1933. Occupation: educator. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 35.
34 **Horton (R)**—Dec. 12, 1919. Occupations: lawyer, business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 5.
35 **Conable (R)**—Nov. 2, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 8.
36 **LaFalce (D)**—Oct. 6, 1939. Occupation: lawyer, lecturer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
37 **Nowak (D)**—Feb. 21, 1935. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
38 **Kemp (R)**—July 13, 1935. Occupations: professional football player, radio and television commentator, labor executive, public relations officer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 20.
39 **Lundine (D)**—Feb. 4, 1939. Occupaton: lawyer. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 46.

NORTH CAROLINA

1 **Jones (D)**—Aug. 19, 1913. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 22.
2 **Fountain (D)**—April 23, 1913. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 4.
3 **Whitley (D)**—Jan. 3, 1927. Occupation: congressional aide. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 50.
4 **Andrews (D)**—Sept. 2, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 35.
5 **Neal (D)**—Nov. 7, 1934. Occupation: newspaper publisher. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 44.
6 **Preyer (D)**—Jan. 11, 1919. Occupations: lawyer, judge, business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 26.
7 **Rose (D)**—Aug. 10, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 35.
8 **Hefner (D)**—April 11, 1930. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 44.
9 **Martin (R)**—Dec. 11, 1935. Occupation: associate professor. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 22.
10 **Broyhill (R)**—Aug. 19, 1927. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 5.
11 **Gudger (D)**—April 30, 1919. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 50.

NORTH DAKOTA

AL **Andrews (R)**—May 19, 1926. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 7.

OHIO

1 **Gradison (R)**—Dec. 28, 1928. Occupations: investment broker, business executive. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 27.
2 **Luken (D)**—July 9, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 49.
3 **Hall (D)**—Jan. 16, 1942. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 54.
4 **Guyer (R)**—Nov. 29, 1913. Occupations: clergyman, business executive. Religion: Church of God. Seniority: 22.
5 **Latta (R)**—March 5, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Church of Christ. Seniority: 3.
6 **Harsha (R)**—Jan. 1, 1921. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 4.
7 **Brown (R)**—June 18, 1927. Occupations: editor, publisher, business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 9.
8 **Kindness (R)**—Aug. 26, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 27.
9 **Ashley (D)**—Jan. 11, 1923. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 7.
10 **Miller (R)**—Nov. 1, 1917. Occupation: electrical engineer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 12.
11 **Stanton (R)**—Feb. 20, 1924. Occupation: county commissioner. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 8.
12 **Devine (R)**—Dec. 21, 1915. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 3.
13 **Pease (D)**—Sept. 26, 1931. Occupation: editor. Religion: Protestant. Seniority: 50.
14 **Seiberling (D)**—Sept. 8, 1918. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 30.
15 **Wylie (R)**—Nov. 23, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 12.
16 **Regula (R)**—Dec. 3, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 22.
17 **Ashbrook (R)**—Sept. 21, 1928. Occupations: lawyer, publisher. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 4.
18 **Applegate (D)**—March 27, 1928. Occupations: salesman, realtor. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 50.
19 **Williams (R)**—Aug. 23, 1942. Occupation: barber. Religion: Church of Christ. Seniority: 35.
20 **Oakar (D)**—March 5, 1940. Occupation: teacher. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
21 **Stokes (D)**—Feb. 23, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: African Methodist Episcopal. Seniority: 26.
22 **Vanik (D)**—April 7, 1913. Occupations: lawyer, judge. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 7.
23 **Mottl (D)**—Feb. 6, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

OKLAHOMA

1 **Jones (D)**—May 5, 1939. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 35.
2 **Synar (D)**—Oct. 17, 1950. Occupations: farmer, rancher, real estate broker. Religion: Episcopalian. Seniority: 54.
3 **Watkins (D)**—Dec. 15, 1938. Occupations: realtor, homebuilder. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 50.
4 **Steed (D)**—March 2, 1904. Occupation: journalist, editor. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 3.
5 **Edwards (R)**—July 12, 1937. Occupations: professor, writer, lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 30.
6 **English (D)**—Nov. 30, 1940. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.

OREGON

1 **AuCoin (D)**—Oct. 21, 1942. Occupations: journalist, administrator. Religion: Protestant. Seniority 44.
2 **Ullman (D)**—March 9, 1914. Occupations: educator, real estate broker. Religion. Presbyterian. Seniority: 9.
3 **Duncan (D)**—Dec. 4, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: United Methodist. Seniority: 43.

4 **Weaver (D)**—Aug. 8, 1927. Occupation: builder, developer. Religion: Not specified. Seniority: 44.

PENNSYLVANIA

1 **Myers (D)**—May 4, 1943. Occupation: longshoreman. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 48.
2 **Gray (D)**—Aug. 20, 1941. Occupation: clergyman. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 35.
3 **Lederer (D)**—May 19, 1938. Occupation: probation officer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
4 **Doughterty (R)**—June 26, 1937. Occupation: educator. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 35.
5 **Schulze (R)**—Aug. 7, 1929. Occupation: register of wills, clerk of orphans court. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 27.
6 **Yatron (D)**—Oct. 16, 1927. Occupations: professional boxer, businessman. Religion: Greek Orthodox. Seniority: 26.
7 **Edgar (D)**—May 29, 1943. Occupation: clergyman. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.
8 **Kostmayer (D)**—Sept. 27, 1946. Occupation: press aide. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 50.
9 **Shuster (R)**—Jan. 23, 1932. Occupation: business executive. Religion: United Church of Christ. Seniority: 22.
10 **McDade (R)**—Sept. 29, 1931. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 5.
11 **Flood (D)**—Nov. 26, 1903. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 6.
12 **Murtha (D)**—June 17, 1932. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 38.
13 **Coughlin (R)**—April 11, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 15.
14 **Moorhead (D)**—April 8, 1923. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 10.
15 **Ritter (R)**—Oct. 21, 1940. Occupation: engineer. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 35.
16 **Walker (R)**—Dec. 23, 1942. Occupation: educator. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 30.
17 **Ertel (D)**—Nov. 7, 1936. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 50.
18 **Walgren (D)**—Dec. 28, 1940. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
19 **Goodling (R)**—Dec. 5, 1927. Occupations: teacher, principal, superintendent. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 27.
20 **Gaydos (D)**—July 3, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 24.
21 **Bailey (D)**—July 21, 1945. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 54.
22 **Murphy (D)**—June 17, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 50.
23 **Clinger (R)**—April 4, 1929. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 35.
24 **Marks (R)**—Feb. 12, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 30.
24 **Atkinson (D)**—April 5, 1927. Occupation: insurance agent. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.

RHODE ISLAND

1 **St Germain (D)**—Jan. 9, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 11.
2 **Beard (D)**—Jan. 20, 1940. Occupation: painter. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.

SOUTH CAROLINA

1 **Davis (D)**—Oct. 23, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 31.
2 **Spence (R)**—April 9, 1928. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 20.
3 **Derrick (D)**—Sept. 30, 1936. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 44.
4 **Campbell (R)**—July 24, 1940. Occupations: farmer, real estate broker. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 35.
5 **Holland (D)**—Nov. 24, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.
6 **Jenrette (D)**—May 19, 1936. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 44.

SOUTH DAKOTA

1 **Daschle (D)**—Dec. 9, 1947. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.
2 **Abdnor (R)**—Feb. 13, 1923. Occupations: farmer, rancher. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 22.

TENNESSEE

1 **Quillen (R)**—Jan. 11, 1916. Occupations: publisher, real estate broker. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 5.
2 **Duncan (R)**—March 24, 1919. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 8.
3 **Bouquard (D)**—Jan. 3, 1929. Occupation: radio station manager. Religion: Church of Christ. Seniority: 44.
4 **Gore (D)**—March 31, 1948. Occupation: homebuilder. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 50.
5 **Boner (D)**—Feb. 14, 1945. Occupation: educator. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 54.
6 **Beard (R)**—Aug. 21, 1939. Occupation: university official. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 22.
7 **Jones (D)**—April 20, 1912. Occupation: agricultural representative. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 27.
8 **Ford (D)**—May 20, 1945. Occupation: mortician. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 44.

TEXAS

1 **Hall (D)**—Jan. 11, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Church of Christ. Seniority: 47.
2 **Wilson (D)**—June 1, 1933. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 35.
3 **Collins (R)**—April 29, 1916. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 14.
4 **Roberts (D)**—March 28, 1913. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 15.
5 **Mattox (D)**—Aug. 29, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 50.
6 **Gramm (D)**—July 8, 1942. Occupation: economist. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 54.
7 **Archer (R)**—March 22, 1928. Occupations: lawyer, business executive. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 20.
8 **Eckhardt (D)**—July 16, 1913. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 23.
9 **Brooks (D)**—Dec. 18, 1922. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 4.
10 **Pickle (D)**—Oct. 11, 1913. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 18.
11 **Leath (D)**—May 6, 1931. Occupation: businessman. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 54.
12 **Wright (D)**—Dec. 22, 1922. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 7.
13 **Hightower (D)**—Sept. 6, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 44.
14 **Wyatt (D)**—Oct. 12, 1941. Occupation: public official. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.
15 **de la Garza (D)**—Sept. 22, 1927. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 21.
16 **White (D)**—April 29, 1923. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 21.

17 **Stenholm (D)**—Oct. 26, 1938. Occupation: farmer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 54.
18 **Leland (D)**—Nov. 27, 1944. Occupation: pharmacist. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 54.
19 **Hance (D)**—Nov. 14, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 54.
20 **Gonzalez (D)**—May 3, 1916. Occupations: public relations counselor, probation officer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 13.
21 **Loeffler (R)**—Aug. 1, 1946. Occupations: rancher, lawyer. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 35.
22 **Paul (R)**—Aug. 20, 1935. Occupation: physician. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 34.
23 **Kazen (D)**—Jan. 17, 1919. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 23.
24 **Frost (D)**—Jan. 1, 1942. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Jewish. Seniority: 54.

UTAH

1 **McKay (D)**—Feb. 23, 1925. Occupations: teacher, businessman. Religion: Latter-Day Saints. Seniority: 30.
2 **Marriott (R)**—Nov. 2, 1939. Occupation: pension consultant. Religion: Latter-Day Saint. Seniority: 30.

VERMONT

AL **Jeffords (R)**—May 11, 1934. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Congregational. Seniority: 27.

VIRGINIA

1 **Trible (R)**—Dec. 29, 1946. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 30.
2 **Whitehurst (R)**—March 12, 1925. Occupations: educator, dean, news analyst. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 15.
3 **Satterfield (D)**—Dec. 2, 1920. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 21.
4 **Daniel (R)**—March 17, 1936. Occupations: farmer, businessman, teacher, financial analyst. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 22.
5 **Daniel (D)**—May 12, 1914. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 26.
6 **Butler (R)**—June 2, 1925. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 21.
7 **Robinson (R)**—May 14, 1916. Occupations: farmer, orchardist, businessman. Religion: Society of Friends. Seniority: 20.
8 **Harris (D)**—April 14, 1926. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
9 **Wampler (R)**—April 21, 1926. Occupations: journalist, businessman. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 11.
10 **Fisher (D)**—Jan. 11, 1914. Occupations: economist, lecturer, business executive. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 44.

WASHINGTON

1 **Pritchard (R)**—May 5, 1925. Occupation: business executive. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 22.
2 **Swift (D)**—Sept. 12, 1935. Occupation: broadcaster. Religion: Unitarian. Seniority: 54.
3 **Bonker (D)**—March 7, 1937. Occupation: auditor. Religion: unspecified christian. Seniority: 44.
4 **McCormack (D)**—Dec. 14, 1921. Occupations: instructor, research scientist. Religion: none listed. Seniority: 30.
5 **Foley (D)**—March 6, 1929. Occupations: lawyer, instructor. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 21.
6 **Dicks (D)**—Dec. 14, 1940. Occupations: lawyer, congressional aide. Religion: Lutheran. Seniority: 50.
7 **Lowry (D)**—March 8, 1939. Occupation: public official. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 54.

WEST VIRGINIA

1 **Mollohan (D)**—Sept. 18, 1909. Occupations: superintendent, civil servant. Religion: Baptist. Seniority: 25.
2 **Staggers (D)**—Aug. 3, 1907. Occupations: coach, teacher, sheriff. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 3.
3 **Slack (D)**—March 18, 1915. Occupation: county assessor. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 10.
4 **Rahall (D)**—May 20, 1949. Occupations: radio sales manager, travel agent. Religion: Presbyterian. Seniority: 50.

WISCONSIN

1 **Aspin (D)**—July 21, 1938. Occupation: assistant professor. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 30.
2 **Kastenmeier (D)**—Jan. 24, 1924. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: none listed. Seniority: 10.
3 **Baldus (D)**—April 27, 1926. Occupations: investment broker, farm machinery dealer. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 44.
4 **Zablocki (D)**—Nov. 18, 1912. Occupations: teacher, organist, choir master. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 3.
5 **Reuss (D)**—Feb. 22, 1912. Occupations: lawyer, lecturer, business executive. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 7.
6 **Vacant**
7 **Obey (D)**—Oct. 3, 1938. Occupation: real estate broker. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 28.
8 **Roth (R)**—Oct. 10, 1938. Occupation: real estate agent. Religion: Roman Catholic. Seniority: 35.
9 **Sensenbrenner (R)**—June 14, 1943. Occupation: lawyer. Religion: Episcopal. Seniority: 35.

WYOMING

AL **Cheney (R)**—Jan. 30, 1941. Occupation: financial consultant. Religion: Methodist. Seniority: 35.

Seniority in the 96th Congress

Senate Seniority

Senate rank generally is determined according to the official date of the beginning of a member's service which is Jan. 3 except in the case of new members sworn in after Congress is in session. For those appointed or elected to fill unexpired terms, the date of the appointment, certification or swearing in determines the senator's rank.

When members are sworn in on the same day, custom decrees that those with prior political experience take precedence. Counted as political experience, in order of importance, is senatorial, House and gubernatorial service. Information on prior experience is given where applicable. The dates following senator's names refer to the beginning of their present service.

DEMOCRATS

1. Magnuson—Dec. 14, 1944
2. Stennis—Nov. 5, 1947
3. Long—Dec. 31, 1948
4. Jackson—Jan. 3, 1953
5. Talmadge (ex-governor)—Jan. 3, 1957
6. Church—Jan. 3, 1957
7. Proxmire—Aug. 28, 1957
8. Randolph—Nov. 5, 1958
9. Byrd (W. Va.) (ex-representative, three House terms)—Jan. 3, 1959
10. Williams (ex-representative, one and one-half House terms)—Jan. 3, 1959

11. Muskie (ex-governor)—Jan. 3, 1959
12. Cannon—Jan. 3, 1959
13. Burdick—Aug. 8, 1960
14. Pell—Jan. 3, 1961
15. Kennedy—Nov. 7, 1962
16. Ribicoff (ex-representative, two House terms; ex-governor)—Jan. 3, 1963
17. McGovern (ex-representative, two House terms)—Jan. 3, 1963
18. Inouye (ex-representative, one and one-half House terms)—Jan. 3, 1963
19. Bayh—Jan. 3, 1963
20. Nelson-Jan. 3, 1963
21. Byrd (Va.)—Nov. 12, 1965[1]
22. Hollings—Nov. 9, 1966
23. Eagleton—Dec. 28, 1968
24. Cranston—Jan. 3, 1969
    Gravel—Jan. 3, 1969
25. Stevenson—Nov. 17, 1970
26. Bentsen (ex-representative)—Jan. 3, 1971
27. Chiles—Jan. 3, 1971
28. Nunn—Nov. 8, 1972
29. Johnston—Nov. 14, 1972
30. Biden—Jan. 3, 1973
    Huddleston—Jan. 3, 1973
31. Glenn—Dec. 24, 1974
32. Ford—Dec. 28, 1974
33. Stone—Jan. 2, 1975
34. Culver (ex-representative)—Jan. 3, 1975
35. Bumpers (ex-governor)—Jan. 3, 1975
36. Hart—Jan. 3, 1975
    Leahy—Jan. 3, 1975
    Morgan—Jan. 3, 1975
37. Durkin—Sept. 16, 1975
38. Zorinsky—Dec. 28, 1976
39. Metzenbaum—Dec. 29, 1976
40. Riegle—Dec. 30, 1976
41. Matsunaga (ex-representative, seven House terms)—Jan. 3, 1977
42. Melcher (ex-representative, three and one-half House terms)—Jan. 3, 1977
43. Sarbanes (ex-representative, three House terms)—Jan. 3, 1977
44. DeConcini—Jan. 3, 1977
    Moynihan—Jan. 3, 1977
    Sasser—Jan. 3, 1977
45. Stewart—Nov. 8, 1978
46. Baucus—Dec. 15, 1978
47. Pryor (ex-representative, three and one-half House terms; ex-governor)—Jan. 3, 1979
48. Tsongas (ex-representative, two House terms)—Jan. 3, 1979
49. Boren (ex-governor)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Exon (ex-governor)—Jan. 3, 1979
50. Bradley—Jan. 3, 1979
    Heflin—Jan. 3, 1979
    Levin—Jan. 3, 1979

REPUBLICANS

1. Young—March 12, 1945
2. Thurmond—Nov. 7, 1956[2]
3. Javits—Jan. 9, 1957
4. Tower—June 15, 1961
5. Baker—Jan. 3, 1967
   Percy—Jan. 3, 1967
6. Hatfield—Jan. 10, 1967
7. Stevens—Dec. 24, 1968
8. Goldwater (ex-senator)—Jan. 3, 1969
9. Dole (ex-representative, four House terms)—Jan. 3, 1969
   Mathias (ex-representative, four House terms)—Jan. 3, 1969
   Schweiker (ex-representative, four House terms)—Jan. 3, 1969
10. Bellmon (ex-governor)—Jan. 3, 1969
11. Packwood—Jan. 3, 1969
12. Roth—Jan. 1, 1971
13. Weicker—Jan. 3, 1971
14. Stafford—Sept. 16, 1971
15. McClure (ex-representative)—Jan. 3, 1973
16. Helms—Jan. 3, 1973
    Domenici—Jan. 3, 1973
17. Laxalt—Dec. 18, 1974
18. Garn—Dec. 21, 1974
19. Danforth—Dec. 27, 1976
20. Chafee—Dec. 29, 1976
21. Hayakawa—Jan. 2, 1977
22. Heinz (ex-representative)—Jan. 3, 1977
23. Hatch—Jan. 3, 1977
    Lugar—Jan. 3, 1977
    Schmitt—Jan. 3, 1977
    Wallop—Jan. 3, 1977
24. Durenberger—Nov. 8, 1978
25. Kassebaum—Dec. 23, 1978
26. Cochran—Dec. 27, 1978
27. Boschwitz—Dec. 30, 1978
28. Simpson—Jan. 1, 1979
29. Warner—Jan. 2, 1979
30. Armstrong (ex-representative, three House terms)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Cohen (ex-representative, three House terms)—Jan. 3, 1979
31. Pressler (ex-representative, two House terms)—Jan. 3, 1979
32. Jepsen—Jan. 3, 1979
    Humphrey—Jan. 3, 1979

1 Although elected as an independent in 1970 and 1976, Byrd caucuses with the Democrats and receives committee assignments from them.

2 Thurmond began his Senate service Nov. 7, 1956, as a Democrat. He became a Republican Sept. 16, 1964. The Republican conference allowed his seniority to count from his 1956 election to the Senate.

House Seniority

House rank generally is determined according to the official date of the beginning of a member's service, which is Jan. 3, except in the case of members elected to fill vacancies, when the date of election determines rank.

When members enter the House on the same day, those with prior House experience take precedence, starting with those with the longest consecutive service. Experience as a senator or governor is disregarded. Information on prior experience is given where applicable. The dates following members' names refer to the beginning of their present service.

DEMOCRATS

1. Whitten (Miss.)—Nov. 4, 1941
2. Price (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1945
3. Bennett (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1949
   Bolling (Mo.)—Jan. 3, 1949
   Perkins (Ky.)—Jan. 3, 1949
   Rodino (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1949
   Staggers (W.Va.)—Jan. 3, 1949
   Steed (Okla.)—Jan. 3, 1949
   Zablocki (Wis.)—Jan. 3, 1949
4. Boland (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1953
   Brooks (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1953
   Fountain (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1953
   O'Neill (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1953
5. Natcher (Ky.)—Aug. 1, 1953
6. Flood (Pa.) (three terms previously) — Jan. 3, 1955
7. Ashley (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1955
   Diggs (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1955
   Fascell (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1955
   Reuss (Wis.)—Jan. 3, 1955
   Thompson (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1955
   Vanik (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1955
   Wright (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1955
8. Dingell (Mich.)—Dec. 13, 1955
9. Ullman (Ore.)—Jan. 3, 1957
10. Brademas (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1959
    Giaimo (Conn.)—Jan. 3, 1959
    Johnson (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1959
    Kastenmeier (Wis.)—Jan. 3, 1959
    Moorhead (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1959
    Rostenkowski (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1959
    Slack (W.Va.)—Jan. 3, 1959
    Smith (Iowa)—Jan. 3, 1959
    Stratton (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1959
11. Addabbo (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1961
    Corman (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1961
    Ichord (Mo.)—Jan. 3, 1961
    St Germain (R.I.)—Jan. 3, 1961
12. Udall (Ariz.)—May 2, 1961
13. Gonzalez (Texas)—Nov. 4, 1961
14. Nedzi (Mich.)—Nov. 7, 1961
15. Roberts (Texas)—Jan. 30, 1962
16. Rosenthal (N.Y.)—Feb. 20, 1962
17. Edwards (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Fuqua (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Gibbons (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Hawkins (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Long (Md.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Minish (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Murphy (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Patten (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Pepper (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Roybal (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Van Deerlin (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1963
    Wilson (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1963
18. Pickle (Texas)—Dec. 21, 1963
19. Burton, Phillip (Calif.)—Feb. 18, 1964

20. Yates (Ill.) (seven terms previously)—Jan. 3, 1965
21. Annunzio (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1965
    Bingham (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1965
    Conyers (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1965
    de la Garza (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1965
    Foley (Wash.)—Jan. 3, 1965
    Ford (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1965
    Hamilton (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1965
    Hanley (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1965
    Howard (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1965
    Satterfield (Va.)—Jan. 3, 1965
    White (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1965
    Wolff (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1965
22. Jones (N.C.)—Feb. 5, 1966
23. Bevill (Ala.)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Brinkley (Ga.)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Eckhardt (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Kazen (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Montgomery (Miss.)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Nichols (Ala.)—Jan. 3, 1967
24. Gaydos (Pa.)—Nov. 5, 1968
25. Mollohan (W.Va.) (two terms previously)—Jan. 3, 1969
26. Alexander (Ark.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Anderson (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Biaggi (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Burlison (Mo.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Chappell (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Chisholm (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Clay (Mo.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Daniel (Va.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Preyer (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Stokes (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Yatron (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1969
27. Jones (Tenn.)—March 25, 1969
28. Obey (Wis.)—April 1, 1969
29. Roe (N.J.)—Nov. 4, 1969
30. Aspin (Wis.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Cotter (Conn.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Danielson (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Dellums (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Drinan (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    McCormack (Wash.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    McKay (Utah)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Mathis (Ga.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Mazzoli (Ky.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Mitchell (Md.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Murphy (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Rangel (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Runnels (N.M.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Seiberling (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1971
31. Davis (S.C.)—April 29, 1971
32. Breaux (La.)—Sept. 30, 1972
33. Brown (Calif.) (four terms previously)—Jan. 3, 1973
34. Long (La.) (one term previously)—Jan. 3, 1973
35. Andrews (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Bowen (Miss.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Ginn (Ga.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Holtzman (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Jones (Okla.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Lehman (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Moakley (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Rose (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Schroeder (Colo.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Stark (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Studds (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Wilson (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1973
36. Boggs (La.)—March 20, 1973
37. Collins (Ill.)—June 5, 1973
38. Murtha (Pa.)—Feb. 5, 1974
39. Traxler (Mich.)—April 16, 1974
40. Burton, John L. (Calif.)—June 4, 1974
41. Jacobs (Ind.) (four terms previously)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Scheuer (N.Y.) (four terms previously)—Jan. 3, 1975
42. Ottinger (N.Y.) (three terms previously)—Jan. 3, 1975
43. Duncan (Ore.) (two terms previously)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Mikva (Ill.) (two terms previously)—Jan. 3, 1975
44. Ambro (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    AuCoin (Ore.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Baldus (Wis.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Beard (R.I.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Bedell (Iowa)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Blanchard (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Bonker (Wash.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Bouguard (Tenn.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Brodhead (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Carr (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    D'Amours (N.H.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Derrick (S.C.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Dodd (Conn.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Downey (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Early (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Edgar (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    English (Okla.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Evans (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Fisher (Va.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Fithian (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Florio (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Ford (Tenn.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Harkin (Iowa)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Harris (Va.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Hefner (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Hightower (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Holland (S.C.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Hubbard (Ky.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Hughes (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Jenrette (S.C.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    LaFalce (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Levitas (Ga.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Lloyd (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Maguire (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    McDonald (Ga.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    McHugh (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Miller (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Mineta (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Moffett (Conn.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Mottl (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Neal (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Nolan (Minn.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Nowak (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Oberstar (Minn.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Patterson (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Richmond (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Russo (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Santini (Nev.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Sharp (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Simon (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Solarz (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Spellman (Md.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Waxman (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Weaver (Ore.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Wirth (Colo.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Zeferetti (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1975
45. Fary (Ill.)—July 15, 1975
46. Lundine (N.Y.)—March 8, 1976
47. Hall (Texas)—June 19, 1976
48. Myers (Pa.)—Nov. 2, 1976
    Markey (Mass.)—Nov. 2, 1976
49. Luken (Ohio) (one term previously)—Jan. 3, 1977
50. Akaka (Hawaii)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Applegate (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Barnard (Ga.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Beilenson (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Benjamin (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Bonior (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Cavanaugh (Neb.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Dicks (Wash.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Ertel (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Evans (Ga.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Flippo (Ala.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Gephardt (Mo.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Glickman (Kan.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Gore (Tenn.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Gudger (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Heftel (Hawaii)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Huckaby (La.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Ireland (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Jenkins (Ga.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Kildee (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Kostmayer (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Lederer (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Mattox (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Mikulski (Md.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Murphy (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Oakar (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Panetta (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Pease (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Rahall (W.Va.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Skelton (Mo.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Stump (Ariz.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Vento (Minn.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Volkmer (Mo.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Walgren (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Watkins (Okla.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Weiss (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Whitley (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Young (Mo.)—Jan. 3, 1977
51. Fowler (Ga.)—April 5, 1977
52. Garcia (N.Y.)—Feb. 14, 1978
53. Peyser (N.Y.) (three terms previously as a Republican)—Jan. 3, 1979
54. Albosta (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Anthony (Ark.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Atkinson (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Bailey (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Barnes (Md.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Boner (Tenn.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Byron (Md.)—Jan. 3, 1979

Coelho (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Daschle (S.D.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Dixon (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Donnelley (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Fazio (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Ferraro (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Frost (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1979
Gramm (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1979
Gray (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Guarini (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Hall (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1979
Hance (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1979
Hutto (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Kogovsek (Colo.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Leach (La.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Leath (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1979
Leland (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1979
Lowry (Wash.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Matsui (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Mavroules (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Mica (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Nelson (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Ratchford (Conn.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Sabo (Minn.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Shannon (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Shelby (Ala.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Stack (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Stenholm (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1979
Stewart (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Swift (Wash.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Synar (Okla.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Williams (Mont.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Wolpe (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1979
Wyatt (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1979

REPUBLICANS

1. Rhodes (Ariz.)—Jan. 3, 1953
   Wilson (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1953
2. Broomfield (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1957
   Michel (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1957
3. Conte (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1959
   Derwinski (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1959
   Devine (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1959
   Latta (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1959
4. Anderson (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1961
   Ashbrook (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1961
   Findley (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1961
   Harsha (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1961
5. Broyhill (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1963
   Cleveland (N.H.)—Jan. 3, 1963
   Horton (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1963
   McDade (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1963
   McClory (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1963
   Quillen (Tenn.)—Jan. 3, 1963
   Wydler (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1963
6. Clausen (Calif.)—Jan. 22, 1963
7. Andrews (N.D.)—Oct. 22, 1963
8. Buchanan (Ala.)—Jan. 3, 1965
   Carter (Ky.)—Jan. 3, 1965
   Conable (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1965
   Dickinson (Ala.)—Jan. 3, 1965
   Duncan (Tenn.)—Jan. 3, 1965
   Edwards (Ala.)—Jan. 3, 1965
   Erlenborn (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1965
   McEwen (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1965
   Stanton (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1965
9. Brown (Ohio)—Nov. 2, 1965
10. Vander Jagt (Mich.)—Nov. 8, 1966
11. Snyder (Ky.) (one term previously)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Wampler (Va.) (one term previously)—Jan. 3, 1967
12. Hammerschmidt (Ark.)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Heckler (Mass.)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Miller (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Myers (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Railsback (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Winn (Kan.)—Jan. 3, 1967
    Wylie (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1967
13. McCloskey (Calif.)—Dec. 12, 1967
14. Collins (Texas)—Aug. 24, 1968
15. Coughlin (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Fish (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Lujan (N.M.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Sebelius (Kan.)—Jan. 3, 1969
    Whitehurst (Va.)—Jan. 3, 1969
16. Goldwater (Calif.)—April 29, 1969
17. Crane, Philip M. (Ill.)—Nov. 25, 1969
18. Rousselot (Calif.)—June 20, 1970
19. Forsythe (N.J.)—Nov. 3, 1970
20. Archer (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Frenzel (Minn.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Hillis (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Kemp (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Lent (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    McKinney (Conn.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Robinson (Va.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Spence (S.C.)—Jan. 3, 1971
    Young (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1971
21. Butler (Va.)—Nov. 7, 1972
22. Abdnor (S.D.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Bafalis (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Beard (Tenn.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Burgener (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Daniel (Va.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Gilman (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Guyer (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Holt (Md.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Johnson (Colo.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Lott (Miss.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Madigan (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Martin (N.C.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Mitchell (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Moorhead (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    O'Brien (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Pritchard (Wash.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Regula (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Rinaldo (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Shuster (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Symms (Idaho)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Taylor (Mo.)—Jan. 3, 1973
    Treen (La.)—Jan. 3, 1973
23. Young (Alaska)—March 20, 1973
24. Bauman (Md.)—Aug. 29, 1973
25. Lagomarsino (Calif.)—March 5, 1974
26. Hansen (Idaho) (two terms previously)—Jan. 3, 1975
27. Emery (Maine)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Fenwick (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Goodling (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Gradison (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Grassley (Iowa)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Hagedorn (Minn.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Hyde (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Jeffords (Vt.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Kelly (Fla.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Kindness (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Schulze (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1975
    Smith (Neb.)—Jan. 3, 1975
28. Moore (La.)—Jan. 7, 1975
29. Coleman (Mo.)—Nov. 2, 1976
30. Badham (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Corcoran (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Dornan (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Edwards (Okla.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Evans (Del.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Hollenbeck (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Leach (Iowa)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Marlenee (Mont.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Marks (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Marriott (Utah)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Pursell (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Quayle (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Rudd (Ariz.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Sawyer (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Stockman (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Trible (Va.)—Jan. 3, 1977
    Walker (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1977
31. Stangeland (Minn.)—Feb. 22, 1977
32. Livingston (La.)—Aug. 27, 1977
33. Green (N.Y.)—Feb. 14, 1978
34. Paul (Texas) (one-half of one term previously)—Jan. 3, 1979
35. Bereuter (Neb.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Bethune (Ark.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Campbell (S.C.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Carney (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Cheney (Wyo.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Clinger (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Courter (N.J.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Crane, Daniel B. (Ill.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Dannemeyer (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Davis (Mich.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Deckard (Ind.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Dougherty (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Erdahl (Minn.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Gingrich (Ga.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Grisham (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Hinson (Miss.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Hopkins (Ky.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Jeffries (Kan.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Kramer (Colo.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Lee (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Lewis (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Loeffler (Texas)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Lungren (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Pashayan (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Ritter (Pa.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Roth (Wis.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Sensenbrenner (Wis.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Shumway (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Snowe (Maine)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Solomon (N.Y.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Tauke (Iowa)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Thomas (Calif.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Whittaker (Kan.)—Jan. 3, 1979
    Williams (Ohio)—Jan. 3, 1979

Members of the 96th Congress, First Session

As of Dec. 31, 1979

Representatives

D 275; R 159

1 Vacancy[1]

A

Abdnor, James (R S.D. - 2)
Addabbo, Joseph P. (D N.Y. - 7)
Akaka, Daniel K. (D Hawaii - 2)
Albosta, Don (D Mich. - 10)
Alexander, Bill (D Ark. - 1)
Ambro, Jerome A. (D N.Y. - 3)
Anderson, Glenn M. (D Calif. - 32)
Anderson, John B. (R Ill. - 16)
Andrews, Ike F. (D N.C. - 4)
Andrews, Mark (R N.D. - AL)
Annunzio, Frank (D Ill. - 11)
Anthony, Beryl Jr. (D Ark. - 4)
Applegate, Douglas (D Ohio - 18)
Archer, Bill (R Texas - 7)
Ashbrook, John M. (R Ohio - 17)
Ashley, Thomas L. (D Ohio - 9)
Aspin, Les (D Wis. - 1)
Atkinson, Eugene V. (D Pa. - 25)
AuCoin, Les (D Ore. - 1)

B

Badham, Robert E. (R Calif. - 40)
Bafalis, L. A. (Skip) (R Fla. - 10)
Bailey, Don (D Pa. - 21)
Baldus, Alvin (D Wis. - 3)
Barnard, Doug (D Ga. - 10)
Barnes, Michael D. (D Md. - 8)
Bauman, Robert E. (R Md. - 1)
Beard, Edward P. (D R.I. - 2)
Beard, Robin L. Jr. (R Tenn. - 6)
Bedell, Berkley (D Iowa - 6)
Beilenson, Anthony C. (D Calif. - 23)
Benjamin, Adam Jr. (D Ind. - 1)
Bennett, Charles E. (D Fla. - 3)
Bereuter, Douglas K. (R Neb. - 1)
Bethune, Ed (R Ark. - 2)
Bevill, Tom (D Ala. - 4)
Biaggi, Mario (D N.Y. - 10)
Bingham, Jonathan B. (D N.Y. - 22)
Blanchard, James J. (D Mich. - 18)
Boggs, Lindy (D La. - 2)
Boland, Edward P. (D Mass. - 2)
Bolling, Richard (D Mo. - 5)
Boner, Bill (D Tenn. - 5)
Bonior, David E. (D Mich. - 12)
Bonker, Don (D Wash. - 3)
Bouquard, Marilyn Lloyd (D Tenn. - 3)
Bowen, David R. (D Miss. - 2)
Brademas, John (D Ind. - 3)
Breaux, John B. (D La. - 7)
Brinkley, Jack (D Ga. - 3)
Brodhead, William M. (D Mich. - 17)
Brooks, Jack (D Texas - 9)
Broomfield, William S. (R Mich. - 19)
Brown, Clarence J. (R Ohio - 7)
Brown, George E. Jr. (D Calif. - 36)
Broyhill, James T. (R N.C. - 10)
Buchanan, John (R Ala. - 6)
Burgener, Clair W. (R Calif. - 43)
Burlison, Bill D. (D Mo. - 10)
Burton, John L. (D Calif. - 5)
Burton, Phillip (D Calif. - 6)
Butler, M. Caldwell (R Va. - 6)
Byron, Beverly B. (D Md. - 6)

C

Campbell, Carroll A. Jr. (R S.C. - 4)
Carney, William (R N.Y. - 1)
Carr, Bob (D Mich. - 6)
Carter, Tim Lee (R Ky. - 5)
Cavanaugh, John J. (D Neb. - 2)
Chappell, Bill Jr. (D Fla. - 4)
Cheney, Richard B. (R Wyo. - AL)
Chisholm, Shirley (D N.Y. - 12)
Clausen, Don H. (R Calif. - 2)
Clay, William (D Mo. - 1)
Cleveland, James C. (R N.H. - 2)
Clinger, William F. Jr. (R Pa. - 23)
Coelho, Tony (D Calif. - 15)
Coleman, E. Thomas (R Mo. - 6)
Collins, Cardiss (D Ill. - 7)
Collins, James M. (R Texas - 3)
Conable, Barber B. Jr. (R N.Y. - 35)
Conte, Silvio O. (R Mass. - 1)
Conyers, John Jr. (D Mich. - 1)
Corcoran, Tom (R Ill. - 15)
Corman, James C. (D Calif. - 21)
Cotter, William R. (D Conn. - 1)
Coughlin, Lawrence (R Pa. - 13)
Courter, Jim (R N.J. - 13)
Crane, Daniel B. (R Ill. - 22)
Crane, Philip M. (R Ill. - 12)

D

D'Amours, Norman E. (D N.H. - 1)
Daniel, Dan (D Va. - 5)
Daniel, Robert W. Jr. (R Va. - 4)
Danielson, George E. (D Calif. - 30)
Dannemeyer, William E. (R Calif. - 39)
Daschle, Thomas A. (D S.D. - 1)
Davis, Mendel J. (D S.C. - 1)
Davis, Robert W. (R Mich. - 11)
Deckard, H. Joel (R Ind. - 8)
de la Garza, E. (Kika) (D Texas - 15)
Dellums, Ronald V. (D Calif. - 8)
Derrick, Butler (D S.C. - 3)
Derwinski, Edward J. (R Ill. - 4)
Devine, Samuel L. (R Ohio - 12)
Dickinson, William L. (R Ala. - 2)
Dicks, Norman D. (D Wash. - 6)
Diggs, Charles C. Jr. (D Mich. -13)
Dingell, John D. (D Mich. - 16)
Dixon, Julian C. (D Calif. - 28)
Dodd, Christopher J. (D Conn. - 2)
Donnelly, Brian J. (D Mass. - 11)
Dornan, Robert K. (R Calif. - 27)
Dougherty, Charles F. (R Pa. - 4)
Downey, Thomas J. (D N.Y. - 2)
Drinan, Robert F. (D Mass. - 4)
Duncan, John J. (R Tenn. - 2)
Duncan, Robert (D Ore. - 3)

E

Early, Joseph D. (D Mass. - 3)
Eckhardt, Bob (D Texas - 8)
Edgar, Robert W. (D Pa. - 7)
Edwards, Don (D Calif. - 10)
Edwards, Jack (R Ala. - 1)
Edwards, Mickey (R Okla. -5)
Emery, David F. (R Maine - 1)
English, Glenn (D Okla. - 6)
Erdahl, Arlen (R Minn. - 1)
Erlenborn, John N. (R Ill. - 14)
Ertel, Allen E. (D Pa. - 17)
Evans, Billy Lee (D Ga. - 8)
Evans, David W. (D Ind. - 6)
Evans, Thomas B. Jr. (R Del. - AL)

F

Fary, John G. (D Ill. - 5)
Fascell, Dante B. (D Fla. - 15)
Fazio, Vic (D Calif. - 4)
Fenwick, Millicent (R N.J. - 5)
Ferraro, Geraldine A. (D N.Y. - 9)
Findley, Paul (R Ill. - 20)
Fish, Hamilton Jr. (R N.Y. - 25)
Fisher, Joseph L. (D Va. - 10)
Fithian, Floyd (D Ind. - 2)
Flippo, Ronnie G. (D Ala. - 5)
Flood, Daniel J. (D Pa. - 11)
Florio, James J. (D N.J. - 1)
Foley, Thomas S. (D Wash. - 5)
Ford, Harold E. (D Tenn. - 8)
Ford, William D. (D Mich. - 15)
Forsythe, Edwin B. (R N.J. - 6)
Fountain, L. H. (D N.C. - 2)
Fowler, Wyche Jr. (D Ga. - 5)
Frenzel, Bill (R Minn. - 3)
Frost, Martin (D Texas - 24)
Fuqua, Don (D Fla. - 2)

G

Garcia, Robert (D N.Y. - 21)
Gaydos, Joseph M. (D Pa. - 20)
Gephardt, Richard A. (D Mo. - 3)
Giaimo, Robert N. (D Conn. - 3)
Gibbons, Sam (D Fla. - 7)
Gilman, Benjamin A. (R N.Y. - 26)
Gingrich, Newt (R Ga. - 6)
Ginn, Bo (D Ga. - 1)
Glickman, Dan (D Kan. - 4)
Goldwater, Barry M. Jr. (R Calif. - 20)
Gonzalez, Henry B. (D Texas - 20)
Goodling, Bill (R Pa. - 19)
Gore, Albert Jr. (D Tenn. - 4)
Gradison, Bill (R Ohio - 1)
Gramm, Phil (D Texas - 6)
Grassley, Charles E. (R Iowa - 3)
Gray, William H. III (D Pa. - 2)
Green, S. William (R N.Y. - 18)
Grisham, Wayne (R Calif. - 33)
Guarini, Frank J. (D N.J. - 14)
Gudger, Lamar (D N.C. - 11)
Guyer, Tennyson (R Ohio - 4)

H

Hagedorn, Tom (R Minn. - 2)
Hall, Sam B. Jr. (D Texas - 1)
Hall, Tony P. (D Ohio - 3)
Hamilton, Lee H. (D Ind. - 9)
Hammerschmidt, John Paul (R Ark. - 3)
Hance, Kent (D Texas - 19)
Hanley, James M. (D N.Y. - 32)
Hansen, George (R Idaho - 2)
Harkin, Tom (D Iowa - 5)
Harris, Herbert E. II (D Va. - 8)
Harsha, William H. (R Ohio - 6)
Hawkins, Augustus F. (D Calif. - 29)
Heckler, Margaret M. (R Mass. - 10)
Hefner, W. G. (Bill) (D N.C. - 8)
Heftel, Cecil (D Hawaii - 1)
Hightower, Jack (D Texas - 13)
Hillis, Elwood (R Ind. - 5)
Hinson, Jon C. (R Miss. - 4)
Holland, Ken (D S.C. - 5)
Hollenbeck, Harold C. (R N.J. - 9)
Holt, Marjorie S. (R Md. - 4)
Holtzman, Elizabeth (D N.Y. - 16)
Hopkins, Larry J. (R Ky. - 6)
Horton, Frank (R N.Y. - 34)
Howard, James J. (D N.J. - 3)
Hubbard, Carroll Jr. (D Ky. - 1)
Huckaby, Jerry (D La. - 5)
Hughes, William J. (D N.J. - 2)
Hutto, Earl (D Fla. - 1)
Hyde, Henry J. (R Ill. - 6)

I, J

Ichord, Richard H. (D Mo. - 8)
Ireland, Andy (D Fla. - 8)
Jacobs, Andy Jr. (D Ind. - 11)
Jeffords, James M. (R Vt. - AL)
Jeffries, Jim (R Kan. - 2)
Jenkins, Ed (D Ga. - 9)
Jenrette, John W. Jr. (D S.C. - 6)
Johnson, Harold T. (D Calif. - 1)
Johnson, James P. (R Colo. - 4)
Jones, Ed (D Tenn. - 7)
Jones, James R. (D Okla. - 1)
Jones, Walter B. (D N.C. - 1)

K

Kastenmeier, Robert W. (D Wis. - 2)
Kazen, Abraham Jr. (D Texas - 23)
Kelly, Richard (R Fla. - 5)
Kemp, Jack F. (R N.Y. - 38)
Kildee, Dale E. (D Mich. - 7)
Kindness, Thomas N. (R Ohio - 8)
Kogovsek, Ray (D Colo. - 3)
Kostmayer, Peter H. (D Pa. - 8)
Kramer, Ken (R Colo. - 5)

L

LaFalce, John J. (D N.Y. - 36)
Lagomarsino, Robert J. (R Calif. - 19)
Latta, Delbert L. (R Ohio - 5)
Leach, Claude (Buddy) (D La. - 4)
Leach, Jim (R Iowa - 1)
Leath, Marvin (D Texas - 11)
Lederer, Raymond F. (D Pa. - 3)
Lee, Gary A. (R N.Y. - 33)
Lehman, William (D Fla. - 13)
Leland, Mickey (D Texas - 18)
Lent, Norman F. (R N.Y. - 4)
Levitas, Elliott H. (D Ga. - 4)
Lewis, Jerry (R Calif. - 37)
Livingston, Robert L. (R La. - 1)
Lloyd, Jim (D Calif. - 35)
Loeffler, Tom (R Texas - 21)
Long, Clarence D. (D Md. - 2)
Long, Gillis W. (D La. - 8)
Lott, Trent (R Miss. - 5)
Lowry, Mike (D Wash. - 7)
Lujan, Manuel Jr. (R N.M. - 1)
Luken, Thomas A. (D Ohio - 2)
Lundine, Stanley N. (D N.Y. - 39)
Lungren, Dan (R Calif. - 34)

M

Madigan, Edward R. (R Ill. - 21)
Maguire, Andrew (D N.J. - 7)
Markey, Edward J. (D Mass. - 7)
Marks, Marc L. (R Pa. - 24)
Marlenee, Ron (R Mont. - 2)
Marriott, Dan (R Utah - 2)
Martin, James G. (R N.C. - 9)
Mathis, Dawson (D Ga. - 2)
Matsui, Robert T. (D Calif. - 3)
Mattox, Jim (D Texas - 5)
Mavroules, Nicholas (D Mass. - 6)
Mazzoli, Romano L. (D Ky. - 3)
McClory, Robert (R Ill. - 13)
McCloskey, Paul N. Jr. (R Calif. - 12)
McCormack, Mike (D Wash. - 4)
McDade, Joseph M. (R Pa. - 10)
McDonald, Larry P. (D Ga. - 7)
McEwen, Robert C. (R N.Y. - 30)
McHugh, Matthew F. (D N.Y. - 27)
McKay, Gunn (D Utah - 1)
McKinney, Stewart B. (R Conn. - 4)
Mica, Dan (D Fla. - 11)
Michel, Robert H. (R Ill. - 18)
Mikulski, Barbara A. (D Md. - 3)
Miller, Clarence E. (R Ohio - 10)
Miller, George (D Calif. - 7)
Mineta, Norman Y. (D Calif. - 13)
Minish, Joseph G. (D N.J. - 11)
Mitchell, Donald J. (R N.Y. - 31)
Mitchell, Parren J. (D Md. - 7)
Moakley, Joe (D Mass. - 9)
Moffett, Toby (D Conn. - 6)
Mollohan, Robert H. (D W. Va. - 1)
Montgomery, G. V. (Sonny) (D Miss. - 3)
Moore, W. Henson (R La. - 6)
Moorhead, Carlos J. (R Calif. - 22)
Moorhead, William S. (D Pa. - 14)
Mottl, Ronald M. (D Ohio - 23)
Murphy, Austin J. (D Pa. - 22)
Murphy, John M. (D N.Y. - 17)
Murphy, Morgan F. (D Ill. - 2)
Murtha, John P. (D Pa. - 12)
Myers, John T. (R Ind. - 7)
Myers, Michael (Ozzie) (D Pa. - 1)

N

Natcher, William H. (D Ky. - 2)
Neal, Stephen L. (D N.C. - 5)
Nedzi, Lucien N. (D Mich. - 14)
Nelson, Bill (D Fla. - 9)
Nichols, Bill (D Ala. - 3)
Nolan, Richard (D Minn. - 6)
Nowak, Henry J. (D N.Y. - 37)

O

Oakar, Mary Rose (D Ohio - 20)
Oberstar, James L. (D Minn. - 8)
Obey, David R. (D Wis. - 7)
O'Brien, George M. (R Ill. - 17)
O'Neill, Thomas P. Jr. (D Mass. - 8)
Ottinger, Richard L. (D N.Y. - 24)

P

Panetta, Leon E. (D Calif. - 16)
Pashayan, Charles (Chip) Jr. (R Calif. - 17)
Patten, Edward J. (D N.J. - 15)
Patterson, Jerry M. (D Calif. - 38)
Paul, Ron (R Texas - 22)
Pease, Don J. (D Ohio - 13)
Pepper, Claude (D Fla. - 14)
Perkins, Carl D. (D Ky. - 7)
Petri, Thomas E. (R Wis. - 6)

..... Governors, Cabinet Officers, Supreme Court

Peyser, Peter A. (D N.Y. - 23)
Pickle, J. J. (D Texas - 10)
Preyer, Richardson (D N.C. - 6)
Price, Melvin (D Ill. - 23)
Pritchard, Joel (R Wash. - 1)
Pursell, Carl D. (R Mich. - 2)

Q

Quayle, Dan (R Ind. - 4)
Quillen, James H. (R Tenn. - 1)

R

Rahall, Nick J. (D W. Va. - 4)
Railsback, Tom (R Ill. - 19)
Rangel, Charles B. (D N.Y. - 19)
Ratchford, William R. (D Conn. - 5)
Regula, Ralph S. (R Ohio - 16)
Reuss, Henry S. (D Wis. - 5)
Rhodes, John J. (R Ariz. - 1)
Richmond, Fred (D N.Y. - 14)
Rinaldo, Matthew J. (R N.J. - 12)
Ritter, Don (R Pa. - 15)
Roberts, Ray (D Texas - 4)
Robinson, J. Kenneth (R Va. - 7)
Rodino, Peter W. Jr. (D N.J. - 10)
Roe, Robert A. (D N.J. - 8)
Rose, Charlie (D N.C. - 7)
Rosenthal, Benjamin S. (D N.Y. - 8)
Rostenkowski, Dan (D Ill. - 8)
Roth, Toby (R Wis. - 8)
Rousselot, John H. (R Calif. - 26)
Roybal, Edward R. (D Calif. - 25)
Royer, William H. (R Calif. - 11)
Rudd, Eldon (R Ariz. - 4)
Runnels, Harold (D N.M. - 2)
Russo, Marty (D Ill. - 3)

S

Sabo, Martin Olav (D Minn. - 5)
St Germain, Fernand J. (D R.I. - 1)
Santini, Jim (D Nev. - AL)
Satterfield, David E. III (D Va. - 3)
Sawyer, Harold S. (R Mich. - 5)
Scheuer, James H. (D N.Y. -11)
Schroeder, Patricia (D Colo. - 1)
Schulze, Richard T. (R Pa. - 5)
Sebelius, Keith G. (R Kan. - 1)
Seiberling, John F. (D Ohio - 14)
Sensenbrenner, F. James Jr. (R Wis. - 9)
Shannon, James M. (D Mass. - 5)
Sharp, Philip R. (D Ind. - 10)
Shelby, Richard C. (D Ala. - 7)
Shumway, Norman D. (R Calif. - 14)
Shuster, Bud (R Pa. - 9)
Simon, Paul (D Ill. - 24)
Skelton, Ike (D Mo. - 4)
Slack, John M. (D W. Va. - 3)
Smith, Neal (D Iowa - 4)
Smith, Virginia (R Neb. - 3)
Snowe, Olympia J. (R Maine - 2)
Snyder, Gene (R Ky. - 4)
Solarz, Stephen J. (D N.Y. - 13)
Solomon, Gerald B. (R N.Y. - 29)
Spellman, Gladys Noon (D Md. - 5)
Spence, Floyd (R S.C. - 2)
Stack, Edward J. (D Fla. - 12)
Staggers, Harley O. (D W. Va. - 2)
Stangeland, Arlan (R Minn. - 7)
Stanton, J. William (R Ohio - 11)
Stark, Fortney H. (Pete) (D Calif. - 9)
Steed, Tom (D Okla. - 4)
Stenholm, Charles W. (D Texas - 17)
Stewart, Bennett M. (D Ill. - 1)
Stockman, Dave (R Mich. - 4)
Stokes, Louis (D Ohio - 21)
Stratton, Samuel S. (D N.Y. - 28)
Studds, Gerry E. (D Mass. - 12)
Stump, Bob (D Ariz. - 3)
Swift, Al (D Wash. - 2)
Symms, Steven D. (R Idaho - 1)
Synar, Mike (D Okla. - 2)

T

Tauke, Tom (R Iowa - 2)
Taylor, Gene (R Mo. - 7)
Thomas, William M. (R Calif. - 18)
Thompson, Frank Jr. (D N.J. - 4)
Traxler, Bob (D Mich. - 8)
Treen, David C. (R La. - 3)
Trible, Paul S. Jr. (R Va. - 1)

U, V

Udall, Morris K. (D Ariz. - 2)
Ullman, Al (D Ore. - 2)
Van Deerlin, Lionel (D Calif. - 42)
Vander Jagt, Guy (R Mich. - 9)
Vanik, Charles A. (D Ohio - 22)
Vento, Bruce F. (D Minn. - 4)
Volkmer, Harold L. (D Mo. - 9)

W

Walgren, Doug (D Pa. - 18)
Walker, Robert S. (R Pa. - 16)
Wampler, William C. (R Va. - 9)
Watkins, Wes (D Okla. - 3)
Waxman, Henry A. (D Calif. - 24)
Weaver, James (D Ore. - 4)
Weiss, Ted (D N.Y. - 20)
White, Richard C. (D Texas - 16)
Whitehurst, G. William (R Va. - 2)
Whitley, Charles (D N.C. - 3)
Whittaker, Bob (R Kan. - 5)
Whitten, Jamie L. (D Miss. - 1)
Williams, Lyle (R Ohio - 19)
Williams, Pat (D Mont. - 1)
Wilson, Bob (R Calif. - 41)
Wilson, Charles (D Texas - 2)
Wilson, Charles H. (D Calif. - 31)
Winn, Larry Jr. (R Kan. - 3)
Wirth, Timothy E. (D Colo. - 2)
Wolff, Lester L. (D N.Y. - 6)
Wolpe, Howard (D Mich. - 3)
Wright, Jim (D Texas - 12)
Wyatt, Joe Jr. (D Texas - 14)
Wydler, John W. (R N.Y. - 5)
Wylie, Chalmers P. (R Ohio - 15)

X, Y, Z

Yates, Sidney R. (D Ill. - 9)
Yatron, Gus (D Pa. - 6)
Young, C. W. Bill (R Fla. - 6)
Young, Don (R Alaska - AL)
Young, Robert A. (D Mo. - 2)
Zablocki, Clement J. (D Wis. - 4)
Zeferetti, Leo C. (D N.Y. - 15)

Delegates

Evans, Melvin H. (R V.I.)
Fauntroy, Walter E. (D D.C.)
Won Pat, Antonio Borja (D Guam)

Resident Commissioner

Corrada, Baltasar (New Prog. - P.R.)

Senators
D 59[2]; R 41

Armstrong, William L. (R Colo.)
Baker, Howard H. Jr. (R Tenn.)
Baucus, Max (D Mont.)
Bayh, Birch (D Ind.)
Bellmon, Henry (R Okla.)
Bentsen, Lloyd (D Texas)
Biden, Joseph R. Jr. (D Del.)
Boren, David L. (D Okla.)
Boschwitz, Rudy (R Minn.)
Bradley, Bill (D N.J.)
Bumpers, Dale (D Ark.)
Burdick, Quentin N. (D N.D.)
Byrd, Harry F. Jr. (Ind Va.)
Byrd, Robert C. (D W. Va.)
Cannon, Howard W. (D Nev.)
Chafee, John H. (R R.I.)
Chiles, Lawton (D Fla.)
Church, Frank (D Idaho)
Cochran, Thad (R Miss.)
Cohen, William S. (R Maine)
Cranston, Alan (D Calif.)
Culver, John C. (D Iowa)
Danforth, John C. (R Mo.)
DeConcini, Dennis (D Ariz.)
Dole, Robert (R Kan.)
Domenici, Pete V. (R N.M.)
Durenberger, David (R Minn.)
Durkin, John A. (D N.H.)
Eagleton, Thomas F. (D Mo.)
Exon, J. James (D Neb.)
Ford, Wendell H. (D Ky.)
Garn, Jake (R Utah)
Glenn, John (D Ohio)
Goldwater, Barry (R Ariz.)
Gravel, Mike (D Alaska)
Hart, Gary (D Colo.)
Hatch, Orrin G. (R Utah)
Hatfield, Mark O. (R Ore.)
Hayakawa, S. I. (Sam) (R Calif.)
Heflin, Howell (D Ala.)
Heinz, John (R Pa.)
Helms, Jesse (R N.C.)
Hollings, Ernest F. (D S.C.)
Huddleston, Walter (Dee) (D Ky.)
Humphrey, Gordon J. (R N.H.)
Inouye, Daniel K. (D Hawaii)
Jackson, Henry M. (D Wash.)
Javits, Jacob K. (R N.Y.)
Jepsen, Roger W. (R Iowa)
Johnston, J. Bennett (D La.)
Kassebaum, Nancy Landon (R Kan.)
Kennedy, Edward M. (D Mass.)
Laxalt, Paul (R Nev.)
Leahy, Patrick J. (D Vt.)
Levin, Carl (D Mich.)
Long, Russell B. (D La.)
Lugar, Richard G. (R Ind.)
Magnuson, Warren G. (D Wash.)
Mathias, Charles McC. Jr. (R Md.)
Matsunaga, Spark M. (D Hawaii)
McClure, James A. (R Idaho)
McGovern, George (D S.D.)
Melcher, John (D Mont.)
Metzenbaum, Howard M. (D Ohio)
Morgan, Robert (D N.C.)
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick (D N.Y.)
Muskie, Edmund S. (D Maine)
Nelson, Gaylord (D Wis.)
Nunn, Sam (D Ga.)
Packwood, Bob (R Ore.)
Pell, Claiborne (D R.I.)
Percy, Charles H. (R Ill.)
Pressler, Larry (R S.D.)
Proxmire, William (D Wis.)
Pryor, David (D Ark.)
Randolph, Jennings (D W. Va.)
Ribicoff, Abraham (D Conn.)
Riegle, Donald W. Jr. (D Mich.)
Roth, William V. Jr. (R Del.)
Sarbanes, Paul S. (D Md.)
Sasser, Jim (D Tenn.)
Schmitt, Harrison "Jack" (R N.M.)
Schweiker, Richard S. (R Pa.)
Simpson, Alan K. (R Wyo.)
Stafford, Robert T. (R Vt.)
Stennis, John C. (D Miss.)
Stevens, Ted (R Alaska)
Stevenson, Adlai E. (D Ill.)
Stewart, Donald (D Ala.)
Stone, Richard (D Fla.)
Talmadge, Herman E. (D Ga.)
Thurmond, Strom (R S.C.)
Tower, John (R Texas)
Tsongas, Paul E. (D Mass.)
Wallop, Malcolm (R Wyo.)
Warner, John W. (R Va.)
Weicker, Lowell P. Jr. (R Conn.)
Williams, Harrison A. Jr. (D N.J.)
Young, Milton R. (R N.D.)
Zorinsky, Edward (D Neb.)

Governors
D 32; R 18

Ala.—Forrest (Fob) James (D)
Alaska—Jay S. Hammond (R)
Ariz.—Bruce Babbitt (D)
Ark.—Bill Clinton (D)
Calif.—Edmund G. Brown Jr. (D)
Colo.—Richard D. Lamm (D)
Conn.—Ella T. Grasso (D)
Del.—Pierre S. (Pete) du Pont (R)
Fla.—Robert Graham (D)
Ga.—George Busbee (D)
Hawaii—George Ariyoshi (D)
Idaho—John V. Evans (D)
Ill.—James R. Thompson (R)
Ind.—Otis R. Bowen (R)
Iowa—Robert Ray (R)
Kan.—John Carlin (D)
Ky.—John Y. Brown (D)
La.—Edwin W. Edwards (D)
Maine—Joseph E. Brennan (D)
Md.—Harry R. Hughes (D)
Mass.—Edward J. King (D)
Mich.—William G. Milliken (R)
Minn.—Albert H. Quie (R)
Miss.—Cliff Finch (D)
Mo.—Joseph P. Teasdale (D)
Mont.—Thomas L. Judge (D)
Neb.—Charles Thone (R)
Nev.—Robert F. List (R)
N.H.—Hugh Gallen (D)
N.J.—Brendan T. Byrne (D)
N.M.—Bruce King (D)
N.Y.—Hugh L. Carey (D)
N.C.—James B. Hunt Jr. (D)
N.D.—Arthur A. Link (D)
Ohio—James A. Rhodes (R)
Okla.—George Nigh (D)
Ore.—Victor Atiyeh (R)
Pa.—Richard L. Thornburgh (R)
R.I.—J. Joseph Garrahy (D)
S.C.—Richard W. Riley (D)
S.D.—William J. Janklow (R)
Tenn.—Lamar Alexander (R)
Texas—William Clements (R)
Utah—Scott M. Matheson (D)
Vt.—Richard A. Snelling (R)
Va.—John Dalton (R)
Wash.—Dixy Lee Ray (D)
W. Va.—John D. (Jay) Rockefeller IV (D)
Wis.—Lee Sherman Dreyfus (R)
Wyo.—Ed Herschler (D)

Supreme Court

Burger, Warren E.—Minn., Chief Justice
Blackmun, Harry A.—Minn.
Brennan, William J. Jr.—N.J.
Marshall, Thurgood—N.Y.
Powell, Lewis F. Jr.—Va.
Rehnquist, William H.—Ariz.
Stevens, John Paul—Ill.
Stewart, Potter—Ohio
White, Byron R.—Colo.

Cabinet

Andrus, Cecil D.—Interior
Bergland, Bob—Agriculture
Brown, Harold—Defense
Civiletti, Benjamin R.—Attorney General
Duncan, Charles W. Jr.—Energy
Goldschmidt, Neil—Transportation
Harris, Patricia Roberts—HEW
Hufstedler, Shirley Mount—Education[3]
Klutznick, Philip M.—Commerce
Landrieu, Moon—HUD
Marshall, F. Ray—Labor
Miller, G. William—Treasury
Vance Cyrus R.—State

1 Illinois 11th Dist.
2 Includes Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Va.) elected as an independent.
3 Department of Education will be established within six months from Dec. 6, 1979, the date Hufstedler was sworn in.

Senate Committees, 96th Congress, First Session

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry

Agriculture in general, including farm credit and security, crop insurance, soil conservation and rural electrification; forestry in general; human nutrition, school nutrition programs, and matters relating to food, nutrition and hunger.

Phone: 224-2035

D 10 - R 8

Herman E. Talmadge (D Ga.), chairman*

George McGovern (S.D.)	*Jesse Helms (N.C.)**
Walter (Dee) Huddleston (Ky.)	*Robert Dole (Kan.)*
Richard Stone (Fla.)	*Milton R. Young (N.D.)*
Patrick J. Leahy (Vt.)	*S. I. (Sam) Hayakawa (Calif.)*
Edward Zorinsky (Neb.)	*Richard G. Lugar (Ind.)*
John Melcher (Mont.)	*Thad Cochran (Miss.)*
Donald Stewart (Ala.)	*Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.)*
David Pryor (Ark.)	*Roger W. Jepsen (Iowa)*
David L. Boren (Okla.)	

Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification

Zorinsky - chairman

McGovern	*Hayakawa*
Huddleston	*Jepsen*

Agricultural Production, Marketing and Stabilization of Prices

Huddleston - chairman

McGovern	*Young*
Stone	*Helms*
Zorinsky	*Lugar*
Melcher	*Cochran*
Pryor	
Boren	

Agricultural Research and General Legislation

Stewart - chairman

Leahy	*Lugar*
Stone	*Dole*
Talmadge	*Young*
	Boschwitz

Environment, Soil Conservation, and Forestry

Melcher - chairman

Huddleston	*Jepsen*
Stewart	*Hayakawa*
Talmadge	*Cochran*
	Helms

Foreign Agricultural Policy

Stone - chairman

Zorinsky	*Cochran*
Talmadge	*Lugar*
Boren	*Dole*
Pryor	*Boschwitz*

Nutrition

McGovern - chairman

Leahy	*Dole*
Melcher	*Helms*
	Hayakawa

Rural Development

Leahy - chairman

Stewart	*Boschwitz*
Pryor	*Young*
Boren	*Jepsen*

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Appropriations

Appropriations of government revenues.

Phone: 224-2726

D 17 - R 11

Warren G. Magnuson (D Wash.), chairman*

John C. Stennis (Miss.)	*Milton R. Young (N.D.)**
Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.)	*Mark O. Hatfield (Ore.)*
William Proxmire (Wis.)	*Ted Stevens (Alaska)*
Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)	*Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)*

Ernest F. Hollings (S.C.)
Birch Bayh (Ind.)
Thomas F. Eagleton (Mo.)
Lawton Chiles (Fla.)
J. Bennett Johnston (La.)
Walter (Dee) Huddleston (Ky.)
Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.)
Patrick J. Leahy (Vt.)
Jim Sasser (Tenn.)
Dennis DeConcini (Ariz.)
Dale Bumpers (Ark.)
John A. Durkin (N.H.)

Richard S. Schweiker (Pa.)
Henry Bellmon (Okla.)
Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (Conn.)
James A. McClure (Idaho)
Paul Laxalt (Nev.)
Jake Garn (Utah)
Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (N.M.)

Agriculture and Related Agencies

Phone: 224-7240

Eagleton - chairman

Stennis
Proxmire
Byrd
Bayh
Chiles
Burdick
Sasser

Bellmon
Young
McClure
Garn
Schmitt

Defense

Phone: 224-7253

Stennis - chairman

Magnuson
Proxmire
Inouye
Hollings
Eagleton
Chiles
Johnston
Huddleston
Leahy
Bumpers

Young
Stevens
Schweiker
Bellmon
Weicker
Garn
McClure

District of Columbia

Phone: 224-7220

Leahy - chairman

Bumpers
Durkin

Mathias
Schmitt

Energy and Water Development

Phone: 224-7260

Johnston - chairman

Stennis
Magnuson

Hatfield
Young

Byrd
Hollings
Huddleston
Burdick
Sasser
DeConcini

Schweiker
Bellmon
McClure
Garn
Schmitt

Foreign Operations

Phone: 224-7285

Inouye - chairman

Proxmire
Chiles
Johnston
Leahy
DeConcini

Garn
Hatfield
Mathias
Schweiker

HUD-Independent Agencies

Phone: 224-7274

Proxmire - chairman

Stennis
Bayh
Huddleston
Leahy
Sasser
Durkin

Mathias
Bellmon
Weicker
Laxalt
Schmitt

Interior

Phone: 224-7262

Byrd - chairman

Hollings
Bayh
Johnston
Huddleston
Leahy
DeConcini
Burdick
Durkin

Stevens
Young
Hatfield
Bellmon
McClure
Laxalt

Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare

Phone: 224-7283

Magnuson - chairman

Byrd
Proxmire
Hollings

Schweiker
Mathias
Hatfield

Eagleton	*Weicker*
Bayh	*Schmitt*
Chiles	
Burdick	
Inouye	

Legislative Branch

Phone: 224-7251

Sasser - chairman

Bumpers	*Stevens*
Durkin	*Schweiker*

Military Construction

Phone: 224-7258

Huddleston - chairman

Johnston	*Laxalt*
Inouye	*Stevens*
Sasser	

State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary

Phone: 224-7244

Hollings - chairman

Magnuson	*Weicker*
Eagleton	*Hatfield*
Inouye	*Stevens*
Burdick	*Laxalt*
DeConcini	*Garn*
Bumpers	

Transportation

Phone: 224-7286

Bayh - chairman

Byrd	*McClure*
Stennis	*Mathias*
Magnuson	*Weicker*
Eagleton	
Durkin	

Treasury, Postal Service, General Government

Phone: 224-0330

Chiles - chairman

DeConcini	*Schmitt*
Bumpers	*Laxalt*

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Armed Services

Military affairs, Panama Canal and Canal Zone, strategic and critical materials; aeronautical and space activities peculiar to or primarily associated with development of weapons systems or military operations.

Phone: 224-3871

D 10 - R 7

John C. Stennis (D Miss.), chairman*

Henry M. Jackson (Wash.)	*John Tower (Texas)**
Howard W. Cannon (Nev.)	*Strom Thurmond (S.C.)*
Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Va.)	*Barry Goldwater (Ariz.)*
Sam Nunn (Ga.)	*John W. Warner (Va.)*
John C. Culver (Iowa)	*Gordon J. Humphrey (N.H.)*
Gary Hart (Colo.)	*William S. Cohen (Maine)*
Robert Morgan (N.C.)	*Roger W. Jepsen (Iowa)*
J. James Exon (Neb.)	
Carl Levin (Mich.)	

Arms Control

Jackson - chairman

Hart	*Cohen*
Exon	*Tower*
Levin	*Thurmond*

General Procurement

Byrd - chairman

Jackson	*Goldwater*
Cannon	*Tower*
Hart	*Thurmond*
Morgan	*Jepsen*

Manpower and Personnel

Nunn - chairman

Byrd	*Jepsen*
Culver	*Warner*
Exon	*Cohen*

Military Construction and Stockpiles

Hart - chairman

Jackson	*Thurmond*
Cannon	*Tower*

Byrd	*Warner*
Nunn	*Humphrey*

Procurement Policy and Reprogramming

Morgan - chairman

Cannon	*Humphrey*
Culver	*Goldwater*
Levin	*Jepsen*

Research and Development

Culver - chairman

Nunn	*Warner*
Morgan	*Goldwater*
Exon	*Humphrey*
Levin	*Cohen*

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs

Banking and currency generally; financial matters other than taxes and appropriations; public and private housing; economic controls; urban affairs.

Phone: 224-7391

D 9 - R 6

William Proxmire (D Wis.), chairman

Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N.J.)	*Jake Garn (Utah)*
Alan Cranston (Calif.)	*John Tower (Texas)*
Adlai E. Stevenson (Ill.)	*John Heinz (Pa.)*
Robert Morgan (N.C.)	*William L. Armstrong (Colo.)*
Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.)	*Nancy Landon Kassebaum (Kan.)*
Paul S. Sarbanes (Md.)	*Richard G. Lugar (Ind.)*
Donald Stewart (Ala.)	
Paul E. Tsongas (Mass.)	

Consumer Affairs

Tsongas - chairman

Reigle	*Armstrong*
Sarbanes	*Kassebaum*

Economic Stabilization

Riegle - chairman

Proxmire	*Lugar*
Stevenson	*Tower*

Financial Institutions

Cranston - chairman

Proxmire	*Tower*
Stevenson	*Garn*
Morgan	*Heinz*
Stewart	*Armstrong*

Housing and Urban Affairs

Phone: 224-6348

Williams - chairman

Proxmire	*Garn*
Cranston	*Tower*
Morgan	*Heinz*
Riegle	*Lugar*
Sarbanes	

Insurance

Stewart - chairman

Tsongas	*Garn*

International Finance

Stevenson - chairman

Williams	*Heinz*
Cranston	*Armstrong*
Tsongas	*Kassebaum*

Rural Housing and Development

Morgan - chairman

Stewart	*Kassebaum*

Securities

Phone: 224-9150

Sarbanes - chairman

Williams	*Lugar*

Budget

Federal budget generally; Congressional Budget Office.

Phone: 224-0642

D 12 - R 8

Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine), chairman

Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)	*Henry Bellmon (Okla.)*
Ernest F. Hollings (S.C.)	*Pete V. Domenici (N.M.)*
Lawton Chiles (Fla.)	*Bob Packwood (Ore.)*
Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.)	*William L. Armstrong (Colo.)*
J. Bennett Johnston (La.)	*Nancy Landon Kassebaum (Kan.)*
Jim Sasser (Tenn.)	*Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.)*
Gary Hart (Colo.)	*Orrin G. Hatch (Utah)*
Howard M. Metzenbaum (Ohio)	*Larry Pressler (S.D.)*
Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.)	
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.)	
J. James Exon (Neb.)	

No standing subcommittees.

Commerce, Science and Transportation

Interstate commerce in general, transportation, merchant marine and navigation, safety and transportation, Coast Guard, inland waterways except construction, communications, regulation of consumer products and services, standards and measurement, highway safety; science, engineering, and technology research and development and policy; non-military aeronautical and space sciences, marine fisheries, coastal zone management; oceans, weather and atmospheric activities.

Phone: 224-5115

D 10 - R 7

Howard W. Cannon (D Nev.), chairman*

Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)	*Bob Packwood (Ore.)**
Russell B. Long (La.)	*Barry Goldwater (Ariz.)*
Ernest F. Hollings (S.C.)	*Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (N.M.)*
Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)	*John C. Danforth (Mo.)*
Adlai E. Stevenson (Ill.)	*Nancy Landon Kassebaum (Kan.)*
Wendell H. Ford (Ky.)	*Larry Pressler (S.D.)*
Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.)	*John W. Warner (Va.)*
J. James Exon (Neb.)	
Howell Hefflin (Ala.)	

Aviation

Phone: 224-0423

Cannon - chairman

Inouye	*Kassebaum*
Stevenson	*Goldwater*
Exon	*Pressler*

Communications

Phone: 224-9341

Hollings - chairman

Magnuson	*Goldwater*
Cannon	*Schmitt*
Inouye	*Danforth*
Ford	*Pressler*
Riegle	*Warner*
Exon	

Consumer

Phone: 224-9345

Ford - chairman

Magnuson	*Danforth*
Heflin	*Warner*

Merchant Marine and Tourism

Phone: 224-6742

Inouye - chairman

Magnuson	*Warner*
Long	*Packwood*

Science, Technology, and Space

Phone: 224-9351

Stevenson - chairman

Ford	*Schmitt*
Long	*Goldwater*
Hollings	*Kassebaum*
Reigle	
Heflin	

Surface Transportation

Phone: 224-9325

Long - chairman

Cannon	*Pressler*
Hollings	*Danforth*
Stevenson	*Schmitt*
Riegle	*Kassebaum*
Exon	
Heflin	

Study Group

National Ocean Policy

Phone: 224-9321

Cannon - chairman

Magnuson
Hollings

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Energy and Natural Resources

Energy policy generally; energy regulation and conservation; research and development; solar energy systems; naval petroleum; oil and gas; hydroelectric power; coal; mining; public parks and recreation areas.

Phone: 224-4971

D 11 - R 7

Henry M. Jackson (D Wash.), chairman*

Frank Church (Idaho)	*Mark O. Hatfield (Ore.)**
J. Bennett Johnston (La.)	*James A. McClure (Idaho)*
Dale Bumpers (Ark.)	*Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (Conn.)*
Wendell H. Ford (Ky.)	*Pete V. Domenici (N.M.)*
John A. Durkin (N.H.)	*Ted Stevens (Alaska)*
Howard M. Metzenbaum (Ohio)	*Henry Bellmon (Okla.)*
Spark M. Matsunaga (Hawaii)	*Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.)*
John Melcher (Mont.)	
Paul E. Tsongas (Mass.)	
Bill Bradley (N.J.)	

Energy Conservation and Supply

Phone: 224-2366

Durkin - chairman
Tsongas - vice chairman

Ford	*Wallop*
Metzenbaum	*Domenici*
Matsunaga	*Weicker*
Bradley	*Bellmon*

Energy Regulation

Phone: 224-9894

Johnston - chairman
Metzenbaum - vice chairman

Bumpers	*Domenici*
Ford	*Bellmon*
Durkin	*Hatfield*
Bradley	*McClure*

Energy Research and Development

Phone: 224-4431

Church - chairman
Matsunaga - vice chairman

Johnston	*McClure*
Bumpers	*Hatfield*
Durkin	*Domenici*
Melcher	*Stevens*
Tsongas	*Wallop*

Energy Resources and Materials Production

Phone: 224-2564

Ford - chairman
Bradley - vice chairman

Jackson	*Weicker*
Church	*Stevens*
Matsunaga	*Bellmon*
Melcher	*Wallop*

Parks, Recreation, and Renewable Resources

Phone: 224-7145

Bumpers - chairman
Melcher - vice chairman

Church	*Hatfield*
Johnston	*Stevens*
Metzenbaum	*McClure*
Tsongas	*Weicker*

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Environment and Public Works

Environmental policy, research and development; ocean dumping, fisheries and wildlife, Outer Continental Shelf, solid waste disposal and recycling, toxic substances and other pesticides; public works, bridge and dams; water, air and noise pollution; federal buildings and grounds.

Phone: 224-6176

D 8 - R 6

Jennings Randolph (D W.Va.), chairman*

Edmund S. Muskie (Maine)	*Robert T. Stafford (Vt.)**
Mike Gravel (Alaska)	*Howard H. Baker Jr. (Tenn.)*
Lloyd Bentsen (Texas)	*Pete V. Domenici (N.M.)*
Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.)	*John H. Chafee (R.I.)*
John C. Culver (Iowa)	*Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.)*
Gary Hart (Colo.)	*Larry Pressler (S.D.)*
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.)	

Environmental Pollution

Phone: 224-7859

Muskie - chairman

Bentsen	*Stafford*
Burdick	*Chafee*
Culver	*Simpson*

Nuclear Regulation

Phone: 224-2663

Hart - chairman

Randolph	*Simpson*
Culver	*Baker*
Moynihan	*Domenici*

Regional and Community Development

Phone: 224-8425

Burdick - chairman

Randolph	*Chafee*
Muskie	*Stafford*
Gravel	*Baker*
Moynihan	*Domenici*

Resource Protection

Phone: 224-2513

Culver - chairman

Muskie	*Baker*
Gravel	*Chafee*
Hart	*Pressler*

Transportation

Phone: 224-2376

Bentsen - chairman

Randolph	*Pressler*
Burdick	*Stafford*

Water Resources

Phone: 224-8426

Gravel - chairman

Bentsen	*Domenici*
Hart	*Simpson*
Moynihan	*Pressler*

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Finance

Taxes, tariffs, foreign trade, import quotas, Social Security.

Phone: 224-4515

D 12 - R 8

Russell B. Long (D La.), chairman

Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.)	*Robert Dole (Kan.)*
Abraham Ribicoff (Conn.)	*Bob Packwood (Ore.)*
Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Va.)	*William V. Roth Jr. (Del.)*
Gaylord Nelson (Wis.)	*John C. Danforth (Mo.)*
Mike Gravel (Alaska)	*John H. Chafee (R.I.)*
Lloyd Bentsen (Texas)	*John Heinz (Pa.)*
Spark M. Matsunaga (Hawaii)	*Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.)*
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.)	*David Durenberger (Minn.)*
Max Baucus (Mont.)	
David L. Boren (Okla.)	
Bill Bradley (N.J.)	

Energy and Foundations

Gravel - chairman

Boren	*Wallop*
Baucus	*Durenberger*

Health

Talmadge - chairman

Ribicoff	*Dole*
Nelson	*Durenberger*
Matsunaga	*Roth*

International Trade

Ribicoff - chairman

Talmadge	*Roth*
Byrd	*Danforth*
Gravel	*Heinz*
Moynihan	*Dole*
Baucus	*Chafee*
Bradley	

Oversight of the Internal Revenue Service

Baucus - chairman

Byrd	*Heinz*

Private Pension Plans and Employee Fringe Benefits

Bentsen - chairman

Matsunaga	*Dole*

Public Assistance

Moynihan - chairman

Long	*Heinz*
Boren	*Roth*

Revenue Sharing, Intergovernmental Revenue Impact, and Economic Problems

Bradley - chairman

Moynihan	*Durenberger*
Nelson	*Packwood*
Bentsen	*Danforth*

Social Security

Nelson - chairman

Long	*Danforth*
Ribicoff	*Packwood*

Taxation and Debt Management Generally

Byrd - chairman

Bentsen	*Packwood*
Talmadge	*Chafee*
Gravel	*Wallop*

Tourism and Sugar

Matsunaga - chairman

Long	*Wallop*

Unemployment and Related Problems

Boren - chairman

Bradley	*Chafee*

Foreign Relations

Relations of the United States with foreign nations generally; treaties; International Red Cross; diplomatic service; United Nations; foreign loans.

Phone: 224-4651

D 9 - R 6

Frank Church (D Idaho), chairman*

Claiborne Pell (R.I.)	*Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)*
George McGovern (S.D.)	*Charles H. Percy (Ill.)*
Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.)	*Howard H. Baker Jr. (Tenn.)*
John Glenn (Ohio)	*Jesse Helms (N.C.)*
Richard Stone (Fla.)	*S. I. (Sam) Hayakawa (Calif.)*
Paul S. Sarbanes (Md.)	*Richard G. Lugar (Ind.)*
Edmund S. Muskie (Maine)	
Edward Zorinsky (Neb.)	

African Affairs

McGovern - chairman

Muskie	*Hayakawa*

Arms Control, Oceans, International Operations, and Environment

Pell - chairman

Biden	*Percy*
Glenn	*Baker*
Zorinsky	*Helms*

East Asian and Pacific Affairs

Glenn - chairman

Stone	*Helms*
Muskie	*Percy*
Zorinsky	*Hayakawa*

European Affairs

Biden - chairman

Pell	*Javits*
Glenn	*Baker*

International Economic Policy

Sarbanes - chairman

McGovern	*Javits*
Biden	*Lugar*

Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

Stone - chairman

McGovern	*Percy*
Sarbanes	*Lugar*

Western Hemisphere Affairs

Zorinsky - chairman

Stone	*Lugar*
Sarbanes	*Hayakawa*
Muskie	*Helms*

** Chairman is member ex officio of all subcommittees of which he is not a regular member.*

Governmental Affairs

Budget and accounting measures; reorganization of the executive branch; general governmental and administrative problems; intergovernmental relationship between the federal government and the states and municipalities, and between the United States and in international organizations of which the United States is a member.

Phone: 224-4751

D 9 - R 8

Abraham Ribicoff (D Conn.), chairman*

Henry M. Jackson (Wash.)	*Charles H. Percy (Ill.)**
Thomas F. Eagleton (Mo.)	*Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)*
Lawton Chiles (Fla.)	*William V. Roth Jr. (Del.)*
Sam Nunn (Ga.)	*Ted Stevens (Alaska)*
John Glenn (Ohio)	*Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)*
Jim Sasser (Tenn.)	*John C. Danforth (Mo.)*
David Pryor (Ark.)	*William S. Cohen (Maine)*
Carl Levin (Mich.)	*David Durenberger (Minn.)*

Civil Service and General Services

Phone: 224-4551

Pryor - chairman

Sasser	*Stevens*

Energy, Nuclear Proliferation and Federal Services

Phone: 224-2627

Glenn - chairman

Eagleton	*Javits*
Jackson	*Stevens*
Levin	*Durenberger*

Federal Spending Practices and Open Government

Phone: 224-0211

Chiles - chairman

Nunn	*Danforth*
Jackson	*Roth*
Pryor	*Mathias*

Governmental Efficiency and the District of Columbia

Phone: 224-4161

Eagleton - chairman

Levin	*Mathias*
	Stevens

Intergovernmental Relations

Phone: 224-4718

Sasser - chairman

Chiles	*Roth*
Glenn	*Durenberger*
Nunn	*Danforth*

Investigations

Phone: 224-3721

Nunn - chairman
Jackson - vice chairman

Eagleton	*Percy*
Chiles	*Javits*
Glenn	*Roth*
Sasser	*Mathias*
	Cohen

Oversight of Government Management

Levin - chairman

Pryor	*Cohen*
	Durenberger

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Judiciary

Federal courts and judges, penitentiaries, civil rights, civil liberties, constitutional amendments, monopolies and unlawful restraints of trade, interstate compacts, immigration and naturalization, apportionment of representatives, meetings of Congress and attendance of members, claims against the United States.

Phone: 224-5225

D 10 - R 7

Edward M. Kennedy (D Mass.), chairman*

Birch Bayh (Ind.)	*Strom Thurmond (S.C.)**
Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.)	*Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)*
Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.)	*Paul Laxalt (Nev.)*
John C. Culver (Iowa)	*Orrin G. Hatch (Utah)*
Howard M. Metzenbaum (Ohio)	*Robert Dole (Kan.)*
Dennis DeConcini (Ariz.)	*Thad Cochran (Miss.)*
Patrick J. Leahy (Vt.)	*Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.)*
Max Baucus (Mont.)	
Howell Heflin (Ala.)	

Administrative Practice and Procedure

Phone: 224-5617

Culver - chairman

Leahy	*Laxalt*
Biden	*Dole*
Metzenbaum	*Mathias*
Bayh	*Cochran*

Antitrust, Monopoly and Business Rights

Phone: 224-5573

Metzenbaum - chairman

Kennedy	*Thurmond*
Bayh	*Mathias*
Culver	*Laxalt*
Leahy	*Hatch*
Baucus	

Constitution

Phone: 224-8191

Bayh - chairman

Metzenbaum	*Hatch*
DeConcini	*Thurmond*
Heflin	*Simpson*

Criminal Justice

Phone: 224-3281

Biden - chairman

Kennedy	*Mathias*
Culver	*Cochran*
DeConcini	*Laxalt*
Leahy	*Hatch*

Improvements in Judicial Machinery

Phone: 224-3618

DeConcini - chairman

Byrd	*Dole*
Kennedy	*Simpson*

Jurisprudence and Governmental Relations

Heflin - chairman

Baucus	*Simpson*
Biden	*Dole*

Limitations of Contracted and Delegated Authority

Baucus - chairman

Heflin	*Cochran*

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Labor and Human Resources

Education, labor, health and public welfare generally.

Phone: 224-5375

D 9 - R 6

Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D N.J.), chairman

Jennings Randolph (W.Va.)	*Richard S. Schweiker (Pa.)*
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)	*Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)*
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)	*Robert T. Stafford (Vt.)*
Gaylord Nelson (Wis.)	*Orrin G. Hatch (Utah)*
Thomas F. Eagleton (Mo.)	*William L. Armstrong (Colo.)*
Alan Cranston (Calif.)	*Gordon J. Humphrey (N.H.)*
Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.)	
Howard M. Metzenbaum (Ohio)	

Aging

Phone: 224-7653

Eagleton - chairman

Randolph	*Armstrong*
Kennedy	*Stafford*

Alcoholism and Drug Abuse

Phone: 224-8386

Riegle - chairman

Williams	*Hatch*
Metzenbaum	*Humphrey*

Child and Human Development

Phone: 224-9181

Cranston - chairman

Nelson	*Humphrey*
Riegle	*Armstrong*

Education, Arts and Humanities

Phone: 224-7666

Pell - chairman

Williams	*Stafford*
Randolph	*Schweiker*
Kennedy	*Javits*
Eagleton	

Employment, Poverty and Migratory Labor

Phone: 224-3968

Nelson - chairman

Pell	*Javits*
Cranston	*Hatch*
Metzenbaum	*Armstrong*

Handicapped

Phone: 224-9075

Randolph - chairman

Eagleton	*Stafford*
Riegle	*Schweiker*

Health and Scientific Research

Phone: 224-7675

Kennedy - chairman

Williams	*Schweiker*
Pell	*Javits*
Nelson	*Hatch*
Cranston	*Humphrey*
Metzenbaum	

Rules and Administration

Senate administration generally, contested elections, presidential succession, management of the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, etc.

Phone: 224-6352

D 6 - R 4

Claiborne Pell (D R.I.), chairman

Howard W. Cannon (Nev.)	*Mark O. Hatfield (Ore.)*
Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.)	*Howard H. Baker Jr. (Tenn.)*
Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N.J.)	*John Tower (Texas)*
Wendell H. Ford (Ky.)	*Richard S. Schweiker (Pa.)*
Dennis DeConcini (Ariz.)	

No standing subcommittees.

Select Ethics

Studies and investigates standards and conduct of Senate members and employees and may recommend remedial action.

Phone: 224-2981

D 3 - R 3

Adlai E. Stevenson (D Ill.), chairman
Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (R N.M.), vice chairman

Robert Morgan (N.C.)
Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.)
Mark O. Hatfield (Ore.)
Jesse Helms (N.C.)

No standing subcommittees.

Select Indian Affairs

Legislation dealing with Indian affairs; studies all problems relating to Indians including but not limited to Indian land management and trust responsibilities, Indian education, health, special services and loan programs and Indian claims against the United States.

Phone: 224-2251

D 3 - R 2

John Melcher (D Mont.), chairman

Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)
Dennis DeConcini (Ariz.)
Mark O. Hatfield (Ore.)
William S. Cohen (Maine)

No standing subcommittees.

Select Intelligence

Legislative and budgetary authority over the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other components of the federal intelligence community.

Phone: 224-1700

D 7 - R 6

Birch Bayh (D Ind.), chairman*
Barry Goldwater (R Ariz.), vice chairman*

Adlai E. Stevenson (Ill.)
Walter (Dee) Huddleston (Ky.)
Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.)
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.)
Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)
Henry M. Jackson (Wash.)
Jake Garn (Utah)
John H. Chafee (R.I.)
Richard G. Lugar (Ind.)
Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.)
David Durenberger (Minn.)

Budget Authorization

Inouye - chairman
Wallop - vice chairman

Stevenson
Jackson
Chafee
Durenberger

Charters and Guidelines

Huddleston - chairman

Stevenson
Moynihan
Garn
Lugar

Collection and Production

Stevenson - chairman
Lugar - vice chairman

Jackson
Inouye
Wallop
Durenberger

Intelligence and the Rights of Americans

Biden - chairman
Garn - vice chairman

Moynihan
Huddleston
Chafee

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Select Small Business

Studies and investigates problems of small business.

Phone: 224-5175

D 10 - R 7

Gaylord Nelson (D Wis.), chairman*

Sam Nunn (Ga.)
John C. Culver (Iowa)
Walter (Dee) Huddleston (Ky.)
Dale Bumpers (Ark.)
Robert Morgan (N.C.)
*Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (Conn.)**
Bob Packwood (Ore.)
Orrin G. Hatch (Utah)
S. I. (Sam) Hayakawa (Calif.)
Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (N.M.)

Jim Sasser (Tenn.)
Donald Stewart (Ala.)
Max Baucus (Mont.)
Carl Levin (Mich.)

Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.)
Larry Pressler (S.D.)

Advocacy and the Future of Small Business

Huddleston - chairman

Nelson
Sasser

Hayakawa
Boschwitz

Economic Development, Marketing, and the Family Farmer

Nunn - chairman

Bumpers
Morgan

Packwood
Hatch

Government Procurement

Morgan - chairman

Baucus
Stewart

Boschwitz
Weicker

Government Regulation and Paperwork

Culver - chairman

Stewart
Baucus
Levin

Schmitt
Hayakawa
Weicker

Monopoly, Economic Concentration and Anticompetitive Activities

Sasser - chairman

Levin
Nelson

Pressler
Packwood

Taxation, Financing and Investment

Bumpers - chairman

Nunn
Culver
Huddleston

Hatch
Schmitt
Pressler

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Special Aging

Studies and investigates problems of the aging and reports findings and makes recommendations to the Senate, but cannot report legislation.

Phone: 224-5364

D 7 - R 5

Lawton Chiles (D Fla.), chairman

Frank Church (Idaho)
John Glenn (Ohio)
John Melcher (Mont.)
David Pryor (Ark.)
Bill Bradley (N.J.)
Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.)

Pete V. Domenici (N.M.)
Charles H. Percy (Ill.)
John Heinz (Pa.)
Nancy Landon Kassebaum (Kan.)
William S. Cohen (Maine)

No standing subcommittees.

Veterans' Affairs

Veterans' measures generally; pensions, armed forces life insurance, rehabilitation, education, medical care and treatment of veterans, veterans' hospitals.

Phone: 224-9126

D 6 - R 4

Alan Cranston (D Calif.), chairman

Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.)
Jennings Randolph (W. Va.)
Richard Stone (Fla.)
John A. Durkin (N.H.)
Spark M. Matsunaga (Hawaii)

Robert T. Stafford (Vt.)
Strom Thurmond (S.C.)
Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.)
Gordon J. Humphrey (N.H.)

No standing subcommittees.

Senate Democratic Leaders

Chairman of the Conference - Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.)
Secretary of the Conference - Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)
Floor Leader - Byrd
President Pro Tempore - Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)
Whip - Alan Cranston (Calif.)
Assistant Whips - John A. Durkin (N.H.), Wendell H. Ford (Ky.), John Glenn (Ohio), Walter (Dee) Huddleston (Ky.), Patrick J. Leahy (Vt.), Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.), Paul S. Sarbanes (Md.), Donald Stewart (Ala.).

Policy Committee

Scheduling of legislation.

Phone: 224-5551

Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.), chairman

Lloyd Bentsen (Texas)
Dale Bumpers (Ark.)
Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.)
Frank Church (Idaho)
Alan Cranston (Calif.)†
John Glenn (Ohio)
Ernest F. Hollings (S.C.)
Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)†
Warren G. Magnuson
John Melcher (Mont.)
Edmund S. Muskie (Maine)
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)
William Proxmire (Wis.)
Abraham Ribicoff (Conn.)
Adlai E. Stevenson (Ill.)
Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.)

† Members ex officio from the leadership.

Legislative Review

Phone: 224-5551

Dale Bumpers (Ark.), chairman

Lloyd Bentsen (Texas)
Frank Church (Idaho)
John Glenn (Ohio)
John Melcher (Mont.)
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)
William Proxmire (Wis.)
Abraham Ribicoff (Conn.)

Steering Committee

Makes Democratic committee assignments.

Phone: 224-3735

Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.), chairman

Birch Bayh (Ind.)
Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.)
Howard W. Cannon (Nev.)
Lawton Chiles (Fla.)
Alan Cranston (Calif.)
John C. Culver (Iowa)
Dennis DeConcini (Ariz.)
Thomas F. Eagleton (Mo.)
Wendell H. Ford (Ky.)
Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)
J. Bennett Johnston (La.)
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)
Patrick J. Leahy (Vt.)
Russell B. Long (La.)
Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)
Howard M. Metzenbaum (Ohio)
Robert Morgan (N.C.)
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.)
Gaylord Nelson (Wis.)
Sam Nunn (Ga.)
Jim Sasser (Tenn.)
John C. Stennis (Miss.)
Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N.J.)
Edward Zorinsky (Neb.)

Senatorial Campaign Committee

Phone: 224-2447

Wendell H. Ford (Ky.), chairman
Howard M. Metzenbaum (Ohio), vice chairman
Birch Bayh (Ind.)
Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.)
Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.)
Howard W. Cannon (Nev.)
Lawton Chiles (Fla.)
Alan Cranston (Calif.)†
John C. Culver (Iowa)
Dennis DeConcini (Ariz.)
Thomas F. Eagleton (Mo.)
Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)†
Henry M. Jackson (Wash.)
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)
Patrick J. Leahy (Vt.)
Russell B. Long (La.)
Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)†
Robert Morgan (N.C.)
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.)
Gaylord Nelson (Wis.)
Sam Nunn (Ga.)
Jim Sasser (Tenn.)
John C. Stennis (Miss.)
Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N.J.)
Edward Zorinsky (Neb.)

† Members ex officio from the leadership.

Senate Republican Leaders

Chairman of the Conference - *Bob Packwood (Ore.)*
Secretary of the Conference - *Jake Garn (Utah)*
Floor Leader - *Howard H. Baker Jr. (Tenn.)*
Whip — *Ted Stevens (Alaska)*
Assistant Whips - *William L. Armstrong (Colo.), Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.), John H. Chafee (R.I.), Thad Cochran (Miss.), William S. Cohen (Maine), John C. Danforth (Mo.), Orrin G. Hatch (Utah), Jesse Helms (N.C.), Gordon J. Humphrey (N.H.), Richard G. Lugar (Ind.), James A. McClure (Idaho), Larry Pressler (S.D.), Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (N.M.), Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.), John W. Warner (Va.).*

Policy Committee

Counterpart of the Democratic Policy Committee.

Phone: 224-2946

John Tower (Texas), chairman

Howard H. Baker Jr. (Tenn.)†
Henry Bellmon (Okla.)
John H. Chafee (R.I.)
William S. Cohen (Maine)
John C. Danforth (Mo.)
Robert Dole (Kan.)†
Jake Garn (Utah)†
Orrin G. Hatch (Utah)
John Heinz (Pa.)
Jesse Helms (N.C.)
Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)
Bob Packwood (Ore.)†
Charles H. Percy (Ill.)
Ted Stevens (Alaska)†
John W. Warner (Va.)

Committee on Committees

Makes Republican committee assignments.

Phone: 224-5754

Henry Bellmon (Okla.), chairman

Howard H. Baker Jr. (Tenn.)†
Thad Cochran (Miss.)
Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)
James A. McClure (Idaho)

Pete V. Domenici (N.M.)
David Durenberger (Minn.)
Barry Goldwater (Ariz.)
Mark O. Hatfield (Ore.)
Paul Laxalt (Nev.)
Richard S. Schweiker (Pa.)
Strom Thurmond (S.C.)
Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (Conn.)
Milton R. Young (N.D.)

† Member ex officio from the leadership.

National Republican Senatorial Committee

Phone: 224-2351

John Heinz (Pa.), chairman

William L. Armstrong (Colo.)
Rudy Boschwitz (Minn.)
Larry Pressler (S.D.)
William V. Roth Jr. (Del.)
S. I. (Sam) Hayakawa (Calif.)
Gordon J. Humphrey (N.H.)
Roger W. Jepsen (Iowa)
Nancy Landon Kassebaum (Kan.)
Richard G. Lugar (Ind.)
Harrison "Jack" Schmitt (N.M.)
Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.)
Robert T. Stafford (Vt.)
Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.)

Personnel Committee

Phone: 224-6521

Robert Dole (Kan.), chairman

Howard H. Baker Jr. (Tenn.)†
Mark O. Hatfield (Ore.)

† Member ex officio from the leadership.

House Committees, 96th Congress, First Session

Agriculture

Agriculture and forestry in general; farm credit and security, crop insurance, soil conservation, rural electrification and rural development.

Phone: 225-2171

D 27 - R 15

Thomas S. Foley (D Wash.), chairman*

E. (Kika) de la Garza (Texas)
Walter B. Jones (N.C.)
Ed Jones (Tenn.)
Dawson Mathis (Ga.)
George E. Brown Jr. (Calif.)
David R. Bowen (Miss.)
Charlie Rose (N.C.)
Fred Richmond (N.Y.)
Richard Nolan (Minn.)
James Weaver (Ore.)
Alvin Baldus (Wis.)
Tom Harkin (Iowa)
Berkley Bedell (Iowa)
Glenn English (Okla.)
Floyd Fithian (Ind.)
Leon E. Panetta (Calif.)
Ike Skelton (Mo.)
Jerry Huckaby (La.)
Dan Glickman (Kan.)
Daniel K. Akaka (Hawaii)
Charlie Whitley (N.C.)
Tony Coelho (Calif.)
Thomas A. Daschle (S.D.)
Kent Hance (Texas)
Beryl Anthony Jr. (Ark.)
Charles W. Stenholm (Texas)

*William C. Wampler (Va.)**
Keith G. Sebelius (Kan.)
Paul Findley (Ill.)
Steven D. Symms (Idaho)
James P. Johnson (Colo.)
Edward R. Madigan (Ill.)
Margaret M. Heckler (Mass.)
James M. Jeffords (Vt.)
Richard Kelly (Fla.)
Charles E. Grassley (Iowa)
Tom Hagedorn (Minn.)
E. Thomas Coleman (Mo.)
Ron Marlenee (Mont.)
Larry J. Hopkins (Ky.)
William M. Thomas (Calif.)

Conservation and Credit

Jones (Tenn.) - chairman

Harkin
Huckaby
Glickman
Hance
Brown
Richmond
Weaver
Baldus
Bedell
English
Panetta

Madigan
Jeffords
Kelly
Coleman
Marlenee
Hopkins

Cotton

Bowen - chairman

Coelho
Jones (Tenn.)
Hance
Stenholm

Heckler
Thomas

Dairy and Poultry

Baldus - chairman

Rose
Akaka
Coelho
Jones (N.C.)
Whitley
Anthony
Stenholm

Jeffords
Kelly
Hagedorn
Hopkins

Department Investigations, Oversight, and Research

de la Garza - chairman

Brown
Fithian
Skelton
Glickman
English
Daschle

Wampler
Heckler
Grassley

Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition

Richmond - chairman

Panetta
Nolan
Glickman
Akaka
Harkin

Symms
Heckler
Grassley

Family Farms, Rural Development, and Special Studies

Nolan - chairman

Akaka
Harkin
Daschle
Anthony
Richmond
Bedell
Panetta

Grassley
Sebelius
Coleman
Thomas

Forests

Weaver - chairman

Anthony	*Johnson*
Huckaby	*Symms*
Coelho	
Nolan	

Livestock and Grains

Rose - chairman

Bedell	*Sebelius*
English	*Johnson*
Daschle	*Hagedorn*
Stenholm	*Coleman*
de la Garza	*Symms*
Fithian	*Marlenee*
Skelton	
Jones (Tenn.)	
Nolan	
Baldus	
Hance	

Oilseeds and Rice

Mathis - chairman

Jones (N.C.)	*Findley*
Bowen	*Thomas*
Whitley	
Stenholm	

Tobacco

Jones (N.C.) - chairman

Whitley	*Kelly*
Mathis	*Hopkins*
Rose	
Baldus	

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Appropriations

Appropriations of government revenues.

Phone: 225-2771

D 36 - R 18

Jamie L. Whitten (D Miss.), chairman*

Edward P. Boland (Mass.)	*Silvio O. Conte (Mass.)**
William H. Natcher (Ky.)	*Robert H. Michel (Ill.)*
Daniel J. Flood (Pa.)	*Joseph M. McDade (Pa.)*
Tom Steed (Okla.)	*Mark Andrews (N.D.)*
John M. Slack (W.Va.)	*Jack Edwards (Ala.)*
Neal Smith (Iowa)	*Robert C. McEwen (N.Y.)*
Robert N. Giaimo (Conn.)	*John T. Myers (Ind.)*
Joseph P. Addabbo (N.Y.)	*J. Kenneth Robinson (Va.)*
Edward J. Patten (N.J.)	*Clarence E. Miller (Ohio)*
Clarence D. Long (Md.)	*Lawrence Coughlin (Pa.)*
Sidney R. Yates (Ill.)	*C. W. Bill Young (Fla.)*
David R. Obey (Wis.)	*Jack F. Kemp (N.Y.)*
Edward R. Roybal (Calif.)	*Ralph S. Regula (Ohio)*
Louis Stokes (Ohio)	*Clair W. Burgener (Calif.)*
Gunn McKay (Utah)	*George M. O'Brien (Ill.)*
Tom Bevill (Ala.)	*Virginia Smith (Neb.)*
Bill Chappell Jr. (Fla.)	*Eldon Rudd (Ariz.)*
Bill D. Burlison (Mo.)	*Carl D. Pursell (Mich.)*
Bill Alexander (Ark.)	
John P. Murtha (Pa.)	
Bob Traxler (Mich.)	
Robert Duncan (Ore.)	
Joseph D. Early (Mass.)	
Charles Wilson (Texas)	
Lindy Boggs (La.)	
Adam Benjamin Jr. (Ind.)	
Norman D. Dicks (Wash.)	
Matthew F. McHugh (N.Y.)	
Bo Ginn (Ga.)	
William Lehman (Fla.)	
Jack Hightower (Texas)	
John W. Jenrette Jr. (S.C.)	
Martin Olav Sabo (Minn.)	
Julian C. Dixon (Calif.)	
Bennett M. Stewart (Ill.)	

Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies

Phone: 225-2638

Whitten - chairman

Burlison	*Andrews*
Traxler	*Robinson*
Alexander	*Myers*
McHugh	
Natcher	
Hightower	
Jenrette	

Defense

Phone: 225-2847

Addabbo - chairman

Flood	*Edwards*
Giaimo	*Robinson*
Chappell	*Kemp*
Burlison	
Murtha	
Dicks	

District of Columbia

Phone: 225-5338

Wilson - chairman

Natcher
Stokes
McKay
Chappell

Pursell
Rudd

Energy and Water Development

Phone: 225-3421

Bevill - chairman

Boland
Slack
Boggs
Chappell
Jenrette
Dixon

Myers
Burgener
Smith

Foreign Operations

Phone: 225-2041

Long - chairman

Obey
Wilson
Yates
McHugh
Lehman
Dixon

Young
Smith
Kemp

Housing and Urban Development — Independent Agencies

Phone: 225-3241

Boland - chairman

Traxler
Stokes
Bevill
Boggs
Sabo
Stewart

Coughlin
McDade
Young

Interior

Phone: 225-3081

Yates - chairman

McKay
Long

McDade
Regula

Duncan
Murtha
Dicks
Ginn

Burgener

Labor — Health, Education and Welfare

Phone: 225-3508

Natcher - chairman

Flood
Smith
Patten
Obey
Roybal
Stokes
Early

Michel
Conte
O'Brien
Pursell

Legislative

Phone: 225-5338

Benjamin - chairman

Slack
Smith
Giaimo
Yates

Michel
Conte
Rudd

Military Construction

Phone: 225-3047

McKay - chairman

Ginn
Steed
Addabbo
Long

McEwen
Regula

State, Justice, Commerce and Judiciary

Phone: 225-3351

Slack - chairman

Smith
Alexander
Early
Hightower

O'Brien
Andrews

Transportation

Phone: 225-2141

Duncan - chairman

Steed
Benjamin

Conte
Edwards

Lehman	*Miller*
Sabo	*Coughlin*
Stewart	
Boland	

Treasury — Postal Service — General Government

Phone: 225-5834

Steed - chairman

Addabbo	*Miller*
Roybal	*McEwen*
Patten	
Giaimo	

** Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Armed Services

All matters related to the national military establishment; conservation, development and use of naval petroleum and oil shale reserves; strategic and critical materials; scientific research and development in support of the armed services.

Phone: 225-4151

D 28 - R 15

Melvin Price (D Ill.), chairman

Charles E. Bennett (Fla.)	*Bob Wilson (Calif.)*
Samuel S. Stratton (N.Y.)	*William L. Dickinson (Ala.)*
Richard H. Ichord (Mo.)	*G. William Whitehurst (Va.)*
Lucien N. Nedzi (Mich.)	*Floyd Spence (S.C.)*
Charles H. Wilson (Calif.)	*David C. Treen (La.)*
Richard C. White (Texas)	*Robin L. Beard Jr. (Tenn.)*
Bill Nichols (Ala.)	*Donald J. Mitchell (N.Y.)*
Jack Brinkley (Ga.)	*Marjorie S. Holt (Md.)*
Robert H. Mollohan (W.Va.)	*Robert W. Daniel Jr. (Va.)*
Dan Daniel (Va.)	*Elwood Hillis (Ind.)*
G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery (Miss.)	*David F. Emery (Maine)*
Harold Runnels (N.M.)	*Paul S. Trible Jr. (Va.)*
Les Aspin (Wis.)	*Robert E. Badham (Calif.)*
Ronald V. Dellums (Calif.)	*Charles F. Dougherty (Pa.)*
Mendel J. Davis (S.C.)	*Jim Courter (N.J.)*
Patricia Schroeder (Colo.)	*Melvin H. Evans (V.I.)*[1]
Abraham Kazen Jr. (Texas)	
Antonio Borja Won Pat (Guam)[1]	
Bob Carr (Mich.)	
Jim Lloyd (Calif.)	
Larry P. McDonald (Ga.)	
Bob Stump (Ariz.)	
Vic Fazio (Calif.)	
Claude (Buddy) Leach (La.)	

[1] *Delegates from Guam and the Virgin Islands not counted in party ratios.*

Beverly B. Byron (Md.)	
Nicholas Mavroules (Mass.)	
Joe Wyatt Jr. (Texas)	
Don Bailey (Pa.)	

Investigations

Phone: 225-4221

Stratton - chairman

Mollohan	*Beard*
Daniel	*Treen*
Runnels	*Daniel*
Kazen	*Badham*
Won Pat	*Spence*
Price	
Ichord	
Nichols	

Military Compensation

Phone: 225-6873

Nichols - chairman

Mollohan	*Mitchell*
Aspin	*Emery*
Davis	*Dougherty*
Fazio	*Courter*
Leach	*Evans*
Byron	
Mavroules	
Wyatt	

Military Installations and Facilities

Phone: 225-7120

Nedzi - chairman

Wilson	*Whitehurst*
Brinkley	*Beard*
Davis	*Mitchell*
Won Pat	*Trible*
Fazio	*Dickinson*
Byron	
Bennett	
White	

Military Personnel

Phone: 225-7560

White - chairman

Montgomery	*Holt*
Kazen	*Treen*
Won Pat	*Hillis*
Nedzi	
Nichols	

Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems

Phone: 225-7160

Price - chairman

Wilson	*Wilson*
Daniel	*Holt*
Carr	*Daniel*
Stump	*Hillis*
Leach	*Badham*
Mavroules	
Bailey	

Research and Development

Phone: 225-3168

Ichord - chairman

Runnels	*Dickinson*
Aspin	*Whitehurst*
Dellums	*Mitchell*
Schroeder	*Courter*
Lloyd	
McDonald	

Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials

Phone: 225-6704

Bennett - chairman

Brinkley	*Spence*
Mollohan	*Emery*
Fazio	*Trible*
Byron	*Dougherty*
Wyatt	
Stratton	

Special Subcommittee

NATO Standardization, Interoperability, and Readiness

Phone: 225-6527

Daniel (D Va.) - chairman

Davis	*Dickinson*
Schroeder	*Whitehurst*
Carr	*Beard*
Lloyd	*Spence*
McDonald	*Hillis*
Stump	
Ichord	
Nichols	

Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs

Banks and banking, including deposit insurance and federal monetary policy; money and credit, including currency; gold and silver, including coinage; valuation and revaluation of the dollar; urban development; housing generally; economic stabilization; control of prices; international finance; financial aid to commerce and industry.

Phone: 225-4247

D 27 - R 15

Henry S. Reuss (D Wis.), chairman*

Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)	*J. William Stanton (Ohio)**
William S. Moorhead (Pa.)	*Chalmers P. Wylie (Ohio)*
Fernand J. St Germain (R.I.)	*Stewart B. McKinney (Conn.)*
Henry B. Gonzalez (Texas)	*George Hansen (Idaho)*
Joseph G. Minish (N.J.)	*Henry J. Hyde (Ill.)*
Frank Annunzio (Ill.)	*Richard Kelly (Fla.)*
James M. Hanley (N.Y.)	*Jim Leach (Iowa)*
Parren J. Mitchell (Md.)	*Thomas B. Evans Jr. (Del.)*
Walter E. Fauntroy (D.C.)[1]	*S. William Green (N.Y.)*
Stephen L. Neal (N.C.)	*Ron Paul (Texas)*
Jerry M. Patterson (Calif.)	*Ed Bethune (Ark.)*
James J. Blanchard (Mich.)	*Norman D. Shumway (Calif.)*
Carroll Hubbard Jr. (Ky.)	*Carroll A. Campbell Jr. (S.C.)*
John J. LaFalce (N.Y.)	*Don Ritter (Pa.)*
Gladys Noon Spellman (Md.)	*Jon C. Hinson (Miss.)*
Les AuCoin (Ore.)	
David W. Evans (Ind.)	
Norman E. D'Amours (N.H.)	
Stanley N. Lundine (N.Y.)	
John J. Cavanaugh (Neb.)	
Mary Rose Oakar (Ohio)	
Jim Mattox (Texas)	
Bruce F. Vento (Minn.)	
Doug Barnard (Ga.)	
Wes Watkins (Okla.)	
Robert Garcia (N.Y.)	
Mike Lowry (Wash.)	

The City

Phone: 225-2495

Reuss - chairman

Oakar	*Kelly*
Hanley	*McKinney*
Cavanaugh	*Hinson*
Garcia	
Lowry	

[1] *Delegate from District of Columbia not counted in party ratio.*

Consumer Affairs

Phone: 225-9181

Annunzio - chairman

Spellman	*Evans*
Vento	*Wylie*
Fauntroy	*Ritter*
Mitchell	

Domestic Monetary Policy

Phone: 225-7315

Mitchell - chairman

Neal	*Hansen*
D'Amours	*Paul*
Barnard	*Ritter*
Mattox	
Cavanaugh	

Economic Stabilization

Phone: 225-7145

Moorhead - chairman

Blanchard	*McKinney*
Lundine	*Kelly*
Vento	*Green*
Watkins	*Shumway*
Ashley	*Hinson*
Hubbard	*Paul*
LaFalce	
Evans	
D'Amours	
Oakar	
Garcia	

Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance

Phone: 225-2924

St Germain - chairman

Annunzio	*Wylie*
Hanley	*Hyde*
Hubbard	*Hansen*
Patterson	*Leach*
Ashley	*Campbell*
D'Amours	*Bethune*
Cavanaugh	
Mattox	
Minish	
Fauntroy	
Barnard	

General Oversight and Renegotiation

Phone: 225-2828

Minish - chairman

Gonzalez	*Green*
Annunzio	*Paul*
Hubbard	*Campbell*
Mitchell	*Hinson*
Neal	
Barnard	
Fauntroy	

Housing and Community Development

Phone: 225-7054

Ashley - chairman

Moorhead	*Stanton*
St Germain	*Wylie*
Gonzalez	*McKinney*
Hanley	*Kelly*
Fauntroy	*Evans*
Patterson	*Green*
LaFalce	*Leach*
AuCoin	*Bethune*
Spellman	*Ritter*
Blanchard	
Evans	
Lundine	
Oakar	
Vento	
Watkins	
Garcia	
Lowry	

International Development Institutions and Finance

Gonzalez - chairman

Phone: 225-0419

Minish	*Hyde*
Moorhead	*Evans*
LaFalce	*Bethune*
Oakar	*Shumway*
Ashley	*Stanton*
Neal	
AuCoin	
Cavanaugh	
Reuss	

International Trade, Investment and Monetary Policy

Phone: 225-1271

Neal - chairman

AuCoin	*Leach*
Cavanaugh	*Hyde*

Blanchard
Evans
Lundine
Barnard
Oakar
Patterson
LaFalce
Mattox
Lowry

Hansen
Campbell
Shumway
Stanton

Holtzman
Simon
Jones
Brodhead
Solarz
Gray

Regula
Shuster
Rudd

Budget

Federal budget generally; Congressional Budget Office.

Phone: 225-7200

D 17 - R 8

Robert N. Giaimo (D Conn.), chairman

Jim Wright (Texas)
Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)
Louis Stokes (Ohio)
Elizabeth Holtzman (N.Y.)
David R. Obey (Wis.)
Paul Simon (Ill.)
Norman Y. Mineta (Calif.)
Jim Mattox (Texas)
James R. Jones (Okla.)
Stephen J. Solarz (N.Y.)
William M. Brodhead (Mich.)
Timothy E. Wirth (Colo.)
Leon E. Panetta (Calif.)
Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.)
Bill Nelson (Fla.)
William H. Gray III (Pa.)

Delbert L. Latta (Ohio)
James T. Broyhill (N.C.)
Barber B. Conable Jr. (N.Y.)
Marjorie S. Holt (Md.)
Ralph S. Regula (Ohio)
Bud Shuster (Pa.)
Bill Frenzel (Minn.)
Eldon Rudd (Ariz.)

No standing subcommittees.

Task Forces

Budget Process

Mineta - chairman

Giaimo
Wright
Holtzman
Jones
Wirth
Panetta
Gephardt
Nelson

Conable
Holt

Defense and International Affairs

Mattox - chairman

Giaimo
Wright

Latta
Holt

Economic Policy, Projections and Productivity

Ashley - chairman

Giaimo
Wright
Gephardt
Gray

Broyhill
Conable
Shuster
Frenzel

Human and Community Resources

Stokes - chairman

Giaimo
Wright
Solarz
Gray

Holt
Frenzel

Inflation

Simon - chairman

Giaimo
Wright
Mattox
Jones
Solarz
Nelson

Shuster
Rudd

Legislative Savings

Panetta - chairman

Giaimo
Wright
Wirth
Nelson

Latta
Rudd

State and Local Governments

Holtzman - chairman

Giaimo
Wright
Mineta
Mattox
Brodhead

Latta
Regula

Regulations and Spending Limitations

Obey - chairman

Giaimo	*Latta*
Wright	*Broyhill*
Brodhead	
Wirth	
Panetta	

Tax Expenditures and Tax Policy

Jones - chairman

Giaimo	*Broyhill*
Wright	*Conable*
Brodhead	*Regula*
Gephardt	*Frenzel*

District of Columbia

All measures relating to municipal affairs of the District of Columbia except its appropriations.

Phone: 225-4457

D 10 - R 5

Ronald V. Dellums (D Calif.), chairman*

Charles C. Diggs Jr. (Mich.)	*Stewart B. McKinney (Conn.)*
Walter E. Fauntroy (D.C.)[1]	*Robert W. Daniel Jr. (Va.)*
Romano L. Mazzoli (Ky.)	*Marc L. Marks (Pa.)*
Herbert E. Harris II (Va.)	*Millicent Fenwick (N.J.)*
Mickey Leland (Texas)	*Jim Jeffries (Kan.)*
Fortney H. (Pete) Stark (Calif.)	
Toby Moffett (Conn.)	
William H. Gray III (Pa.)	
Michael D. Barnes (Md.)	

Fiscal Affairs and Health

Dellums - chairman

Gray	*McKinney*
Fauntroy	*Fenwick*

Government, Budget and Urban Affairs

Phone: 225-1615

Fauntroy - chairman

Harris	*Daniel*
Dellums	*Fenwick*
Diggs	

Judiciary, Manpower and Education

Phone: 225-1614

Mazzoli - chairman

Leland	*Marks*
Barnes	*Jeffries*

Metropolitan Affairs

Stark - chairman

Harris	*McKinney*
Moffett	*Marks*

** Chairman is member ex officio of all subcommittees of which he is not a regular member.*

[1] Delegate from District of Columbia not counted in party ratio.

Education and Labor

Education, labor and welfare matters.

Phone: 225-4527

D 23 - R 13

Carl D. Perkins (D Ky.), chairman*

Frank Thompson Jr. (N.J.)	*John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)**
John Brademas (Ind.)	*John N. Erlenborn (Ill.)*
Augustus F. Hawkins (Calif.)	*John Buchanan (Ala.)*
William D. Ford (Mich.)	*James M. Jeffords (Vt.)*
Phillip Burton (Calif.)	*Bill Goodling (Pa.)*
Joseph M. Gaydos (Pa.)	*Mickey Edwards (Okla.)*
William Clay (Mo.)	*E. Thomas Coleman (Mo.)*
Mario Biaggi (N.Y.)	*Ken Kramer (Colo.)*
Ike F. Andrews (N.C.)	*Arlen Erdahl (Minn.)*
Paul Simon (Ill.)	*Tom Tauke (Iowa)*
Edward P. Beard (R.I.)	*Daniel B. Crane (Ill.)*
George Miller (Calif.)	*Jon C. Hinson (Miss.)*
Michael (Ozzie) Myers (Pa.)	*Thomas E. Petri (Wis.)*
Austin J. Murphy (Pa.)	
Ted Weiss (N.Y.)	
Baltasar Corrada (P.R.)[1]	
Dale E. Kildee (Mich.)	
Peter A. Peyser (N.Y.)	
Edward J. Stack (Fla.)	
Pat Williams (Mont.)	
William R. Ratchford (Conn.)	
Ray Kogovsek (Colo.)	
Don Bailey (Pa.)	

Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education

Phone: 225-4368

Perkins - chairman

Ford	*Goodling*
Andrews	*Buchanan*
Miller	*Erdahl*

Murphy
Corrada
Kildee
Williams
Hawkins
Myers
Kogovsek

Crane
Hinson

Employment Opportunities

Phone: 225-1927

Hawkins - chairman

Clay
Weiss
Corrada
Ratchford
Bailey
Simon

Jeffords
Tauke
Petri

Health and Safety

Phone: 225-6876

Gaydos - chairman

Murphy
Myers
Bailey
Vacancy

Edwards
Buchanan

Human Resources

Phone: 225-1850

Andrews - chairman

Corrada
Kildee
Stack
Williams

Coleman
Goodling

Labor-Management Relations

Phone: 225-5768

Thompson - chairman

Clay
Brademas
Ford
Miller
Burton
Kildee
Weiss
Kogovsek
Biaggi
Peyser

Ashbrook
Erlenborn
Kramer
Crane
Hinson
Petri

Labor Standards

Phone: 225-5331

Beard - chairman

Burton
Miller
Williams
Myers

Erlenborn
Edwards

Postsecondary Education

Phone: 225-8881

Ford - chairman

Brademas
Thompson
Biaggi
Simon
Peyser
Gaydos
Murphy
Weiss
Ratchford
Bailey

Buchanan
Jeffords
Edwards
Tauke
Petri

Select Education

Phone: 225-5954

Simon - chairman

Brademas
Beard
Miller
Hawkins
Biaggi
Stack

Kramer
Coleman
Erdahl

Task Force

Welfare and Pension Plans

Phone: 225-5494

Thompson - chairman

Membership is the same as Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations.

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*
Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico not counted in party ratio.

Foreign Affairs

Relations of the United States with other nations and international organizations and movements.

Phone: 225-5021

D 22 - R 12

Clement J. Zablocki (D Wis.), chairman*

L. H. Fountain (N.C.)
Dante B. Fascell (Fla.)
Charles C. Diggs Jr. (Mich.)
Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.)
Lee H. Hamilton (Ind.)
Lester L. Wolff (N.Y.)
Jonathan B. Bingham (N.Y.)
Gus Yatron (Pa.)
Cardiss Collins (Ill.)
Stephen J. Solarz (N.Y.)
Don Bonker (Wash.)
Gerry E. Studds (Mass.)
Andy Ireland (Fla.)
Don J. Pease (Ohio)
Dan Mica (Fla.)
Michael D. Barnes (Md.)
William H. Gray III (Pa.)
Tony P. Hall (Ohio)
Howard Wolpe (Mich.)
David R. Bowen (Miss.)
Floyd Fithian (Ind.)

*William S. Broomfield (Mich.)**
Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.)
Paul Findley (Ill.)
John Buchanan (Ala.)
Larry Winn Jr. (Kan.)
Benjamin A. Gilman (N.Y.)
Tennyson Guyer (Ohio)
Robert J. Lagomarsino (Calif.)
Bill Goodling (Pa.)
Joel Pritchard (Wash.)
Millicent Fenwick (N.J.)
Dan Quayle (Ind.)

Africa

Phone: 225-3158

Solarz - chairman

Diggs
Collins
Gray
Wolpe
Fithian

Goodling
Buchanan
Fenwick

Asian and Pacific Affairs

Phone: 225-3044

Wolff - chairman

Mica
Hall
Diggs
Yatron
Solarz

Guyer
Pritchard
Goodling

Europe and the Middle East

Phone: 225-3345

Hamilton - chairman

Rosenthal
Pease
Studds
Barnes
Fountain

Findley
Fenwick
Winn

Inter-American Affairs

Phone: 225-9404

Yatron - chairman

Fascell
Rosenthal
Collins
Studds
Ireland

Gilman
Guyer
Lagomarsino

International Economic Policy and Trade

Phone: 225-3246

Bingham - chairman

Bonker
Pease
Barnes
Wolpe

Lagomarsino
Findley
Gilman

International Operations

Phone: 225-3424

Fascell - chairman

Ireland
Mica
Gray
Bowen

Buchanan
Derwinski
Pritchard

International Organizations

Phone: 225-5318

Bonker - chairman

Hall
Fithian
Bowen

Derwinski
Quayle

International Security and Scientific Affairs

Phone: 225-8926

Zablocki - chairman

Fountain	*Broomfield*
Hamilton	*Winn*
Wolff	*Quayle*
Bingham	

* Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.

Government Operations

Budget and accounting measures; overall economy and efficiency of government, including federal procurement; reorganization in the executive branch; inter-governmental relations; general revenue sharing; National Archives.

Phone: 225-5051

D 25 - R 14

Jack Brooks (D Texas), chairman*

L. H. Fountain (N.C.)	*Frank Horton (N.Y.)**
Dante B. Fascell (Fla.)	*John N. Erlenborn (Ill.)*
William S. Moorhead (Pa.)	*John W. Wydler (N.Y.)*
Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.)	*Clarence J. Brown (Ohio)*
Fernand J. St Germain (R.I.)	*Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (Calif.)*
Don Fuqua (Fla.)	*Thomas N. Kindness (Ohio)*
John Conyers Jr. (Mich.)	*Robert S. Walker (Pa.)*
Cardiss Collins (Ill.)	*Arlan Stangeland (Minn.)*
John L. Burton (Calif.)	*M. Caldwell Butler (Va.)*
Richardson Preyer (N.C.)	*Lyle Williams (Ohio)*
Robert F. Drinan (Mass.)	*Jim Jeffries (Kan.)*
Glenn English (Okla.)	*Olympia J. Snowe (Maine)*
Elliott H. Levitas (Ga.)	*Wayne Grisham (Calif.)*
David W. Evans (Ind.)	*H. Joel Deckard (Ind.)*
Toby Moffett (Conn.)	
Andrew Maguire (N.J.)	
Les Aspin (Wis.)	
Henry A. Waxman (Calif.)	
Floyd Fithian (Ind.)	
Peter H. Kostmayer (Pa.)	
Ted Weiss (N.Y.)	
Mike Synar (Okla.)	
Robert T. Matsui (Calif.)	
Eugene V. Atkinson (Pa.)	

Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs

Phone: 225-4407

Rosenthal - chairman

Matsui	*Williams*
Atkinson	*Jeffries*
St Germain	*Deckard*
Conyers	
Levitas	

Environment, Energy and Natural Resources

Phone: 225-6427

Moffett - chairman

Drinan	*McCloskey*
Fithian	*Deckard*
Maguire	*Stangeland*
Waxman	
Kostmayer	

Government Activities and Transportation

Phone: 225-7920

Burton - chairman

Evans	*Walker*
Aspin	*Jeffries*
Waxman	*Brown*
Synar	
Matsui	

Government Information and Individual Rights

Phone: 225-3741

Preyer - chairman

Drinan	*Kindness*
English	*Butler*
Evans	*Erlenborn*
Kostmayer	
Weiss	

Intergovernmental Relations and Human Resources

Phone: 225-2548

Fountain - chairman

English	*Wydler*
Aspin	*Brown*
Weiss	*Snowe*
Synar	
Moorhead	

Legislation and National Security

Phone: 225-5147

Brooks - chairman

Fuqua	*Horton*
Moorhead	*Erlenborn*
Fascell	*Stangeland*
St Germain	
Levitas	

Manpower and Housing

Phone: 225-6751

Collins - chairman

Conyers	*Grisham*
Maguire	*Butler*
Atkinson	*Snowe*
Drinan	
Matsui	

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

House Administration

House administration generally; printing and correction of the *Congressional Record*; federal elections generally; management of the Library of Congress, supervision of the Smithsonian Institution, etc.

Phone: 225-2061

D 16 - R 9

Frank Thompson Jr. (D N.J.), chairman*

Lucien N. Nedzi (Mich.)	*William L. Dickinson (Ala.)**
John Brademas (Ind.)	*James C. Cleveland (N.H.)*
Augustus F. Hawkins (Calif.)	*Bill Frenzel (Minn.)*
Frank Annunzio (Ill.)	*Dave Stockman (Mich.)*
Joseph M. Gaydos (Pa.)	*Robert E. Badham (Calif.)*
Ed Jones (Tenn.)	*Newt Gingrich (Ga.)*
Robert H. Mollohan (W.Va.)	*Jerry Lewis (Calif.)*
Lionel Van Deerlin (Calif.)	***Carroll A. Campbell Jr. (S.C.)***
Joseph G. Minish (N.J.)	***Tom Loeffler (Texas)***
Mendel J. Davis (S.C.)	
Charlie Rose (N.C.)	
John L. Burton (Calif.)	
Peter A. Peyser (N.Y.)	
William R. Ratchford (Conn.)	
Vic Fazio (Calif.)	

Accounts

Phone: 225-7884

Brademas - chairman

Minish	*Cleveland*
Davis	*Badham*
Rose	*Lewis*
Burton	***Campbell***
Peyser	***Loeffler***
Ratchford	
Fazio	
Nedzi	

Contracts

Phone: 225-2444

Gaydos - chairman

Hawkins	*Cleveland*
Jones	***Campbell***
	Loeffler

Libraries and Memorials

Phone: 225-6276

Nedzi - chairman

Brademas	*Frenzel*
Ratchford	*Stockman*
Fazio	*Gingrich*
Peyser	

Office Systems

Phone: 225-1608

Mollohan - chairman

Rose	*Stockman*
Burton	*Badham*

Personnel and Police

Phone: 225-7552

Annunzio - chairman

Van Deerlin	*Gingrich*
Minish	***Campbell***
Davis	***Loeffler***
Peyser	

Printing

Phone: 225-7882

Hawkins - chairman

Gaydos	*Cleveland*
Van Deerlin	*Gingrich*

Services

Phone: 225-4568

Jones - chairman

Annunzio	*Dickinson*
Mollohan	*Lewis*

Policy Group

Information and Computers

Phone: 225-5248

Rose - chairman

Van Deerlin	*Stockman*
Burton	*Lewis*

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Interior and Insular Affairs

Public lands, parks, natural resources, territorial possessions of the United States, Indian Affairs.

Phone: 225-2761

D 26 - R 14

Morris K. Udall (D Ariz.), chairman*

Phillip Burton (Calif.)	*Don H. Clausen (Calif.)**
Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wis.)	*Manual Lujan Jr. (N.M.)*
Abraham Kazen Jr. (Texas)	*Keith G. Sebelius (Kan.)*
Jonathan B. Bingham (N.Y.)	*Don Young (Alaska)*
John F. Seiberling (Ohio)	*Steven D. Symms (Idaho)*
Harold Runnels (N.M.)	*James P. Johnson (Colo.)*
Antonio Borja Won Pat (Guam)	*Robert J. Lagomarsino (Calif.)*
Bob Eckhardt (Texas)	*Dan Marriott (Utah)*
Jim Santini (Nev.)	*Ron Marlenee (Mont.)*
James Weaver (Ore.)	*Mickey Edwards (Okla.)*
Bob Carr (Mich.)	*Richard B. Cheney (Wyo.)*
George Miller (Calif.)	*Charles (Chip) Pashayan Jr. (Calif.)*
James J. Florio (N.J.)	*Bob Whittaker (Kan.)*
Dawson Mathis (Ga.)	*Douglas K. Bereuter (Neb.)*
Phil Sharp (Ind.)	*Melvin H. Evans (V.I.)*
Edward J. Markey (Mass.)	
Peter H. Kostmayer (Pa.)	
Baltasar Corrada (P.R.)	
Austin J. Murphy (Pa.)	
Nick J. Rahall (W.Va.)	
Bruce F. Vento (Minn.)	
Jerry Huckaby (La.)	
Lamar Gudger (N.C.)	
James J. Howard (N.J.)	
Jerry M. Patterson (Calif.)	
Ray Kogovsek (Colo.)	
Pat Williams (Mont.)	

Energy and the Environment

Phone: 225-8331

Udall - chairman

Bingham	*Symms*
Eckhardt	*Lujan*
Weaver	*Marriott*
Carr	*Marlenee*
Mathis	*Edwards*
Sharp	*Cheney*
Markey	*Bereuter*
Kostmayer	*Evans*
Murphy	
Rahall	
Vento	
Huckaby	
Howard	
Corrada	

Mines and Mining

Phone: 225-1661

Santini - chairman

Florio	*Young*
Mathis	*Symms*
Rahall	*Marriott*
Huckaby	*Whittaker*
Kazen	
Runnels	
Murphy	

National Parks and Insular Affairs

Phone: 225-6044

Burton - chairman

Kastenmeier	*Sebelius*
Florio	*Clausen*

Corrada
Gudger
Williams
Won Pat
Kazen
Bingham
Seiberling
Murphy
Vento
Patterson
Eckhardt
Kostmayer
Udall

Johnson
Lagomarsino
Edwards
Pashayan
Whittaker
Bereuter
Evans

Oversight/Special Investigations

Phone: 225-2196

Runnels - chairman

Williams
Santini
Weaver
Mathis
Udall

Clausen
Young
Lagomarsino
Evans

Pacific Affairs

Phone: 225-1188

Won Pat - chairman

Howard
Seiberling
Bingham
Burton
Udall

Lagomarsino
Clausen
Sebelius

Public Lands

Phone: 225-3681

Seiberling - chairman

Burton
Runnels
Santini
Kostmayer
Gudger
Kogovsek
Eckhardt
Weaver
Kastenmeier
Carr
Udall

Johnson
Clausen
Young
Marlenee
Cheney
Pashayan

Water and Power Resources

Phone: 225-6042

Kazen - chairman

Weaver
Miller
Patterson
Kogovsek
Eckhardt
Carr
Sharp
Won Pat

Lujan
Johnson
Pashayan
Bereuter
Evans

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Delegates from Guam and the Virgin Islands and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico not counted in party ratios.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Regulation of interstate and foreign commerce and communications; regulation of interstate transmission of power (except between government projects); inland waterways; railroads, railroad labor; securities and exchanges; interstate oil compacts; natural gas; health matters generally (except health care supported by payroll deductions); consumer affairs and consumer protection; travel and tourism; biomedical research and development.

Phone: 225-2927

D 27 - R 15

Harley O. Staggers (D W.Va.), chairman*

John D. Dingell (Mich.)
Lionel Van Deerlin (Calif.)
John M. Murphy (N.Y.)
David E. Satterfield III (Va.)
Bob Eckhardt (Texas)
Richardson Preyer (N.C.)
James H. Scheuer (N.Y.)
Richard L. Ottinger (N.Y.)
Henry A. Waxman (Calif.)
Timothy E. Wirth (Colo.)
Phil Sharp (Ind.)
James J. Florio (N.J.)
Toby Moffett (Conn.)
Jim Santini (Nev.)
Andrew Maguire (N.J.)
Marty Russo (Ill.)
Edward J. Markey (Mass.)

James T. Broyhill (N.C.)*
Samuel L. Devine (Ohio)
Tim Lee Carter (Ky.)
Clarence J. Brown (Ohio)
James M. Collins (Texas)
Norman F. Lent (N.Y.)
Edward R. Madigan (Ill.)
Carlos J. Moorhead (Calif.)
Matthew J. Rinaldo (N.J.)
Dave Stockman (Mich.)
Marc L. Marks (Pa.)
Tom Corcoran (Ill.)
Gary A. Lee (N.Y.)
Tom Loeffler (Texas)
William E. Dannemeyer (Calif.)

Thomas A. Luken (Ohio)
Doug Walgren (Pa.)
Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.)
Barbara A. Mikulski (Md.)
Ronald M. Mottl (Ohio)
Phil Gramm (Texas)
Al Swift (Wash.)
Mickey Leland (Texas)
Richard C. Shelby (Ala.)

Communications

Phone: 225-9304

Van Deerlin - chairman

Murphy	*Collins*
Wirth	*Broyhill*
Russo	*Moorhead*
Markey	*Marks*
Mottl	
Swift	
Luken	
Gore	

Consumer Protection and Finance

Phone: 225-7790

Scheuer - chairman

Preyer	*Broyhill*
Ottinger	*Rinaldo*
Satterfield	
Luken	

Energy and Power

Phone: 225-1030

Dingell - chairman

Ottinger	*Brown*
Sharp	*Moorhead*
Moffett	*Collins*
Satterfield	*Stockman*
Wirth	*Corcoran*
Markey	*Loeffler*
Gramm	
Swift	
Shelby	
Maguire	
Gore	
Leland	

Health and the Environment

Phone: 225-4952

Waxman - chairman

Satterfield	*Carter*
Preyer	*Madigan*
Maguire	*Stockman*
Luken	*Dannemeyer*
Walgren	*Lee*
Mikulski	
Gramm	
Leland	
Shelby	
Murphy	

Oversight and Investigations

Phone: 225-4441

Eckhardt - chairman

Santini	*Lent*
Gore	*Rinaldo*
Sharp	*Marks*
Moffett	*Corcoran*
Maguire	*Dannemeyer*
Russo	
Walgren	
Mottl	
Leland	
Wirth	

Transportation and Commerce

Phone: 225-1467

Florio - Chairman

Santini	*Madigan*
Mikulski	*Lee*
Murphy	
Russo	

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Judiciary

Courts and judicial proceedings generally; constitutional amendments; civil rights; civil liberties; interstate compacts; immigration and naturalization; apportionment of representatives; meetings of Congress and attendance of members; presidential succession; national penitentiaries;

patents; copyrights; trademarks; protection of trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.

Phone: 225-3951

D 20 - R 11

Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D N.J.), chairman

Jack Brooks (Texas)	*Robert McClory (Ill.)*
Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wis.)	*Tom Railsback (Ill.)*
Don Edwards (Calif.)	*Hamilton Fish Jr. (N.Y.)*
John Conyers Jr. (Mich.)	*M. Caldwell Butler (Va.)*
John F. Seiberling (Ohio)	*Carlos J. Moorhead (Calif.)*
George E. Danielson (Calif.)	*John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)*
Robert F. Drinan (Mass.)	*Henry J. Hyde (Ill.)*
Elizabeth Holtzman (N.Y.)	*Thomas N. Kindness (Ohio)*
Romano L. Mazzoli (Ky.)	*Harold S. Sawyer (Mich.)*
William J. Hughes (N.J.)	*Dan Lungren (Calif.)*
Sam B. Hall Jr. (Texas)	*F. James Sensenbrenner Jr. (Wis.)*
Lamar Gudger (N.C.)	
Harold L. Volkmer (Mo.)	
Herbert E. Harris II (Va.)	
Mike Synar (Okla.)	
Robert T. Matsui (Calif.)	
Abner J. Mikva (Ill.)	
Michael D. Barnes (Md.)	
Richard C. Shelby (Ala.)	

Administrative Law and Governmental Relations

Phone: 225-5741

Danielson - chairman

Mazzoli	*Moorhead*
Hughes	*McClory*
Harris	*Kindness*
Mikva	
Barnes	

Civil and Constitutional Rights

Phone: 225-1680

Edwards - chairman

Seiberling	*Hyde*
Drinan	*Ashbrook*
Holtzman	*Sensenbrenner*
Volkmer	
Matsui	

Courts, Civil Liberties and the Administration of Justice

Phone: 225-3926

Kastenmeier - chairman

Danielson	*Railsback*
Mazzoli	*Moorhead*
Gudger	*Sawyer*
Matsui	
Mikva	

Crime

Phone: 225-1695

Conyers - chairman

Kastenmeier	*Ashbrook*
Edwards	*Hyde*
Gudger	*Sensenbrenner*
Volkmer	
Synar	

Criminal Justice

Phone: 225-0406

Drinan - chairman

Conyers	*Kindness*
Hall	*Sawyer*
Synar	*Lungren*
Mikva	
Shelby	

Immigration, Refugees, and and International Law

Phone: 225-5727

Holtzman - chairman

Danielson	*Fish*
Hall	*Butler*
Harris	*Lungren*
Barnes	
Shelby	

Monopolies and Commercial Law

Phone: 225-8088

Rodino - chairman

Brooks	*McClory*
Seiberling	*Railsback*
Mazzoli	*Fish*
Hughes	*Butler*
Volkmer	
Harris	
Matsui	

Merchant Marine and Fisheries

Merchant marine generally; Coast Guard; oceanography and marine affairs; maintenance and operation of the Panama Canal and administration of the Canal Zone; fisheries and wildlife.

Phone: 225-4047

D 25 - R 14

John M. Murphy (D N.Y.), chairman*

Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)	*Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (Calif.)**
John D. Dingell (Mich.)	*Gene Snyder (Ky.)*
Walter B. Jones (N.C.)	*Edwin B. Forsythe (N.J.)*
Mario Biaggi (N.Y.)	*David C. Treen (La.)*
Glenn M. Anderson (Calif.)	*Joel Pritchard (Wash.)*
E. (Kika) de la Garza (Texas)	*Don Young (Alaska)*
John B. Breaux (La.)	*Robert E. Bauman (Md.)*
Gerry E. Studds (Mass.)	*Norman F. Lent (N.Y.)*
David R. Bowen (Miss.)	*David F. Emery (Maine)*
Carroll Hubbard Jr. (Ky.)	*Robert K. Dornan (Calif.)*
Don Bonker (Wash.)	*Thomas B. Evans Jr. (Del.)*
Les AuCoin (Ore.)	*Paul S. Trible Jr. (Va.)*
Norman E. D'Amours (N.H.)	*Robert W. Davis (Mich.)*
James L. Oberstar (Minn.)	*William Carney (N.Y.)*
William J. Hughes (N.J.)	*Melvin H. Evans (V.I.)*[1]
Barbara A. Mikulski (Md.)	
David E. Bonior (Mich.)	
Daniel K. Akaka (Hawaii)	
Michael (Ozzie) Myers (Pa.)	
Joe Wyatt Jr. (Texas)	
Mike Lowry (Wash.)	
Earl Hutto (Fla.)	
Edward J. Stack (Fla.)	
Brian J. Donnelly (Mass.)	

Coast Guard

Phone: 225-8204

Biaggi - chairman

Jones	*Treen*
Stack	*Snyder*
Bonker	*Young*
Oberstar	*Lent*
Mikulski	*Evans (Del.)*
Myers	*Evans (V.I.)*
Breaux	
Studds	
Hughes	

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment

Phone: 225-7307

Breaux - chairman

Dingell	*Forsythe*
Bowen	*Pritchard*
Bonker	*Young*
Oberstar	*Bauman*
Hughes	*Emery*
Bonior	*Evans (Del.)*
Lowry	*Trible*
Hutto	*Davis*
Anderson	*Carney*
de la Garza	*Evans (V.I.)*
Studds	
AuCoin	
D'Amours	
Akaka	
Wyatt	
Stack	
Donnelly	

Merchant Marine

Phone: 225-6785

Murphy - chairman

Ashley	*Snyder*
Anderson	*Treen*
Mikulski	*Dornan*
Myers	*Trible*
Donnelly	*Davis*
Dingell	*Evans (V.I.)*
Biaggi	
Bowen	
Hubbard	
Jones	
de la Garza	

Oceanography

Phone: 225-7508

Studds - chairman

AuCoin	*Pritchard*
D'Amours	*Forsythe*
Akaka	*Lent*
Wyatt	*Emery*
Breaux	*Dornan*
Hughes	*Carney*
Bonior	
Lowry	
Hutto	
Mikulski	
Stack	

Panama Canal

Phone: 225-8186

Hubbard - chairman

Bowen	*Bauman*
Bonior	*Treen*
Dingell	*Dornan*
Jones	*Carney*
Biaggi	
Anderson	
Lowry	

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*
Delegate from the Virgin Islands not counted in party ratio.

Post Office and Civil Service

Postal and federal civil services; census and the collection of statistics generally; Hatch Act; holidays and celebrations.

Phone: 225-4054

D 16 - R 9

James M. Hanley (D N.Y.), chairman*

Morris K. Udall (Ariz.)	*Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.)**
Charles H. Wilson (Calif.)	*Gene Taylor (Mo.)*
William D. Ford (Mich.)	*Benjamin A. Gilman (N.Y.)*
William Clay (Mo.)	*Jim Leach (Iowa)*
Patricia Schroeder (Colo.)	*Tom Corcoran (Ill.)*
Gladys Noon Spellman (Md.)	*Jim Courter (N.J.)*
Herbert E. Harris II (Va.)	*Charles (Chip) Pashayan Jr. (Calif.)*
Robert Garcia (N.Y.)	*William E. Dannemeyer (Calif.)*
Mickey Leland (Texas)	*Daniel B. Crane (Ill.)*
Geraldine A. Ferraro (N.Y.)	
Charles W. Stenholm (Texas)	
Don Albosta (Mich.)	
John J. Cavanaugh (Neb.)	
Mary Rose Oakar (Ohio)	
Gus Yatron (Pa.)	

Census and Population

Phone: 225-6741

Garcia - chairman

Leland	*Courter*
Ferraro	*Pashayan*
Yatron	*Crane*
Oakar	

Civil Service

Phone: 225-4025

Schroeder - chairman

Udall	*Leach*
Harris	*Taylor*
Clay	*Pashayan*
Yatron	*Courter*

Compensation and Employee Benefits

Phone: 225-6831

Spellman - chairman

Wilson	*Corcoran*
Ford	*Crane*
Oakar	

Human Resources

Phone: 225-2821

Harris - chairman

Spellman	*Gilman*
Garcia	*Dannemeyer*

Investigations

Phone: 225-6295

Hanley - chairman

Stenholm	*Taylor*
Spellman	*Leach*
Albosta	
Cavanaugh	

Postal Operations and Services

Phone: 225-3718

Wilson - chairman

Ford	*Derwinski*
Ferraro	*Corcoran*
Albosta	*Crane*
Udall	*Courter*
Clay	

Postal Personnel and Modernization

Phone: 225-9124

Clay - chairman

Wilson	*Gilman*
Ford	*Dannemeyer*
Leland	

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Public Works and Transportation

Public buildings and roads; flood control; improvement of rivers and harbors; water power; pollution of navigable waters; transportation (except railroads).

Phone: 225-4472

D 31 - R 17

Harold T. Johnson (D Calif.), chairman*

Ray Roberts (Texas)	*William H. Harsha (Ohio)**
James J. Howard (N.J.)	*James C. Cleveland (N.H.)*
Glenn M. Anderson (Calif.)	*Don H. Clausen (Calif.)*
Robert A. Roe (N.J.)	*Gene Snyder (Ky.)*
Mike McCormack (Wash.)	*John Paul Hammerschmidt (Ark.)*
John B. Breaux (La.)	*Bud Shuster (Pa.)*
Norman Y. Mineta (Calif.)	*James Abdnor (S.D.)*
Elliott H. Levitas (Ga.)	*Gene Taylor (S.D.)*
James L. Oberstar (Minn.)	*Barry M. Goldwater Jr. (Calif.)*
Jerome A. Ambro (N.Y.)	*Tom Hagedorn (Minn.)*
Henry J. Nowak (N.Y.)	*Arlan Stangeland (Minn.)*
Robert W. Edgar (Pa.)	*Robert L. Livingston (La.)*
Marilyn Lloyd Bouquard (Tenn.)	*Newt Gingrich (Ga.)*
John G. Fary (Ill.)	*William F. Clinger Jr. (Pa.)*
W. G. (Bill) Hefner (N.C.)	*Gerald B. Solomon (N.Y.)*
Robert A. Young (Mo.)	*Jerry Lewis (Calif.)*
David E. Bonior (Mich.)	*William H. Royer (Calif.)*
Allen E. Ertel (Pa.)	
Billy Lee Evans (Ga.)	
Ronnie G. Flippo (Ala.)	
Nick J. Rahall (W.Va.)	
Douglas Applegate (Ohio)	
Geraldine A. Ferraro (N.Y.)	
Brian J. Donnelly (Mass.)	
Earl Hutto (Fla.)	
Eugene V. Atkinson (Pa.)	
Don Albosta (Mich.)	
Marvin Leath (Texas)	
Bill Boner (Tenn.)	
Vacancy	

Aviation

Phone: 225-9161

Anderson - chairman

Levitas	*Snyder*
Fary	*Hammerschmidt*
Hefner	*Shuster*
Young	*Abdnor*
Flippo	*Taylor*
Boner	*Goldwater*
Mineta	*Hagedorn*
Ambro	*Gingrich*
Bouquard	
Ertel	
Evans	
Rahall	
Appelgate	
Ferraro	

Economic Development

Phone: 225-6151

Roe - chairman

Oberstar	*Hammerschmidt*
Nowak	*Cleveland*
Bouquard	*Clausen*
Evans	*Shuster*
Donnelly	*Taylor*
Edgar	*Clinger*
Bonior	*Lewis*
Rahall	
Applegate	
Hutto	
Atkinson	
Albosta	
Leath	

Oversight and Review

Phone: 225-3274

Mineta - chairman

Bouquard	*Cleveland*
Evans	*Goldwater*
Roberts	*Stangeland*
Howard	*Gingrich*
Roe	*Clinger*
Breaux	*Solomon*
Levitas	*Royer*
Oberstar	
Nowak	
Fary	
Hefner	
Young	

Public Buildings and Grounds

Levitas - chairman

McCormack	*Abdnor*
Edgar	*Goldwater*
Flippo	*Hagedorn*
Donnelly	*Stangeland*
Hutto	*Livingston*
Albosta	*Clinger*
Leath	*Solomon*
Boner	
Nowak	
Atkinson	

Surface Transportation

Howard - chairman

Edgar	*Shuster*
Fary	*Cleveland*
Hefner	*Clausen*
Rahall	*Hammerschmidt*
Applegate	*Hagedorn*
Ertel	*Stangeland*
Ferraro	*Livingston*
Atkinson	*Lewis*
Boner	*Royer*
Roberts	
Anderson	
Roe	
McCormack	
Breaux	
Mineta	
Ambro	

Water Resources

Roberts - chairman

McCormack	*Clausen*
Breaux	*Snyder*
Ambro	*Abdnor*
Young	*Taylor*
Bonior	*Livingston*
Flippo	*Gingrich*
Hutto	*Solomon*
Albosta	*Lewis*
Leath	
Howard	
Oberstar	
Nowak	
Ertel	
Ferraro	
Donnelly	
Anderson	

**Chairman and ranking member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Rules

Rules and order of business of the House.

Phone: 225-9486

D 11 - R 5

Richard Bolling (D Mo.), chairman

Claude Pepper (Fla.)	*James H. Quillen (Tenn.)*
Morgan F. Murphy (Ill.)	*John B. Anderson (Ill.)*
Gillis W. Long (La.)	*Delbert L. Latta (Ohio)*
Joe Moakley (Mass.)	*Trent Lott (Miss.)*
Shirley Chisholm (N.Y.)	*Robert E. Bauman (Md.)*
Christopher J. Dodd (Conn.)	
Leo C. Zeferetti (N.Y.)	
Butler Derrick (S.C.)	
Anthony C. Beilenson (Calif.)	
Martin Frost (Texas)	

Legislative Process

Phone: 225-1037

Long - chairman

Chisholm	*Lott*
Zeferetti	*Vacancy*
Derrick	

Rules of the House

Phone: 225-8273

Moakley - chairman

Dodd	*Anderson*
Beilenson	*Bauman*
Frost	

Science and Technology

Scientific and astronautical research and development generally; National Aeronautics and Space Administration; National Aeronautics and Space Council; National Science Foundation; outer space; science scholarships; Bureau of Standards; National Weather Service; civil aviation research and development; environmental research and de-

velopment; energy research and development (except nuclear research and development).

Phone: 225-6371

D 27 - R 15

Don Fuqua (D Fla.), chairman*

Robert A. Roe (N.J.)	*John W. Wydler (N.Y.)**
Mike McCormack (Wash.)	*Larry Winn Jr. (Kan.)*
George E. Brown Jr. (Calif.)	*Barry M. Goldwater Jr. (Calif.)*
James E. Scheuer (N.Y.)	*Hamilton Fish Jr. (N.Y.)*
Richard L. Ottinger (N.Y.)	*Manuel Lujan Jr. (N.M.)*
Tom Harkin (Iowa)	*Harold C. Hollenbeck (N.J.)*
Jim Lloyd (Calif.)	*Robert K. Dornan (Calif.)*
Jerome A. Ambro (N.Y.)	*Robert S. Walker (Pa.)*
Marilyn Lloyd Bouquard (Tenn.)	*Edwin B. Forsythe (N.J.)*
James J. Blanchard (Mich.)	*Ken Kramer (Colo.)*
Doug Walgren (Pa.)	*William Carney (N.Y.)*
Ronnie G. Flippo (Ala.)	*Robert W. Davis (Mich.)*
Dan Glickman (Kan.)	*Toby Roth (Wis.)*
Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.)	***Don Ritter (Pa.)***
Wes Watkins (Okla.)	***William H. Royer (Calif.)***
Robert A. Young (Mo.)	
Richard C. White (Texas)	
Harold L. Volkmer (Mo.)	
Don J. Pease (Ohio)	
Howard Wolpe (Mich.)	
Nicholas Mavroules (Mass.)	
Bill Nelson (Fla.)	
Beryl Anthony Jr. (Ark.)	
Stanley N. Lundine (N.Y.)	
Allen E. Ertel (Pa.)	
Kent Hance (Texas)	

Energy Development and Applications

Phone: 225-4296

Ottinger - chairman

Blanchard	*Fish*
Walgren	*Kramer*
Glickman	*Carney*
Gore	*Ritter*
Young	***Davis***
White	***Dornan***
Volkmer	***Walker***
Wolpe	***Royer***
Mavroules	
Nelson	
Anthony	
Ertel	
Hance	
Roe	
McCormack	

Energy Research and Production

Phone: 225-5743

McCormack - chairman

Bouquard	*Wydler*
Roe	*Forsythe*
Lundine	*Roth*
Young	*Goldwater*
White	*Lujan*
Wolpe	*Hollenbeck*
Flippo	
Mavroules	
Ottinger	
Anthony	

Investigations and Oversight

Phone: 225-2121

Lloyd - chairman

Ambro	*Lujan*
Flippo	*Carney*
Gore	*Roth*
Nelson	

Natural Resources and Environment

Phone: 225-1066

Ambro - chairman

Brown	*Walker*
Blanchard	*Ritter*
Watkins	*Forsythe*
Lundine	

Science, Research and Technology

Phone: 225-8844

Brown - chairman

Scheuer	*Hollenbeck*
Pease	*Davis*
Harkin	*Ritter*
Ertel	
Hance	
Watkins	

Space Science and Applications

Phone: 225-7858

Fuqua - chairman

Flippo	*Winn*
Watkins	*Dornan*
Bouquard	*Kramer*
Nelson	
Brown	

Transportation, Aviation and Communication

Phone: 225-9662

Harkin - chairman

Lloyd	*Goldwater*
Walgren	*Dornan*
Glickman	*Royer*
Mavroules	
Volkmer	

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Select Aging

Studies and investigates problems of the aging.

Phone: 225-9375

D 30 - R 15

Claude Pepper (D Fla.), chairman*

Edward R. Roybal (Calif.)	*Charles E. Grassley (Iowa)**
Mario Biaggi (N.Y.)	*William C. Wampler (Va.)*
Ike F. Andrews (N.C.)	*John Paul Hammerschmidt (Ark.)*
John L. Burton (Calif.)	*James Abdnor (S.D.)*
Don Bonker (Wash.)	*Matthew J. Rinaldo (N.J.)*
Thomas J. Downey (N.Y.)	*Marc L. Marks (Pa.)*
James J. Florio (N.J.)	*Ralph S. Regula (Ohio)*
Harold D. Ford (Tenn.)	*Robert K. Dornan (Calif.)*
William J. Hughes (N.J.)	*Harold C. Hollenbeck (N.J.)*
Marilyn Lloyd Bouquard (Tenn.)	*S. William Green (N.Y.)*
Jim Santini (Nev.)	*Bob Whittaker (Kan.)*
Robert F. Drinan (Mass.)	*Norman D. Shumway (Calif.)*
David W. Evans (Ind.)	*Larry J. Hopkins (Ky.)*
Marty Russo (Ill.)	*Olympia J. Snowe (Maine)*
Stanley N. Lundine (N.Y.)	*Dan Lungren (Calif.)*
Mary Rose Oakar (Ohio)	
Elizabeth Holtzman (N.Y.)	
Jim Lloyd (Calif.)	
Thomas A. Luken (Ohio)	
Wes Watkins (Okla.)	
Lamar Gudger (N.C.)	
Geraldine A. Ferraro (N.Y.)	
Beverly B. Byron (Md.)	
William R. Ratchford (Conn.)	
Dan Mica (Fla.)	
Edward J. Stack (Fla.)	
Henry A. Waxman (Calif.)	
Mike Synar (Okla.)	
Eugene V. Atkinson (Pa.)	

Health and Long-Term Care

Phone: 225-2381

Pepper - chairman

Andrews	*Abdnor*
Ford	*Marks*
Bouquard	*Hollenbeck*
Drinan	*Whittaker*
Bonker	*Hopkins*
Evans	
Holtzman	
Luken	
Ratchford	
Stack	
Mica	

Housing and Consumer Interests

Phone: 225-4242

Roybal - chairman

Santini	*Hammerschmidt*
Lundine	*Hopkins*
Byron	*Shumway*
Oakar	*Lungren*
Watkins	
Gudger	
Waxman	
Vacancy	

Human Services

Phone: 225-4348

Biaggi - chairman

Florio	*Grassley*
Hughes	*Hammerschmidt*
Russo	*Rinaldo*
Lloyd	*Shumway*

Watkins
Ferraro
Mica
Atkinson
Lundine
Vacancy

Snowe
Lungren

Retirement Income and Employment

Phone: 225-4045

Burton - chairman

Downey
Oakar
Gudger
Drinan
Evans
Ferraro
Waxman
Synar

Wampler
Regula
Dornan
Green

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Select Committee on Committees

Studies the committee system in the House of Representatives and reports findings and recommendations to the House.

Phone: 225-2965

D 10 - R 5

Jerry M. Patterson (D Calif.), chairman

William Clay (Mo.)
Mike McCormack (Wash.)
John B. Breaux (La.)
Patricia Schroeder (Colo.)
Bob Traxler (Mich.)
Butler Derrick (S.C.)
Joseph L. Fisher (Va.)
Peter H. Kostmayer (Pa.)
Charles Whitley (N.C.)

James C. Cleveland (N.H.)
Frank Horton (N.Y.)
Bill Frenzel (Minn.)
Jim Leach (Iowa)
Tom Loeffler (Texas)

No standing subcommittees.

Select Intelligence

Legislative and budgetary authority over the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other components of the federal intelligence community.

Phone: 225-4121

D 9 - R 5

Edward P. Boland (D Mass.), chairman*

Clement J. Zablocki (Wis.)
Bill D. Burlison (Mo.)
Morgan F. Murphy (Ill.)
Les Aspin (Wis.)
Charlie Rose (N.C.)
Romano L. Mazzoli (Ky.)
Norman Y. Mineta (Calif.)
Wyche Fowler Jr. (Ga.)

J. Kenneth Robinson (Va.)
John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)
Robert McClory (Ill.)
G. William Whitehurst (Va.)
C. W. Bill Young (Fla.)

Evaluation

Phone: 225-5627

Rose - chairman

Fowler
Aspin

Whitehurst
Young

Legislation

Phone: 225-7310

Murphy - chairman

Mazzoli
Fowler

McClory
Ashbrook

Oversight

Phone: 225-0788

Aspin - chairman

Rose
Mazzoli

Ashbrook
Young

Program and Budget Authorization

Phone: 225-7690

Burlison - chairman

Mineta
Zablocki

Robinson
Whitehurst

**Chairman is a member of each subcommittee.*

Select Narcotics Abuse and Control

Studies and reviews the problems of narcotics abuse and control, including international trafficking, enforcement, prevention, international treaties, organized crime, drug abuse in the U.S. armed forces, treatment and rehabilitation.

Phone: 225-1753

D 11 - R 6

Lester L. Wolff (D N.Y.), chairman

Peter W. Rodino Jr. (N.J.)
E. (Kika) de la Garza (Texas)
Morgan F. Murphy (Ill.)
Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.)
Fortney H. (Pete) Stark (Calif.)
Glenn English (Okla.)
Billy Lee Evans (Ga.)
Leo C. Zeferetti (N.Y.)
Stephen L. Neal (N.C.)
James H. Scheuer (N.Y.)

Tom Railsback (Ill.)
Robin L. Beard Jr. (Tenn.)
Benjamin A. Gilman (N.Y.)
Tennyson Guyer (Ohio)
Lawrence Coughlin (Pa.)
Robert K. Dornan (Calif.)

No standing subcommittees.

Select Outer Continental Shelf

Studies and investigates policy for management of oil and natural gas in the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS), protection of marine and coastal environment, amendments of the OCS Lands Act and related measures.

Phone: 225-3426

D 12 - R 6

John M. Murphy (D N.Y.), chairman

Morris K. Udall (Ariz.)
Abraham L. Kazen (Texas)
John B. Breaux (La.)
Gerry E. Studds (Mass.)
William J. Hughes (N.J.)
Marty Russo (Ill.)
George E. Miller (Calif.)
John F. Seiberling (Ohio)
Bo Ginn (Ga.)
Leo C. Zeferetti (N.Y.)
David E. Bonior (Mich.)

Edwin B. Forsythe (N.J.)
Don Young (Alaska)
Trent Lott (Miss.)
David F. Emery (Maine)
Robert L. Livingston (La.)
Jerry Lewis (Calif.)

Small Business

Assistance to and protection of small business, including financial aid; participation of small business enterprises in federal procurement and government contracts.

Phone: 225-5821

D 25 - R 14

Neal Smith (D Iowa), chairman

Tom Steed (Okla.)
John D. Dingell (Mich.)
James C. Corman (Calif.)
Joseph P. Addabbo (N.Y.)
Fernand J. St Germain (R.I.)
Parren J. Mitchell (Md.)
Henry B. Gonzalez (Texas)
James M. Hanley (N.Y.)
John J. LaFalce (N.Y.)
Berkley Bedell (Iowa)
Frederick Richmond (N.Y.)
Marty Russo (Ill.)
Alvin Baldus (Wis.)
Richard Nolan (Minn.)
Richard H. Ichord (Mo.)
Henry J. Nowak (N.Y.)
Thomas A. Luken (Ohio)
Andy Ireland (Fla.)
Dale E. Kildee (Mich.)
Ike Skelton (Mo.)
Billy Lee Evans (Ga.)
Doug Barnard (Ga.)
Claude (Buddy) Leach (La.)
Tony P. Hall (Ohio)

Joseph M. McDade (Pa.)
Silvio O. Conte (Mass.)
J. William Stanton (Ohio)
William S. Broomfield (Mich.)
Tim Lee Carter (Ky.)
Dan Quayle (Ind.)
Dan Marriott (Utah)
Toby Roth (Wis.)
Lyle Williams (Ohio)
Olympia J. Snowe (Maine)
Douglas K. Bereuter (Neb.)
Ed Bethune (Ark.)
Arlen Erdahl (Minn.)
Tom Tauke (Iowa)

Access to Equity Capital and Business Opportunities

Phone: 225-9321

Nowak - chairman

Steed
Mitchell
Richmond
Bedell
Leach

Stanton
Roth
Williams

Antitrust and Restraint of Trade Activities Affecting Small Business

Phone: 225-7797

Bedell - chairman

Hanley
Gonzalez
Ichord
Hall
Steed

Quayle
Snowe
Tauke

General Oversight and Minority Enterprise

Phone: 225-9321

LaFalce - chairman

Corman	*Carter*
Addabbo	*Williams*
Mitchell	*Bereuter*
Gonzalez	
Richmond	

Energy, Environment, Safety and Research

Phone: 225-6026

Luken - chairman

Dingell	*Conte*
Baldus	*Bereuter*
Kildee	*Erdahl*
Ireland	
Skelton	

SBA and SBIC Authority and General Small Business Problems

Phone: 225-5821

Smith - chairman

St Germain	*McDade*
Nolan	*Marriott*
Ichord	*Roth*
Evans	*Bethune*
Barnard	
Leach	
Hall	

Special Small Business Problems

Phone: 225-9368

Russo - chairman

Ireland	*Broomfield*
Skelton	*Marriott*
Addabbo	*Bethune*
Kildee	
Evans	

Standards of Official Conduct

Studies and investigates standards of conduct of House members and employees and may recommend remedial action.

Phone: 225-7103

D 6 - R 6

Charles E. Bennett (D Fla.), chairman

Lee H. Hamilton (Ind.)	*Floyd Spence (S.C.)*
Richardson Preyer (N.C.)	*Harold C. Hollenbeck (N.J.)*
John M. Slack (W.Va.)	*Robert L. Livingston (La.)*
Morgan F. Murphy (Ill.)	*William M. Thomas (Calif.)*
John P. Murtha (Pa.)	*F. James Sensenbrenner Jr. (Wis.)*
	Richard B. Cheney (Wyo.)

No standing subcommittees.

Veterans' Affairs

Veterans' measures generally; pensions, armed forces insurance, rehabilitation, education, medical care and treatment of veterans, veterans' hospitals and housing.

Phone: 225-3527

D 21 - R 11

Ray Roberts (D Texas), chairman*

David E. Satterfield III (Va.)	*John Paul Hammerschmidt (Ark.)**
Don Edwards (Calif.)	*Margaret M. Heckler (Mass.)*
G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery (Miss.)	*Chalmers P. Wylie (Ohio)*
George E. Danielson (Calif.)	*Elwood Hillis (Ind.)*
Lester L. Wolff (N.Y.)	*James Abdnor (S.D.)*
Jack Brinkley (Ga.)	*Tennyson Guyer (Ohio)*
Ronald M. Mottl (Ohio)	*George Hansen (Idaho)*
W. G. (Bill) Hefner (N.C.)	*Harold S. Sawyer (Mich.)*
Robert W. Edgar (Pa.)	*Wayne Grisham (Calif.)*
Sam B. Hall Jr. (Texas)	*H. Joel Deckard (Ind.)*
Douglas Applegate (Ohio)	*Gary A. Lee (N.Y.)*
Marvin Leath (Texas)	
Bill Boner (Tenn.)	
Phil Gramm (Texas)	
Richard C. Shelby (Okla.)	
Dan Mica (Fla.)	
Thomas A. Daschle (S.D.)	
Tony Coelho (Calif.)	
Vacancy	
Vacancy	

Compensation, Pension, Insurance and Memorial Affairs

Phone: 225-3569

Montgomery - chairman

Danielson
Brinkley
Edgar
Hall
Applegate
Gramm
Mica
Coelho

Wylie
Hammerschmidt
Guyer
Hillis
Hansen

Education, Training and Employment

Phone: 225-9116

Hefner - chairman

Roberts
Leath
Boner
Gramm
Daschle
Vacancy

Heckler
Wylie
Sawyer
Grisham

Housing

Phone: 225-9330

Brinkley - chairman

Roberts
Edwards
Shelby
Vacancy

Abdnor
Grisham
Lee

Medical Facilities and Benefits

Phone: 225-9154

Satterfield - chairman

Edwards
Montgomery
Danielson
Wolff
Mottl
Hefner
Edgar
Hall
Leath

Hammerschmidt
Heckler
Abdnor
Guyer
Hansen
Sawyer
Wylie
Lee
Deckard

Boner
Gramm
Shelby
Mica
Daschle
Coelho
Vacancy

Special Investigations

Phone: 225-9166

Mottl - chairman

Satterfield
Wolff
Mica
Applegate
Vacancy
Vacancy

Hillis
Hammerschmidt
Heckler
Deckard

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

Ways and Means

Revenue measures generally; tariffs and trade agreements; Social Security.

Phone: 225-3625

D 24 - R 12

Al Ullman (D Ore.), chairman*

Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.)
Charles A. Vanik (Ohio)
James C. Corman (Calif.)
Sam Gibbons (Fla.)
J. J. Pickle (Texas)
Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.)
William R. Cotter (Conn.)
Fortney H. (Pete) Stark (Calif.)
James R. Jones (Okla.)
Andy Jacobs Jr. (Ind.)
Abner J. Mikva (Ill.)
Joseph L. Fisher (Va.)
Harold E. Ford (Tenn.)
Ken Holland (S.C.)
William M. Brodhead (Mich.)
Ed Jenkins (Ga.)
Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.)
Raymond F. Lederer (Pa.)
Thomas J. Downey (N.Y.)
Cecil Heftel (Hawaii)
Wyche Fowler Jr. (Ga.)
Frank J. Guarini (N.J.)
James M. Shannon (Mass.)

*Barber B. Conable Jr. (N.Y.)**
John J. Duncan (Tenn.)
Bill Archer (Texas)
Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.)
Philip M. Crane (Ill.)
Bill Frenzel (Minn.)
James G. Martin (N.C.)
L.A. (Skip) Bafalis (Fla.)
Richard Schulze (Pa.)
Bill Gradison (Ohio)
John H. Rousselot (Calif.)
W. Henson Moore (La.)

Health

Phone: 225-7785

Rangel - chairman

Corman	*Crane*
Vanik	*Duncan*
Ford	*Martin*
Heftel	
Shannon	

Oversight

Phone: 225-2743

Gibbons - chairman

Pickle	*Gradison*
Ford	*Moore*
Jacobs	*Duncan*
Jenkins	
Heftel	

Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation

Phone: 225-1025

Corman - chairman

Rangel	*Rousselot*
Stark	*Bafalis*
Brodhead	*Crane*
Downey	
Fowler	

Select Revenue Measures

Phone: 225-9710

Rostenkowski - chairman

Lederer	*Duncan*
Holland	*Schulze*
Stark	*Vander Jagt*
Fowler	
Guarini	

Social Security

Phone: 225-9263

Pickle - chairman

Jacobs	*Archer*
Cotter	*Gradison*
Mikva	*Rousselot*
Gephardt	
Fisher	

Trade

Phone: 225-3943

Vanik - chairman

Gibbons	*Vander Jagt*
Rostenkowski	*Archer*
Jones	*Frenzel*
Mikva	*Martin*
Fisher	*Bafalis*
Holland	*Schulze*
Jenkins	*Moore*
Downey	
Cotter	
Lederer	
Guarini	
Shannon	
Ullman	

**Chairman and ranking minority member are members ex officio of all subcommittees of which they are not regular members.*

House Democratic Leaders

Speaker—Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (Mass.)
Chairman of the Caucus—Thomas S. Foley (Wash.)
Secretary of the Caucus—Shirley Chisholm (N.Y.)
Floor Leader— Jim Wright (Texas)
Whip—John Brademas (Ind.)

Chief Deputy Whip—Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.)

Deputy Whips—Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.), Bill Alexander (Ark.), George E. Danielson (Calif.)

Assistant Whips, by zone numbers:

1. William R. Cotter (Conn.)-Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire
2. Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.) and Henry J. Nowak (N.Y.)—New York
3. William S. Moorhead (Pa.)—Pennsylvania
4. William J. Hughes (N.J.)—New Jersey, Maryland
5. Charles Whitley (N.C.)—Virginia, North Carolina
6. Jack Brinkley (Ga.)—South Carolina, Georgia
7. James J. Blanchard (Mich.)—Michigan
8. Alvin Baldus (Wis.)—Wisconsin, Minnesota
9. Lee H. Hamilton (Ind.)—Indiana, Kentucky
10. Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)—Ohio, West Virginia
11. G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery (Miss.)—Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee
12. Andy Ireland (Fla.)—Florida, Alabama
13. Bill D. Burlison (Mo.)—Missouri, Iowa
14. Sidney R. Yates (Ill.)—Illinois
15. Richard C. White (Texas) and Henry B. Gonzalez (Texas)—Texas
16. Wes Watkins (Okla.)—Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas
17. Thomas A. Daschle (S.D.) and Ray Kogovsek (Colo.)—Colorado, Arizona, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, South Dakota, Nebraska

18. Mike McCormack (Wash.)—Washington, Oregon, Hawaii

19. John L. Burton (Calif.) and Jim Lloyd (Calif.)—California

At-Large Whips: Tom Bevill (Ala.), Christopher J. Dodd (Conn.), William D. Ford (Mich.), Carroll Hubbard Jr. (Ky.), John W. Jenrette Jr. (S.C.), Norman Y. Mineta (Calif.), Parren J. Mitchell (Md.), Joe Moakley (Mass.), John P. Murtha (Pa.), Mickey Leland (Texas)

The seven states not covered—Alaska, Delaware, Idaho, Maine, North Dakota, Vermont and Wyoming—have no Democratic representatives.

Steering and Policy Committee

Scheduling of legislation and Democratic committee assignments.

Phone: 225-7187

Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (Mass.), chairman
Jim Wright (Texas), vice chairman
Thomas S. Foley (Wash.), 2nd vice chairman
John Brademas (Ind.), whip

Bill Alexander (Ark.)
Mario Biaggi (N.Y.)
Richard Bolling (Mo.)
John B. Breaux (La.)
George E. Danielson (Calif.)
E. (Kika) de la Garza (Texas)
Robert Duncan (Ore.)
William D. Ford (Mich.)
William H. Gray III (Pa.)
W. G. (Bill) Hefner (N.C.)
Morgan F. Murphy (Ill.)
Charles B. Rangel (N.Y.)
Robert A. Roe (N.J.)
Charlie Rose (N.C.)
Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.)
Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.)
Fernand J. St Germain (R.I.)
John F. Seiberling (Ohio)
Gladys Noon Spellman (Md.)
Henry A. Waxman (Calif.)

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee

Phone: 789-2920

James C. Corman (Calif.), chairman

Bill Alexander (Ark.)
Frank Annunzio (Ill.)
Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)
Les AuCoin (Ore.)
Edward P. Beard (R.I.)
Tom Bevill (Ala.)
Lindy Boggs (La.)
David R. Bowen (Miss.)
Cecil Heftel (Hawaii)
Ken Holland (S.C.)
Andy Ireland (Fla.)
Ed Jones (Tenn.)
James R. Jones (Okla.)
Clarence D. Long (Md.)
Thomas A. Luken (Ohio)
Mike McCormack (Wash.)
John Brademas (Ind.)†
Bill D. Burlison (Mo.)
Phillip Burton (Calif.)
John J. Cavanaugh (Neb.)
Bill Chappell Jr. (Fla.)
Baltasar Corrada (P.R.)
William R. Cotter (Conn.)
Norman E. D'Amours (N.H.)
Thomas A. Daschle (S.D.)
Ronald V. Dellums (Calif.)
John D. Dingell (Mich.)
Joseph D. Early (Mass.)
Walter E. Fauntroy (D.C.)
Floyd Fithian (Ind.)
James J. Florio (N.J.)
Thomas S. Foley (Wash.)†
L. H. Fountain (N.C.)
Bo Ginn (Ga.)
Dan Glickman (Kan.)
Tom Harkin (Iowa)
Gunn McKay (Utah)
John M. Murphy (N.Y.)
William H. Natcher (Ky.)
Richard Nolan (Minn.)
Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (Mass.)†
J. J. Pickle (Texas)
Frederick Richmond (N.Y.)
Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.)
Harold Runnels (N.M.)
Jim Santini (Nev.)
David E. Satterfield III (Va
Harley O. Staggers (W.Va.
Morris K. Udall (Ariz.)
Pat Williams (Mont.)
Timothy E. Wirth (Colo.)
Antonio Borja Won Pat (Guam)
Jim Wright (Texas)
Gus Yatron (Pa.)
Clement J. Zablocki (Wis.)

† *Members ex officio from the leadership.*

Personnel Committee

Phone: 225-4068

Joe Moakley (Mass.), chairman

Joseph P. Addabbo (N.Y.)
Bo Ginn (Ga.)
Augustus F. Hawkins (Calif.)
Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (Mass.)

House Republican Leaders

Chairman of the Conference—*Samuel L. Devine (Ohio)*
Vice Chairman of the Conference—*Jack Edwards (Ala.)*
Secretary of the Conference—*Clair W. Burgener (Calif.)*
Floor Leader—*John J. Rhodes (Ariz.)*
Whip—*Robert H. Michel (Ill.)*
Chief Deputy Whip—*John T. Myers (Ind.)*

The assistant minority whips are divided into four divisions, each with an overall regional whip and assistant whips in charge of specific states as follow:

New England and Middle Atlantic Division — *Joseph M. McDade (Pa.)*

Edwin B. Forsythe (N.J.) — Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Vermont

Donald J. Mitchell (N.Y.)—New York

Bill Goodling (Pa.)—Delaware, Pennsylvania

Midwest Division — *Tom Hagedorn (Minn.)*
Charles Grassley (Iowa) — Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin
Chalmers P. Wylie (Ohio) — Ohio
Paul Findley (Ill.) — Illinois, Indiana

Western and Plains Division — *John H. Rousselot (Calif.)*
Robert J. Lagomarsino (Calif.) — California
Manuel Lujan Jr. (N.M.) — Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, New Mexico, Utah, Washington
Larry Winn Jr. (Kan.) — Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota

Border and Southern Division — *C. W. Bill Young (Fla.).*
Gene Taylor (Mo.) — Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas
Robert E. Bauman (Md.) — Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia
William L. Dickinson (Ala.) — Alabama, Florida, Mississippi

The five states not covered—Hawaii, Oregon, Nevada, Rhode Island, and West Virginia—do not have Republican representatives.

Committee on Committees

Makes Republican committee assignments.

Phone: 225-0604

John J. Rhodes (Ariz.), chairman

James Abdnor (S.D.)
Mark Andrews (N.D.)
Bill Archer (Texas)
L. A. (Skip) Bafalis (Fla.)
Robert E. Bauman (Md.)
James T. Broyhill (N.C.)
William S. Broomfield (Mich.)
Tim Lee Carter (Ky.)
Richard B. Cheney (Wyo.)
James C. Cleveland (N.H.)
E. Thomas Coleman (Mo.)
Silvio O. Conte (Mass.)
Samuel L. Devine (Ohio)
William L. Dickinson (Ala.)
John J. Duncan (Tenn.)
Melvin H. Evans (V.I.)
Mickey Edwards (Okla.)
Thomas B. Evans Jr. (Del.)
Bill Frenzel (Minn.)
Newt Gingrich (Ga.)
Charles E. Grassley (Iowa)
John Paul Hammerschmidt (Ark.)
Frank Horton (N.Y.)
James M. Jeffords (Vt.)
Ken Kramer (Colo.)
Manuel Lujan Jr. (N.M.)
Ron Marlenee (Mont.)
Dan Marriott (Utah)
Joseph M. McDade (Pa.)
Stewart B. McKinney (Conn.)
Robert H. Michel (Ill.)
W. Henson Moore (La.)
Dan Quayle (Ind.)
Joel Pritchard (Wash.)
Matthew J. Rinaldo (N.J.)
Eldon Rudd (Ariz.)
F. James Sensenbrenner Jr. (Wis.)
Virginia Smith (Neb.)
Olympia J. Snowe (Maine)
Floyd Spence (S.C.)
Steven D. Symms (Idaho)
William C. Wampler (Va.)
Bob Wilson (Calif.)
Larry Winn Jr. (Kan.)
Jon C. Hinson (Miss.)
Don Young (Alaska)

Policy Committee

Advises on party action and policy.

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MAJOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

CQ

Foreign Policy

The taking of 63 American hostages by Islamic militants in Iran in November, followed by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December, ensured that 1979 would be remembered as the year in which the post-Vietnam era came to an end. Those two events, which presented direct challenges to the prestige and influence of the United States, reversed the prevailing sentiment against foreign involvements and defense commitments that had existed since the end of the Vietnam War.

To what extent the twin crises did in fact challenge the basic role of the United States in world affairs was uncertain. What mattered, to most Americans, was that world events seemed out of control by the end of 1979, and it was time to do something about the situation.

President Carter won wide public support for a "get tough" approach. New U.S. initiatives included diplomatic efforts in the United Nations to win the release of the American hostages and mobilize the world community against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, imposition of economic sanction against Iran, a commitment to greater spending on defense, stationing of U.S. naval forces in the Indian Ocean, and stepped up aid to other Asian nations.

Congress, which was already on the march toward a bolder U.S. presence in the world, quickly rallied around the president's new emphasis on a strong military posture.

But Carter's actions seemed to have more effect on American public opinion than on the crises themselves. At year's end, the hostages still were being held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran; and there seemed virtually no chance that Moscow would remove its troops from Afghanistan.

The initial U.S. response contained an element of self-punishment for the United States. Carter stopped oil imports from Iran, slapped a grain embargo on the Soviet Union, and threatened to pull the United States out of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow.

Reflecting the political reality in the country, Carter reluctantly postponed Senate action on the strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II). That brought cheers from conservatives, who said the treaty should never have been signed, but it distressed liberals, who saw the treaty as the best chance to restrain the arms race. The administration had spent months preparing for the Senate debate.

Carter enlisted the support of major allies, especially Britain, West Germany and Japan, for some of his economic moves against Iran and the Soviet Union. However, there were indications that some European allies felt the United States was overreacting and needlessly sacrificing the best aspects of detente.

Iran

Iran presented a year-long headache to the United States. Under Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter, the United States, with the continued flow of the Middle East's vital oil supplies in mind, had armed the shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, in hopes that he could effectively stabilize the Persian Gulf region. Iran and Saudi Arabia for years were considered the "twin pillars" of stability and pro-Western influence in the Gulf region.

But the shah's armies and U.S.-supplied military hardware could not protect his repressive regime against one of the most massive internal rebellions in recent history. Islamic fundamentalists, lead by the exiled Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, began small-scale disturbances in 1977, which blossomed into full-scale revolt by late 1978 and forced the shah to flee his country on Jan. 16, 1979. His former ministers were able to stay in power for only a month. The shah traveled to several places (Morocco, Egypt and the Bahamas) before taking up residence in Mexico. But on Oct. 22 he went to New York for six weeks of medical treatment.

In February Khomeini returned to Tehran from exile in France, replaced the former shah's last prime minister and cabinet with an Islamic revolutionary government and executed hundreds of the shah's supporters.

On Nov. 4, as Khomeini's government was itself shaken by internal turmoil, hundreds of militant "students" stormed the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and held 63 Americans hostage. The militants demanded that the United States return the shah to Iran. Mexico had refused to renew the shah's visa, and the former Iranian ruler remained in the United States until Dec. 15, at which time he moved to a Panamanian island resort.

Thirteen of the American hostages were released less than two weeks later after the embassy takeover, but the remainder were still imprisoned behind the embassy walls as of mid-February 1980.

In retaliation, Carter cut off all U.S. imports of Iranian oil, froze Iranian government assets in the United States, ordered most Iranian diplomats out of the country and asked the United Nations Security Council to impose economic sanctions against Iran. The Security Council on Dec. 31 condemned the holding of hostages, but delayed action on sanctions under the threat of a Soviet veto.

To strengthen the U.S. military position in the region, Carter sent aircraft carriers and destroyers to the Indian Ocean and opened negotiations with allies on a new U.S. naval facility in the region.

Afghanistan

Afghanistan in December became the focus of events that threatened to become a new cold war.

In order to oust a Marxist ruler who had become too independent from the Kremlin, the Soviet Union in mid-December began pouring troops across its border into Afghanistan. On Dec. 27 the Soviets had President Hafizullah Amin assassinated, and then replaced him with Babrak

Karmel, a former deputy prime minister who had been living in exile. The Soviets moved to quell resistence from Moslem rebels, who controlled much of the countryside.

The coup, accompanied by the stationing of a reported 70,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, represented the first time since World War II that the Soviet Union had invaded a nation not already under its control.

Carter said the "radical and aggressive" invasion "could pose the most serious threat to the peace since the Second World War." It was no longer possible "to do business as usual with the Soviet Union," he said. And Carter said the Soviet invasion had changed his own opinion about "the Soviets' ultimate goals."

To express American disapproval, Carter ordered an embargo on sales to the Soviet Union of U.S. grain and high technology items such as computers. The president called for a boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games if the Soviet troops were not removed from Afghanistan by mid-February 1980. Carter also promised economic and military aid to neighboring Pakistan as a sign of support for that nation.

And in his 1980 State of the Union address, the president warned the Soviets to stay out of the oil-producing nations along the Persian Gulf: "An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

Role of Congress

Carter got most of what he wanted from Congress during 1979 — but only after several protracted struggles during which Congress substantially rewrote several of Carter's proposals.

Both houses asserted themselves on a variety of foreign policy issues. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee took a more aggressive posture under the new leadership of Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, and ranking Republican Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y. And several subcommittees of the House Foreign Affairs Committee conducted wide-ranging investigations and hearings into such Carter policies as human rights and arms sales.

Congress completely revamped the two measures that were at the top of the list of Carter's foreign policy priorities: proposals to establish unofficial relations between the United States and Taiwan and to implement the 1978 Panama Canal treaties. Congressional conservatives forced Carter to swallow changes in both bills that he had said were unacceptable.

Among the major issues before Congress were:

• **China policy.** After breaking relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan, and establishing diplomatic ties with mainland China, Carter in January submitted legislation providing for unofficial ties between the United States and Taiwan. But both houses insisted on formally assuring Taiwan that the United States was concerned about its security and warning China to leave Taiwan alone.

• **Panama Canal.** By far the most bruising experience for Carter was the mangling of his bill to implement the Panama Canal treaties. Carter simply wanted Congress to pass legislation establishing a Panana Canal Commisssion to run the canal, under terms of the 1978 treaties. But House members — still angry that they were not given a role in considering the treaties — quickly rejected Carter's plan and substituted a conservative-initiated version that gave Congress substantial control over canal operations. Carter had wanted the canal legislation passed by June, but the House delayed final passage until autumn. On Sept. 27, only four days before the treaties took effect, Carter signed into law a canal bill that bore only faint resemblance to his original proposals.

• **Aid to Turkey.** As part of a multi-nation effort to revive Turkey, Carter asked Congress to approve a special $50 million military aid grant to Turkey. Congress approved additional loans for both economic and military purposes.

• **Rhodesia.** The Senate nearly disrupted Carter's policy of using economic sanctions to force the government of Rhodesia to make further concessions to black majority rule. Over Carter's objections, the Senate voted twice to lift sanctions after the April election of a black-led government. The House supported Carter's contention that sanctions should remain until a negotiated settlement was reached ending the seven-year civil war in Rhodesia. Compromises in August and November gave Carter a free hand on the issue.

Middle East Settlement

Without question Carter's foremost foreign policy accomplishment was the stage-managing of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. In September 1978, at Camp David, Carter convinced Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to accept a general framework for peace for the Middle East region.

The signing of the treaty March 26 in Washington officially ended hostilities between the two principal antagonists in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Other Arab nations, however, rejected the treaty outright, and imposed severe economic sanctions against Egypt in retaliation.

The treaty also set in motion negotiations between Egypt and Israel on the thorniest of all Middle East problems: the future of the Palestinians in the territories occupied by Israel. Under the treaty, the Palestinians were to be given "self rule" in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Since Egypt and Israel disagreed almost completely about how much authority should be granted under that self-rule, the negotiations dragged on with little prospect for an early settlement in 1980.

Authoritarian Regimes

The year was not a good one for despotic rulers. Seven of the most ruthless dictators were overthrown.

Two of the bloodiest regimes — the Pol Pot government in Cambodia and Idi Amin in Uganda — were overthrown by the armies of neighboring states. Vietnam drove Pol Pot from power in January, but the Chinese-backed dictator continued to resist the Vietnamese in a civil war that produced hundreds of thousand of refugees. Congress tried to alleviate the suffering by authorizing nearly $100 million in emergency aid, such as food and medicine.

Tanzania, with the help of Ugandan rebels, invaded Uganda, and in April ended Amin's seven-year reign of terror.

Other dictators overthrown during the year were: Jean-Bedel Bokassa, the self-proclaimed emperor of the Central African Empire (renamed Central African Republic); Masie Nguema Biyogo, president of Equitorial Guinea; Anastasio Somoza, president of Nicaragua; and Carlos Humberto Romero, president of El Salvador. Park Chung Hee, the president of South Korea, was assassinated by the head of his own intelligence agency.

—By John Felton

New Relationship With Taiwan Approved

Congress completed action March 29 on legislation (HR 2479) putting U.S. relations with the Republic of China (Taiwan) on an unofficial basis and providing security assurances to the island.

The bill was signed by President Carter on April 10 (PL 96-8).

The measure was made necessary by the administration's decision in December 1978 to establish full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) on Jan. 1, 1979. The two countries exchanged ambassadors March 1.

The final version of the bill tied the United States closer to ensuring Taiwan's independence than the legislation submitted by the administration in January, but the White House said it was acceptable.

As part of the arrangement establishing relations with the PRC, the president agreed to end the 1954 mutual defense treaty with Taiwan and close its embassy in Taipei, the capital of the Republic of China. This decision was bitterly opposed by some senators, who maintained that treaties could not be terminated unilaterally by the president.

Soon after the 96th Congress convened in January, Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., introduced a resolution to require Senate approval to end a mutual defense treaty between the United States and another country. Although the legislation (S J Res 3) was not acted upon, the dispute eventually was referred to the courts by Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz. The suit contended that the Senate had to give its approval before treaties could be terminated. Long after the legislation was signed into law, Goldwater's suit was upheld by a U.S. district court, throwing Carter's China policy into disarray. The president protested the decision and immediately filed an appeal. *(Court case, see box, p. 100)*

The administration had wanted the legislation passed before the March 1 closing of the American Embassy in Taiwan. That deadline was not met, however, and the United States had no official or unofficial representation on Taiwan for more than a month. Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., refused to allow the administration to transfer money from the State Department's embassy account to the new unofficial American Institute until the bill was passed. *(Story, box, p. 108)*

In related action, the Senate Feb. 26 confirmed 82-9 President Carter's nomination of Leonard Woodcock as the first U.S. ambassador to Communist China. Woodcock had been the head of the U.S. Liaison Office in Peking since March 1977.

The House-Senate conference committee that drafted the final version of HR 2479 eliminated several provisions the administration said went too far in re-establishing formal ties with Taiwan.

Final congressional action on the measure came when the conference agreement was approved by the House March 28 by a 339-50 vote and by the Senate on March 29 by a vote of 85-4. *(House vote 56, p. 20-H; Senate vote 32, p. 7-S)*

Highlights

The legislation was intended to ensure that some type of relationship with Taiwan would be continued even though the United States no longer recognized the Republic of China regime that governed the island.

The United States agreed to conduct its relations with Taiwan through a private corporation, the American Institute in Taiwan. Taiwan, in return, was to continue its ties with the United States through an unofficial agency called the Coordination Council for North American Affairs.

The legislation assured that all trade, transportation and cultural links between the United States and Taiwan would remain in effect.

At the insistence of many members of Congress, the president had to accept stronger language than he had proposed expressing American concern for the future security of Taiwan.

The bill pledged continued arms sales to the Taiwan government and said the United States would take actions — which were not specified — in the event of an attack on Taiwan.

The changes made by Congress were "a vast improvement over the legislation initially proposed by the administration," said Frank Church, D-Idaho, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in explaining the final bill March 29. It "clarifies many uncertainties and ambiguities concerning legal and economic issues."

Final Provisions

As signed into law, HR 2479 (PL 96-8):

- Stated it to be the policy of the United States "to preserve and promote extensive, close and friendly commercial, cultural and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan."
- Declared that "peace and stability in the area are in the political, security and economic interests of the United States, and are matters of international concern."
- Declared that "the United States decision to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China rests upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means."
- Declared "any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States."
- Stated that the United States "will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability." The nature and quantity of the defense services and arms were to be determined by the president and Congress "based solely upon their judgment of the needs of Taiwan."
- Declared that the United States will "maintain the capacity . . . to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan."
- Directed the president to promptly inform Congress of "any threat to the security of the social or economic system of the people on Taiwan and any danger to the interests of the United States arising therefrom." The president and Congress "shall determine, in accordance with constitutional processes, appropriate action by the United States in response to such danger."

Court Backs Carter on Defense Pact

A landmark ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court on Dec. 13 cleared the way for President Carter to terminate the 1955 mutual defense treaty with Taiwan (Republic of China). Carter had served notice in December 1978 that the United States would end the treaty on Jan. 1, 1980.

On a 7-2 vote, the court dismissed a challenge to Carter's action by Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., and other congressional conservatives. Goldwater insisted that the president lacked the authority to end treaties without the approval of Congress. A U.S. district judge agreed with Goldwater Oct. 17, but the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upheld Carter Nov. 30.

In dismissing Goldwater's suit on technical grounds, the Supreme Court sidestepped the issue of whether Senate approval was required for treaty terminations. Although it requires Senate approval for the making of treaties, the Constitution does not specifically state how treaties are to be ended.

Four members of the Supreme Court voted to dismiss Goldwater's suit because the dispute between Goldwater and Carter was a "political question" that should not be resolved by judicial interference. They were: Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and Justices William H. Rehnquist, John Paul Stevens and Potter Stewart. In their ruling, they did not address the constitutional issue of whether a president can terminate a treaty without congressional approval.

Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. said Goldwater's complaint was "not ripe for judicial review" because Congress as a body has not taken a final position on the issue. Powell said that "differences between the President and Congress are commonplace under our system... [and] the Judicial Branch should not decide issues affecting the allocation of power between the President and Congress until the political branches reach a constitutional impasse.

Justice William J. Brennan Jr. was the only member of the court who specifically rejected Goldwater's position that Carter acted unconstitutionally. Justice Thurgood Marshall concurred in the court's majority decision, but did not write a separate opinion.

Only two justices, Byron R. White and Harry A. Blackmun, said Goldwater should have been given the opportunity to present his arguments to the court. Goldwater had asked the court to hold formal hearings on his appeal of the appeals court decision. The Supreme Court accepted written briefs, but never held a hearing on the suit.

Goldwater served notice he might push for legislation giving Congress a role in the termination of treaties. As an alternative, he said, the Senate should attach a restriction on all future treaties requiring Senate approval before they could be terminated.

Background

Carter notified the Republic of China on Dec. 23, 1978, that the United States would terminate the mutual defense treaty at the beginning of 1980. The treaty provided for termination by either party, with one year's notice. The president promised, however, that the United States would continue to sell Taiwan selected "defensive" weapons, after a one-year moratorium in 1979.

On Jan. 3, 1980, the Defense Department announced the sale of $280 million worth of missiles and electronic equipment to Taiwan.

Carter's action severing the defense treaty was a major part of his new China policy, under which the United States withdrew recognition of the Taiwan government and extended recognition to the People's Republic of China.

Goldwater and 24 conservative colleagues immediately filed suit in federal court, charging that Carter acted unconstitutionally in ending the Taiwan treaty without consulting the Senate.

In January 1979, Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., introduced a resolution (S Res 15), which stated that it was the sense of the Senate that Senate approval was required for termination of any mutual defense treaty. After holding hearings on the resolution in April, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee rewrote Byrd's resolution (S Rept 96-119), adding several loopholes that gave the president virtually a free hand to end treaties.

Court Action

On June 6 U.S. District Court Judge Oliver Gasch dismissed Goldwater's suit on technical grounds. However, Gasch said he agreed with Goldwater's contention that the Senate should have a role in ending treaties.

A few hours after Gasch's decision was announced, the Senate took up the Byrd resolution. On a 59-35 vote, the Senate rejected the Foreign Relations Committee language, and replaced it with Byrd's original wording.

After the vote, senators could not agree whether the resolution applied to the Taiwan treaties, or merely was an expression about future treaties. Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., later used a parliamentary maneuver to effectively block final action on the resolution.

Citing the Senate vote, Goldwater renewed his suit, and on Oct. 17 Gasch ruled that Carter could not end the Taiwan treaty without congressional approval. Gasch said the president would have to seek approval of a majority of both houses of Congress, or of two-thirds of the Senate.

Carter immediately appealed the decision. On Nov. 30, the U.S. Court of Appeals supported the president. By a vote of 4-1, the appeals court ruled that Carter had the authority, on his own, to end the Taiwan treaty.

The court said "the constitutional initiative in the treaty-making field [lies with] the president, not the Congress. It would take an unprecedented feat of judicial contruction to read into the Constitution" a requirement that Congress approve all treaty terminations.

But the appeals court said it was acting only on the Taiwan treaty, and was not ruling on the general issue of the congressional role in ending treaties.

In its Dec. 13 decision, the Supreme Court dismissed Goldwater's suit, and set aside the appellate court ruling, allowing the treaty with Taiwan to expire Jan. 1, 1980, as scheduled.

• Authorized the United States to conduct its future relations with Taiwan through a private, non-profit, tax-exempt corporation, the American Institute in Taiwan, or "such comparable successor non-governmental entity the president shall designate."

• Authorized U.S. government agencies, through the State Department, to contract with the institute for the purchase of services and supplies.

• Authorized the institute to enter into, perform and enforce agreements and other transactions with respect to Taiwan. Among other things, it was to be the channel for the sale of arms by the United States to Taiwan.

• Directed the United States to deal with Taiwan through whatever unofficial agency was established by the Taiwan government in the United States.

• Authorized the institute to perform services for U.S. citizens such as those performed by consular offices in other nations.

• Directed the president to allow Taiwan in the future to maintain the same number of offices and personnel in the United States as it had before Jan. 1, 1979, the date the United States ended official relations with Taiwan.

• Mandated that all U.S. agreements and treaties with Taiwan would remain in effect unless otherwise terminated, except for the 1954 mutual defense treaty, which was to be terminated at the end of 1979.

• Recognized, for purposes of U.S. law, the validity of Taiwan domestic law, and of contracts entered into under Taiwan law.

• Stated that U.S. laws relating to foreign countries would apply to Taiwan.

• Stated that recognition of the People's Republic of China would not affect the ownership of property acquired by the Republic of China on Taiwan in the United States before Dec. 31, 1978. (This provision guaranteed continued ownership by the Taiwan government of its bank accounts and other assets in the United States, including its embassy and chancery property in Washington, D.C. The embassy had been claimed by Peking.)

• Authorized the secretary of state to treat Taiwan as a nation with a separate immigration quota. This would give both Taiwan and China annual quotas of 20,000.

• Exempted Taiwan from restrictions on guarantees, insurance and loans by the Overseas Private Investment Corp. (OPIC) for three years. (Without this provision, OPIC guarantees would have been restricted in 1979 because per capita income on the island exceeded $1,000; under U.S. law OPIC could not issue guarantees in countries with incomes over that amount.)

• Provided that the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and "other appropriate committees" would monitor implementation of the legislation.

• Authorized the president to grant Taiwan's representatives in the United States such diplomatic privileges and immunities "as may be necessary to the effective performance of their functions," provided that employees of the American Institute in Taiwan were granted comparable privileges.

• Authorized U.S. government employees, particularly Foreign Service officers, to take temporary leaves of absence in order to work for the institute in Taiwan. While at the institute they would not be considered employees of the U.S. government, but they would not lose seniority, pension or other benefits when they returned to government employment.

• Authorized funds appropriated to the secretary of state in fiscal 1980 to be used to carry out provisions of the legislation, including funding of the American Institute. Funds already appropriated for the State Department for its embassy operations were to finance the institute's operations for the remainder of fiscal 1979.

• Defined "Taiwan" to include the islands of Taiwan and the Pescadores, "the people on those islands, corporations and other entities and associations created or organized under the laws applied on those islands, and the governing authorities on Taiwan recognized by the United States as the Republic of China before Jan. 1, 1979. . . ."

Background

In a joint communique issued Dec. 15, 1978, the United States and the People's Republic of China announced that they would formally recognize each other Jan. 1, 1979, and would exchange ambassadors and establish embassies March 1. *(Texts of communique, U.S. PRC and Taiwan statements, see p. 3-A)*

In transferring its recognition to the People's Republic from the Republic of China (Taiwan), the United States gave notice that it would terminate its mutual defense treaty with the Taipei government at the end of 1979.

Under Article 10 of the treaty either party could terminate the pact with one year's notice. The United States also announced it would withdraw its remaining 753 non-combat troops from Taiwan.

"Normalization — and the expanded commercial and cultural relations that it will bring — will contribute to the well-being of our own nation, to our own national interest, and it will also enhance the stability of Asia," President Carter said Dec. 15. "The normalization of relations between the United States and China has no other purpose than this — the advancement of peace."

Since 1949, when communist forces completed the takeover of mainland China, the United States had recognized the nationalist regime on Taiwan as the sole government of China.

Surprise Announcement

Although the eventual normalization of relations between Washington and Peking had been taken for granted since President Nixon's trip to China in 1972, the sudden announcement caught most of the world by surprise. And among those most surprised were members of Congress, who thought Carter had promised to consult with them before changing the status of the Taiwan treaty.

The most vocal reaction was the anguish of conservatives who had faithfully stood by Taiwan for decades. They spoke of the betrayal of Taiwan, and threatened political retaliation against Carter. But many of those conservatives conceded Carter had the legal right to take the actions he did.

The more sustained, and potentially the more damaging, criticism of Carter came from a wide spectrum of opinion in Congress. The major complaint was that the president should have consulted with them before taking such an important action. There were predictions that legislation to implement the new China policy would be stalled, or heavily amended, and that the congressional wrath would spill over onto other crucial foreign policy issues such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT).

Reconciliation: A Slow and Painful Process

The split in relations between the United States and China began officially on Oct. 1, 1949, when the communist regime led by Mao Tse-tung formally established the People's Republic of China on the mainland after defeating the U.S.-backed Nationalists led by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek.

The Nationalists fled to the nearby island of Taiwan, where they set up the Republic of China as a mainland government in exile.

Though initially reluctant to provide military aid to Chiang's new regime, the United States changed its policy after the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950. Peking's entry into the war in November cemented U.S. support for Chiang.

Defense Treaty

During the summer of 1954 the communists stepped up military pressure against Quemoy and Matsu, Nationalist-held islands located just a few miles off the mainland.

To underscore its support for the Chiang government, the U.S. signed a mutual defense treaty with the Nationalists on Dec. 2, 1954; the Senate approved ratification of the treaty by a vote of 65-6 on Feb. 9, 1955.

For nearly 15 years after that, U.S.-Peking relations were essentially stalemated, although ambassadorial level talks went on in Geneva and Warsaw for nearly 15 years, ending only after the American invasion of Cambodia in 1970.

Reconciliation

But there were cautious moves toward reconciliation in the first two years of the Nixon administration. The U.S. government eased restrictions on American travel to China, terminated the regular U.S. naval patrol in the Taiwan Strait, and announced that all nuclear weapons on Okinawa would be removed by 1970.

Over the same period China began to reassess its relationship with the United States. The increasingly open conflict between Peking and the Soviet Union, which culminated in March 1969 in a series of armed skirmishes along the border between the two countries, made rapprochement with the United States more attractive to Peking than it had been before.

Ping-Pong

No one expected, however, that the game of ping-pong would be the vehicle for a breakthrough between the two superpowers. On April 6, 1971, during the international table tennis championships in Nagoya, Japan, the Chinese team invited the American players to visit mainland China before returning to the United States.

The invitation was accepted, and on April 10 the team — accompanied by five American journalists — entered China. It marked the first official visit by Americans to the mainland since the communists took control in 1949.

During a party for the team April 14 Chinese Premier Chou En-lai said more American journalists would be granted visas to visit China. On the same day, the White House announced it was terminating a 21-year-old embargo on trade with China and that a list of goods eligible for export to China would be drawn up.

Nixon Visit

The dramatic thaw in relations took a new turn on July 15, 1971, when President Nixon announced that he would visit Peking in early 1972 "to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries." Nixon said the meeting had been arranged during a secret visit to Peking in July by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Alluding to the difficult problem posed by U.S. support for the Nationalist government on Taiwan, Nixon said the new relationship "will not be at the expense of our old friends."

Nixon arrived in Peking Feb. 21, 1972, for a one-week visit that included a four-hour meeting with Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Nixon and Chou En-lai issued a joint communique on Feb. 27 — later referred to as the Shanghai Communique — indicating agreement on the need for increased contacts between the United States and China.

The communique included U.S. acceptance of Peking's contention that Taiwan was part of China, and included a U.S. pledge to ultimately withdraw its military forces from Taiwan.

U.N. Seating

Meanwhile, the United States announced it would "support action . . . calling for seating the People's Republic of China" in the United Nations while continuing to oppose the expulsion of Taiwan. The issue reached a climax Oct. 25, 1972, when the U.N. General Assembly voted 76-35 to adopt a resolution calling for the seating of Peking, but also expelling Taiwan.

Though trade between the U.S. and China jumped from a mere $5 million in 1971 to $930 million in 1974 — mostly in agricultural products — there was little progress in the effort to normalize relations during the five years after the Nixon visit.

A four-day visit by President Gerald Ford in December 1975 produced no new initiatives over the issue of Taiwan or general U.S.-China relations. Discussions focused on the U.S. policy of detente with the USSR.

Death of Mao

In 1976 the two giants of the Chinese People's Republic since its formation — Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai — died. Chou in January of cancer, and Mao in September of unknown causes. Mao was 82.

Mao was succeeded by Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng), a leader of the moderate faction, who played a prominent role in 1975 in the mechanization movement to modernize Chinese agriculture.

After the Carter administration took office, it began exploratory talks with the Chinese on the normalization issue during an August 1977 trip to Peking by Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance. But there were reportedly no breakthroughs on the Taiwan issue during those talks.

Breakthrough

The breakthrough was made possible by the willingness of both sides to make concessions on disputed issues that had been at the heart of U.S.-China relations for nearly 30 years. Each side claimed that the other had made the greater concession.

For its part, the United States agreed to three conditions the Chinese long insisted had to be met:

- Ending recognition of the Republic of China on Taiwan.
- Termination of the U.S.-Taiwan mutual defense treaty.
- Withdrawal of the remaining U.S. troops on Taiwan.

The Chinese also made three major concessions. They:

- Tacitly agreed not to oppose continued American sales of arms to Taiwan.
- Agreed that the United States could terminate its defense treaty with Taiwan with one year's notice, rather than immediately.
- Agreed not to object to an American declaration of continued interest in the future of Taiwan.

Conservative critics argued that the Chinese concessions were merely rhetorical and that the United States essentially gave in to Peking's demands.

But the administration orchestrated a chorus of high-level officials who insisted that the United States had won essential points that would ensure Taiwan's independence for the foreseeable future.

The impetus for the breakthrough was a trip to China in May 1978 by National Security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who impressed Chinese officials with his anti-Soviet rhetoric. In July Leonard Woodcock, then the chief of the U.S. delegation in Peking and subsequently appointed the United States' first ambassador to the People's Republic, began serious negotiations with Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua. On Sept. 19, 1978, President Carter met with Chai Zemin (Chai Tse-min), the PRC liaison officer in Washington, and laid out the U.S. conditions for normalized relations. Negotiations then proceeded rapidly, with the two sides exchanging draft statements and proposals up until the day before the public announcement on recognition Dec. 15.

Congressional Reaction

Although most conservative members were angered and most liberals were enthusiastic about Carter's announcement, members of all political persuasions were upset that Carter had acted so secretly, with little advance warning and no opportunity for congressional consultation.

Members were quick to point out that Carter essentially ignored a section of the 1978 arms sales act that called on the president to consult with Congress before changing the status of the mutual defense treaty with Taiwan.

The provision, passed by the Senate 94-0 July 25, 1978, as an amendment to the International Security Assistance Act (PL 95-384) and incorporated in the final version with minor changes, said: "It is the sense of the Congress that there should be prior consultation between the Congress and the executive branch on any proposed policy changes affecting the continuation in force of the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954."

Carter signed the bill on Sept. 26, just a week after his key meeting with Chinese officials that had speeded up the normalization process.

An example of the criticism leveled against Carter for his lack of consultation came from Rep. Lester L. Wolff, D-N.Y., chairman of the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs: "The administration's failure to live up to its pledge of last summer creates needless potential domestic obstacles, and also raises serious concerns that we have returned to the era of secret agreements concluded primarily for the purpose of avoiding rigorous debate in Congress on the merits of the issues involved."

Congress' Role Debated

The provision did not legally obligate Carter to consult with the legislative branch, but it created an opening for a renewal of the debate about the role of Congress in foreign policy.

The amendment was the result of a series of compromises on several Taiwan-related resolutions introduced in the 95th Congress by conservatives.

Praise for Carter's action came from Senate liberals, who had long urged the United States to move rapidly toward normalization of relations.

Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., Senate Democratic whip, said Carter's "courageous decision is a positive step toward world peace." Cranston in January 1978 had lead a 10-member delegation to China that later called for prompt recognition of China.

Action by Conservatives

Rep. Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., and other leaders of the American Conservative Union, said they would introduce a joint resolution condemning Carter's action and nullifying the termination of the treaty. However, such a joint resolution faced an almost certain veto by President Carter.

The ACU said it would mount a national letter-writing and advertising campaign against Carter's China policy similar to the one it waged in 1978 against the Panama Canal treaties.

Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., said, in announcing his court suit challenging Carter's action abrogating the 1954 treaty, that because the Senate had ratified the defense pact the Senate's approval was necessary to terminate it.

Referring to the provision that either party could terminate the treaty with one year's notice, Goldwater said: "The treaty says party, not president, and party means the Senate would have to end that treaty."

But administration and State Department officials argued, with support from a number of legal scholars, that the president was not required to seek formal congressional approval. Those officials said the plan by Goldwater and other conservatives to introduce resolutions in Congress to hold up repeal of the treaty was a tacit acknowledgement that the president had the authority to do what he did.

"My constitutional responsibility in establishing relationships with foreign countries is clear and cannot be successfully challenged in court," the president said.

Trade With China

Perhaps the greatest support in the United States for establishing relations with China came from businessmen who were anxious to open the huge China market to American goods. President Carter emphasized the importance of that issue, saying the normalization would begin "a new vista for prosperous trade relationships with almost a billion people in the People's Republic of China."

The Chinese in 1978 moved rapidly on a broad front to attract trade with other nations, especially Japan. In February Japan and China signed a $20 billion trade deal.

The most important product China had to offer in the near future probably was oil from the South China Sea, which could in turn finance the billions of dollars worth of imports to develop that nation's industrial capacity.

Although the Chinese said they were not eager to import consumer goods, they signed an agreement Dec. 19, 1978, granting the Coca-Cola Company exclusive rights to market its product in China.

A potential obstacle to formal trade ties was the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1974 Trade Act, which linked preferential trade treatment for foreign nations to their freedom-of-emigration policies. That provision was aimed at the Soviet Union's treatment of Jewish dissidents, but it also applied to China, which routinely prohibited emigration by its citizens. *(For 1979 trade developments see p. 293)*

Concern for Taiwan Security

Most of the immediate attention after Carter's announcement was focused on whether the United States had obtained assurances for the future security of Taiwan.

Critics charged that Carter's action left Taiwan vulnerable to an invasion from mainland China, or at least a boycott or blockade. And even supporters of normalization said they were concerned about the future safety of Taiwan. Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio, chairman of the Far East Subcommittee, said the U.S.-China agreement left a "nagging doubt" that China would leave Taiwan alone.

Administration officials did not alleviate fears for Taiwan's security when they flatly said they had never attempted to pressure the Chinese into making a commitment on Taiwan's future.

In his unilateral statement accompanying the joint communique, Carter said the United States "will continue to have an interest in the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue." His aides said that phrase indicated the importance the United States attached to the security of Taiwan.

Referring to that phrase, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance said: "We have expressed very clearly our deep concern that the welfare of the people of Taiwan be protected, and that the transition be a peaceful transition, that the Taiwan solution be a peaceful solution. This has not been contradicted by the People's Republic of China."

An additional factor, according to the administration, was the willingness of the Chinese to allow continued American arms sales to Taiwan. The United States already was committed to $625 million in heavy arms sales to Taiwan through 1983, including tanks, artillery and more than 100 F-5e fighters equipped to carry guided missiles.

Vance and other officials repeatedly said the strongest assurance for the safety of Taiwan was the "reality" of the military situation in East Asia.

"It simply does not make sense for the People's Republic of China to do anything other than in a peaceful fashion," he said.

President Carter said China "does not have the capability" of launching a successful invasion of Taiwan, which is 100 miles off the mainland and is "heavily fortified and heavily armed."

One official said the Chinese would have to commit almost their entire armed forces to such an invasion and that would mean withdrawing troops from the Russian front, China's greatest security concern.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported its version of the Taiwan relations legislation (S 245) on March 1 (S Rept 96-7). It had been approved unanimously Feb. 22 with amendments by a 14-0 vote.

Extensive hearings on S 245 were held by the committee Feb. 5-7. Efforts to reach a speedy consensus on the legislation within the committee failed, primarily because of disagreement over the extent of the security protections that should be given Taiwan.

The bill kept in force more than 60 agreements between the United States and Taiwan. The only exception was the mutual defense treaty that Carter said would be terminated at the end of 1979.

What's in a Name?

The committee discovered quickly that the words "Republic of China" had disappeared from the vocabulary of Carter administration officials. They went to great lengths at the hearing to avoid using that term, and stuck instead to euphemisms such as "people on Taiwan" and "authorities on Taiwan."

Herbert J. Hansell, the State Department's chief legal adviser, squirmed under attempts by committee member Richard Stone, D-Fla., to get him to say that a "government" existed on Taiwan. Hansell ultimately admitted Taiwan had "governing authorities."

Committee members questioned administration officials closely on what role for Taiwan the United States and the Chinese communists would be willing to accept.

Early in the hearings, Deputy Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said any designation would be acceptable that did not "provide for an official identity for Taiwan. We would not want to have a name that seems inappropriate" in light of U.S. recognition of Peking.

Christopher said the president would have to veto any legislation "that sought to give an official character to our relations with Taiwan."

Stone argued repeatedly that Chinese communist leaders themselves had referred to the "government" on Taiwan. The Florida Democrat cited PRC Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping's (Teng Hsiao-ping) statement to the Foreign Relations Committee Jan. 30 that China would have no objection to Taiwan carrying on "people to people" relations with other countries. Deng visited Washington for a week in January and early February.

Administration spokesmen firmly rejected suggestions that the United States and Taiwan maintain relations through "liaison offices" similar to the offices Washington and Peking had maintained since 1973. "The liaison office concept would not have been acceptable" to Peking, Christopher told Church.

"The liaison office concept was developed for the purposes of relations that we hoped would grow into full diplomatic relations," he noted.

The committee also heard suggestions that the United States should insist on formal recognition of the government of Taiwan.

"For us not to recognize [the Republic of China on Taiwan] may be just as foolish as our not recognizing the People's Republic of China for 30 years," said Sen. Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz.

The question of whether the United States should adopt a "one China" or "two China" policy arose frequently during the hearings.

"Everyone here would prefer a relationship that recognizes the factual existence of two governments," Church said. "But both the government in Peking and the government in Taipei . . . claim to be the government of the whole of China. I don't see how it would be possible" to recognize both governments.

Stone suggested that the United States refer to "the sovereignty of the Republic of China as being the territory under its control." He cited the U.S.-Taiwan mutual defense treaty, which defined the Republic of China as Taiwan and the Pescadores, a neighboring group of 64 small islands. Such a definition, Stone said, would avoid the problem of the Taiwan government's claim to represent all of China.

Security Guarantees

More than a dozen resolutions pledging the United States to varying levels of security protection for Taiwan were introduced in the Senate. Much of the discussion centered on S J Res 31, sponsored by Sens. Cranston and Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass. It pledged the United States to unspecified actions in the event of a threat to the island or to U.S. interests.

At the other end of the ideological spectrum, Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., testifying before the committee, urged the panel to take action to retain the U.S.-Taiwan mutual defense treaty.

But Christopher warned that Carter would veto any legislation "that sought to restore a mutual defense arrangement."

Committee members agreed early in the hearings to incorporate language dealing with Taiwan's security in the administration's bill. As originally introduced, the administration bill was silent about Taiwan's security.

No Binding Pledge. Government officials repeatedly urged the committee not to adopt a binding security pledge to Taiwan. They said such a commitment might damage U.S. relations with the PRC. When committee leaders appeared close to agreement Feb. 8 on relatively strong language in support of Taiwan, administration officials convinced Church and other Democrats to delay committee action.

The committee was split three ways:

- Most Republicans, lead by ranking member Jacob K. Javits of New York, favored language formally committing the United States to the protection of Taiwan in the event of an attack by mainland China. Some Republicans, especially Jesse Helms, N.C., a new member of the panel, demanded a pledge even stronger than the existing defense treaty. Helms had been the only member to vote against the nomination of Leonard Woodcock as ambassador to China.
- Sen. Church and several other Democrats said they favored a clear statement of American support for Taiwan, but not a formal commitment to defend the island under all circumstances.
- Democrats Joseph R. Biden Jr., Del., and Edmund S. Muskie, Maine, said they did not see the need for any congressional statement on Taiwan's security.

None of the three possible courses appeared to have majority support on the 16-member committee.

Javits, one of the Senate's few liberal Republicans, staked out a position favoring tough language in support of Taiwan. "I want to make it very clear to Mr. Teng, to the communist authorities in the People's Republic, and to those who may succeed them, that the United States will not tolerate the use of force or what is tantamount to force, whether it's boycott, blockade or other devious devices, to suffocate Taiwan so that it must conform to the PRC socially and economically."

As the hearings proceeded, Javits said he wanted language in the legislation similar to that in the U.S.-Taiwan mutual defense treaty. Administration officials warned that such a measure almost certainly would be vetoed.

Javits drafted an amendment spelling out American interests in and support of Taiwan. Its key section, substantially drawn from the defense treaty, said an attack against Taiwan would be "a common danger to the peace and security of the people of Taiwan and the United States in the Western Pacific." It pledged the United States to act to protect its interests in the region.

Church showed the draft to Christopher, who strongly objected to the harshness of the language. After a meeting with Carter, however, Church publicly backed away from the Javits proposal, saying it had been "hastily drawn up."

"As far as the future security and well-being of the people of Taiwan are concerned, I think we all are in common agreement," Church said. "I am anxious that the words that we find to express that agreement should not conflict with any understanding" between the United States and China.

Most witnesses and senators agreed that mainland China was unlikely to launch a military invasion against Taiwan in the near future. But the committee received several warnings that the communists eventually might try to bring Taiwan to its knees with a naval blockade or an economic boycott.

Defense Secretary Harold Brown told the committee a military invasion of Taiwan was "extremely unlikely for the foreseeable future."

Several witnesses also said China's new relationship with the United States, Japan and other industrial nations was an even more effective factor diminishing the threat of an invasion.

"A decision by China to use force against Taiwan would in effect be a decision to renounce good relations with these nations and hence to abandon the program of modernization and growth," Christopher said. "Such a sharp reversal of policy would, in our view, appear to be highly unlikely."

Church echoed those sentiments, saying that because Peking would benefit from trade with the United States and other nations "it will have less incentive to jeopardize those benefits by an attack" on Taiwan.

"Taiwan may be in less danger in the future" as a result of American relations with China, he said.

The only witness to predict a future communist move against Taiwan was Ray S. Cline of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies. Cline was formerly director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

"I think they [the mainland Chinese] will apply economic boycotts and harassment against Taiwan immediately, or almost, and will ultimately use force," Cline said.

Compromise Reached. A compromise on the security provisions was finally agreed to by a majority of the committee. As ordered reported Feb. 22, S 245 contained language stating that it was "the policy of the United States:

1a) to maintain extensive, close and friendly relations with the people on Taiwan;

2a) to make clear that the United States' decision to establish diplomatic relations with the People' Republic of China rests on the expectation that any resolution of the Taiwan issue will be by peaceful means;

3a) to consider any effort to resolve the Taiwan issue by other than peaceful means a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States; and

4a) to provide the people on Taiwan with arms of a defensive character.

"In order to achieve the objectives of this section:

1b) the United States will maintain its capacity to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or social or economic system of the people on Taiwan; and

2b) the United States will assist the people on Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability through the provision of arms of a defensive character; and

3b) the President is directed to inform the Congress promptly of any threat to the security of Taiwan and any danger to the interests of the United States arising therefrom."

Javits said the amendment was "not a pledge to go to war" if Taiwan were attacked. But he claimed it was "the equivalent" of and had "the same moral force" as the expiring mutual defense treaty.

Further Changes. The committee adopted an additional change proposed by committee member John Glenn, D-Ohio, that said: "The United States will act to meet any danger described under [the amendment] in accordance with constitutional processes and procedures established by law."

Glenn added that his measure "had nothing to do with military action. We may do nothing more than discuss what we're going to do" if Taiwan were ever threatened. (In a closed session of the committee, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. David C. Jones had said China could not successfully invade Taiwan for at least five to 10 years, according to senators present.)

The only effort during the markup sessions to strengthen the Church-Javits amendment was made by Charles H. Percy, R-Ill.

He proposed language stating that hostile actions against Taiwan would be a threat "to the security interests of the United States .... We have to stand for something. We have to say [to China] 'this is the line, and if you go beyond it we will act.' "

Javits and others, however, said that tying Taiwan directly to U.S. security interests would be too formal a commitment to defend Taiwan. "I did not want to commit the United States to military actions necessarily," Javits said. "When you say security of the United States, you make it a matter of duty to act. I don't want to make it [Taiwan] such a hot spot that we're compelled to act."

Percy's amendment was rejected on a 4-10 vote. Voting for it were Percy; Stone; Helms and Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind. Voting against were Church; Javits; Glenn; Biden; Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn.; Claiborne Pell, D-R.I.; George McGovern, D-S.D.; Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md.; Edward Zorinsky, D-Neb.; and S.I. (Sam) Hayakawa, R-Calif.

American Institute in Taiwan

The administration's proposed agency to replace the U.S. Embassy in conducting business in Taiwan was challenged by witnesses and senators as inadequate. Some even said the arrangement was unconstitutional.

A draft contract written by the State Department said the institute would "represent the United States and the American people and carry out functions on their behalf. . ." in Taiwan.

State Department officials said the institute would be run by retired Foreign Service officers and would have offices in Washington and Taipei. Its expenses, including the salaries of employees, would be paid by the U.S. government.

Robert Dole, R-Kan., challenged the constitutionality of delegating diplomatic authority to a private company, said: "I don't happen to believe there is any place for a private corporation in the conduct of our foreign policy."

And Church suggested the proposal was similar to conducting "our foreign policy with, say, France through General Motors."

Challenged by Church to document precedents and the constitutionality of the proposal, State Department legal adviser Hansell said government officials "have no qualms" about the legality of the institute approach.

"There is no precedent for this kind of relationship with the people on Taiwan," Hansell said. "But as to the engagement of non-profit entities to conduct business on behalf of the government, I'm sure there are a number of examples."

Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance reported that Taiwan had agreed to establish its own unofficial agency to deal with the American Institute, but that announcement was disputed the next day by the Taiwan government.

The committee-reported bill:

- Required annual congressional appropriations for the American Institute in Taiwan.
- Required congressional approval of formal agreements between the American Institute, such as arms sales, which were to be handled by the institute.
- Directed the institute to "promote the human rights of all the people on Taiwan." This was a compromise for an amendment introduced by Sen. Pell to expand American ties with the native Taiwanese.

Diplomatic Immunity

Administration spokesmen rebuffed suggestions that Taiwan officials in the United States be allowed to keep their diplomatic immunity. "We cannot and do not think it would be appropriate to provide diplomatic privileges" for those officials "because we are not dealing with diplomatic personnel," Hansell said.

But both Hansell and Christopher expressed willingness to discuss limited privileges for those Taiwan officials, such as the right to send material to and from the United States in a secret "diplomatic pouch."

One State Department official said Taiwan would be limited to four offices in the United States after March 1, compared to the 14 offices it previously operated.

"We think 14 offices are excessive for their needs," said Roger Sullivan, deputy assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. "They say their 14 offices are to maintain contacts with the Chinese communities in our cities. We don't think it is appropriate to import Chinese civil wars into our cities."

Stone threatened to delay the bill unless he had assurances that, under the new arrangement, the Taiwan representatives in the United States would have diplomatic privileges. A Stone proposal that was accepted by the committee and the administration gave the Taiwanese

privileges "comparable to those provided to missions of foreign countries" in the United States.

According to the State Department, the administration planned to give the Taiwan agents diplomatic privacy and exemption from customs taxes and taxes on personal income. But they would not have complete immunity from criminal prosecution.

Taiwan Assets

The bill specified that the legal right to property and assets earned in the United States by Taiwan citizens and businesses between 1949 and 1978 would be protected. The bill left unclear the legal status of the Taiwan Embassy in Washington.

"Bank accounts and foreign exchange assets that were generated by the work of the people on Taiwan belong to them," Christopher said. But both he and Hansell said disputes over ownership of specific property probably would have to be settled in the courts.

The former Republic of China Embassy in Washington, called Twin Oaks, might be subject to seizure by the People's Republic of China because it was the embassy of mainland China before the communist takeover in 1949, Christopher said.

House Committee Action

The House Foreign Affairs Committee completed action on a companion bill (HR 2479) Feb. 28. The bill was formally reported (H Rept 96-26) on March 3.

The House version was not particularly dissimilar from S 245 as reported by Senate Foreign Relations. Both bills expressed American concern for the future security of Taiwan, provided for relations between the United States and Taiwan on an unofficial basis, and continued in force nearly 60 treaties and agreements on trade and other matters.

Both committees responded to pleas from U.S. banks and businesses to place specific protections in the bill for their interests in Taiwan. Business lobbyists said they were worried that the uncertainty over the future of U.S. relations with Taiwan could jeopardize their investments.

The Senate committee version contained several administrative amendments preferred by the administration, including one that authorized the president to conduct U.S. relations with Taiwan through the American Institute in Taiwan.

The House bill did not specifically name the institute, but instead referred to a "designated entity" to carry on relations with Taiwan.

The House committee version was drafted by senior committee members and aides in consultation with State Department representatives. Several junior committee members said they did not see the bill until it was released publicly Feb. 22.

Members said some sections of the bill deliberately were made ambiguous in order to give the administration flexibility in fashioning future relations with Taiwan.

During one markup session, for example, Chairman Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., successfully rebuffed an attempt to include the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu in a precise definition of Taiwan: "It would be a dangerous course if we would try to clarify it too much. That could add some real problems."

Each time a committee member proposed an amendment to make the bill more specific, Zablocki suggested that the specific proposals be included in the committee report accompanying the bill.

Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill., a vocal opponent of Carter's China policy, said he wouldn't even try to get the committee to adopt a stack of amendments he had prepared. "My attempt to introduce clarity and logic into a bill that is supposed to muddle things up would be inconsistent."

Security Provisions

The committee's Taiwan security provisions closely paralleled the Cranston-Kennedy resolution (S J Res 31), which had 30 co-sponsors in the Senate and more than 100 in the House.

At its markup session Feb. 27, the committee rejected an attempt by conservatives to substantially toughen the security language. The debate centered on what the U.S. response would be to any attack on Taiwan by mainland China.

Although the bill stated that "the future of Taiwan must be determined through peaceful means," it did not pledge the United States to specific action in the event of an attack on or blockade of Taiwan.

Dan Quayle, R-Ind., sponsored an amendment declaring that hostile action against Taiwan would be a threat to the "security interests of the United States." That would have replaced language stating that action against Taiwan would be "of grave concern" to the United States.

"To say this is a matter of grave concern is so ambiguous, it means so many things," Quayle said. "Our reputation is at stake. We should make the language as clear as possible."

But other committee members challenged the suggestion that a threat to Taiwan would be a threat to the security of United States.

"The one interest we don't have [in Taiwan] is a security interest," said Stephen J. Solarz, D-N.Y.

And Lester L. Wolff, D-N.Y., said Quayle's amendment reminded him of the 1965 Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which President Johnson used as the legal basis for waging the Vietnam War.

Douglas J. Bennet Jr., assistant secretary of state for congressional relations, agreed with Wolff that the Quayle amendment "has Gulf of Tonkin overtones. The term security interest . . . seems to create a commitment to take action" if Taiwan were attacked.

Bennet said the term "grave concern" represented "a very important compromise" between the administration and Congress. Quayle's amendment was rejected 6-19.

On a voice vote the committee also rejected a proposal by Robert J. Lagomarsino, R-Calif., stating that withdrawing U.S. recognition of Peking would be a possible response to a Chinese attack on Taiwan.

As reported by the committee, HR 2479 contained the following major provisions relating to the U.S. security pledge to Taiwan:

- Peace and stability in the area were in the political, security and economic interest of the United States and were matters of international concern that had to be maintained.
- The status of Taiwan must be determined through peaceful means without prejudice to the well-being of the people on Taiwan.
- Any armed attack against Taiwan, or use of force or an economic boycott or embargo to prevent Taiwan from engaging in trade with other nations, would be a threat to

Funding of Taiwan Institute Temporarily Delayed

Implementation of the new U.S. policy toward Taiwan, which was to have begun March 1, was delayed for a month by Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C.

As the chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee that handled the State Department's budget, Hollings refused to allow the administration to reprogram, or transfer, $2 million of State's fiscal 1979 appropriation.

The money had been budgeted for the U.S. Embassy's activities in Taipei, and the administration wanted to allocate it to the new American Institute in Taiwan, the private agency designated in the Taiwan relation bill to conduct U.S. affairs with Taiwan after the U.S. Embassy closed March 1. State Department officials said the $2 million was necessary to open the institute's offices in Taipei and in Rosslyn, Va., a Washington suburb.

Without the money, there would be a "hiatus" in relations between the United States and Taiwan, officials said.

The institute was to be staffed by employees on leave from the U.S. government. For "symbolic reasons," according to the State Department's China director, Harvey Feldman, the former ambassador in Taipei, was not used for the institute's offices.

Although the institute already had been incorporated under Washington, D.C., laws, it could not begin operations until Congress passed the Taiwan relations legislation (HR 2479) authorizing it to act on behalf of the United States.

"We can't reprogram the money because there is no institute to transfer it to," Hollings argued, adding that he wouldn't allow the money to be reprogrammed until Congress passed the enabling legislation.

President Carter called Hollings Feb. 27 to ask him to approve the transfer of the money. "I told him I couldn't do it," Hollings said.

But Hollings also had other reasons for holding up the money. He said he was angered by the administration's treatment of Taiwan since the December announcement of the new China policy. "It appears to me that the State Department is moving swiftly to submerge Taiwan," he said. "They're going about it [dealing with Taiwan] in a high-handed fashion."

Hollings had a list of complaints that included:

- State Department "pressure" on Taiwan to recall I-Cheng Loh, director of the Taiwan government's China Information Service in New York City, after the director had written letters in January to several newspapers criticizing Carter's China policies. State Department officials had said Loh was engaging in "undiplomatic behavior" in addition to writing the letters, but they denied pressuring Taiwan to recall him.
- The lack of congressional oversight provided in the bill for the American Institute. "We won't hear anything more about Taiwan if you leave it in the hands of the State Department," Hollings said. "They don't have that much interest in Taiwan." Hollings said he wanted legislation to create a commission of congressional and executive branch appointees to oversee the institute.
- State Department "scheming" to turn the former Republic of China Embassy in Washington over to mainland China. Hollings said the embassy, called Twin Oaks, "rightfully belongs to Taiwan. I want to see to it that Taiwan gets its property back." The department's position was that the courts should resolve the dispute.

After HR 2479 cleared March 29, Hollings relented and the money was transferred to the new institute.

the peace and stability of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States.

- The United States would make available to Taiwan defense articles and services to protect itself against armed attack.
- The president was to inform Congress promptly of any danger to U.S. interests arising from a threat to the security of Taiwan. The president and Congress were to determine, in accordance with constitutional processes, appropriate action by the United States in response to any such danger.

Quayle also attempted to elevate the status of the agencies that were to conduct relations between the United States and Taiwan.

Administration officials insisted that relations had to be unofficial. Taiwan had previously agreed, under U.S. pressure, to establish its own non-government agency, to be called the Coordination Council for North American Affairs.

But Quayle suggested an amendment that would have made the American office in Taipei a "U.S. liaison office," similar to the one the United States had in Peking from 1975 to March 1. That agency was not a full embassy, but it was an official government operation.

Quayle said relations between the United States and Taiwan "should be at least equal" to the past relations between the United States and the PRC.

But Wolff said adopting the Quayle amendment would be "destroying everything we've done up to now" to restore relations between Washington and Peking. "The People's Republic of China won't accept it, and the president will veto it." Quayle's proposal was rejected 5-12.

Twin Oaks

The House committee set the stage for a fight over the ownership of China's embassy in Washington, called Twin Oaks. Over the years the mansion was the scene of some of Washington's most lavish diplomatic parties and receptions. It had been the embassy of the Nationalist Chinese on the mainland before the communist takeover in 1949.

At the end of December the Republic of China deeded the property, including a nearby chancery building, to the Friends of Free China, a non-profit group in Washington. Co-chairmen of that group were Sen. Goldwater and Washington lawyer Thomas G. Corcoran. Goldwater said the property transfer was valid, but that view was disputed by the State Department.

Lee R. Marks, a State Department attorney, told the committee that questions about ownership of the embassy should be settled in the courts.

But "as a matter of equity," the government position was that the embassy belonged to mainland China, Marks said. "We believe the better claimant [to the property] was

the government recognized by the United States as the government of China."

Marks said the United States had "no agreement with the PRC" to turn the embassy over to that regime.

On a 13-7 vote the panel approved an amendment offered by Lagomarsino stating that the Republic of China's property holdings "shall not be affected in any way" by U.S. recognition of mainland China. If enacted into law, the amendment would affirm the Taiwan government's right to the embassy, Marks said.

Consular Duties

Administration lobbyists objected to references in the House bill to the performance of "consular" duties by employees of the American Institute in Taiwan. The Senate bill did not mention consular duties.

"That puts an official stamp on their duties that we'd rather not have," State Department lobbyist Bennet said. "It could present some very, very serious problems."

In spite of those objections, the administration did not press to have the language removed, and Bennet said that would be an issue for a conference committee to decide.

Immigration Quotas

A major issue addressed in the House bill, but not in the Senate's, involved the United States immigration quota for China.

Administration witnesses told the committee that under existing policy Taiwan and the mainland had to share the annual quota of 20,000 immigrants to the United States.

The House bill stated that Taiwan could be treated as a separate country for purposes of the quota.

House, Senate Floor Action

Both houses passed the Taiwan relations legislation on March 13, giving the president's policy an important, but less than enthusiastic, endorsement.

The final vote was 90-6 in the Senate and 345-55 in the House. *(Senate vote 17, p. 5-S; House vote 34, p. 14-H)*

The bills (S 245, HR 2479), passed by the Senate and House just two hours apart, were similar in every major respect.

Few, if any, members expressed great enthusiasm for the legislation, especially the provision to conduct future relations with Taiwan through a private entity.

Even the floor managers praised the bills only as the best legislation possible under the circumstances. Rep. Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, referred to the proposed institute as a "Mickey Mouse operation."

During the early stages of floor debate the week of March 5, both houses narrowly rejected efforts to cripple Carter's policies toward Taiwan and mainland China. The votes reflected widespread dissatisfaction with the deal Carter made secretly with Peking without consulting Congress.

With only a few votes to spare, both houses March 8 defeated amendments the administration claimed could have torpedoed relations with Peking. Conservative and many moderate Democrats joined Republicans in voting against the Carter policy.

Few conservatives went as far as to express a willingness to forgo relations with Peking in order to retain the U.S. ties with Taiwan. But members representing a wide spectrum of opinion refused to accept administration claims that closer U.S. ties with the Nationalist government of Taiwan would lead to a break in relations with Peking.

Conservatives did manage in both houses to insert modest amendments strengthening the American presence in and guarantees for Taiwan. But they were beaten in their efforts to virtually restore the full government-to-government relationship that existed before the recognition of mainland China.

Senate Debate

The Senate completed action on its bill after five days of debate (March 5, 7-8, 12-13). Most of the controversial issues had been settled during the first two days, leaving secondary amendments and one sentimental issue for the final two days March 12 and 13.

In general, major amendments turned back by the Senate would have strengthened the U.S. pledge of support for Taiwan beyond what the administration wanted or thought prudent and raised the U.S.-Taiwan relationship to a more official or semi-official status.

Two issues dominated congressional debate:

- Security commitment to Taiwan. Both House and Senate versions expressed strong concern for the security of Taiwan, demanded that the future of Taiwan be resolved peacefully, and stated that the United States would take unspecified actions if Taiwan were attacked by China.

The Senate defeated a much stronger proposal, which stated that hostile action against Taiwan would be a threat to the "security interests" of the United States. A similar proposal was expected to be considered by the House before the legislation came to a final vote.

That language was vigorously opposed by the administration on the grounds it would virtually require the United States to respond militarily to an attack on Taiwan.

- Status of Taiwan. At the insistence of Peking, Carter had agreed to break off formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Taiwan and the United States were to deal with each other through unofficial, private corporations.

Opponents of the China policy attempted to elevate the status of the new relationship and proposed that the United States and Taiwan each establish a government-run liaison office in the other's capital. Amendments to set up a liaison office, rather than a private corporation, were defeated in both houses.

Taiwan Security

In the key vote on the bill, the Senate March 8 narrowly rejected language opposed by the administration that would have substantially strengthened the U.S. security guarantee for Taiwan. But the vote, 42-50, was much closer than had been expected by supporters of the administration's Taiwan legislation. Opponents initially prevailed on an earlier procedural vote, convincing the Senate leadership to delay final action on S 245. *(Votes 12, 13, p. 4-S)*

Administration lobbyists had pushed for quick action, saying it was needed to continue smooth relations with Taiwan.

The administration had been able to head off unfriendly amendments during committee consideration of S 245 in February. Supporters had seen the panel's unanimous approval of the bill as a sign the bill would surmount any opposition on the floor without difficulty.

But during nearly 16 hours of floor debate March 7-8, it quickly became clear that critics of the new China policy had attracted substantial support from moderate Republicans and Democrats. Most of them said they were only anxious to help out Taiwan, but to others the issue was an opportunity for Congress to halt what they saw as the deterioration of American strength around the world.

"When are we going to start acting like Americans? We had better start today," demanded Sen. Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., a moderate who sponsored the strong Taiwan security measure.

The debate on Taiwan's security boiled down to a question of how strong, and how formal, the commitment to defend Taiwan should be.

The bill reported by the committee pledged the United States to continue supplying defensive weapons to Taiwan. It said the United States expected Taiwan's future to be decided peacefully, and that hostile action against Taiwan would be of "grave concern" to the United States.

Percy proposed eliminating this phrase and substituting language stating that an attack against Taiwan would be a threat to the "security interests" of the United States.

"We must not lead the Chinese to miscalculate or underestimate our interests in Taiwan," Percy said. "The words 'grave concern' do not convey to the People's Republic of China the seriousness of our concern."

Percy said his amendment made "no inflexible commitment by the United States" to act if Taiwan were attacked. "My amendment leaves completely open the option for the United States use of force."

But opponents of the amendment argued that it would establish an unnecessary commitment and might disrupt relations with China.

Sen. Church argued that China was incapable of attacking Taiwan, and was not even anxious to do so. "The China we see today is not a China teetering on its coastline ready to leap on that island for the purpose of subjugating its people," he said.

Church said the Taiwanese were determined to defend themselves and could do so with the help of American-supplied weapons: "We have learned from the Israeli experience that there is no guarantee that can be given by any foreign country, even by the United States, that means so much . . . as the willingness and capability of the people to defend themselves."

And Church said the Percy amendment "brings us back very close to the phraseology" in the 1954 mutual defense treaty.

Adopting language so similar to the treaty, Church warned, "would place in jeopardy the new relationship we seek with mainland China."

Warning of a possible presidential veto if such language were adopted, Church said the president was "deeply disturbed that we not make this mistake."

But on the first round of voting, a motion to table the amendment, offered by Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., failed 45-49. Had the motion prevailed, the amendment would have been killed without further action. *(Vote 12, p. 4-S)*

At one point in the voting, the tabling motion had a majority, but four Republicans switched their votes at the last minute to keep the Percy amendment alive.

Vice President Walter F. Mondale and chief White House lobbyist Frank Moore were called in to lobby wavering members, while Church made an impassioned plea for the Senate to reconsider its action.

Noting that President Carter was beginning peace talks in the Middle East that day, Church said "a vote of this kind while the president is in Cairo will send a very unfortunate message."

Republicans responded with mocking laughter when Church said China "would look upon the adoption of his amendment with the right to reserve its position."

John Glenn, D-Ohio, said the amendment "creates the serious risk of the United States being pulled into a war not of our own choosing. We have a moral commitment to Taiwan, but it does not include a knee-jerk response. . . ."

Percy disputed Glenn's assertion that the amendment made a firm U.S. commitment: "There is nothing that requires the United States to act. . . . It does not authorize the president to take any action."

Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., told his colleagues they shouldn't be concerned about how the Chinese would view the amendment. "I don't give a damn if we make them mad. I'd like to make them real mad," he said. "We ought to give the world an indication we're not going to sit here and back away from everything that's done to us."

Goldwater was co-chairman of Friends of Free China, a private group supporting Taiwan.

White House lobbying appeared to help turn the Senate around. On the final 42-50 vote on the amendment, several senators (five Republicans and two Democrats) who had sided with the legislation's opponents on the tabling motion changed their positions and voted against the amendment. *(Vote 13, p. 4-S)*

Liaison Office

The administration had much less trouble getting the Senate to reject an amendment to elevate the U.S. presence in Taiwan to "liaison office" status. Sponsored by Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., the amendment would have created an office in Taipei similar to the one the United States maintained in Peking from 1975 through February 1979.

Humphrey criticized the proposed institute as a "charade." The institute "will be a government agency in everything but name," he said. Humphrey said a higher-level liaison office was needed in Taipei for "simple fairness" to Taiwan. . . .

"If it was proper to have government-to-government relations with the People's Republic of China at a time when we did not recognize its government, it can be no less proper to have such ties with the Republic of China now that we have withdrawn recognition from it."

But opponents said Humphrey's amendment would violate the agreement with Peking.

"I think every senator who wants to vote for this had better understand that this calls off the deal," said Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y. "So if you want to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China, you cannot vote for this amendment."

Humphrey's amendment was tabled 57-38, with all but eight of the votes against tabling cast by Republicans. *(Vote 11, p. 4-S)*

Mutual Defense Treaty

Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., delayed the Senate for several hours March 7-8 with an amendment to require Senate approval before any bilateral defense treaty could be terminated by the president.

Byrd said his amendment would not affect Carter's decision to end the treaty with Taiwan. But Senate leaders

feared the amendment might create legal and political problems for the administration.

Byrd said his amendment was needed because "it is important to establish for the future whether a president may unilaterally terminate a mutual defense treaty with another nation."

Byrd received support from a number of senators, who said the Senate's role in ending treaties was just as important as its role in approving them.

But Javits warned that the Senate would be saying to the president: " 'We are going to really say that we do not consider your action to have been lawful in giving notice to the Republic of China that this treaty is terminated,' " Javits said.

Under pressure from Democratic leaders, Byrd reluctantly withdrew his amendment. In return, Church promised his committee would hold hearings on the issue of treaty termination, and report to the Senate in 60 days.

Taiwan Embassy

Brushing aside strenuous objections from the administration, the Senate voted to ensure that the Taiwan government would be able to keep its embassy and chancery buildings in Washington, D.C. A similar provision had been placed in the House bill by the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Church said senators had "sentimental reasons" for wanting to save the embassy, called Twin Oaks, for Taiwan.

Administration spokesmen said the fate of the embassy should be left up to the courts. And the administration took the position that the embassy belonged to the mainland government, since that was the country currently recognized by the United States as the legal government of China.

In an attempt to prevent Peking's acquisition of the property, the Republic of China on Dec. 22, 1978, sold the embassy and chancery for $10 to the Friends of Free China, a private, Washington-based group. The property was valued at more than $3 million. The group's chairman, Sen. Goldwater, took part in Senate debate on the issue, but then abstained from voting.

Floor debate centered on the question of fairness versus legality. Proponents argued that Taiwan should be allowed to keep the embassy it occupied for 30 years, while opponents said it was not the function of the Senate to resolve the ownership issue.

David L. Boren, D-Okla., argued that allowing Taiwan to keep its embassy would be "small compensation for a long and trusted ally. In light of the backhanded treatment received by our friend and ally on Taiwan, there is no justification for adding summary eviction to the list."

Referring to the general practice for dealing with diplomatic property, Boren said: "It may be normal diplomatic procedure to transfer control of such property when governments change, but there is very little normal about this whole issue."

Boren sponsored the embassy amendment, which stated that all property held by the Republic of China before Jan. 1, 1979, including the diplomatic property, would continue to belong to that government.

But Church said: "This is the first time in my experience in this body that the Senate has ever undertaken to determine the ownership of real property. I rather doubt that we have the authority to do that. I am positive we lack the competence to do it."

And Church argued that legislation on the issue could prejudice the United States claims to 180 buildings on 51 tracts of land in mainland China that were seized in 1949.

Church and Javits offered a substitute amendment stating that the embassy ownership question should be resolved by the courts. But that amendment was tabled on a 49-36 vote. The Boren amendment then was adopted by voice vote. *(Vote 14, p. 5-S)*

Institute in Taiwan

The Senate rejected an amendment by Robert Dole, R-Kan., to require Senate confirmation of the director of the new institute in Taiwan. Dole's amendment also would have set a two-year term for the director.

Dole argued that the director should be subject to Senate confirmation because he would perform the same functions as an ambassador.

"Once the director of this non-governmental institute is appointed, he will not be subject to our direct control," Dole said. "It is necessary for us to have an opportunity to judge the worthiness of this unofficial official before he is granted such unconditional scope for action."

Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., said the amendment would raise the status of the American presence in Taiwan, in violation of President Carter's agreement with Peking. Requiring Senate confirmation would make the institute director a government official and would disrupt "the delicate set of relationships this legislation is intended to promote," Biden said.

Dole's amendment was tabled on a 54-38 vote. *(Vote 15, p. 5-S)*

Other Amendments

Eight other amendments were approved by voice votes, while two were tabled:

- By Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., to establish a Joint Commission on Security and Cooperation in East Asia composed of 12 members of Congress. The commission would monitor operations of the new institute and American policies toward Taiwan in general. Half its members would be appointed by the Senate, half by the House.
- By Hollings, stating that future U.S. — Taiwan relations would not be the basis for expelling or excluding Taiwan from membership in international organizations.
- By James A. McClure, R-Idaho, to specify that Taiwan would continue to be eligible for nuclear fuel from the United States.
- By Robert Dole, R-Kan., to require the president to make an annual report to Congress on arms sales and transfers to Taiwan.
- By Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, to permit Taiwan to retain all of its 14 consular offices in the United States. The State Department had announced plans to allow Taiwan to keep only eight offices. Voice vote.
- By Hatch, stating that "boycotts and embargoes" against Taiwan would be considered a threat to the peace in the Western Pacific and of grave concern to the United States. Voice vote.
- By Jesse Helms, R-N.C., five technical amendments to ensure that the American Institute in Taiwan would be able to perform the same services for U.S. citizens and businesses in Taiwan as performed by the former U.S. Embassy. Voice votes.
- By Humphrey, to require the president to notify Congress 30 days before granting any license for commercial arms sales to the People's Republic of China. Voice vote.

Conservative Efforts to Defeat Carter's China Policy...

The Taiwan government's most vocal supporters in the American political community failed to generate an effective lobbying campaign against President Carter's new China policy in 1979, primarily because Taiwan refused to confront the issue head on.

Although a loosely knit coalition of conservative groups formed in December 1978 to oppose President Carter's decision to recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC) and withdraw recognition from the Republic of China on Taiwan (ROC), lobbying against the new China policy was conspicuously absent during debates in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee over legislation defining the basis of future U.S.-Taiwan relations.

Pro-Taiwan forces in the United States also didn't use the Senate confirmation hearings of Leonard Woodcock, Carter's nominee for ambassador to mainland China, to enunciate their disapproval of what they viewed as the "abandonment" of Taiwan.

"There was a strategic focus lacking" among the pro-Taiwan groups, said Howard Phillips, national director of the Conservative Caucus.

The reason that focus was lacking in the committee debates boiled down to a fundamental disagreement between Taiwan and its friends in the American conservative community over the best strategy for preserving Taiwan's security and economic interests.

Taiwan chose a cautious course that accepted as a *fait accompli* President Carter's recognition of Peking. In seeking to minimize its losses, Taiwan did not want to antagonize the United States, on which, for better or worse, it had to continue to rely for military and economic support.

But American conservative groups thought Taiwan stood to gain more by fighting back and, in particular, by insisting on government-to-government relations with the United States and continuation of the 1954 mutual defense treaty. Although these groups were not opposed to the recognition of Peking, they were against establishing relations if it meant ending deplomatic relations with Taiwan.

Taiwan 'Capitulates'

If American groups had any intention of fighting Taiwan's battle, that country's agreement Feb. 13 to accept the administration-proposed American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) as the vehicle for continued relations, drew the final curtain on such plans.

"I think Taiwan chickened out and capitulated too early," said James Chieh Hsiung, a New York University professor of politics. Since Taiwan accepted the AIT, "there's nothing we can do," he added.

Washington-based pro-Taiwan groups continued to insist during congressional consideration of the Taiwan relations bill that they would carry on the fight on behalf of Taiwan and for what they saw to be U.S. security interests. But virtually all of them echoed Hsiung's pessimism concerning their ability to change the direction of U.S. policy.

• "One of the difficulties in developing a confrontation with Congress on the Taiwan issue [was] the unfortunate timidity, the willingness of the Taiwanese to cave in to State Department demands," said Gary Jarmin, legislative director of the 350,000-member American Conservative Union.

• "The Taiwanese blew it," said Anne Martin, executive director of the Committee for a Free China. "Since they gave in on the demand for government-to-government relations, I don't see how anyone could do anything for them."

• "You can't be more Catholic than the Pope," said Edwin J. Feulner Jr., executive director of the Heritage Foundation. "You can't tell them to go for the whole loaf if they're willing to go for half."

• "It is difficult for [Taiwan] supporters in the United States to launch a campaign if the people on behalf of whom you're working aren't taking a strong position," said William F. Rhatican, whose public relations firm organized a congressional tour to Taiwan in January. The Taiwan issue, according to Rhatican, "had the potential to be a major confrontation, but it fizzled."

Only Rep. Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., chairman of the American Conservative Union (ACU), thought Taiwan had "made its views forcefully" at the time of Carter's recognition of Peking and saw "no wavering" since then.

Although conservatives generally viewed Taiwan's limited challenge to Carter as the underlying cause of their own weak response on behalf of Taiwan, three other factors hampered a forceful lobbying effort.

First, President Carter's Dec. 15, 1978, announcement caught pro-Taiwan forces off guard. With March 1 set as the date of establishing formal relations with Peking, and a new Congress just coming into town, Taiwan's friends had little time to mobilize a significant grass-roots effort.

Second, the U.S. business community failed to take a strong pro-Taiwan position, apparently finding the prospect of trade with mainland China irresistible.

Third, the congressional foreign relations committees framed their debate in terms of providing greater assurances to Taiwan than Carter proposed, rather than insisting on full diplomatic relations.

Conservative Coalition

Most of the pro-Taiwan groups generally took a dim view of the Carter administration's foreign policy, arguing that the

On a 33-62 vote, the Senate rejected a Dole amendment to refer to "Taiwan" rather than to "the people on Taiwan" throughout the bill.

Opponents said that amendment would come too close to creating official relations between the United States and Taiwan. *(Vote 10, p. 4-S)*

Written Assurances

The Senate tabled, on a 74-21 vote, another amendment by Humphrey, which would have made the Taiwan legislation contingent on the United States obtaining written assurances from mainland China that it would not

...Hampered by Taiwan's Reluctance to Raise Issue

derecognition of Taiwan was only the latest in a series of sellouts of long-time U.S. allies.

In a Dec. 30, 1978, fund-raising appeal for the Washington Legal Foundation — a group representing Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., in a suit challenging Carter's termination of the 1954 Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan — Sen.-elect Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., lamented "the giveaway of the Panama Canal" and urged support for pro-Taiwan efforts. "[R]ight now I feel ashamed," Humphrey wrote. "First, we abandon the Vietnamese and the Cambodians. Then we tell the Koreans we're pulling out. And now we break our word to the people of Taiwan." Humphrey's appeal was consistent with that of other groups working on behalf of Taiwan, a coalition that read like a Who's Who of Washington conservative lobbies. These groups included:

- The National Conservative Political Action Committee, best known for pouring millions of dollars into the election campaigns of conservative congressional candidates.
- The American Conservative Union, the largest organization of conservatives in the country.
- The American Council for a Free Asia, described by its national director, Gary Jarmin of ACU, as a "conservative anticommunist public interest lobby."
- The Conservative Caucus, which was active in opposing abortion, busing, gun control and the Equal Rights Amendment, and had made Taiwan a major priority for 1979.
- The Washington Legal Foundation, which was handling Goldwater's lawsuit, also represented congressmen suing the administration to stop the Panama Canal treaties in 1978.
- The Heritage Foundation, a conservative research organization founded and originally funded by Joseph Coors. Heritage Foundation public relations were handled by Hugh C. Newton, a registered foreign agent of the Taiwan government, and Herbert Berkowitz, a former employee of Newton's firm.
- Young Americans for Freedom, a student-oriented lobby that waged a "wall poster" and newspaper advertising campaign protesting the visit to the United States Jan. 29 — Feb. 5 of Deng Xiaoping and labeling him "a tyrant who runs the dictatorship with the worst human rights record in the history of the world."
- The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, a political and legislative action group, headed by Paul Weyrich (a founder of the Heritage Foundation), which funded conservative candidates.
- The Committee for A Free China, the last organizational vestige of the "old China lobby," formed in 1953 as the Committee for One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, directed its efforts largely at generating grass-roots support for Taiwan. President of the group was former Rep. Walter H. Judd, R-Minn. (1943-63). Its treasurer, Charles A. Moser, also was treasurer of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.
- Friends of Free China, headed by Jack Buttram, a board member of the Committee for A Free China. The organization's national chairman was Sen. Goldwater. Its national advisory board included Ronald Reagan. The "Friends" were the new owners of the Taiwan Embassy, its chancery and military attache's office, all of which were transferred to it shortly after Carter recognized Peking.

Grass-roots Lobbying

The lack of direct lobbying on the Taiwan bill surprised members of the foreign affairs committees and State Department officials. But the pro-Taiwan groups were not totally inactive.

A four-part plan of action by the coalition was outlined by its organizer, John T. Dolan, executive director of NCPAC and a director of the Washington Legal Foundation: 1) grass-roots lobbying and mail campaigns; 2) support for the Washington Legal Foundation lawsuit; 3) lobbying on foreign aid and economic legislation; and 4) coordinating trips to Taiwan to encourage greater support for Taiwan.

A survey of 20 House and Senate offices showed that the pro-Taiwan mail campaign was highly visible on Capitol Hill. Although mail was nowhere near as heavy as that on the Panama Canal treaties in 1978, one office reported receiving 10,000 letters or postcards while several said they received over 3,000. Some, however, said they got as few as 15. Much of the mail was the product of organized writing campaigns, some of which originated from Taiwan.

The Committee for A Free China sent letters to more than 100,000 homes urging citizens to write members of Congress, and it distributed an inch-thick background paper on "The Taiwan Question" to every congressional office.

The American Council for a Free Asia had, according to Jarmin, sent 300,000 letters urging people to sign a petition saying the Taiwanese should not be "enslaved or murdered by the Communists."

NCPAC mailed 50,000 personalized letters through the Richard A. Viguerie direct mail company, enclosing postcards to be sent to senators saying: "Please do not let President Carter abandon the 17 million free people of Taiwan."

The Washington Legal Foundation sent out more than 500,000 of the Gordon Humphrey fund-raising letters, which included postcards almost identical to those sent out by NCPAC. An aide to Sen. William S. Cohen, R-Maine, reported that 3,000 of the 4,000 pieces of mail the senator received were foundation postcards.

attack Taiwan. Church said the amendment would be "ruinous" to the effort to retain ties with Taiwan since China would never agree to give such assurances.

Church also said the president would be forced to veto the legislation if it contained such a requirement. *(Vote 16, p. 5-S)*

House Debate

In two days of debate (March 8 and 13), House conservatives repeatedly tried and failed to add even a slice of official status to the proposed American Institute.

Conservative members argued that the United States should continue at least some semblance of official ties with a nation that had been a close ally for 30 years. But backers of the administration's position said relations with Taiwan had to be entirely unofficial since the United States recognized the mainland government as the sole government of China.

Government-to-Government Ties

By a vote of 172-181, the House rejected an amendment by Dan Quayle, R-Ind., that would have substituted an official U.S. liasion office for the proposed non-governmental institute as the channel for future U.S. dealings with Taiwan. *(Vote 25, p. 10-H)*

Supporters said this would simply reverse the practice followed until last December of having an embassy on Taiwan and a liaison office in Peking. "A liaison office was good enough for the Red butchers in Peking for six years, but you say it is not good enough for our allies of 50 years," charged Robert E. Bauman, R-Md.

The amendment would in effect have put U.S.-Taiwan relations on a government-to-government basis. The administration and its supporters argued that this would vitiate the agreement with Peking. But Quayle argued that if Carter told Chinese Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping "that it is the will of Congress to have at least a liaison office [in Taiwan], it just may be a reality."

Supporters of the administration bill, including Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., maintained they had no choice but to support the administration's non-governmental approach, however reluctantly. If that approach were dropped, Carter would veto the bill, and no legal basis would exist for U.S.-Taiwan ties, they said.

Related amendments rejected by the House March 13 would have:

- Placed employees of the institute on the U.S. government payroll. The administration planned to use employees on temporary leave from the State Department. Sponsored by John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, the amendment was rejected 171-239. *(Vote 26, p. 12-H)*
- Established consular relations between the United States and Taiwan. Sponsored by Gerald B. Solomon, R-N.Y., the amendment was rejected 179-225. *(Vote 28, p. 12-H)*
- Conduct relations through a "quasi-governmental" agency called "The United States Commission in Taiwan." Sponsored by William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif., the amendment was rejected 182-221. *(Vote 31, p. 12-H)*
- Expanded the legal definition of Taiwan to include the name Republic of China. Also sponsored by Ashbrook, the amendment was rejected by voice vote.
- Deleted the requirement that the American agency in Taiwan be non-governmental. Sponsored by George Hansen, R-Idaho, the amendment was rejected by a standing vote of 37-106.

Taiwan Security

The House debated Taiwan security issues March 8, turning down several attempts to strengthen the American security commitment to the island.

Floor debate centered on two questions:

- What should be the scope of the new U.S. military commitment to Taiwan?
- How far should the United States go in acceding to Peking's insistence that the new U.S.-Taiwan relationship avoid the formal trappings of a government-to-government tie.

In general, only conservative members showed any enthusiasm for throwing a U.S. defense perimeter around Taiwan.

Many members, however, including some prominent liberals, were infuriated by the administration's use of convoluted legal devices to allow U.S. government activities in Taiwan to be carried out under ostensibly private auspices.

Several members charged these symbolic aspects of the administration's Taiwan policy reflected softness in dealing with U.S. opponents. They cited recent turmoil in South Asia as evidence of a resulting decline of U.S. influence in the world. Even though the debate occurred on the first day of President Carter's last-ditch Middle East trip to conclude an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, only Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, sounded the traditional call to rally behind the president in time of international tension.

By a 149-221 vote, the House March 8 rejected an amendment by Ken Kramer, R-Colo., that would have reaffirmed the 1954 U.S.-Taiwan defense treaty. *(Vote 23, p. 10-H)*

Kramer's amendment would have made it U.S. policy, in case of an armed attack on Taiwan, to act as though Article V of the treaty still was in effect. That article declared that an armed attack against Taiwan "would be dangerous to [U.S.] peace and security."

"If we do not want to live with the realization that we have to take some action. . . in the event of an armed attack on Taiwan, what we are dealing with here is a sham," said Kramer.

But Stephen J. Solarz, D-N.Y., countered that the amendment would "scuttle the entire policy of normalization" with Peking. The bill already established a U.S. interest in Taiwan, he maintained, by stipulating that any attack on Taiwan would be a matter of "grave concern" to the United States, and any threat to peace and stability in the Western Pacific would be a danger to U.S. interests.

The bill expressed American concern for Taiwan's security, pledged that the United States would continue to supply arms to the island and directed the president to inform Congress of any danger to Taiwan.

Paul Findley, R-Ill., said he was concerned that the bill might produce the "same mischief" as the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

Zablocki assured Findley that the bill did not confer any additional power on the president and did not directly authorize the president to take military action to protect Taiwan.

"In no way does this legislation give the president any more authority in the use of military forces employed in the areas of combat than he already has, and the provisions of the War Powers Act will continue to apply," Zablocki said.

Under the War Powers Resolution (PL 93-148), the president must "in every possible instance" consult with Congress before sending troops into combat overseas, and then must obtain congressional approval for the action within 60 days.

Zablocki's interpretation of the bill was disputed by Bauman, a conservative who voted against HR 2479. Bauman argued that the "very broad draftsmanship" of the bill would add to the president's authority to take military action.

Bauman said the bill would give the president "a blank check" to transfer arms to Taiwan through the institute,

Previous Congressional Action on China

Despite U.S. government efforts toward normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China during the 1970s, congressional attention on the China question was focused chiefly on U.S. relations with Taiwan.

One expression of that concern was a sense of Congress resolution in the 1978 foreign military aid bill (S 3075 — PL 95-383). A provision in that bill stated that "there should be prior consultation between Congress and the executive branch on any proposed policy changes affecting... the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954" with Taiwan.

However, there were several attempts to move away from the narrow relationship the United States had with Taiwan.

In 1978 Congress passed a bill allowing sales of agricultural items by the Commodity Credit Corporation to the People's Republic. The bill (S 3447 — PL 95-501) authorized the corporation to provide short-term credit for commercial sales of foodstuffs to China. The provision was designed to sidestep the Jackson-Vanik amendment in the 1974 Trade Act (PL 93-618), which banned sales to socialist countries without assurances that they would permit free emigration by their citizens.

After several attempts, Congress in 1974 repealed the 1955 Formosa resolution committing the United States to defend Taiwan against any perceived threat. That commitment (H J Res 159 — PL 84-4), passed at President Eisenhower's request, authorized the chief executive to commit U.S. forces "as he deems necessary" to defend Taiwan or any of its offshore islands. The 1974 repeal (S 3473 — PL 93-435) still left the Mutual Defense Pact in force.

An earlier attempt to repeal the Formosa resolution was caught up in a controversy over the fiscal 1972 foreign aid bill. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee had attached the repeal (S J Res 48) to the aid bill, but the Senate subsequently deleted it. Growing dissatisfaction with foreign aid, coupled with the expulsion of Taiwan from the United Nations and the seating of Communist China on Oct. 25, 1971, were major factors in killing the aid bill that year. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. III, p.875)*

Between 1950 and 1970, Congress had expressed its opposition to the seating of the People's Republic in the United Nations at least 30 times. Statements opposing Peking had been attached to various appropriations bills. The last legislation to contain such language was the fiscal 1971 State-Justice-Commerce Departments appropriations bill (HR 17575 — PL 91-472).

Despite the controversy over the seating of mainland China, the Senate in 1971 had voiced approval of President Nixon's moves to normalize relations with Peking. That year the Senate approved a resolution (S Con Res 38) commending Nixon for initiating his visit to China and offering its support of further efforts to normalize relations.

Arms Sales to Taiwan

Disputes over the sale of arms to Taiwan delayed two foreign aid bills in the Nixon administration's first term. At issue was a proposed sale of $54.5 million worth of advanced fighter planes. The House favored the sale; the Senate opposed it.

Delayed because of the dispute was the fiscal 1970-71 foreign aid authorization bill (HR 14580 — PL 95-175). It was enacted only after Congress in December 1969 agreed to drop the authorization for the aircraft sale. The related funding bill for fiscal 1970 was stalled even longer for the same reason. A House-Senate conference version was killed by the Senate late in December 1969 after objections were raised against funds for the aircraft. Again, the plane had to be dropped before the bill could be approved. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. III, pp. 859-861)*

"and that could be an act short of war, but certainly one that could have a great deal of consequences."

Arms Sales Guarantees

The House accepted two amendments reflecting fears by Taiwan's supporters that the administration gradually would cut Taiwan off from supplies of modern military equipment. But each amendment was modified to remove provisions that some members said would give Taiwan priority over all other U.S. allies.

Adopted by voice vote was an amendment by Richard C. White, D-Texas, requiring the United States to make available to Taiwan modern military equipment and services. This was a substitute for a Kramer amendment that would have guaranteed Taiwan access to weapons "incorporating the highest available technology."

Although the bill already required that weapons be made available to Taiwan, Kramer insisted that Congress guarantee that it be top-line equipment. "Are we talking about horse-drawn equipment or... aircraft left over from World War II?" he asked rhetorically.

But Ike Skelton, D-Mo., protested that no other U.S. ally had such a guarantee of unrestricted access to the most advanced U.S. weapons. And Lester L. Wolff, D-N.Y., insisted that Kramer's fears were unfounded because the committee report on HR 2479 barred the administration from supplying Taiwan only obsolete equipment.

Also approved by voice vote was an amendment by Paul Findley, R-Ill., dealing with U.S decisions on weapons sales to Taiwan. This was a substitute for an amendment offered by Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill.

Opponents objected that the Derwinski version would have exempted Taiwan from the normal U.S. arms sales review process. Findley then proposed his substitute, which guaranteed that Congress would receive military assessments of Taiwan's defense needs, but did not exempt proposed arms sales from the normal review process.

Quemoy and Matsu

Two tiny islands that figured prominently in the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates surfaced during the House action on the legislation.

Mickey Edwards, R-Okla., proposed an amendment expressing concern for the security of the two islands, which are located about 10 miles off the China coast, but are controlled by Taiwan. Expressing U.S. concern for the islands through the legislation, Edwards said, would "help this nation, this great nation of ours, to do the right thing and keep its soul."

But administration supporters noted that not even the expiring U.S.-Taiwan mutual defense treaty covered Quemoy and Matsu. "We should not be expanding the U.S. security commitment beyond what was in the treaty," Zablocki said.

Edwards' amendment was rejected 146-256. *(Vote 27, p. 12-H)*

Other Amendments

Eleven other amendments were considered during the two-day debate. Adopted were the the following:

- By Hansen, specifying that Taiwan was covered by a U.S. law prohibiting U.S. corporations from respecting any economic boycott of a friendly country. Standing vote, 37-28.
- By Quayle, asserting that the United States would maintain its capacity to resist any coercion that would jeopardize the security of Taiwan. Voice vote.
- By Robert J. Lagomarsino, R-Calif., specifying that the president had to inform Congress of any threats to peace in the Western Pacific or to U.S interests because of threats to Taiwan. Voice vote.
- By Derwinski, affirming "the preservation of the human rights" of the people on Taiwan "as a commitment of the United States." Voice vote.
- By Steven D. Symms, R-Idaho, requiring the president to allow Taiwan to keep all 14 of its embassy and consular offices in the United States. The State Department had announced plans to force Taiwan to close six consular offices, including those in Kansas City, Mo., and Portland, Ore. Voice vote.
- By Derwinski, stating that all multilateral treaties and conventions signed by the United States and Taiwan were to remain in effect. Voice vote.
- By Lagomarsino, as amended by William S. Broomfield, R-Mich., establishing a Joint Commission on Security and Cooperation in East Asia to oversee the new American Institute in Taiwan. Six of the commission's 12 members would be senators, and six would be members of the House. The Senate had adopted a similar amendment. Voice vote.
- By Ashbrook, prohibiting the use of government funds by the new institute unless they were authorized and appropriated by Congress. Recorded vote, 226-174. *(Vote 33, p. 12-H)*

Rejected were the following:

- By Ashbrook, broadening the declaration of principles governing U.S. policy toward Taiwan to include continued defense and political relations. Standing vote, 34-40.
- By Lagomarsino, requiring the president to consider withdrawing recognition from Peking in case of a threat to the security of Taiwan. Recorded vote, 169-197. *(Vote 24, p. 10-H)*
- By Edwards (Okla.), requiring approval by both houses before the president could notify Taiwan that any U.S.-Taiwan treaty or agreement would be terminated. (The amendment would have overturned Carter's decision to suspend the 1954 mutual defense treaty.) Recorded vote, 141-264. *(Vote 32, p. 12-H)*

Conference Report

A U.S.-Taiwan relations bill generally in line with the Carter administration's views was approved by a House-Senate conference committee March 20.

In its report on HR 2479, filed March 24 (H Rept 96-71), conferees provided for future relations with Taiwan to be conducted through a private corporation. Although it contained various U.S. security assurances for Taiwan, the conferees carefully skirted controversial language the administration said might upset the new relationship with the People's Republic of China.

The conference committee eliminated or softened most provisions in the House- and Senate-passed bills opposed by the White House. Administration lobbyists wanted the bill to make few or no formal security commitments to Taiwan and to keep relations with Taiwan on a strictly unofficial basis. They won on both points.

The American Institute in Taiwan was given the authority to carry out trade and other business dealings with Taiwan through contracts with the State Department. All contacts with Taiwan had been interrupted after the U.S. Embassy in Taiwan was closed March 1.

Douglas J. Bennet Jr., assistant secretary of state for congressional relations, said he was pleased with the conference bill because it was "generally supportive of administration policy."

Security Assurances

A major issue in the conference negotiations involved U.S. security assurances for Taiwan.

Both houses had included language expressing general concern for Taiwan's future security, but neither version pledged direct U.S. action other than the continued sale of defensive weapons. The final version incorporated Senate language expressing concern for Taiwan and House language specifying future action on behalf of Taiwan.

One important provision retained from the Senate bill said the United States would consider "any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific and of grave concern to the United States."

Other Issues

Major provisions opposed by the administration, and modified by the conference committee, were:

- The House bill was titled the "U.S.-Taiwan Relations Act." Administration officials said that might be interpreted to mean the United States and Taiwan were continuing official relations. The committee changed the title to the "Taiwan Relations Act."
- The House bill did not specify the private agency that was to conduct future relations with the island. Instead, the House bill referred to a "designated entity." As a compromise, the conferees listed the American Institute in Taiwan "or such comparable successor" agency designated by the president.
- The administration had opposed a reference in the House bill to the performance of "consular" duties by employees of the new, unofficial agency. The conference version referred to those duties "as if" they were consular functions.
- A House provision strongly opposed by the administration would have prohibited use of any federal funds for the

institute unless they were authorized and appropriated by Congress. The administration said such a requirement would hamper the institute and make it impossible for government agencies to contract with the institute without prior approval of Congress. The provision was eliminated.

• Under the Senate bill the United States was to have unofficial relations with "the people on Taiwan;" the House bill simply referred to Taiwan. The administration preferred the Senate version because it sounded less official. Conferees adopted both terms.

• The Senate bill would have established a joint commission of 12 members of Congress to oversee the American Institute. The conference version gave oversight authority to the "appropriate" congressional committees.

Final Action

The conference report on HR 2479 was adopted by the House March 28 by a 339-50 vote and by the Senate March 29 by a vote of 85-4, completing congressional action on the bill. *(House vote 56, p. 20-H; Senate vote 32, p. 7-S)* ▮

Foreign Economic Aid

Congress Aug. 2 cleared and sent to the president the fiscal 1980 foreign economic aid authorization bill (HR 3324 — PL 96-53). The bill authorized $1.979 billion in fiscal 1980 for bilateral economic aid programs and the Peace Corps.

A major dispute over the future of the Peace Corps was resolved by allowing the agency to remain in ACTION as President Carter had requested. The House had voted to transfer the Peace Corps to the newly created International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA), established to streamline U.S. foreign aid programs.

The bill also authorized creation of the Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, a program proposed by the Carter administration to conduct research on technical and scientific projects that could be used by developing countries.

The House had approved establishment of the agency, which was one of the few new foreign aid initiatives made by Carter in 1979, but the Senate rejected the program in a vote that came as a major surprise to the administration. A compromise was worked out that allowed the institute plan to go forward.

The House and Senate also agreed to a compromise on U.S. economic aid to Panama. The House had sliced $12.7 million in economic aid to Panama from its version of the bill. Although the Senate did not approve a similar ban, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recommended against aid to Panama. The final version barred economic aid to the country unless the president determined such aid was in the best interests of the United States.

In another major policy dispute, President Carter won a victory when the House rejected an attempt to force the president to send observers to study the April elections in Rhodesia. *(1979 congressional action on Rhodesia, p. 156)*

Funding Levels

Included in the fiscal 1980 authorization was $1.848 billion for bilateral economic aid, $23.7 million for the new Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, $105.4 million for the Peace Corps and $1.7 million in special military aid to Sudan.

A conference committee split about evenly the difference between the House- and Senate-approved authorization levels. The administration had requested $2.2 billion; the House, with a 5 percent cut, reduced that by $192 million, and the Senate made a $361 million cut. Conferees eventually agreed on a cut of $230 million.

With the exception of $1.25 million cut from the Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, all the reductions in the final version of the bill came from the bilateral economic aid programs, such as agriculture, population planning and health.

The biggest single reduction was in the African Sahel economic development program, which was cut to $25 million from $160 million. Both houses had eliminated a Carter request to provide enough money in 1980 to cover two fiscal years for that program.

The final version of the bill did not specify where other cuts were to be made within each development program. But the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had listed suggested cuts in programs for more than 40 countries.

Bills Merged

An annual dispute over how to authorize the economic support fund program, also called security supporting assistance, also was resolved. The fund was intended to provide economic stability to friendly countries experiencing heavy military expenditures. The program aided primarily Israel, Egypt and some other Middle East countries, but funds were earmarked also for several countries in other parts of the world.

Since 1975, when Congress first split into two bills the authorizations for economic aid and military aid, the Senate had included the authorization for the economic support fund program, also known as security supporting assistance, in the foreign military aid bill, while the House put it in the foreign economic aid legislation. To settle the dispute, the conference committee decided to leave the fiscal 1980 program authorization in the military aid bill, but, starting in fiscal 1981, to once again combine the economic and military aid bills into one measure. *(Fiscal 1980 military aid authorization, p. 124)*

Final Provisions

As signed into law, HR 3324 authorized the following amounts for fiscal 1980 *(in thousands of dollars):*

Program	Administration Request	Final Action
Bilateral Economic Aid		
Agriculture	$ 715,366	$ 659,000
Population	216,321	201,000
Health	146,573	141,000
Education	119,497	105,000
Selected development	136,122	125,000
Sahel development	160,000	25,000
American schools and hospitals abroad	15,000	25,000
International organizations	277,190	267,280
Disaster assistance	25,000	21,800
Assistance to African refugees	—	14,920
AID operating expenses	268,000	263,000
Subtotal, bilateral aid	$2,079,069	$1,848,000

Program	Administration Request	Final Action
Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation	25,000	23,750
Peace Corps	105,404	105,404
Other		
Sudan military assistance program	—	1,700
Minority Resource Center	—	*
Total	$2,209,473	$1,978,854

*To be funded from Agency for International Development operating funds, with a ceiling of $950,000.

The bill also:

- Allowed the Peace Corps to remain in ACTION.
- Allowed Peace Corps volunteers who had served at least three years to join the federal government without taking competitive Civil Service exams.
- Established a new Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation to conduct research and cooperate with foreign governments on scientific and technological aspects of development programs. The institute was authorized to spend $23.75 million in fiscal 1980. Certain research programs formerly conducted by the Agency for International Development (AID) were to be transferred to the new institute.
- Provided for special Housing Investment Guaranty programs of $25 million each for Israel and Egypt.
- Established a $52 million ceiling on contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees. Contributions over $42.5 million could be made only if the president determined that matching contributions had been made by members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).
- Established a Minority Resource Center within AID to promote involvement of minority businesses in the U.S. foreign aid program.
- Stated it to be the sense of Congress that the president should negotiate with other industrialized nations to increase their assistance to the developing world.
- Provided a $1.7 million military grant to Sudan.
- Required the secretary of state to submit annual reports to Congress on human rights conditions in other countries that were members of the United Nations.
- Required the secretary of state to report to Congress by Nov. 15, 1979, on the impact of previous U.S. human rights reports on countries receiving U.S. aid.
- Prohibited assistance to Afghanistan until that nation's government apologized and assumed responsibility for the murder of U.S. Ambassador Adolph Dubs, who was killed in the capital of Kabul in February, and agreed to provide protection for U.S. personnel in that country. However, the president could furnish aid if he determined it was in the U.S. interest and there were "substantially changed circumstances" there.
- Prohibited economic aid, with the exception of disaster assistance, to Vietnam, Cambodia and Cuba.
- Prohibited economic aid to Panama unless the president determined that such aid was in the U.S. interest.
- Permitted the president to extend aid to any nation otherwise prohibited from receiving aid if he determined that the country had made a "significant improvement" in its human rights record" and that such aid was in the U.S. interest.
- Stated it to be the sense of Congress that the president should continue to support the efforts of the United Nations to solve the Indochinese refugee crisis. The bill also required the president to report periodically on prospects for permanent resettlement of these refugees.
- Requested all nations that were not parties to the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to become parties to the treaty; and directed the secretary of state to report to Congress by Nov. 1, 1979, on the State Department's actions in implementing this provision.
- Required AID to identify which nations were financially able to accelerate their loan payments to the United States, and required AID to report to Congress every two years on what progress had been made.
- Provided for up to two round trips to the United States per year for college student dependents of foreign-based employees of the State Department, AID and the International Communication Agency.

House Committee Action

The House Foreign Affairs Committee reported its version of HR 3324 March 31 (H Rept 96-79).

The committee authorized $4,171,473,000 for fiscal year 1980 and $4,372,513,000 for fiscal 1981 for bilateral and multilateral foreign assistance. The authorizations did not cover the multilateral lending institutions, which were considered in separate legislation. The committee made a $5 million cut overall in the administration's fiscal 1980 aid request. *(International banks authorization, p. 159)*

Peace Corps

The committee's most far-reaching step was the transfer of the Peace Corps from ACTION to a new International Development Cooperation Agency. As proposed by President Carter, the new agency was to coordinate most major foreign aid programs, but the plan did not include transfer of the Peace Corps into the new agency. *(Foreign aid reorganization, p. 123)*

But the committee, led by Chairman Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., and Don Bonker, D-Wash., wanted to restore some of the independent status the Peace Corps enjoyed before it was shifted to ACTION in 1971. The Peace Corps faced serious political problems in 1978 and early 1979, partly because of a lengthy dispute between ACTION Director Sam Brown and former Corps Director Carolyn R. Payton.

In its report, the committee said "testimony over the last two years and other accumulated evidence indicates that the Peace Corps is not functioning effectively or efficiently within ACTION."

The relationship between the directors of ACTION and the Peace Corps "is untenably ambiguous, resulting in the Peace Corps director's inability to exercise effective authority" over the budget and other issues, the committee said.

Problems cited by the committee included "financial shortfalls, considerable morale problems among Peace Corps staff and, most important, difficulty in consistently providing volunteers with the level of training and support they need to carry out their assigned projects."

The committee said the Peace Corps should be an "autonomous" agency within IDCA. The director of IDCA would serve as chairman of the Peace Corps board, but would not control its budget or policy-making.

The committee authorized $105.4 million for the Peace Corps for fiscal 1980 and $112.9 million for 1981.

In other action, the committee:

• Supported, as it did the previous year, the creation of IDCA as an umbrella agency for most foreign aid programs. Although it said Carter's proposal "was not as comprehensive as the committee had intended," the committee maintained the plan would be "an important step toward improving U.S. development assistance programs."

• Endorsed Carter's plan for a new Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, to be responsible for improving the technical side of U.S. foreign aid programs. Among the areas proposed to be dealt with by the institute were agricultural production, population planning, health and energy. The institute was to take over research programs previously conducted by AID. The committee authorized $25 million for fiscal 1980 for the institute.

• Removed the administration's proposed security supporting assistance program from the military aid bill (HR 3173), placed it in the economic aid bill, and renamed it the economic support fund. That program supported the civilian economies of nations with heavy military expenditures, especially Egypt and Israel.

• Earmarked $785 million from the economic support fund for Israel and $750 million for Egypt. These were the same amounts the two countries had received annually since fiscal 1977.

• Specified that Syria and Jordan were to receive money from the economic support fund only if "the president determines and certifies to Congress" that those countries were "acting in good faith to achieve further progress toward a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East and that the expenditure of these funds will serve the process of peace in the Middle East." The committee reduced the administration's proposed economic aid to Syria to $45 million from $60 million.

• Repealed a section of the fiscal 1979 foreign aid act that prohibited the U.S. share of mandatory United Nations assessments from being used for technical assistance programs. That provision had effectively cut off the entire $355 million U.S. payment because the president was unable to certify that none of the U.S. funds would be used for technical programs.

• Prohibited development assistance aid to Afghanistan unless the president determined such aid was in the U.S. national interest.

House Floor Action

The House April 10, after four days of debate (April 4, 5, 9, 10), completed action on the foreign economic aid bill. The final vote was 220-173. *(Vote 81, p. 28-H)*

Although the aid bill escaped relatively unscathed from attempts to cut out programs for certain countries and wipe out huge chunks of the program authorizations, the House did agree, 239-157, to an amendment by Dan Quayle, R-Ind.,to restrict the authorization to one year — fiscal 1980. *(Vote 68, p. 26-H)*

As it did in 1979, the House adopted a 5 percent across-the-board cut in most of the administration's aid recommendations. The House also weakened committee language that would have severely limited aid to Jordan and Syria, overturned a restriction, enacted in 1978, that prohibited the United States from paying most of its mandatory assessment to the United Nations and banned most economic aid to Panama.

Going against the wishes of the president, the House voted to transfer the Peace Corps from the politically troubled ACTION agency to the new foreign aid super agency proposed by President Carter.

But Carter's hands-off policy toward the Rhodesian elections survived when the House rejected an attempt to force the administration to send observers to the troubled African country.

5 Percent Cut

The amendment requiring a 5 percent across-the-board cut in the authorization level excepted three programs from the economy move. They were: aid to Egypt and Israel, Food for Peace, and American Schools and Hospitals Abroad. Authorizations recommended in the bill for these programs totaled $1.56 billion, leaving $2.46 billion open to the 5 percent cut. Five percent of that amount came to approximately $123 million.

Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., first asked the House to approve a 10 percent cut, except on the three programs listed above. He had sponsored a 5 percent cut in the fiscal 1979 foreign aid bill. *(Fiscal 1979 bill, 1978 Almanac p. 401)*

Opponents labeled the amendment a "meat axe" cut, and said it would affect programs providing food, housing and other necessities to the world's poor.

William S. Broomfield, R-Mich., the ranking Republican on Foreign Relations, offered a substitute amendment providing the 5 percent cut. That version was accepted 259-135. *(Vote 79, p. 28-H)*

The 5 percent cut then was locked into the bill, 318-77, when the Bauman amendment, as amended by Broomfield, was adopted. *(Vote 80, p. 28-H)*

Peace Corps Transfer

The House ratified the committee action transferring the Peace Corps from ACTION to the proposed International Development Cooperation Agency. That transfer was removed during House consideration April 10 on a point of order raised by Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn. Committee Chairman Zablocki then proposed an amendment to HR 3324 that was identical to the original committee provision, except that it did not include an authorization to spend remaining fiscal 1979 funds that had been appropriated for the Peace Corps as part of ACTION. It was the use of that authority that had been the basis for Dodd's susccessful point of order. Zablocki's amendment was accepted by a 276-116 vote. *(Vote 78, p. 28-H)*

Aid to Panama

On a 246-150 vote, the House April 5 sliced all fiscal 1980 economic aid for Panama from the bill. Left intact was $1.5 million in Food for Peace assistance. *(Vote 69, p. 26-H)*

Exactly one week earlier, the House, on March 29, had voted 272-117 to eliminate arms sales credits for Panama from the 1980 foreign military aid bill.

The Carter administration had promised additional loans and credits to Panama during the negotiations on the Panama Canal treaties. The economic aid cut by the House was not, however, related to the treaties.

Both moves to cut aid to Panama were sponsored by Bauman, an opponent of the treaties. Bauman noted that under the treaties Panama was to receive subsidies of up to $75 million a year from canal revenues. That money would not come from the U.S. Treasury.

"That is more foreign aid than we have given to any country in history," Bauman said. "Why should we be giving another $12 million of the taxpayers' money on top of

that?" Panama should use its canal money to finance aid programs for its people "rather than taking this foreign aid out of the American taxpayers' pockets," he said.

Opponents of Bauman's amendment argued that eliminating the aid would only hurt rural poor people in Panama who would benefit from job training, better schools, crop diversification and other U.S. aid programs.

"This issue here is simply that this is a good program, it is a rural program," said Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill. "It is not tied to the canal issue."

Rhodesia Policy

Action on the Rhodesian election issue came on a series of amendments during which the House first took a pro-Rhodesian government stand, then reversed itself and backed the administration's neutral position.

The April 10-21 election was the first under the 1978 "internal settlement" reached by a coalition of whites and black moderates. Supporters of the internal settlement argued that it provided the first free election involving the Rhodesian black population.

But critics, including the Carter administration, argued that the election meant little because whites would continue to rule the country by dominating key government posts and the military. They did not want to take any action that might be construed as supporting the government.

Bauman offered the first pro-Rhodesian government amendment. It would have authorized the president to send impartial observers to the elections and required Carter to grant Rhodesia $20 million in foreign aid once the elections were held.

But on a 233-146 vote, the House adopted a modification that in effect nullified the Bauman amendment. The House then agreed, 191-184, to substitute language, offered by John H. Rousselot, R-Calif., that merely urged the president to send election observers; it authorized the $20 million for Rhodesia, but did not require it. *(Votes 73, 74, p. 26-H)*

Passage of the Rousselot language prompted congratulatory hand-shaking and back-slapping among conservative supporters of Rhodesia. But the congratulations were premature. By a 180-190 vote, the House subsequently rejected the original Bauman amendment to which the Rousselot language had been added. *(Vote 75, p. 26-H)*

Aid to Syria, Jordan

The House April 9 made a gesture toward cutting off aid to Syria, but gave the president the authority to continue U.S. assistance if he determined such action was in the national interest.

Carter had asked Congress for $65.5 million for Syria, including $60 million in economic aid and $5.5 million in Food for Peace assistance. The committee sliced $15 million from the economic aid portion of the request.

Derwinski offered a floor amendment to ban all economic aid to Syria because of that nation's opposition to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

"At a time when the United States may be called upon to provide anywhere from $5 billion to $7 billion or $8 billion to ensure the peace in the Middle East. . . it should be noted that the high cost is a direct result of the activity of the so-called rejectionist states, among which Syria is the leader," Derwinski said.

But opponents of the aid cutoff said Syria was not one of the radical Arab states. They argued that American aid might help convince Syria to eventually support Middle East peace efforts.

On a 193-177 vote, the House adopted a Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., substitute for the Derwinski amendment, containing the language giving the president authority to waive the ban on aid to Syria. *(Vote 72, p. 26-H)*

The House then softened the Foreign Affairs Committee's language, which had stated that Jordan and Syria should not receive aid unless they acted "in good faith to achieve further progress toward a comprehensive peace" in the Middle East.

By voice vote the House adopted language stating it to be the sense of Congress that Syria and Jordan should not receive aid unless they "act in good faith to achieve a comprehensive Middle East peace."

Other Amendments Adopted

Some of the other amendments adopted during floor debate included those:

- By Bauman, to ban economic aid to the so-called "front-line states" bordering Rhodesia, unless the president determined the aid would further U.S. foreign policy interests. The countries were Mozambique, Tanzania, Angola and Zambia; Zambia and Mozambique, especially, had served as bases for guerrilla attacks on Rhodesia.
- By John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, as amended by Zablocki, to prohibit U.S. aid from going to Vietnam, Cambodia and Cuba. The Zablocki substitute was adopted by a standing vote of 24-17; the Ashbrook amendment, as amended, then was adopted by a standing vote of 120-2. The Zablocki substitute was identical to language in existing law covering a ban on direct aid only. The original Ashbrook amendment also would have prohibited "indirect" aid — through international lending organizations such as the World Bank — to these countries.
- By Robert J. Lagomarsino, R-Calif., to require the State Department to submit reports to Congress on human rights conditions in all countries that were members of the United Nations. Voice vote.
- By Parren J. Mitchell, D-Md., to establish a Minority Resource Center to promote minority business involvement in foreign assistance programs. The amendment authorized $1 million for the center. Voice vote.

Other Amendments Rejected

- By Joseph G. Minish, D-N.J., a substitute amendment, as amended by Broomfield, for a William H. Harsha, R-Ohio, amendment, to prohibit development assistance to members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, unless the president determined that such aid would be in the national interest. Recorded vote, 175-222. *(Vote 67, p. 24-H)*
- By John H. Rousselot, R-Calif., to prohibit use of the U.S.-assessed payment to the United Nations and related organizations for technical assistance programs. The amendment would have continued in effect the provision of the 1979 foreign aid appropriations bill that had been deleted by the committee. Standing vote, 13-40.
- By C. W. Bill Young, R-Fla., to delete a provision in the committee's bill authorizing the president to extend forgiveness of past debts to the United States owed by the relatively least developed countries, providing that equivalent sums were used for economic development. A ceiling of $18.8 million was placed on the total amount of debt that could be forgiven in fiscal 1980. Voice vote.

• By Stephen J. Solarz, D-N.Y., to eliminate a $5.8 million Food for Peace rice program administered by the government of Zaire, and replace it with a program administered by private voluntary organizations. Recorded vote, 101-246. *(Vote 70, p. 26-H)*

• By Bauman, to eliminate Title IV, which established the Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. Recorded vote, 136-236. *(Vote 76, p. 28-H)*

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported its version of the foreign economic aid bill (S 588 — S Rept 96-137) on May 11. The committee had approved the bill May 1 on a 13-1 vote, with Jesse Helms, R-N.C., dissenting.

As reported, the bill authorized $1.762 billion for fiscal 1980 foreign economic aid programs. That amount was $19.1 million below the fiscal 1979 appropriation and $154.6 million below the authorization approved by the House in April for the same programs.

Unlike the House bill, the Senate bill did not include nearly $2 billion in security supporting assistance or economic support fund programs, primarily for Middle East nations. In the Senate, those programs were included in the foreign military aid bill (HR 3173).

The committee made a net cut of more than 10 percent — $212.2 million — from President Carter's request for fiscal 1980. The committee also deleted President Carter's request for 1981 authorizations totaling $2.390 billion because of "uncertainty" about the 1981 budget and because administration requests for that year "were not fully justified."

Carter had requested an 11 percent overall increase in economic aid in 1980, including an 18 percent increase in funding for specific foreign development programs. The committee said those increases "could not be justified when budgets for important domestic programs are being reduced or held to last year's levels and at a time when both the Congress and the executive branch are attempting to reduce the federal budget deficit."

The committee's largest cut was a $61.7 million slice from the $154 million requested for research and studies conducted by AID. The committee said those studies, many of which are conducted by American universities, were of "questionable" benefit to poor people in foreign nations.

In addition, the committee cut $122.6 million from the fiscal 1980 requests for 10 nations for foreign policy reasons and $40.2 million from development programs that had not yet been started in several African and Asian nations.

In making the cuts, the committee said the reductions it had made were recommendations that "are not binding on the executive branch." The president "will have the necessary flexibility required for an effective use of development resources."

Panama

Following the House's example, the committee voted to cut $12.7 million for food, education and other programs for Panama. Committee Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, sponsored the amendment to cut the aid, saying that nation would get "fair payment" of between $60 million and $85 million a year from the Panama Canal under the new treaties that took effect Oct. 1.

"I personally don't see why it should be necessary to continue to perpetuate aid to Panama on top of that $60 million aid program," Church said.

Several hours after voting to cut the Panama money, the committee heard a plea to reconsider the action from Douglas J. Bennet Jr., assistant secretary of state for congressional relations.

Bennet said the administration wanted to use "both sticks and carrots" to improve the human rights and political situation in Panama.

"People in Panama and all over Latin American are watching what we are doing here," Bennet said. "This action by the committee. . . will be read as an extremely important and symbolic act in Latin America."

Despite Bennet's plea, the committee voted 4-4 not to reconsider its earlier vote cutting aid to Panama. Voting to reconsider were Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., Claiborne Pell, D-R.I.; and Charles H. Percy, R-Ill. Voting not to reconsider were Church, Richard Stone, D-Fla.; John Glenn, D-Ohio; and Edward Zorinsky, D-Neb.

Senate Floor Action

With concern over federal spending much in evidence, the Senate voted June 19 to kill President Carter's proposed new agency to improve the technical and scientific aspects of U.S. foreign aid.

The Senate action came as a major surprise to administration officials, who had lobbied hard for the establishment of the Institute for Technological Cooperation. A similar move to kill the institute was rejected by the House in April on a 136-236 vote.

The bill itself (S 588), authorizing $1.8 billion for foreign assistance, subsequently was passed June 19 by a 70-25 vote — one of the widest margins in recent years for a foreign aid bill in the Senate. *(Vote 137, p. 25-S)*

Technical Institute

The institute was one of the few new foreign aid programs President Carter proposed in 1979. Its purpose was to conduct research on technical and scientific projects that could be used by the developing countries.

The administration set the institute's initial budget at $96 million, of which $25 million was authorized for fiscal 1980 and included in the bill, and $71 million was transferred from AID. Carter proposed making the institute a part of the new foreign aid super-agency, the International Development Cooperation Agency. *(Foreign aid reorganization, p. 123)*

Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., led the fight against the institute, criticizing the request for an additional $25 million.

"I do believe that in this era of rampant inflation that the taxpayers' dollar — in this case $25 million — might be better spent, or even saved in this instance, since the institute is not really undertaking any new function."

Supporters of the institute said it was worth the extra $25 million because it would improve U.S. foreign aid programs.

"It promises to be an important new U.S. instrument both in addressing the immediate problems of poverty and in shaping the pattern of future scientific and technological relations with an important part of our world," said Glenn.

And Javits said the institute would "permit the developing countries to better enable themselves to help themselves."

But DeConcini's budget-cutting arguments carried the amendment on a 58-42 vote. Most Republicans, and even a

handful of liberal Democrats, supported the amendment to kill the institute. *(Vote 135, p. 25-S)*

Chile, Argentina

Senate leaders warded off an attempt by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to lift restrictions on aid to Chile and Argentina. Existing law prohibited economic and military aid to those two nations because of their history of human rights violations.

In offering his amendment, Helms said aid could be extended to "any country which demonstrates any significant improvement" in its human rights record. "These people are our friends," he said. "They have stood against communism."

Javits objected to the wording of the Helms amendment on the grounds that it was vague and did not say who would decide what constituted a "significant improvement." Javits drafted a substitute, which was adopted by voice vote, stating that the president could provide aid to a nation if he found "that such a significant improvement in its human rights record has occurred as to warrant lifting the prohibitions" in law.

Other Amendments

Other amendments adopted by the Senate included:

- By George McGovern, D-S.D., asking the president to call on the secretary general of the United Nations to convene an emergency session of the General Assembly to deal with the problem of refugees in Southeast Asia. The House June 18, by a 336-0 vote, had adopted a similar proposal (H Res 321). The action came two days after Malaysia announced, then canceled, plans to force some 76,000 refugees to leave the country by sending them out to sea. McGovern's amendment was adopted 98-0. *(Vote 136, p. 25-S)*
- By Javits and Stone to provide a $1.7 million military grant to Sudan.
- By Church adding the Peace Corps authorization of $105.4 million for fiscal 1980 to the bill. The Peace Corps had been considered in separate legislation.
- By Helms, urging nations that had not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to become parties to it, and directing the secretary of state to report to Congress on steps taken to urge other nations to sign and ratify that treaty. This version was a compromise for an earlier Helms amendment that would have prohibited U.S. aid to any nation that had not become a party to the treaty. The most important U.S. aid recipients that would have been affected by the original Helms language were Israel and Egypt. Voice vote.
- By Lawton Chiles, D-Fla., stating that $18.4 million could be made available to Haiti if the president determined that the Haitian government "has shown good faith" in reforming its management of U.S. aid programs. The administration had cut off aid to Haiti because of alleged corruption in the use of American aid funds. Voice vote.
- By S. I. Hayakawa, R-Calif., requiring the State Department to issue human rights reports on all members of the United Nations except the United States. The previous law required reports only on nations that received U.S. foreign aid. Voice vote.
- By Larry Pressler, R-S.D., stating that the president "should take all appropriate steps" to negotiate with other nations to increase their contributions to developing nations. Voice vote.

Conference Report

The conference report on the aid bill (HR 3324 — H Rept 96-397) was filed July 27. The conference version authorized $1.979 billion for foreign economic aid programs in fiscal 1980. That amount was about half way between the Senate- and House-passed authorization levels and $230 million under the president's request.

Peace Corps

Conferees agreed to adopt a Senate provision retaining the Peace Corps within ACTION, as requested by President Carter. The House had voted April 10 to move the corps to the new International Development Cooperation Agency.

After the House had acted, Carter on May 16 issued an executive order making the Peace Corps an "independent agency" within ACTION. That order won widespread support in the Senate, and eventually undercut efforts by several House members to take the Peace Corps out of ACTION.

Rep. Don Bonker, D-Wash., led the fight to transfer the Peace Corps. He charged that the volunteer organization was harmed by lack of autonomy and by political infighting within ACTION.

But White House lobbyist Bob Beckel told the conferees that Carter "feels very strongly that the Peace Corps should remain within ACTION."

As a result, Bonker lost some of his support on the issue, and House conferees agreed to the Senate provision. But the committee said it "strongly supports maximum autonomy for the Peace Corps."

Technical Institute

The conferees also supported Carter on his proposal to establish a new Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, which would coordinate research on foreign aid programs. The House had supported the proposed institute, but the Senate rejected it by a 16-vote margin. Supporters and opponents agreed that the Senate vote was directed at the $25 million in additional money requested for the new institute, which also was to get $66 million in research funds from AID.

A majority of Senate conferees backed the institute, and agreed to the House version, but only after the budget was cut to $23.75 million.

Economic/Military Aid Bills

Conferees agreed to retain the fiscal 1980 authorization for security supporting assistance, also known as the economic support fund, in the military aid bill. That was where the authorization was contained in previous years, and that approach was favored by the Senate. The House wanted to transfer it to the economic aid bill.

Conferees also provided that the military aid authorization and the economic aid authorization bills would be combined in a single bill beginning in fiscal 1981.

Conferees also agreed to delete the Senate floor amendment that would have permitted the president to give aid to Haiti.

Final Action

The Senate adopted the conference report on the bill July 31 by voice vote. The House then approved it Aug. 2 by a 223-181 vote. *(Vote 390, p. 114-H)* ▮

Foreign Aid Reorganization

Congress in 1979 approved President Carter's plan to reorganize most U.S. foreign aid programs into an International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA).

Both houses of Congress defeated resolutions disapproving the reorganization plan. Under the government reorganization act, last extended in 1977 (PL 95-17), a presidential reorganization plan takes effect 60 days after it is submitted to Congress unless vetoed by either chamber. The new agency, which was set up independent of the State Department, began operations Oct. 1, 1979, the beginning of the 1980 fiscal year.

The Senate agreed to the reorganization July 9 by rejecting, 45-51, the resolution (S Res 140) disapproving the plan. *(Vote 155, p. 29-S)*

The House defeated a similar resolution (H Res 231) July 11 on a 156-256 vote. *(Vote 290, p. 86-H)*

Reorganization Plan

Under the foreign aid reorganization, formally submitted to Congress April 10, the IDCA was given the task of coordinating both bilateral and multilateral foreign aid programs. It took over the responsibilities of various federal agencies, including:

- The Agency for International Development, which administered bilateral assistance programs. AID had been a division of the State Department.
- The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a quasi-governmental agency providing government-backed insurance and loan guarantees for private investments in developing countries. The director of the IDCA became the board chairman of OPIC.
- Partial responsibility for the U.S. role in the multilateral banks, such as the World Bank and similar agencies. Under the reorganization, the IDCA would help select the U.S. representatives to those banks and would decide what position the United States would take on all development issues faced by the banks, including the U.S. votes on loans to specific nations. The Treasury Department, which had sole responsibility for U.S. involvement in the banks before the reorganization, could still review the financial health of the banks and the impact of the banks on regional and worldwide economic issues.
- A new Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation to advise developing nations on technological matters.

The new agency also was given the following duties:

- The leading responsibility for funding and advising international development agencies such as the United Nations Development Program and UNICEF.
- Responsibility for ensuring that agencies consider "development goals" in making decisions on trade and other economic issues affecting developing countries.

Two major foreign aid programs were not transferred to the new agency. The Peace Corps was retained in ACTION, the umbrella organization supervising both foreign and domestic volunteer programs. And the Food for Peace program, which distributed surplus food to developing countries, continued to be administered by the Agriculture Department.

The president's nominee as director of the new agency was made subject to Senate confirmation. The director would report to the president and would be the main administration spokesman and congressional lobbyist on foreign aid. The director would also chair the Development Coordinating Committee, a group of representatives from all federal agencies having foreign aid programs.

The State Department would no longer directly control foreign aid programs, although it would still have a voice in foreign policy decisions affecting aid programs, such as whether to provide aid to a nation with a poor human rights record. The IDCA director would have to report to the secretary of state on "matters relating to foreign policy."

Background

The reorganization accomplished most of the goals set forth by the late Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn. (1949-64, 1971-78), in his last major legislative effort. Humphrey's plan would have created a similar agency, incorporating virtually all foreign aid programs, including AID, the multilateral banks and the Peace Corps. *(Details, 1978 Almanac p. 402)*

Although the 95th Congress did not act on Humphrey's reorganization, the fiscal 1979 foreign aid authorization bill (PL 95-424) urged the president to consider such a super-agency. That law also incorporated some policy language from Humphrey's bill and ordered the president to recommend to Congress by Feb. 1, 1979, improvements for coordinating foreign aid programs.

Carter's support of the plan represented an ironic victory for former AID administrator John J. Gilligan, who had pushed for the foreign aid reorganization over the objections of Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, the Treasury Department and several other agencies. Gilligan resigned his post, effective March 31, partly because of policy disputes with the White House and with his boss, Secretary Vance.

White House special assistant Henry Owen said in February that the president's plan "is essentially the scheme" recommended by Gilligan. Under the reorganization, Gilligan envisioned the director of the IDCA having more clout than the individual agencies formerly had in explaining and advocating foreign aid programs before Congress.

"What is not clearly evident to Congress is that this [United States foreign aid] is a whole program, and one cannot lay rude hands on any piece without striking a crippling blow at the entire effort," Gilligan said. The new agency should "improve the environment for congressional support of higher appropriations," he added.

Scientific Institute, OPIC

During congressional consideration of the reorganization plan, there was uncertainty about the future of two key elements: the Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC).

Separate legislation was needed to create the technical institute. The House in April approved establishment of the institute as part of its fiscal 1980 foreign economic aid authorization bill (HR 3324), but the Senate voted June 19 to kill it because of budgetary considerations. The issue was resolved when conferees agreed in July to fund the new institute at a slightly lower level than President Carter requested. *(Foreign economic aid, p. 117)*

Congressional proponents of coordinating all U.S. trade programs also considered including OPIC in a proposed new trade department or super-agency. That transfer never materialized, but opponents of the new foreign aid agency argued that OPIC should not be switched to IDCA,

only to be moved again to a super-agency. *(Trade reorganization, Economic Policy chapter)*

Carter had considered, but then rejected, a proposal to transfer the Peace Corps to the new IDCA.

But in action on the foreign economic aid bill, the House voted in April to move the Peace Corps from ACTION to the new foreign aid agency. Carter responded with an executive order giving the Peace Corps "autonomy" within ACTION. That order won widespread support in the Senate, which opted to keep the Peace Corps in ACTION. A House-Senate conference in July agreed with the Senate provision, and the volunteer agency remained where it was. *(Peace Corps authorization, HEW chapter)*

Legislative History

Senate Action

The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee backed the president's foreign aid reorganization by voting 10-3 on May 22 to report unfavorably a resolution (S Res 140 — S Rept 96-210) disapproving Reorganization Plan No. 2. The report was filed June 13.

The new agency's role in coordinating U.S. participation in the multilateral development banks was the subject of a compromise that assured crucial support for the plan in the Senate committee.

Previously, U.S. involvement in the World Bank and other international banks was supervised solely by the Treasury Department. In his original foreign aid reorganization proposal, Carter said Treasury would continue to supervise the U.S. representatives to those banks, but IDCA would provide advice on development issues.

That setup did not satisfy Governmental Affairs Chairman Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., or Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., who was the second-ranking Republican on Governmental Affairs and the ranking Republican on Foreign Relations.

Javits and Ribicoff met several times with Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and other administration officials to work out an arrangement giving IDCA more authority over the banks.

The result, Javits and Ribicoff said, was that Carter agreed to issue a new directive. Issued in September, the directive gave IDCA the authority to decide what position the United States would take on all development issues faced by the banks, including the U.S. votes on loans to specific nations. The Treasury Department still could review the financial health of the banks and the impact of the banks on regional and worldwide economic issues.

The Senate July 9 agreed to the reorganization by rejecting, 45-51, the resolution of disapproval. Ribicoff told the Senate the new plan "should significantly improve the way the U.S. government makes development decisions affecting the Third World. It will do so without costing any additional money or increasing the number of federal employees."

Ribicoff said the new agency would employ 30 to 50 professionals, who would be transferred from the State Department, the Treasury Department and other agencies.

Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., led Senate opposition to the reorganization plan.

"With this reorganization we are just moving boxes around, giving the impression we are doing something when in substance nothing is being done," he said.

Percy, ranking Republican on the Governmental Affairs Committee, argued that the reorganization would add to the number of problems handled by the White House because foreign aid disputes in the future would have to be resolved by the president, rather than the State Department.

"When so many things are subject to a decision by the president, he may not be able to give his personal time to them," Percy said. As a result, "someone unelected, unconfirmed down in the White House superstructure could be making the decisions for the president."

Percy said he had the votes to defeat the plan before the July Fourth congressional recess, but some votes "may well have been changed because of the administration's lobbying."

Percy's resolution of disapproval was backed by most Republicans and by some Democrats.

House Action

The House debated the plan briefly July 11, then defeated a related disapproval resolution (H Res 231) by a 100-vote margin. The Government Operations Committee had approved the reorganization June 18 by reporting the resolution unfavorably (H Rept 96-284).

Jack Brooks, D-Texas, chairman of the committee, said that under the reorganization the various federal programs providing development assistance to foreign nations would be coordinated, thereby "improving their effectiveness." Previously, foreign aid programs "often operated at cross purposes," he said.

Opposition to the plan was mounted by Arlan Stangeland, R-Minn., who criticized the proposed agency as weak and premature.

"We are starting out, at best, with a weak organization," Stangeland said. "There is some legitimacy" to the charge that "this is simply another layer on top of the current Agency for International Development."

Stangeland said Congress should delay approval of the plan until the future was more certain for the various agencies that were to be included in IDCA.

"There is a very, very good chance that the new IDCA might consist of only AID," he said. "We would simply be remiss in our duty if at this particular time we authorized a new agency without having the slightest idea what will eventually be in it." ▮

Foreign Military Aid

Congress Oct. 16 sent to the president the fiscal 1980 foreign military aid authorization bill (HR 3173 — PL 96-92).

The bill was cleared only after a lengthy congressional dispute over military aid to Turkey was resolved. The Senate had approved President Carter's request for a $50 million military grant to help that country revitalize its armed forces. But the House, which had taken stronger pro-Greek stands in the past, opposed the grant.

After three months of informal negotiations, a House-Senate conference committee settled on a compromise that gave Turkey additional low-cost loans for arms purchases as well as economic aid.

The conferees also worked out a last-minute compromise on military aid to Panama. The House had voted to ban loans to Panama for arms purchases, while the Senate had given the president the right to approve such aid. Carter had promised Panama $50 million in loans over 10

years at the time the 1978 Panama Canal treaties were being negotiated.

At the insistence of House Republicans, conferees agreed to prohibit arms sales loans to Panama, but with the stipulation that Carter could make the loans if he determined they were in the best interests of the United States. However, Panama could not use the money to buy weapons.

The final version of the bill authorized a total of $2.8 billion in fiscal 1980 — $100 million less than the administration requested — for military grant assistance, arms sales credits and economic support. The economic support fund program provided aid to help stabilize the economies of friendly countries with heavy military expenditures. The bulk of the aid — more than $2 billion — in this program went to Israel and Egypt.

The foreign military aid bill was a companion to the foreign economic aid bill (HR 3324 — PL 96-53) cleared by Congress Aug. 2. PL 96-53 provided economic aid — food, health care, population planning, education and agricultural aid — to developing nations. *(Foreign economic aid, p. 117)*

A dispute between the House and Senate over which bill should contain the authorization for the economic support fund, also known as security supporting assistance, was finally resolved by deciding to merge the economic aid and military aid bills beginning with the fiscal 1981 authorization.

For fiscal 1980 the Senate included the economic support fund in its military aid bill, and the House placed it in the economic aid bill. Conferees agreed to keep the fund in the military aid bill until the bills were merged.

Final Provisions

As signed by the president, HR 3173 (PL 96-92) authorized the following amounts for fiscal 1980:

Program	Administration Request	Final Amount
	(in millions of dollars)	
Grant military aid	$ 160.2	$ 110.2
Grant military training	32.9	31.8
Arms sales credits	658.8	673.5
Arms sales ceiling	(2,088.0)	(2,235.0)
Peacekeeping operations	21.1	21.1
Economic Support Fund	2,014.0	1,935.0*
International narcotics control	37.8	51.8
Total	$2,924.8	$2,823.4

**Includes $100 million for Turkey earmarked for fiscal 1979.*

The bill also:

- Authorized $450 million in aid for Turkey: $250 million in arms sales credits, including $50 million in special long-term loans; $198 million in economic supporting assistance, including a $75 million grant; and a $2 million grant for military training. Of the $198 million in economic aid, $100 million was earmarked for fiscal 1979.
- Authorized $200 million in arms sales credits for Greece, including $42 million in long-term loans.
- Authorized $25 million in long-term loans for arms sales to Sudan.
- Stated that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Cyprus, except those stationed under the authority of the United Nations.
- Authorized $12.1 million for a U.S. civilian force to monitor the transfer of the Sinai Peninsula to Egyptian from Israeli control under terms of the 1979 Middle East peace treaty.
- Prohibited arms sales credits or military training grants for Panama, unless the president determined such aid was in the interests of the United States; in such cases, the president was required to report his determination to Congress 30 days before providing the assistance. Panama was permitted to use arms sales credits only to purchase military equipment and services. It was not permitted to purchase weapons.
- Granted $8 million in arms credits to Zaire, but directed the president not to extend the aid unless he submitted a determination to Congress that equipment sent to Zaire would "not be used corruptly or to violate the human rights of Zairian citizens."
- Required prior notice to Congress before the president could provide up to $10 million in Defense Department services or stockpiled equipment for foreign government use in emergencies.
- Prohibited an administration-planned program to train Latin American military forces in arms control and peacekeeping operations, unless participating nations agreed to pay half the cost.
- Required the president to report to Congress by Dec. 31, 1979, on the goals of the program to transfer stockpiled defense equipment to South Korea.
- Required the president to submit an annual classified report to Congress giving the "best estimates" of the volume of international arms sales, including estimates for the preceding three years.
- Changed the subject of the president's annual arms sales report to Congress to "weapons or weapons-related articles or defense equipment," from "defense equipment" and "defense articles or defense services." Required the president to identify the possible arms sales "deemed most likely" to result in an actual transaction during the coming fiscal year.
- Directed the president to conduct a "thorough review" of procedures for transferring sensitive weapons technology to foreign countries. Required the president, when notifying Congress of proposed arms sales, to identify the sensitivity of the technology involved.
- Required the president to provide Congress on a quarterly basis with the estimates given foreign governments of the price and availability of arms and equipment and of requests received from foreign governments for arms purchases.
- Earmarked $785 million in economic support fund assistance for Israel and $750 million for Egypt. At least two-thirds of the assistance was to be in the form of grants. *(Special Israel-Egypt aid package for fiscal 1979, see p. 137)*
- Authorized military assistance to Jordan only if the president determined and reported to Congress that Jordan was acting in good faith to achieve further progress toward Middle East peace, and that the aid would serve the peace process.
- Stated it to be the sense of Congress that, for Syria and Jordan to receive economic support fund assistance, the president was to determine that they were "acting in good faith to achieve further progress toward a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East."

- Prohibited economic support fund assistance to Syria unless the president determined and reported to Congress that the aid was in the national interest of the United States.
- Prohibited economic support fund aid to Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania and Zambia unless the president determined that such aid would further the national interests of the United States.
- Increased the ceiling on commercial arms sales to foreign nations to $25 million from $20 million. All sales over $25 million had to be made through the U.S. government, and were subject to congressional veto.
- Repealed the $40 million annual ceiling on military grants and arms sales credits to African nations. Stated the sense of Congress that the problems of sub-Saharan Africa "are primarily those of economic development and that U.S. policy should assist in limiting the development of costly military conflict in that region." Further directed the president "to exercise restraint" in financing and selling defense articles and defense services to sub-Saharan nations.
- Required the president to report to Congress by Jan. 15 each year on services performed by U.S. officials on a reimbursable basis for foreign governments.
- Required the president to submit to Congress a "detailed justification" of any decision, under the president's emergency powers, to waive the requirement that Congress be given 30 days to disapprove major arms sales abroad.
- Authorized the president to give war reserve material to Taiwan.
- Directed the president, when determining how to allocate foreign assistance, to take into account "significant improvements in the human rights records" of potential recipient nations.
- Exempted certain types of U.S. arms transfers among NATO members from congressional notification and approval requirements.

House Committee Action

The House Foreign Affairs Committee reported HR 3173 (H Rept 96-70) March 24. The bill authorized a total of $977.5 million in fiscal 1980 and $962.5 million in fiscal 1981. HR 3173 did not contain authorizations for the economic security fund.

Philippines Aid

Under pressure from President Carter, the committee turned back an effort to punish the Philippines for alleged human rights violations.

The committee voted March 21 to restore $7.9 million in military grants for the Philippines that had been deleted by the panel's Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee. The funds were part of $25 million in military grants requested by Carter for fiscal 1980.

The vote was 14-11, with only five Democrats joining a unanimous Republican contingent backing Carter. All 11 votes opposing his position were cast by moderate and liberal Democrats.

The restored aid for the Philippines was part of a five-year $500 million military and economic aid package Carter promised as part of an agreement for continued U.S. use of that country's Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base. The agreement was reached Dec. 31, 1979.

Carter's total 1980 request for the Philippines was $95.7 million — triple the 1979 figure of $31.9 million.

The Asian Subcommittee had cut fiscal 1980 military assistance grants to $7.1 million — the amount authorized by the panel for fiscal 1979. The program provided grants for military equipment, facilities and services.

Tony P. Hall, D-Ohio, sponsor of the aid cutback, said the United States should not give "such a huge increase" in military aid to a country with the "current anti-democratic policies and brutal oppression" of President Ferdinand E. Marcos. Marcos had ruled under martial law since 1972.

Carter wrote the committee a letter saying the aid was "an integral part" of the base agreement. "Recent events have caused doubts about the willingness of the United States to sustain support for its friends and to honor its obligations," Carter's letter said. "I am determined to dispel such unwarranted doubts."

Carter said "we see some modest improvement" in the human rights situation in the Philippines. "We do not believe a cut in military grants would serve overall U.S. interests in the present circumstances."

In addition to Carter's letter, members received several letters and telephone calls from Defense Secretary Harold Brown, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and other officials.

Committee Cuts

The committee cut aid to five other countries with alleged human rights violations, including:

- A 10 percent cut in the $5 million requested by the administration for arms sales credits to Panama in fiscal 1980. The vote was 15-7.
- Elimination of an administration request of $250,000 for training of military officers from Guatemala. Voice vote.
- Elimination of a provision that would have allowed the administration to waive prohibitions against military aid to Chile, Argentina and other Latin nations with alleged human rights violations. The administration had planned a special $600,000 program to train Latin American military officers in peacekeeping operations and wanted to include Chile and Argentina. Voice vote.
- Elimination of $17.5 million requested for arms credits to modernize Zaire's army. The State Department's 1979 human rights report said certain elements of Zaire's armed forces frequently violated the human rights of civilians. In recommending the aid cutoff to the full committee, the Africa Subcommittee had called President Mobutu's regime "increasingly unpopular, corrupt and politically repressive."

Higher Sales Limit

The committee compromised on a higher ceiling for commercial arms sales to other nations. The Arms Export Control Act (PL 94-329) required all arms sales over $25 million to be on a government-to-government basis.

Although the sponsors of the amendment wanted the ceiling to be even higher, Jonathan B. Bingham, D-N.Y., won approval of a $35 million ceiling. "We don't want to make it attractive for manufacturers of military equipment to use commercial sales as a way to get around congressional oversight" of arms sales, he said.

Yemen Waiver Reaction

Two provisions reflected the committee's unease with Carter's waiver of the congressional review period for the sale of $400 million worth of weapons to North Yemen. As allowed under the 1976 arms export law, Carter had certified that U.S. national security interests required a waiver

Arms Sale Review Period Waived for Yemen

A provision in the final version of the fiscal 1980 foreign military aid authorization bill (HR 3173 — PL 96-92) was drafted in reaction to President Carter's March 9 decision to waive congressional review of a $400 million arms sale to North Yemen.

The fiscal 1977 foreign military aid bill (PL 94-329) gave Congress 30 days in which to block proposed major weapons sales. While Congress had never killed any proposed sale outright, it forced the Carter administration to modify significantly an earlier arms sale to Iran. *(1977 Almanac p. 387; 1976 Almanac p. 213)*

The 1976 law, however, allowed the president to waive the congressional review process if he determined it was required by U.S. national security. Carter's waiver of the review period for the sale of jets, tanks and other arms to North Yemen — then embroiled in an intensifying war with South Yemen — marked the first use of this authority.

On March 12 Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William R. Crawford told the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East that congressional review of the Yemen sale had been waived because "we felt speed to be of the essence."

He insisted that the move was intended both to build up North Yemen's defenses and to signal U.S. resolve to assist its friends in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions, particularly Saudi Arabia.

But some subcommittee members protested that the administration appeared simply to be repeating the policy — which had proved fruitless in Iran — of pouring military aid into a country whose principal problems were internal rather than strategic. They also claimed the waiver was unwarranted because the weapons could not possibly have any immediate impact on the border war between the two Yemens.

Although the subcommittee took no further action after the hearing, and the fighting subsided in North Yemen, the subcommittee added a provision in the House version of the foreign military aid bill requiring the president to submit to Congress a "detailed justification" of any future decision to waive congressional review of arms sales.

Yemen War

The administration conceded there were purely local aspects — regional, tribal and religious rivalries — to the chronic warfare in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. But it insisted that there were broader political implications because of South Yemen's avowed Marxist orientation and its policy of abetting subversion in the neighboring non-Marxist Arab regimes. This alarmed Saudi Arabia, which bankrolled the military modernization of North Yemen so it could act as Saudi Arabia's surrogate in waging war against South Yemen.

According to the administration, the scale of fighting between the two Yemens had intensified dramatically during the spring. South Yemeni troops, supported by Soviet-supplied tanks and planes, invaded North Yemen at four points, penetrating nearly 20 miles at one point.

House Hearings

At the subcommittee hearing on March 12, Crawford stressed repeatedly that the situation in Yemen was of "the greatest possible concern in the mind of the government of Saudi Arabia." While denying that Saudi Arabia was dictating U.S. foreign policy in the region, he argued that U.S. interests there necessitated a sensitivity toward Saudi fears.

Pressed by subcommittee Chairman Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., Crawford asserted that the United States had to be prepared to go to war to protect Saudi Arabian oil supplies. The kingdom's integrity was "vital to American interests in the Middle East, and we should be prepared to act in implementation of that," he said.

Hamilton and other Democrats on the panel saw no need to rush arms to Yemen. And the time saved by forgoing the 30-day review period would not significantly speed up the arms shipment to North Yemen anyway, they said. It would take months to train Yemeni pilots to fly the F-5Es, they insisted, and nearly as long before Yemeni forces could learn to use the M-60 tanks.

But even more important to these members was their suspicion that the waiver had been invoked casually. The United States "made a decision to assure [Saudi Arabia] that we could act by giving equipment to [North Yemen] — who cannot operate it — at the expense of a very important congressional prerogative," charged Benjamin S. Rosenthal, D-N.Y.

Crawford insisted that the equipment could be dispatched to Yemen within a few days and that the training interval might be brief. Moreover, he noted that Yemen was considering the use of Saudi or Jordanian pilots already experienced in flying the F-5E.

Hamilton later told reporters that while he could imagine circumstances when the symbolic importance of rapid action might justify use of the waiver, he did not see the need in this case. "I think we've sent the message, and they'll be more careful in the future," he added.

of the review period. This was the first time the waiver had been invoked. *(Yemen, box, above)*

As an alternative to the use of such waivers, the bill requested the president to study creation of a stockpile of arms that could be delivered to specific "friendly" countries in case of an emergency.

And the bill required that any future waiver of congressional review on grounds of national security be justified in detail, explaining the U.S. interests that were endangered by the emergency at hand.

NATO Standardization

NATO arms transactions, which already were exempt from several arms transfer limitations, were given further exemptions by the committee.

To speed the shipment among NATO members of ammunition and other supplies, transfers of American equipment and supplies among the other alliance members were exempted from the requirement that Congress receive 30-days' notice of U.S. agreement to such transfers. And to encourage cooperative arms development projects within

NATO, the president was authorized to waive payments levied on other participants for the cost borne by the United States for research programs. Also, sales abroad by those countries of jointly developed weapons were exempted from congressional veto.

House Floor Action

After voting by more than a two-to-one margin to eliminate arms sales credits to Panama, the House passed HR 3173 March 29 by voice vote.

The move to cut arms credits to Panama, contained in an amendment by Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., was approved 272-117. *(Vote 60, p. 22-H)*

Bauman and some other members — most of them prominent opponents of the 1978 treaties turning over the Panama Canal to Panama — insisted they merely wanted to defer any action on aid to Panama until Congress considered legislation to implement the treaties.

But the size of the vote in favor of cutting off the credits suggested that treaty opponents might have hit upon a popular issue with their allegation that the administration had concealed the cost of implementing the treaties.

Gerry E. Studds, D-Mass., offered an amendment to limit the authorization to one year, fiscal 1980. The amendment was initially adopted on a 201-179 vote, but confusion over what was the amendment's impact necessitated a second vote. The amendment then was defeated by voice vote. *(Vote 61, 22-H)*

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported its version of the military aid bill (S 584 — S Rept 96-136) on May 11. Markup sessions were held May 3 and 8.

As reported, the bill authorized $2.815 billion for fiscal 1980. Unlike the House version, there was no authorization for fiscal 1981.

Program authorizations included: economic support fund, $1.949 billion; international peacekeeping, $15 million; foreign military sales credits, $672.5 million; grant military assistance, $109.6 million; international military education and training, $31.3 million; and narcotics control, $37.3 million.

The military sales credits would enable the United States to make subsidized loans of $2.22 billion. That included $1 billion earmarked for Israel, only half of which would have to be paid back.

The committee spent most of its markup sessions debating the administration's request for special aid to Turkey. A compromise was reached that apparently satisfied supporters of both Turkey and its regional rival, Greece. The compromise also saved face for the White House, which vigorously lobbied on behalf of Turkey.

Aid for Turkey

In its original budget request, the administration had asked for $301.2 million in military aid for Turkey for fiscal 1980, including $200 million in arms sales loans; a $2 million military grant; $98 million for the economy; and $1.2 million for military training. But as part of a special effort to bolster Turkey's sagging economy and strengthen its armed forces, President Carter in April asked Congress for an additional $50 million in military grants and $100 million in economic grants.

The $50 million in special military grants was opposed by supporters of Greece. They said the United States should not give military aid to Turkey while that nation occupied 40 percent of Cyprus.

Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., said Turkey had not cooperated with American efforts to negotiate a settlement in Cyprus and had held up Greece's re-entry as a full member of NATO. Sarbanes, of Greek heritage, was an influential member of the so-called "Greek lobby" on Capitol Hill.

Sarbanes said the military grant would violate a promise contained in the 1979 military aid bill that the United States would seek to retain "the present balance of military strength" between Turkey and Greece. That promise was a key element in the congressional decision in 1978 to end the partial arms embargo against Turkey. *(1978 Almanac p. 416)*

Sarbanes also criticized the administration plan to aid Turkey with military grants. The administration agreed in 1977 to gradually phase out all military grants by 1984 and replace them with loans for arms purchases.

But administration spokesmen told the committee Turkey needed direct grants of military equipment because it might not be able to afford the high interest loans. Turkey is "broke," a Defense Department aide said.

After a day of debate, the committee unanimously settled on a compromise, proposed by Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., that substituted for the $50 million in military grants a $50 million authorization for arms sales loans for Turkey. In addition, Greece was to be loaned $42 million. Javits said the long-term loans to both nations would help maintain the military balance in the eastern Mediterranean. The loans were to be made under favorable terms, including a 10-year grace period on repayment of principal, followed by a 20- year repayment period.

The committee also approved Carter's request for $100 million in extra economic aid. This was approved as a supplemental for fiscal 1979. With that action, total economic and military aid to Turkey for fiscal years 1979 and 1980 would come to $678.7 million.

On an amendment by Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., the committee boosted aid to refugees on Cyprus from the $2 million requested by the administration to $15 million — the same amount authorized in fiscal 1979. And the committee approved language drafted by Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., stating that all foreign troops, other than United Nations forces, should leave Cyprus.

Authorization Changes

Cuts. The committee made a net cut of $109,600,000, reducing the amount requested by the administration for fiscal 1980 to $2,815,200,000 from $2,924,800,000.

Major cuts included: the $50 million special military grant for Turkey; $38 million in economic aid for Jordan that was to be used for the Maqarin Dam project; $15 million in economic aid for Syria (the committee noted that there was $308 million already in the pipeline for Syria); $25 million in economic aid to southern African nations; $6.1 million from the amount authorized for the Sinai Support Mission, which was to be closed in 1980; $600,000 from administrative costs of the military grant program; $1.6 million from military training expenses for Haiti, Guatemala, Afghanistan, Pakistan and a new Latin American regional program.

The committee said the amounts cut for specific programs and countries were not mandatory, but rather "suggestions" for the administration.

Additions. The committee made the following additions to the administration's original budget request for arms sales credits: Indonesia, $10 million, for a total of $45 million; Malaysia, $5 million, to $12 million; and Thailand, $15 million, to $40 million (all sponsored by John Glenn, D-Ohio); and Morocco, $15 million, to $45 million (sponsored by Richard Stone, D-Fla.). The committee also agreed to add $15 million for Oman and $15 million for Sudan (both last-minute requests by the administration).

Argentina, Chile Aid Ban

The committee rejected an amendment by S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, R-Calif., to modify the 1976 ban on military aid and arms sales to Argentina and Chile.

Hayakawa said the ban on aid to those countries for human rights reasons was "ineffective, inappropriate and inflexible." He said the United States could promote human rights more effectively by using "our trade relations and quiet diplomacy."

Javits proposed to allow arms sales to those two countries only if either house of Congress was given 30 days in advance to disapprove the sale. That was defeated on a 3-4 vote. Edward Zorinsky, D-Neb., suggested another amendment, to allow only the sale of "non-lethal" goods to Argentina and Chile. That proposal was defeated 2-5, with Zorinsky and Hayakawa voting yes.

Panama Controversy

The committee straddled the issue of military aid to Panama. The administration proposed $5 million in arms sales loans and $500,000 in military training grants for Panama in 1980. During negotiations on the canal treaties, Carter had promised Panama $50 million in arms sales loans during the next 10 years.

Committee Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, said it was "inappropriate" for the United States to continue aid to Panama since that nation would be receiving more than $60 million a year from Panama Canal tolls under the new treaties. But Javits said the administration should have the flexibility to decide whether the aid was necessary.

As a compromise, the committee left both aid requests for Panama untouched, but added report language saying the administration "should reconsider the propriety of continuing" the grant training program since the new treaties "will add substantially to Panama's income."

Other Changes

In other action, the committee:

- Approved an amendment by Zorinsky requiring Latin American nations participating in a special regional military training program to pay half the cost of the program. The administration had proposed a $600,000 program to train Latin American officers in arms control and peacekeeping operations. Voice vote.
- Approved a Sarbanes amendment restoring a congressional veto on transfers of U.S. arms among NATO countries. The administration opposed the congressional veto.
- Placed restrictions on aid to Syria and Jordan. In order to receive aid, both countries "should be deemed by the president to be acting to achieve further progress toward a comprehensive peace settlement." Further, the committee said no funds could be used for Syria unless the president determined the aid was in the U.S. national interest.
- Banned economic support fund aid to Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Angola, unless the president determined such aid would be in the U.S. national interest.
- Required the president to update, every six months, the list of subsidized arms sales to foreign nations. Under existing law, the president had to report on arms sales to Congress only once a year.

Senate Floor Action

Reversing the Foreign Relations Committee, the Senate May 22 voted 64-32 to convert the committee-recommended $50 million loan for Turkey to a grant. *(Vote 104, p. 20-S)*

The vote represented a substantial victory for President Carter and Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., who actively pushed it. In the days before the vote, Byrd hosted several briefings where administration officials explained the special request.

The action was important as much for its diplomatic value as for its financial benefit to Turkey's struggling economy. Carter had said the Ankara government and Western nations seeking to aid Turkey were looking to the United States to provide leadership in bolstering Turkey as an important member of NATO.

The Senate vote cut across ideological lines. Although most conservative Republicans supported the amendment reversing the committee's decision, and most liberal Democrats opposed it, there were significant defections on both sides. And it represented an even stronger show of support for Turkey than the 57-42 vote in July 1978 to lift the 1974 partial arms embargo against Turkey. Eight senators who had opposed lifting the embargo voted for the military grant. *(Embargo action, 1978 Almanac p. 416)*

The Senate subsequently passed the foreign military aid bill 69-21. *(Vote 107, p. 20-S)*

As passed by the Senate, HR 3173 authorized $2,887,200,000 in new budget authority for fiscal 1980, $38 million below the president's request. The Senate added back nearly $73 million of the $110 million cut by the committee in the president's request. Most of the increase was made by the Byrd amendment on Turkey.

Debate Over Turkey

On May 19 Turkey and Greece agreed to resume negotiations toward a Cyprus settlement after a two-year deadlock. But on the morning of the Senate vote, Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash was reported as saying the two sides were "180 degrees apart."

Earlier in May, after meeting with Deputy Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit demanded additional aid in return for allowing the United States to continue intelligence outposts in Turkey. And Ecevit said he would not allow American U-2 planes to fly over Turkish territory to monitor Russian compliance with the proposed SALT II treaty unless the Soviet Union agreed.

In spite of Ecevit's demands, Byrd said the grant aid to Turkey was "vital, vital not only from the standpoint of Turkey, but also from the standpoint of NATO, vital from the standpoint of our own ultimate security interests, vital from the standpoint of the security interests of Greece, and vital from the standpoint of the security interests of our friends in the Middle East."

Byrd said the grant aid "is the direct, the quickest, and the most efficient way to assist Turkey to regain some of the ground that it lost" during the U.S. arms embargo.

Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., emphasized the symbolic importance of aid to Turkey. Bellmon also said Turkey

needed the "moral backing" of major Western nations as it initiated efforts to restructure the economy under conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

Opponents said the United States should not boost aid to Turkey while that nation still occupied part of Cyprus.

Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., noted that Congress lifted the Turkish arms embargo in 1978 in the hope that Turkey would be more willing to cooperate with Greece. But so far "absolutely nothing new has happened on Cyprus," Eagleton said. "Not one iota of progress has been made, and yet this year, as last year, we are supposed to give our annual award for Turkish intransigence."

Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., criticized Turkey for its refusal to cooperate with the United States on facilities for verifying the SALT treaty. He also deplored the conditions Turkey had placed on Greece's re-entry into NATO.

"Our military bases and our SALT verification efforts are not a Turkish favor bestowed on the American people," Kennedy said. "They are in the security interest of the entire Atlantic alliance, including Turkey."

On the Byrd amendment to convert the $50 million in military aid to a grant, 32 Democrats voted for the grant and 24 Democrats opposed it. Republican support was much stronger: 32-8.

The amendment left intact the $42 million arms sales loan for Greece that had been inserted by the Foreign Relations Committee.

The eight senators who opposed lifting the arms embargo against Turkey in 1978, but voted for converting the loan into a grant were: Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.; J. Bennett Johnston, D-La.; Paul Laxalt, R-Nev.; Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash.; Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio; Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.; Jennings Randolph, D-W.Va.; and Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga.

2 Percent Cut

By a narrow margin, 43-49, the Senate rejected an amendment by Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., to slice $56 million from the entire bill. Byrd said that would have resulted in a 2 percent cut. *(Vote 106, p. 20-S)*

George McGovern, D-S.D., floor manager of the bill, said the aid measure already was $38 million below the president's request.

Syria

The Senate also rejected, 34-58, an amendment by William Proxmire, D-Wis., to drop the entire $45 million in the bill for Syria. *(Vote 103, p. 20-S)*

Proxmire noted that foreign aid was supposed to go to "friendly countries. . . . If there is any country that we can prove. . . has not been friendly to this country, I think the record overwhelmingly proves it is Syria," Proxmire said. Syria was occupying Lebanon, and "continues its hard line" toward the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, he said.

Javits acknowledged that Syria was "doing everything unwise, wrong, unstatesmanlike and denigrating" toward Lebanon and the Middle East peace. But he said the Middle East "is a crazy world. The fact is, Syria could be a lot worse than it is. We are not doing this as a reward to Syria for behaving better."

Other Amendments

Other amendments approved by the Senate included:

- By Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., adding $16.6 million for a narcotics control program in Colombia. The money was to go to the Colombian police to buy helicopters and other equipment to control the supply and shipment of cocaine and marijuana. The Foreign Relations Committee had deferred action on the Colombian program until a staff study was completed. The House had approved a related provision. Roll-call vote, 65-29. *(Vote 105, p. 20-S)*
- By Stone, adding $10 million in economic grants and $10 million in arms sales loans for Sudan. The arms sales loans were to be on the same special easy terms granted Egypt, Israel and Greece. Voice vote.
- By Glenn, raising the limit on a single commercial arms sale to $35 million, from the current $25 million level. Any sale over that limit had to be made through government channels. Glenn had wanted to raise the limit to $50 million, but was persuaded by McGovern to settle for the $35 million limit previously approved by the House. Voice vote.
- By McGovern, as a substitute for an amendment by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., directing the president when allocating foreign aid to take into account "significant improvements in the human rights records" of countries receiving such aid. That language headed off an amendment by Helms that sought to lift a ban on U.S. military aid and arms sales to Chile and Argentina. Helms said both nations had better human rights records than some nations that received foreign aid. Voice vote.
- By Byrd, Va., to prohibit nations in southern Africa to use U.S. economic aid for "military or military-related purposes." Voice vote.
- By Daniel K. Inouye, D-Hawaii, to require the approval of the House and Senate foreign policy and appropriations committees before the president could supply emergency military supplies and training to foreign nations.

Conference Action

Three months passed before House-Senate conferees could resolve the dispute over U.S. aid to Turkey. The deadlock began June 21 when the House voted 303-107 to instruct its conferees not to accept the Senate provision giving Turkey the $50 million grant. *(Vote 252, p. 76-H)*

President Carter had requested the grant because of Turkey's severe economic problems and inability to finance its huge army. But Carter did not formally submit his request for the aid until nearly a month after the House had passed HR 3173.

The House traditionally has been less receptive to requests for aid to Turkey than has the Senate.

Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill., said Carter tried to "completely bypass the House." Administration supporters made no serious effort on the floor to fight Derwinski's motion to instruct conferees. Floor action followed two weeks of negotiations during which the administration tried unsuccessfully to head off the vote.

Conference Agreement

House-Senate conferees filed a report on HR 3173 (H Rept 96-495) Oct. 4.

The final version authorized $2.8 billion for foreign military aid programs in fiscal 1980. That was $101.4 million below President Carter's request, $69.4 million below the Senate bill, and $176.1 million above the House bill. House conferees agreed to drop their authorizations for fiscal 1981.

Of the total amount, more than $2 billion was for Israel and Egypt.

Turkey. Conferees failed several times between late June and mid-September to work out a compromise on aid to Turkey. Negotiations centered on the use of the word "military" to describe the type of U.S. aid to be given Turkey. Pro-Greek members adamantly opposed a military grant to Turkey, while the Carter administration said a military grant was important to reassure Turkey of U.S. support for that NATO ally. A military grant also would give Turkey access to free transportation and low prices for excess U.S. defense equipment.

The compromise, reached Sept. 26, gave Turkey the money it needed to improve its economy and military forces, but upheld the House rejection of free arms shipments to the Ankara government.

Under the compromise worked out in private negotiations, and formally approved by conferees, Turkey was to receive in fiscal 1980:

- U.S. loans for the purchase of $250 million in weapons and military supplies. Of that amount, $50 million was in long-term, easy-payment loans similar to special loans given earlier in 1979 to Israel and Egypt. Carter would determine the interest rate. Turkey could use that money to buy excess U.S. defense equipment at the same prices available to any other nation.
- $198 million in economic aid, including a $75 million grant and $123 million in long-term loans.
- A $2 million grant for the training of Turkish military officers, both in the United States and in Turkey.

The $450 million total made Turkey the third largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid, after Israel and Egypt.

To maintain a partial balance in U.S. aid to Turkey and Greece, the conference committee also approved a special $42 million low-interest, long-term loan to Greece for arms purchases. That was in addition to $158 million in regular arms sales loans previously requested by Carter.

Spokesmen for both the Carter administration and pro-Greek members of Congress accepted the compromise.

Debate on the issue was conducted while U.S. officials were negotiating with Turkey on two issues: continued American use of military bases in Turkey, and permission for U.S. intelligence flights over Turkey to verify Russian compliance with SALT II. Ironically, on Oct. 15, one day before the aid bill cleared Congress, the government of Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit resigned, following an election defeat brought on partially by the worsening economic conditions in Turkey.

Panama. In another area of major controversy, conferees resolved a dispute over military aid to Panama by agreeing to prohibit arms sales loans to that country unless Carter determined such aid served U.S. national interests. The House had voted to ban loans to Panama for arms sales, while the Senate had given the president the right to approve that aid. Conferees approved a $500,000 grant to train Panamanian military officers.

Sinai Supervision. Conferees approved a $12 million budget for U.S. civilian peacekeeping forces in the Sinai. Acceptance of that provision by the House and Senate endorsed the Sept. 19 agreement between the United States, Israel and Egypt on monitoring the transfer of the peninsula from Israeli to Eygptian control.

Under that agreement, the United States would continue to use 200 civilians to monitor the location of troops in the areas abandoned by Israel and taken over by Egypt. In a letter to Senate Foreign Relations, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance said the U.S. truce mission "will include no military personnel."

The peace treaty signed by Israel and Egypt March 26 called for U.N. forces to serve as the Sinai peacekeeping force. But that plan fell through when the Soviet Union threatened to veto it in the U.N. Security Council. *(Peace treaty, p. 138)*

Zaire. Conferees agreed to continue arms sales credits for Zaire in spite of charges that President Mobutu misused previous U.S.-supplied arms and equipment.

The House had eliminated the administration's request for $10.5 million in arms credits to modernize Zaire's army. The Senate had approved the request, although the Foreign Relations Committee expressed concern about the intended use of U.S. arms by Zaire.

Conferees settled on a compromise of $8 million in arms credits, but directed the president not to extend the aid unless he determined that equipment sent to Zaire "will not be used corruptly or to violate the human rights of Zairian citizens," and submitted his determination to Congress.

Final Action

The Senate adopted the conference report by voice vote Oct. 4, after little debate, even though the report had not yet been printed.

The House adopted the conference committee compromise Oct. 16 by a 256-147 vote, completing congressional action. *(House vote 510, p. 148-H)* ▮

State Dept. Authorization

Congress Aug. 2 sent to the president a measure (HR 3363 — PL 96-60) authorizing $4.5 billion in fiscal 1980 and 1981 for the Department of State and related agencies.

Final passage came after Congress rejected an effort by conservatives to force President Carter to lift immediately economic sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

Continuation of the status quo in U.S. policy toward Salisbury gave President Carter more time to deal diplomatically with the crisis confronting the southern African country.

As passed, HR 3363 permitted Carter to retain the existing economic sanctions until Nov. 15. If Carter decided to retain sanctions after that date, Congress would have an opportunity to lift them if it disagreed with that decision. (Carter and Congress, however, subsequently agreed to continue sanctions through 1979. *Rhodesia, p. 156)*

Besides the State Department, major related agencies authorized by the bill included the International Communication Agency, formerly the United States Information Agency, and the Board for International Broadcasting, which administers Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

In other legislative action on the measure, Congress rejected Carter's plan to close 10 consulates abroad. But it backed Carter's request to repeal a 1978 law that had cut off all U.S. mandatory contributions to the United Nations. Congress also tightened restrictions on travel to the United States by communist labor union members and representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Final Provisions

As signed into law, HR 3363 (PL 96-60):

- Authorized $2,143,916,000 in fiscal 1980 and $2,369,297,000 in fiscal 1981 for the Department of State,

the International Communication Agency and the Board for International Broadcasting. *(Details, box, below)*

- Authorized $104,910,000 in supplemental fiscal 1979 funds for refugee assistance.
- Gave the president until Nov. 15, 1979, to lift sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, but gave Congress the opportunity to override any decision to retain the sanctions after that date.
- Required the State Department to keep open consular offices it had planned to close in 10 cities. The three allowed to close were in Belem, Brazil; Zanzibar, Tanzania; and Port Said, Egypt.
- Eliminated a provision in the fiscal 1979 appropriations law for the State Department that prohibited the use of U.S. mandatory contributions to the United Nations for technical assistance programs.
- Placed restrictions on the issuance of temporary visas to members of the Palestine Liberation Organization, labor union representatives from communist countries, and persons from nations that had not signed the Helsinki accords on human rights.
- Limited U.S. contributions to 25 percent of the budgets for two U.N. organizations — the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights.
- Stated it to be the sense of Congress that the State Department, the Defense Department and other federal agencies should coordinate wage scales for employees stationed overseas. Salaries for U.S. employees abroad should "reflect" the pay of private sector employees.
- Directed the Board for International Broadcasting to submit alternative proposals to Congress by Oct. 1, 1979, for stationing 10, 25 or 50 percent of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty personnel in the United States.
- Stated the sense of Congress that U.S. policy should encourage cultural, scientific and economic relations between Egypt and Israel.
- Urged the International Whaling Commission and nations involved in commercial whaling to voluntarily agree to a moratorium on the commercial killing of whales, as endorsed by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.

House Committee Action

The House Foreign Affairs Committee reported HR 3363 (H Rept 96-81) April 3.

The committee made few changes in the administration's requests. As reported, the bill authorized $2,143,916,000 for fiscal 1980, compared to a request of $2,129,751,000; and $2,369,297,000 for fiscal 1981, compared to a request of $2,348,132,000.

Retained in the bill without change was a fiscal 1979 supplemental request of $104,910,000 for refugee assistance.

The overall increase above the administration request resulted from the addition of $25 million for each of fiscal 1980 and 1981 for a program to help resettle in Israel refugees from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. That program had spent $405 million since 1972, including $20 million in fiscal 1978 and $25 million in fiscal 1979. The administration had not requested funds for the program for fiscal 1980 and 1981.

Proposed Consulate Closings

The committee criticized an administration proposal to close various U.S. consulates around the world, but took no direct action other than to ask the secretary of state to review each closing.

The administration planned to close consulates in 13 medium-size cities. The State Department said the closings would save $2,831,600 a year in salary and operating costs by eliminating 113 jobs, all but 25 of which were held by foreign nationals.

State Department Authorizations, Fiscal 1980 and 1981

Program	Fiscal 1980 Administration Request	Fiscal 1980 Final Action	Fiscal 1981 Administration Request	Fiscal 1981 Final Action
	(in thousands of dollars)		*(in thousands of dollars)*	
State Department				
Administration	$ 849,423	$ 849,423	$1,009,815	$1,009,815
International organizations	502,945	502,945	525,082	525,082
International commissions	26,733	26,733	26,081	26,081
Migration and refugee assistance	223,951	248,951	229,188	254,188
Science and technology agreements	7,000	1,400	——	1,400
Subtotal, State Department	$1,610,052	$1,629,452*	$1,790,166	$1,816,566**
International Communication Agency	432,782	432,547	466,179	465,944
Board for International Broadcasting	86,917	81,917	91,787	86,787
Total	$2,129,751	$2,143,916*	$2,348,132	$2,369,297**

* *The bill placed a ceiling of $1,369,401,000 on appropriations for State Department administration, International Organizations and International Commissions, thus putting the ceiling for total State Department appropriations at $1,619,752,000.*

** *The bill placed a ceiling of $1,547,778,000 on appropriations for State Department administration, International Organizations and International Commissions, thus putting the ceiling for total State Department appropriations at $1,803,366,000.*

In its report, the committee said the consulate closings actually would not save money for five years because of the additional costs that would be incurred in paying early employee retirement and buying out building leases.

And the committee said it was concerned that "the foreign policy disadvantages of these cuts may outweigh the immediate budgetary advantages."

"At a time when the United States must bolster its knowledge of and communications with other nations, the closing of posts whose primary concerns involve consular, economic and trade considerations may very well work to our detriment," the committee said.

The committee said it was "deeply concerned" about cuts "being imposed on the Department of State" by the Office of Management and Budget.

Refugee Assistance

The committee endorsed an administration proposal to substantially boost U.S. efforts to aid refugees in Africa, Indochina, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Spending on refugee programs for fiscal 1979 was expected to exceed $200 million.

The committee authorized $249 million for fiscal 1980 — $18 million more than the administration requested. The money went for direct relief to refugees, such as food, clothing and shelter, and for relief programs sponsored by the United Nations, the International Red Cross and other organizations. The committee said the present world refugee population "exceeds that of any period in recent history . . . [and] will probably continue."

Other Actions

In other actions, the committee:

- Pared the administration's request for the International Communication Agency by $235,000 for each of the two years. The committee authorized $432,547,000 for fiscal 1980 and $465,944,000 for fiscal 1981 for the agency that ran the Voice of America and other government information and cultural programs overseas.
- Cut $5 million for each year from the request for the Board for International Broadcasting. The money had been requested to offset expected adverse fluctuations in the value of the dollar. Instead, the committee gave the board authority to request supplemental appropriations to make up for increased expenses caused by the weakness of the dollar. The committee authorized $81,917,000 for fiscal 1980 and $86,787,000 for fiscal 1981.
- Added a sense of Congress statement that Foreign Service officers should have a working knowledge of the language or dialect of the countries where they were stationed. Congressional concern over the language proficiency of U.S. representatives abroad was heightened by revelations that, for several years leading up to the overthrow of the shah, few if any U.S. Embassy employees in Iran spoke Persian, the dominant local tongue.
- Prohibited the United States from paying any mandatory assessment to the United Nations that was intended for the organization's Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 3363 April 24 after rejecting by a four-vote margin a 10 percent across-the-board cut in the proposed fiscal 1980-81 programs and operations of the State Department.

The cut would have slashed $450 million from the two-year, $4.5 billion authorization bill.

Members backing the cut, sponsored by John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, at first succeeded in winning over a majority of the House, but when his amendment was brought up for a second vote, it was defeated.

The authorization bill was approved after two days (April 10, 24) of debate. Attempts to cripple implementation of the 1978 Panama Canal treaties and cut the U.S. contributions to the United Nations were warded off.

The final vote was 256-146. *(Vote 89, p. 30-H)*

10 Percent Cut

For the second time in 1979, the administration was faced with attempts to cut its proposed funding levels for foreign programs. On April 10 the House approved a 5 percent cut in the fiscal 1980 foreign economic aid bill (HR 3324).

But the administration fared better April 24. Supporters of the committee bill argued that HR 3363 was a much smaller bill, with the authorizations going not for foreign aid but merely to fund the State Department's operations.

Ashbrook said the cut he proposed was "reasonable" and "a nice, round figure, very easy to understand. We are in a time of economy." But opponents said the cut would hurt agencies whose budgets already had been trimmed substantially by the committee.

The bill "does not have any fat in it," said Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. "There is no growth in any program, there is no increase in personnel. We have them tight against the board as it is now."

The House first approved the amendment on a 207-196 vote. Administration lobbyists and supporters then managed to round up enough votes to defeat the amendment on the second try, 199-203. *(Votes 86, 87, p. 30-H)*

Eleven Democrats and one Republican who supported the cut initially voted against it on the second vote. They were: Edward P. Beard, D-R.I.; Brian J. Donnelly, D-Mass.; Billy Lee Evans, D-Ga.; Joseph M. Gaydos, D-Pa.; Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo.; Frank J. Guarini, D-N.J.; Ken Holland, D-S.C.; Dan Mica, D-Fla.; J.J. Pickle, D-Texas; Bennett M. Stewart, D-Ill.; Charles Wilson, D-Texas; and Robert McClory, R-Ill.

U.N. Contributions

For the second time in three weeks, the House rejected an effort to continue a ban on using U.S. mandatory contributions to the United Nations for technical assistance programs.

The ban was attached to the 1979 foreign economic aid bill through an amendment sponsored by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C. The ban was directed only at the $41.2 million in U.S. contributions specifically intended for technical programs. But because the president had been unable since the fall of 1978 to certify that none of the U.S. contribution would be used for technical programs, the ban had effectively frozen the entire $500 million U.S. contribution to the U.N. agencies. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 92)*

The House April 5, on a 13-40 standing vote, had rejected a similar ban in debate on the economic aid bill.

Conservatives supporting the ban tried again April 24, but lost 187-214. *(Vote 85, p. 30-H)*

John H. Rousselot, R-Calif., sponsor of the amendment to retain the ban, argued that mandatory payments to the United Nations amounted to "mandatory taxes collected by the U.N. tax man." The United States was forced to provide too much of the financial support for technical agencies, which should be funded by voluntary contributions, he said.

Rousselot's proposal to reinstate the Helms amendment would have dropped the entire $41 million in U.S. mandatory contributions allocated for technical programs in fiscal 1980. Among these programs were the International Atomic Energy Agency's nuclear safeguards program and the operations of the World Health Organization.

Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla., said the mandatory payments represented a "legal commitment of the United States, which we gladly entered into because we saw that it was not only for the benefit of the other countries of the world, but ultimately [was] to our own benefit. . ." because of the programs those payments supported.

Panama

The House adopted by voice vote an amendment introduced by Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill., seeking to force Panama to cooperate with the United States in the implementation of the Panama Canal treaties. Derwinski offered his amendment as a substitute for one drafted by George Hansen, R-Idaho, that would have banned use of State Department funds to carry out the terms of the agreements. Derwinski's version was adopted on a 72-23 standing vote.

As approved, the amendment required the secretary of state to tell Panama the United States "will insist that the government of Panama comply fully with its treaty obligations and provide full cooperation in ensuring an orderly transition to the new treaty relationship." In addition, the amendment directed the State Department to tell Panama that under the treaty that country was not entitled to possession of movable equipment in the Canal Zone or to exercise retroactive tax jurisdiction over U.S. businesses in the zone.

Critics of the canal treaty had argued that Panama was not cooperating with the United States in the negotiations on implementing the treaty. *(Panama Canal treaty implementing legislation, p. 142)*

Consulates

By voice vote, the House adopted an amendment sponsored by James L. Oberstar, D-Minn., expressing the sense of Congress that the State Department should not close six of the 13 consulates scheduled to be shut down in fiscal 1980. The six consulates were: Salzburg, Austria; Bremen, West Germany; Nice, France; Turin, Italy; Goteborg, Sweden; and Adana, Turkey.

Oberstar, whose district included a large population of Swedish descendants, said he was particularly concerned about the closing of the Goteborg consulate. That office was first closed in 1975, then reopened in 1976.

Other Amendments

The House approved two other amendments before passing the bill:

- By Stephen J. Solarz, D-N.Y., giving the secretary of state greater power than allowed him under existing law to deny visas to members of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Voice vote.
- By Leon E. Panetta, D-Calif., directing the secretary of state to report to Congress on steps taken to assure that personnel assigned to foreign posts knew the local language and culture. Voice vote.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported its version of the authorization bill (S 586 — S Rept 96-116) May 3 by unanimous voice vote.

As reported, the bill authorized $2,123,951,000 for fiscal 1980 and $2,342,332,000 for fiscal 1981 for the State Department and the two communications agencies. The amounts were slightly less than requested by the administration.

The major issue faced by the committee was repeal of the Helms language that banned use of U.S. mandatory contributions to the United Nations for technical assistance programs. A motion by Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., to delete the Helms amendment was approved on a 7-4 vote.

Other Changes. In other action, the committee:

- Mandated that 10 of the 13 consulates that the administration wanted to close were to remain open. The Senate added the consulates in Tangier, Morocco; Brisbane, Australia; Surabaya, Indonesia; and Mandalay, Burma, to the six the House voted to keep open.

The committee said the cost of keeping these consulates open could be more than offset by modifying visa procedures.

- Authorized the State Department to waive non-immigrant and tourist visa requirements for persons coming from countries where visa fraud was low. This meant that tourists from Western European nations especially would no longer have to obtain visas when visiting the United States. Pell, who sponsored the amendment, said it would save $1.5 million annually in visa processing costs.
- Specified that the assistant to the president for national security, and his top deputy, be subject to Senate confirmation. The requirement would not apply to the current holders of those positions, Zbigniew Brzezinski and David Aaron. The provision was sponsored by Edward Zorinsky, D-Neb., who said "there are two secretaries of state," and the Senate should have a role in approving both of them.

Congress debated such a requirement in the early 1970s when Henry A. Kissinger held that post. *(Kissinger background, 1973 Almanac p. 775)*

- Earmarked $25 million to assist refugees from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who settled in Israel. Congress had added this program to the budget for the past seven years. The $25 million would have to be taken out of "administrative" programs in the State Department under the committee amendment. The House, on the other hand, added $25 million to the budget for both 1980 and 1981 for this program.
- Cut $5 million from the administration's request for the International Communication Agency. The committee said the agency should reduce the size of its Washington office.

Senate Floor Action

In a setback for President Carter's Africa policy, the Senate May 15 overwhelmingly endorsed the lifting of economic sanctions against Rhodesia. The vote was 75-19. *(Vote 92, p. 18-S)*

The Senate declared that Rhodesia had met conditions in U.S. law for an end to the sanctions, and it urged Carter

to lift the trade ban 14 days after the new Rhodesian government, elected in April, was installed.

Members of Congress on both sides of the Rhodesia issue said the Senate's action would put pressure on Carter to reverse his hands-off policy toward the Rhodesian "internal settlement" that was reached early in 1979. That had resulted in the election in April of a black-led government, but with key departments still in the hands of whites. *(Rhodesia policy, p. 156)*

Administration spokemen called the vote "unfortunate," but professed to be encouraged that the Senate had requested, rather than required, the lifting of sanctions against Rhodesia.

Helms, Rhodesia's most active supporter in the Senate, said he was "delighted" by the vote. Twenty senators who opposed lifting the sanctions in 1978 voted with the Helms forces this time.

In addition to Rhodesia, the United States maintained full economic boycotts against only four other nations: Vietnam, Cambodia, North Korea and Cuba. The United States also banned the sale of military and police equipment to South Africa.

After debating the bill May 9, 10 and 15, the Senate passed the bill on an 84-10 vote. *(Vote 95, p. 18-S)*

Rhodesia Boycott

The controversy over the U.S. economic boycott of Rhodesia began in March 1977 when President Carter convinced Congress to reimpose economic sanctions against the Salisbury government; this action amounted principally to a ban on Rhodesian chrome imports. *(1977 Almanac p. 328)*

That victory was nearly overturned in 1978 when conservatives in the Senate tried to lift the sanctions after Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith had agreed to share power with black leaders. That move was defeated, but to head off further attempts to lift the sanctions Sens. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., and Clifford P. Case, R-N.J. (1955-79), drafted a compromise in the 1979 foreign military aid bill. The compromise said sanctions would be lifted once the president determined that Rhodesia had agreed to negotiate on all issues with the Rhodesian guerrillas and a government had been installed as a result of "free elections." *(1978 Almanac p. 416)*

The elections were held peacefully, with between 50 and 65 percent of the black population turning out to vote. The new government was headed by black Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa. Most observers said the elections were reasonably free, in spite of allegations that blacks were coerced into voting.

The Rhodesian election was "the most free and open election in the history of Africa," Helms said during floor debate May 15. "Scores of newspaper reporters and television correspondents and observers from all around the world have said it was."

Helms read a telegram from Muzorewa to President Carter saying "the removal of punitive sanctions would go a long way towards alleviating the suffering of my people."

Helms said: "The administration is deliberately dragging its feet, pretending to be accumulating information. The president, for whatever reason, has chosen not to act. . . so it is up to us to act."

But administration supporters said the Senate should give Carter more time to make a decision on lifting the sanctions, as called for by the Case-Javits amendment.

George McGovern, D-S.D., said the question was "whether Congress should act in accordance with the law or whether we should act in haste in defiance of what is now the law of the land." Action by the Senate, McGovern said, "repeals existing law" and "invades the president's authority in the field of foreign affairs."

Before the Senate were two amendments: a Helms amendment requiring an immediate end to the sanctions, and a sense of the Congress amendment introduced by Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., stating that the requirements of the 1979 Case-Javits compromise had been met and urging the president to lift the sanctions within 10 days of the installation of the new government.

Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., threw in a third amendment backed by the administration, calling on Carter to make a decision on sanctions by mid-June. Carter had publicly promised to make his decision two weeks after the new government was installed. In a May 4 letter, Carter asked Byrd to oppose "any initiative that would pre-empt existing law or prejudge the issue at stake."

But Byrd quickly discovered that sentiment was so closely divided in the Senate that his amendment might fail. Along with Javits and Frank Church, D-Idaho, Byrd negotiated with Schweiker on a compromise.

Byrd agreed to accept Schweiker's amendment, and in return Schweiker accepted the Byrd language giving Carter two weeks after installation of the new government, rather than 10 days, to make a decision on sanctions.

Javits said he accepted the Schweiker language because it "does leave the president free" to make his own decision on sanctions. "A majority of the Senate feels this way," Javits said. If Carter did not lift sanctions, "we still have the ball in our court, and we can still do what we please."

But McGovern and Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., strongly disagreed with the Schweiker language. McGovern reiterated that the amendment "pre-empts the president's authority in making foreign policy" because "it tells him what to do." He said the Schweiker amendment was only "a difference of degree" from the Helms amendment immediately lifting sanctions.

And Tsongas said passage of the amendment was "sending a message to black Africa. . . suggesting that overwhelmingly this Senate is going to be in accord with the white-controlled government now in Rhodesia."

Schweiker's amendment was adopted, 75-19. Byrd then incorporated the Schweiker language into his substitute for the Helms amendment, and it was approved, 83-11. *(Votes 92, 93, p. 18-S)*

In a final procedural vote, the Senate adopted the Helms amendment, as amended by the Byrd substitute on a 74-21 vote. *(Vote 94, p. 18-S)*

Shift in Sentiment. The vote represented a significant shift in sentiment on the Rhodesia question since 1978. Twenty senators who had voted in June 1978 to retain the sanctions, supported the Schweiker amendment. They were: Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas; Quentin N. Burdick, D-N.D.; John A. Durkin, D-N.H.; Wendell H. Ford, D-Ky.; Gary Hart, D-Colo.; John Heinz, R-Pa.; Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky.; Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.; Javits, R-N.Y.; Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt.; Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash.; Spark M. Matsunaga, D-Hawaii; John Melcher, D-Mont.; Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine; William Proxmire, D-Wis.; Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn.; William V. Roth Jr., R-Del.; Ted Stevens, R-Alaska; Harrison A. Williams Jr., D-N.J.; and Zorinsky, D-Neb.

United Nations

Helms lost decisively in his attempt to retain his 1978 amendment forbidding U.S. contributions to the United Nations for technical assistance programs. By a 54-35 vote, the Senate tabled his amendment that would have deleted $41.2 million from the authorization — that portion of the U.S. mandatory contribution used for technical aid programs. *(Vote 91, p. 18-S)*

Helms' 1978 ban had been dropped from the 1979 legislation by the House and by the Foreign Relations Committee.

In an effort to obtain greater support for his amendment, Helms first modified his proposal. Rather than limit the use of the U.S. assessments, his substitute stated it to be the U.S. position that technical assistance programs were not U.N. expenses to be paid out of mandatory assessments.

Helms said the effect of his substitute was to delete the $41.2 million in the bill for technical programs. He said it would not stop all U.S. mandatory payments, as his original amendment had. Opponents, including the Carter administration, said the substitute was ambiguous.

Helms called the U.N. assessments an "international tax" that American taxpayers "do not owe."

But Javits and others said Helms really was attempting to hurt the World Health Organization, which was to receive $32.1 million of the $42.1 million Helms would have cut. Nearly 60 percent of that organization's money came from mandatory payments to the United Nations.

Visa Issue

The controversial two-year-old U.S. policy of granting non-immigrant visas to nearly all comers escaped a serious challenge in the Senate May 10.

The Senate tightened up, but did not overturn, the wide-open visa policy favored by the Carter administration. A similar change was approved by the House April 24 when it considered its version of the legislation.

The existing U.S. visa policy was established by a provision in the fiscal 1978 State Department bill. Known as the McGovern amendment, the policy authorized the granting of temporary visas for all applicants except in cases where the secretary of state determined it was not in the national interest to allow a particular individual into the country. Previously, U.S. law prohibited visas to members of certain organizations (principally communist fronts) unless the State Department made an exception. *(McGovern amendment, 1977 Almanac p. 347)*

Labor unions had complained about the granting of visas to leaders of labor unions in communist countries. And pro-Israeli groups, principally the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, had protested the granting of visas to representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Jewish groups were particularly upset by the visa granted in April to Shafig al-Hout, head of the PLO Beirut office.

Responding to those complaints, Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., and 10 others sponsored an amendment to the State Department bill to repeal the McGovern amendment.

Baker said the amendment had failed to encourage the Soviet Union and other communist countries to open up their borders.

"What we have seen in this country instead is a parade of communist propagandists, masquerading as trade unionists and perverting that term as it is used and honored in this country," Baker said. And members of the PLO have had "virtually free access" to the United States under the law, he added.

McGovern defended his amendment as an "unqualified success" that had helped the United States comply with the 1975 Helsinki agreement on human rights.

McGovern said his amendment did not permit "known terrorists" to obtain visas. It "simply is not true," he said, that members of the PLO have had free access under the amendment. He cited a State Department letter saying the visa for Al-Hout was not granted under terms of the McGovern amendment.

But McGovern admitted his amendment "has been a divisive matter in terms of our domestic political climate," and he acknowleged that Baker had enough votes to force a change in the law. He therefore accepted a substitute amendment, sponsored by Javits, and it was approved 87-2. *(Vote 86, p. 17-S)*

Under the Javits proposal, the McGovern amendment didn't provide automatic entrance to the United States for PLO members or representatives of "purported labor organizations in countries where such organizations are in fact instruments of a totalitarian state."

Other Amendments

In other action May 9 and 10, the Senate:

- Approved, by a 70-19 vote, an amendment by Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., to limit the bill to a one-year authorization. The administration had requested, and the Foreign Relations Committee had approved, authorizations for both fiscal 1980 and 1981. *(Vote 87, p. 17-S)*
- Rejected an amendment by Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., to cut nearly $67 million from funds authorized to aid immigrants and refugees. The amendment was tabled, 56-32. *(Vote 88, p. 17-S)*
- Accepted a watered-down amendment mildly reprimanding the State Department for lobbying on behalf of the strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II). Voice vote.

Conference Report

House-Senate conferees filed their conference report on HR 3363 (H Rept 96-399) July 31. The conference version authorized $2.1 billion in 1980 and $2.4 billion in 1981 for the State Department, the International Communication Agency and the Board for International Broadcasting.

The bill also authorized a 1979 supplemental for refugee assistance programs of $104.9 million, primarily to aid Indochinese refugees.

Zimbabwe-Rhodesia

The main issue before the conference committee was whether to force President Carter to lift economic sanctions against Rhodesia immediately.

As it had in 1978, House and Senate conferees had to find a compromise that allowed all sides to claim victory. *(1978 action, 1978 Almanac p. 21)*

Although the white minority government turned over the reins of government to blacks June 1, the Carter administration and other critics charged that the country's new constitution continued white control of most important government operations. Carter said more progress toward black majority rule was necessary, but he refused to publicly list his conditions for removing the economic sanctions.

The president promised to report monthly to Congress on the Rhodesian situation. His first report, issued in late

July, said there had been little additional progress toward increased black rule since the installation of the newly elected government.

Led by Prime Minister Muzorewa, the new regime quickly asked the United States and Britain to lift the sanctions and to formally recognize Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. The Senate responded by voting twice to immediately lift sanctions. In its second vote, on June 12, the Senate attached a provision to the Defense Department bill demanding that Carter end the trade sanctions. But the House voted June 28 to give Carter until Oct. 15 to act on the issue.

Most House members seemed to support Carter's contention that the United States should not do anything to endorse the new Rhodesian government until Britain had acted. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had indicated that her government would not renew sanctions when they expired in November.

Conferees adopted a compromise that moved the United States toward lifting sanctions while giving Carter room to negotiate with both Britain and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

The compromise was split into two sections: 1) a finding by Congress that progress toward black majority rule had been made, and 2) a procedure for lifting U.S. sanctions.

The congressional finding stated that the April election "constituted a significant step" toward black rule; that the new government had expressed its willingness to negotiate with guerrilla groups on all issues at an internationally supervised conference; and that Great Britain had not recognized the Rhodesian government elected in April.

The compromise directed Carter to continue efforts "to promote a speedy end to the Rhodesian conflict" and to lift sanctions by Nov. 15, unless he determined that it would not be in the U.S. national interest to do so.

But the compromise allowed Congress to override a decision by Carter to continue the sanctions. In order to overturn Carter's action, both houses had to pass a concurrent resolution terminating sanctions within 30 days of receiving a report from the president announcing his intentions.

The compromise won praise from both supporters and opponents of lifting the sanctions.

Consulates

In a bill otherwise dominated by budget-cutting moves, Congress blocked the administration's attempt to save money by closing U.S. consular offices in 10 foreign cities.

The administration had wanted to close 13 consular offices, at an estimated savings of $2.8 million a year and 113 positions.

But businessmen and government officials from several of the 13 cities flew to Washington and appealed to Congress to keep the consulates open. As a result, the House voted to keep six of the consulates open, and the Senate added another four. Conferees agreed to keep open the 10 requested.

Visas

Under pressure from U.S. labor unions and lobbyists for Israel, Congress tightened restrictions on allowing members of "proscribed organizations" to visit the United States.

The final version restricted the right of the secretary of state to issue visas to 1) representatives of "purported labor organizations in countries where such organizations are in fact instruments of a totalitarian state," and 2) members, officials, representatives or spoksmen of the PLO.

In addition, the bill said the secretary of state could refuse to issue visas to persons from nations that were "not in substantial compliance" with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords.

Other Issues

In other action, conferees: eliminated a Senate provision that prohibited the State Department from using tax money to lobby on behalf of the SALT II treaty; eliminated a House provision calling on the secretary of state to report to Congress on efforts to improve foreign language competence among employees stationed overseas; eliminated a House provision banning the use of State Department funds to implement the Panama Canal treaties until the secretary of state told Panama it had to meet its treaty obligations; and eliminated a Senate provision that lifted a 1978 ban on use of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty equipment by communist countries on an exchange basis.

In addition, the conference took out a Senate provision that would have required Senate confirmation of the assistant to the president for national security affairs.

But the committee said it was "deeply concerned" about the role of the national security adviser and "the lack of his accountability to Congress." The conferees called for a "thorough review" in the near future of the role of the national security adviser.

Final Action

The House and Senate approved the conference report on the bill Aug. 2 by voice votes, completing congressional action. ▮

Aid Package for Egypt, Israel

Congress June 28 cleared and sent to the president legislation (S 1007 — PL 96-35) authorizing $4.8 billion in special aid to Israel and Egypt for fiscal year 1979. President Carter had promised increased aid to both countries when those nations signed the Middle East peace treaty March 26. *(Peace treaty, p. 138)*

The aid package passed both houses with little controversy, even though it represented a major boost in the American commitment to the Middle East. The Senate gave final approval to the bill June 21 and the House cleared it June 28, both by voice votes.

The legislation contained the following authorizations:

- For Israel — an $800 million grant for the construction of two new air bases in the Negev Desert and $2.2 billion in long-term arms sales loans.
- For Egypt — $1.5 billion in arms sales loans, a $200 million economic aid grant and a $100 million economic aid loan.

Only $1.47 billion of the aid package had to be appropriated: the $800 million construction grant to Israel, the $300 million in economic aid grants and loans to Egypt and $370 million as a 10 percent guarantee for the $3.7 billion in arms sales loans. Congress subsequently appropriated these funds in a fiscal 1979 supplemental appropriations bill (HR 4289 — PL 96-38).

Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty Highlights

The historic treaty signed by Israel and Egypt at the White House March 26 provided for the normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel for the first time since Israel became an independent nation in 1948.

Under terms of the treaty, Israel agreed to a phased withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula, a part of Egypt that Israel had occupied since the 1967 war between the two countries. Egypt and Israel also were to undertake negotiations on the future of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip — Israeli-occupied areas predominantly populated by Palestinian Arabs. Egypt demanded that Israel turn those areas over to the Palestinians, but Israel agreed only to limited local autonomy. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 430)*

Seven months after the treaty was signed, however, there was a serious question whether the two countries would be able to meet the negotiation deadlines for working out a plan for Palestinian self-rule on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. "They are miles apart," Special Ambassador Robert Strauss told a House subcommittee Oct. 23.

Strauss, appointed to the post by Carter on April 24, was the middleman in those negotiations, which began May 25 and were to be completed within one year. But Strauss said he did not expect that deadline, which he called a "target date," to be met.

The treaty did not mention East Jerusalem, occupied by Israel since 1967 and claimed by both Israel and Jordan. Egypt insisted that East Jerusalem is part of the West Bank and therefore subject to negotiation. Israel rejected that view.

Following is the timetable for implementing the peace treaty. The clock began running April 25 when the two nations officially exchanged the ratification documents.

- **Within one month** Egypt and Israel were to open negotiations to implement the provisions for future Palestinian self-rule on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The negotiations were to focus first on Gaza and then on the West Bank. The United States was expected to take an active role in the process, and it was hoped that Jordan would participate. Egypt could include Palestinian representatives in the negotiations.
- **Within two months** Israeli forces were to begin a phased withdrawal from the Sinai by leaving El Arish, the largest city in the Sinai, located on the Mediterranean coast. In intervals of two months, Israeli forces would withdraw from other designated areas in the southwest portion of the Sinai. As Israeli forces left, United Nations forces were to establish buffer zones, which eventually were to be taken over by Egyptian forces. The United States was to continue aerial surveillance of the Sinai throughout the transition period.
- **Within seven months** Israel was to turn over the oil fields in the Sinai to Egypt. This occurred on Nov. 25. Israel could then bid for Egyptian oil through commercial channels.
- **Within nine months** Israel was to withdraw all its forces in the Sinai behind an imaginary line stretching from El Arish in the north to Ras Mohammad in the south. The withdrawal was to be supervised by a joint commission. At the nine-month point, normal relations were to be established between Egypt and Israel, including the termination of economic boycotts and the opening of shipping, transportation, commercial and communication links.
- **Within 10 months** Israel and Egypt were to exchange ambassadors and open embassies in each other's capital.
- **Within one year** negotiations on self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were to be completed. Once elections for the self-governing authorities were held, Israel was to withdraw its military and civil government, and a five-year transition period would begin. Israeli military forces then would be re-deployed into specified locations.
- **No later than 15 months** after treaty ratification, the two nations were to open negotiations on trade, cultural exchanges and civil aviation agreements.
- **Within three years** Israel was to complete the withdrawal of all its military forces and civilian settlements from the Sinai.

The special aid was in addition to the regular U.S. assistance of nearly $2 billion a year to Israel and nearly $1 billion to Egypt. *(Foreign military aid, p. 124; foreign economic aid, p. 117)*

Carter Justification

In an April 9 letter to Congress, Carter said both nations needed the extra military aid to strengthen their security. And he said additional economic aid to Egypt was justified because that nation "has an urgent and critical need to demonstrate to its people the economic benefits of peace."

In an earlier letter to congressional leaders, Carter emphasized three points about the special aid:

- It was "evenhanded" and reflected "a careful assessment of the near-term burdens of the treaty balanced against the military and economic circumstances of each country. Our future influence in the Middle East depends on the perception by all affected countries that we do not unfairly support any one country."
- The aid package balanced "foreign policy needs and fiscal policy constraints." Carter said he made "every effort to limit United States funding in light of our current budgetary constraints."
- Warning against "piecemeal" action by Congress, Carter said the aid request was "a coherent, interrelated package which requires urgent congressional action."

Issues of Concern

During House and Senate floor debate on the aid bill, several members expressed concern about three major issues: the high cost of the treaty to the United States during a time of overall budget-cutting; the reaction against Egypt by other Arab nations that opposed any settlement with Israel, and the reasoning behind the decision to supply military aid in the wake of a peace treaty.

The problems for Egypt were particularly acute. The day before the Senate first acted on the aid request May 14, Saudi Arabia announced its arms manufacturing plant in Cairo would be closed in retaliation for President Anwar Sadat's signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Previously, Sadat had told *The New York Times* he no longer expected Saudi Arabia to finance Egypt's purchase — at a cost of $525 million — of 50 U.S. F-5E jet fighters.

After the treaty was signed, most Arab countries agreed to impose an economic and political boycott of Egypt, which depended heavily on subsidies from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Mideast oil-producing nations to sustain its economy. As a first step in their boycott policy, these countries expelled Egypt from the Arab League.

Carter administration officials expressed concern about the boycott of Egypt, but said it was too early to tell what the long-term impact would be and if even more U.S. aid would be needed.

Alfred L. Atherton, Carter's ambassador to Egypt, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee May 15 that the United States had expected "a rather strong reaction" against Egypt by some of the other Arab nations. But he said the impact on Egypt hopefully would be "manageable" for the next year through the special U.S. aid and possibly aid from other Western nations.

The bill passed by overwhelming margins in both houses, and the final version was approved routinely by voice votes. There were only minor differences between the House- and Senate-passed versions, and these were resolved without a conference when the Senate agreed to the House version with minor changes. The House then accepted the Senate version, completing congressional action.

Final Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 1007 (PL 96-35):

- Authorized the construction of two new air bases in Ovda and Matred in the Negev Desert in Israel, to replace the two Israeli bases in the Sinai Peninsula at Etam and Etzion that Israel was to hand over to Egypt under terms of the peace treaty.
- Authorized an $800 million grant to Israel to pay for the new bases.
- Authorized foreign military sales loans of $2.2 billion to Israel and $1.5 billion to Egypt, in addition to loans authorized previously for fiscal 1979. The new loans were to carry special terms: a 10-year forgiveness on payment of principal, followed by a 20-year loan payoff period.
- Authorized special economic assistance to Egypt, including a $200 million grant and a $100 million long-term, low-interest loan.
- Stated that approval of the aid package did not signify congressional approval of any other commitment or agreement made by the executive branch with Egypt or Israel, nor did the arms sale guarantee constitute approval of the sale of any particular weapons system to either country.
- Declared that both Israel and Egypt had "an enormous external debt burden that may be made more difficult by virtue of the financing" of the arms loans, and that because of those financial problems "it may become necessary in future years to modify the terms of the loans."
- Directed the president to report to Congress by Jan. 15 of each year on economic conditions in Israel and Egypt that might affect their ability to repay the loans, and on the impact on Egypt's economy of economic sanctions against Egypt by other Arab nations.
- Authorized the transfer to Egypt of the U.S. Sinai Field Mission, which had monitored the cease-fire in the Sinai Peninsula since 1975. The mission consisted of equipment and several small buildings.
- Requested the president to negotiate with other nations for the establishment of a peace development fund to underwrite the costs of peace in the region; directed him to report to Congress by Jan. 31, 1980, on his efforts to persuade other nations to contribute to the Middle East peace.
- Directed the president to submit, within one year of enactment, a plan for scientific and technological cooperation among the United States, Israel and Egypt.
- Directed the president to report to Congress within 90 days of enactment on the costs to the United States of implementing the peace treaty.
- Stated that Congress "strongly encourages" all nations in the Middle East that are not parties to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to become parties to it.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported S 1007 on May 2 (S Rept 96-113). The bill was ordered reported April 25 by a vote of 10-1, with Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., voting against.

The committee made no major changes in the authorizations proposed by the administration, but the panel drafted four policy statements, which:

- Stated that it "may be necessary" to change the terms of the loans to Egypt and Israel in future years.
- Specified that passage of the bill did not constitute congressional authorization, approval or confirmation of any of the executive agreements between the United States and Egypt and Israel.
- Specified that action on the bill did not signify approval to sell any particular weapon to either Egypt or Israel.
- Requested the president to work with other Western nations, through the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), to develop an overall aid package, especially for Egypt. The president was to report to Congress on the success of those efforts within 180 days of enactment of the bill.

Loan Repayment Problems

The committee expressed concern about the ability of Israel and Egypt to pay back the huge loans authorized by the aid package. Both nations, the committee report said, faced serious debt problems that "could affect the future capacity . . . to repay their loans at the interest rate [9-10 percent] required by this legislation."

Israel's per capita debt burden and income taxation already were the highest in the world, the committee said. And Egypt's sagging economy faced even more problems because of the boycott by other Arab nations.

But the committee faced a political dilemma over what to do about the economic problems faced by Israel and Egypt.

On the one hand, most committee members did not want to be seen as niggardly in their support of the two nations that had just signed an historic peace treaty in Washington. On the other hand, the senators were acutely aware of taxpayer unhappiness with the cost to the United States of the peace treaty. Opinion polls taken shortly after the treaty signing indicated that Americans strongly opposed Carter's aid package.

To deal with a general suspicion on Capitol Hill that the loans would be converted to grants in a few years — once the public had forgotten about the cost of the treaty — the committee came up with an amendment that carefully straddled the issue. It simply said that "it may become necessary to modify the terms of the loans authorized under the provisions of this act for the governments of Israel and Egypt in future years."

That amendment, members said, served as a warning that the United States might have to be even more generous in the future. But the amendment didn't "commit the Congress to altering the loan terms for either Israel or Egypt, but only provides for a review of the circumstances in the critical years ahead," according to the committee.

Nuclear Treaty Issue

Helms attempted during the panel's deliberations to insert an amendment denying special aid to nations that had not ratified the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Egypt had signed, but not ratified, that treaty, and Israel had neither signed nor ratified it. But on a 2-8 vote rejecting the amendment, only Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., supported Helms.

The United States also should pressure Israel to give up all the territory it had occupied since the 1967 war, Helms said. Those territories, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem, "cease to be problems in the context of an overall and comprehensive settlement, properly guaranteed," he said.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate approved the special aid package May 14 by a 73-11 vote. *(Vote 90, p. 18-S)*

The Egyptian-Israeli aid package met little opposition in the Senate despite widespread public opposition to further U.S. aid for the Middle East. Only two senators spoke at length against the bill. William Proxmire, D-Wis., complained that most of the money would be used to sell weapons to two nations that just signed a peace treaty.

"Military assistance is simply not the answer to achieving peace," Proxmire said. "This notion that we must provide military assistance to nations where that assistance is not directly related to the defense of this country is precisely what has led us down this long and bloody and reprehensible road of providing the weapons of death and destruction in the name of peace."

In response, Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., said the weapons would make Egypt and Israel secure against Arab nations that might want to disturb the peace.

Referring to other Arab nations, Javits said: "We have to build some kind of buffer against having the peace policy overrun by these warring forces, both economic and military, in order to give it half a chance."

Helms Opposition

Helms offered broad criticisms of both the peace treaty and the aid package. The treaty, he said, would not ensure lasting peace because Israel did not make enough concessions to entice other Arab nations to join in the agreement. And Helms argued that the treaty and U.S. security commitments would eventually cost much more than the $4.8 billion in the special aid package.

"Already there is a move afoot to set the stage for a later finding that Israel and Egypt cannot repay the loans provided under this agreement," said Helms, adding that it was an "invitation to default" to permit reconsideration of loan terms.

Amendments

The Senate blunted an attempt by Helms to prohibit any aid to Egypt and Israel unless they ratified the 1968

Oil Guarantee for Israel

Congress backed up President Carter's promise to guarantee Israel's oil supply for 15 years when it cleared legislation exempting Israel from a general ban on the export of Alaskan oil. The non-controversial provision was contained in S 737 (PL 96-72), a bill extending federal export controls for four years. Congress completed action on the measure Sept. 28. *(Details, Economic Policy chapter)*

Carter's promise to sell Israel oil for up to 15 years to meet its "normal requirements" if it was unable to obtain oil on its own was made during the Middle East peace treaty negotiations. That promise extended a five-year oil guarantee given Israel by President Ford in 1975.

Forced to obtain much of its oil on the high-priced world "spot" market after Iran cut off oil exports to Israel in October 1978, Israel as of December 1979 had not yet called on the United States to honor its commitment. But the effect of supplying Israel with U.S. oil was expected to be minimal. Israel's total oil consumption was about 165,000 barrels a day — less than 1 percent of the daily U.S. consumption of 19 million barrels.

The Agreement

Carter's 15-year guarantee was contained in an agreement tentatively agreed to on March 26 by Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan. That agreement was updated June 22. It was scheduled to take effect Nov. 25 and to expire Nov. 25, 1994. The agreement provided that:

- Israel would make its own arrangements to obtain oil through normal markets. If Israel were unable to meet its 'normal domestic requirements," it would turn to the United States. The agreement did not specify what was meant by Israel's "normal domestic requirements."
- If the United States could meet its own normal requirements, it would sell Israel enough oil to meet that country's normal requirements. The United States would make "every effort" to supply the oil within 60 days of a request.
- If the United States was subject to an oil embargo or was unable to meet its own normal requirements for oil, the United States would sell enough oil to meet Israel's "essential requirements" through the International Energy Agency's emergency allocation plan devised by the United States and 19 other nations.
- If Israel could not transport the oil bought from the United States, the United States was expected to make every effort to help Israel transport it.
- Israel would pay the United States "world market prices" for the oil and would reimburse the United States for the cost of supplying the oil.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Helms had lost in committee on a similar amendment.

"The Middle East must become a nuclear-free zone," Helms said. He sought from Egypt and Israel, "in return for our supplying them with some of the most modern and sophisticated weaponry in the world," a commitment to "take this simple step of good faith."

But Frank Church, D-Idaho, said the Helms provision would "kill the bill" because neither country had signed the treaty. U.S. policy was to encourage other nations to sign, but "we do not focus on just two countries," Church said.

Church proposed a substitute provision stating that Congress "strongly encourages all nations, including Israel and Egypt," to ratify the treaty. A Helms motion to table the Church substitute failed on a 7-76 vote, and Church's version then was adopted by voice vote. *(Vote 89, p. 18-S)*

The only other amendment considered by the Senate, sponsored by Larry Pressler, R-S.D., requested the president to take "all appropriate steps" to negotiate an agreement with other nations to establish a fund to underwrite the costs of the Middle East peace. Pressler's proposal, adopted by voice vote, modified a committee amendment sponsored by George McGovern, D-S.D.

House Committee Action

The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the special aid package May 10 by voice vote and reported its version of the bill (HR 4035 — H Rept 96-161) May 15. The committee made no substantive changes in Carter's aid requests.

The committee brushed aside criticisms that the aid package merely provided weapons to the two nations. "The security requirements of Israel and Egypt will not disappear as a result of the treaty," the committee said in its report. The aid package was responsive "to the legitimate self-defense requirements of both Israel and Egypt."

The committee's amendments were similar to those made by the Senate Foreign Relations panel.

Those amendments:

- Stated that passage of the aid package did not signify automatic congressional approval of the president's executive agreements providing security protections and oil guarantees for Israel.
- Stated that approval of the arms loans did not constitute congressional approval of the sale of any particular weapon system to either nation.
- Required the president to report annually to Congress on the ability of Israel and Egypt to meet payments on the arms sales loans. The committee expressed concern about the economic burden of the loan repayments, but did not endorse more favorable terms for such loans in the future.
- Encouraged the president to consult with other nations to develop a multinational program of aid to Middle East nations that agreed to the peace agreements.
- Authorized the president to transfer to Egypt the facilities of the U.S. Sinai Field Mission after Egypt regained control of the Sinai. The property included the mission headquarters and three isolated outposts.

The committee criticized only one aspect of the peace package: A plan to subsidize postgraduate study at U.S. universities for 1,500 Egyptian students, at a cost of $40 million or nearly $30,000 per student.

The committee said the United States might be "vulnerable to charges that our aid neglects the poor in favor of Egypt's elite."

Five members submitted a statement blaming the Soviet Union for the cost of the Middle East peace. Carter, they said, "deliberately overlooks the dangerous role the Soviets play in the Middle East and elsewhere."

The statement was submitted by Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill.; Dan Mica, D-Fla.; William S. Broomfield, R-Mich.; Benjamin A. Gilman, R-N.Y.; and Robert J. Lagomarsino, R-Calif.

Paul Findley, R-Ill., said the U.S. aid "will be largely wasted" if the United States does not push Israel to accept self-rule for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

House Floor Action

The House May 30 passed HR 4035 after making only minor changes in the version reported from committee. The 347-28 vote approving the bill followed a perfunctory debate, even though several members said the special Middle East aid was not popular in their districts. *(Vote 160, p. 52-H)*

Explaining the legislation, floor manager Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., said the aid was "a bargain for the United States," in spite of "some public opposition" to it.

Dissent was raised by Parren J. Mitchell, D-Md., who questioned sending extra aid to the Middle East when money was being cut for summer jobs for urban youth.

"How can I go to the youth in my district who have been cut out of summer jobs . . . and say that I am going to support this [aid], and at the same time we cannot spend the money that the youth need for summer jobs?"

Marc L. Marks, R-Pa., said Mitchell could tell unemployed youth "they will not have to fight, or their children may not have to fight, in the Middle East as a result of what we are doing today."

Gerry E. Studds, D-Mass., said the United States should insist that nations receiving aid act "in a manner which enhances — rather than detracts " — from peace. Studds was referring to Israel's continued construction of settlements in the occupied West Bank.

Findley asked that Congress take a softer stance toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. "We have turned our back on traditional American ideals and basic human rights such as self-determination when it comes time to apply them to the Palestinians," he said. "We cannot continue to wish away the PLO's existence and still expect to move forward toward an overall peace agreement in the Middle East."

The House adopted three amendments by voice votes:

- By Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., asking the president to call on other nations to help in establishing a "peace development fund" to support Israel and Egypt.
- By Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., directing the president to plan joint scientific and technological programs among the United States, Israel and Egypt.
- By William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif., directing the president to report to Congress within 90 days of the bill's enactment on all costs to the United States of the Middle East peace agreement.

Final Action

Because the House bill was so similar to the Senate version, the Senate June 21 agreed by voice vote to the House bill with a few minor changes. The House agreed to those changes by voice vote June 28, clearing the bill for the president. ▮

Panama Canal Implementation Bill Clears

The three-year congressional debate over the Panama Canal treaties came to an end Sept. 26 when Congress cleared legislation to implement those treaties.

Final action came just five days before the 1978 treaties turning over the Canal Zone to Panama took effect.

The final vote, which was taken by the House on a second conference compromise on the bill (HR 111 — PL 96-70), was 232-188.

The vote reflected a major turnaround in House willingness to accept the bill, which was required to implement certain provisions of the canal treaties. A heavily amended version escaped several close calls before it was passed by the House June 21 on a 224-202 vote. And the House subsequently rejected Sept. 20 the first House-Senate compromise by 11 votes, 192-203.

The legislation had much less difficulty in the Senate, which had fought out the issues in 1978 on the treaties themselves. The Senate easily adopted the conference report Sept. 25 by a 63-32 vote.

Canal Zone Turnover

President Carter had requested passage of the legislation to implement the Panama Canal treaties, signed in 1977 and approved for ratification by the Senate in 1978. Those treaties called for turning over most of the Canal Zone and the canal-related facilities to Panama on Oct. 1, 1979, and established a Panama Canal Commission to operate and manage the waterway from Oct. 1, 1979, through Dec. 31, 1999, at which time Panama will assume complete control of the canal. The treaties directed the commission to be an agency of the United States, with a U.S. citizen serving as administrator of the commission until 1990. After that, a Panamanian would become the administrator. *(1977 background and texts, 1977 Almanac pp. 403, 49-E; 1978 action, 1978 Almanac p. 379)*

The commission, under the treaties, was to make payments to Panama from canal revenues. The payments included a subsidy of 30 cents per net ton of shipping passing through the canal, a $10 million annual payment for police, fire protection and other services, and a payment of up to $10 million annually from any canal surpluses.

The implementing legislation stipulated that none of the annual $10 million in surplus revenue could be paid to Panama until certain other costs, including expenses to the United States, had been met.

Other provisions of the legislation established wage and labor relations standards for commission employees and set standards and procedures for operation and maintenance of the canal through 1999.

Legislative Changes

Although enactment of HR 111 allowed President Carter to claim a legislative victory, the measure he signed into law Sept. 27 was far different than the one he had proposed to Congress earlier in the year.

The administration bill would have established a quasi-government Panama Canal Commission, allowed the United States to give Panama the Canal Zone along with its military bases, schools and other installations and authorized all annual payments to Panama called for by the treaty, including the $10 million payment from canal surpluses.

But the final version approved by Congress permitted much greater congressional control over the canal commission than Carter wanted, particularly with regard to U.S. authorization and appropriation of all commission expenditures. Strong language on this provision was actively sought by Rep. John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and the enacted version represented a major victory for him. Congressional oversight of the operation of the canal commission would be the Murphy committee's responsibility.

The final measure also made several important concessions to the views of House conservatives who opposed transfer of the canal to Panama altogether. These concessions included a requirement for congressional approval of all future property transfers to Panama, and provisions for paying the United States not only for the direct costs of operating and maintaining the canal, but also for the costs of operating the former Canal Zone's schools and hospitals.

The Carter administration did win one important fight: the deletion of several House-approved amendments that Carter said violated the canal treaties. Much of the credit for that victory went to Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich., who with Rep. David R. Bowen, D-Miss., led the congressional fight against the offending provisions. A freshman member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Levin managed the bill in the Senate because no other committee member wanted the job.

1978 Canal Treaties

The product of negotiations that formally began in 1964, but in fact had gone on intermittently ever since the original pact between the United States and Panama was signed in 1903, the new treaty established a framework for turning over the U.S.-constructed, owned and operated waterway to Panama by the year 2000. A second pact, the neutrality treaty, guaranteed the United States and Panama the right to defend the canal after Dec. 31, 1999.

President Carter and Panamanian leader Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos signed the treaties on Sept. 7, 1977, and Carter submitted them to the Senate for approval of ratification.

No other foreign policy issue of 1978 attracted as much attention, aroused as much emotion or consumed as much time and effort by the administration, the Senate and outside lobbyists as did the debate on the treaty. It was not until the spring of 1978 that the Senate gave its approval — and then only by one vote more than the two-thirds majority needed. *(Ratification, 1978 Almanac p. 379)*

Anti-treaty sentiment was thought to be even more intense in the House, which has no constitutional role in approving treaties. Nonetheless, many representatives were angered that the House had been left out of the ratification process. These members insisted that the constitutional provisions granting Congress the power to dispose of federal property gave the House the right to act on the treaty provisions transferring the canal.

Areas of Concern

House treaty opponents, led by Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., and George Hansen, R-Idaho, had several objections to the administration's proposed treaty implementing legislation. These included:

Cost of the Treaties. Conservatives charged that turning the canal over to Panama would cost American taxpayers $4 billion to $6 billion between 1979 and 2000. They argued that those costs should be shouldered by Panama. "What we have here is an immense real estate deal with Panama, and I just feel they should pay the closing costs that are legitimately theirs," Hansen said.

Hansen and others accused the administration of deliberately lying in the past about the costs of implementing the treaty. The administration disputed the assertion.

Although its estimates varied from time to time, the administration insisted the cost to the United States of transferring the canal to Panama would not exceed $1 billion and was more likely to fall between $800 million and $900 million.

Payments to Panama. Conservatives also objected to the $75 million or more from canal revenues that Panama was to receive annually as "a just and equitable return" on its national resource. They complained that those payments were an unjustified windfall for Panama. Bauman argued that the treaty provision giving Panama $10 million from any surplus canal revenues should be dropped, and that Panama should pay the United States for the cost of turning over the canal.

Control of the Canal. Murphy and many other members wanted closer congressional scrutiny of the new canal commission than the administration favored. Conservatives also wanted a greater U.S. military presence to protect U.S. security interests.

The administration challenged provisions added by Murphy's committee placing the commission under the direction of the Defense Department and placing the canal under a U.S. military officer during wartime. These provisions contradicted the treaties, endangered relations with Panama and, possibly, jeopardized efficient operation of the canal, administration spokesmen charged.

Legislative Chronology

Although the treaties did not take effect until Oct. 1, the White House wanted Congress to complete action on the implementing legislation by May 31 to provide for a smooth transition. Administration spokesmen said early passage of the legislation was necessary to reassure U.S. and Panamanian employees of the canal that their jobs and rights would be protected.

The administration's legislation was considered by four different committees in the House. Two of them — Foreign Affairs and Judiciary — reported the portions over which they had jurisdiction without making any major changes. The Post Office Committee made a significant change in the financing of special retirement benefits for canal employees, stipulating that such benefits be funded from canal revenues rather than through the U.S. Treasury.

But the major changes were made by Murphy's Merchant Marine Committee. It was the congressman's bill (HR 111) that became the vehicle for House consideration of the implementing legislation, and as reported by the committee the bill established the canal commission as an appropriated-funds government agency — requiring annual congressional authorizations.

Many of the Murphy bill provisions were calculated to draw the support of treaty opponents in the House. For example, language restricting the payment of surplus canal profits to Panama were so severe that it was considered almost impossible for Panama ever to receive the money. Also backed by opponents were provisions requiring congressional approval of certain property transfers to Panama, an authorization for the president to appoint a U.S. military officer to run the canal during wartime, and required remuneration to the United States from canal revenues to cover the interest on and amortization of the U.S. investment in the Canal Zone.

Murphy's committee also reported the administration measure (HR 1716) after amending it to contain substantially the same language as the Murphy substitute.

House Consideration. The House Rules Committee dealt the administration a severe setback when it granted the rule setting guidelines for floor action on the canal legislation.

The Rules Committee action forced the administration to endorse Murphy's bill even though officials claimed parts of it violated the terms of the treaties. Nonetheless, it was clear that the Murphy bill was the only one that had any chance of passage, and the administration felt its support of the Murphy version in general was necessary to ward off even more obnoxious amendments.

The administration also was forced to give up its timetable for enactment. House floor action began May 17 when the House adopted the rule for floor debate by only a two-vote margin, 200-198. The closeness of that vote prompted House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., to postpone further consideration until June, ending any lingering hopes that the deadline could be met. *(Vote 144, p. 46-H)*

After the administration and House leaders postponed floor action several more times in order to try to round up enough votes to stave off amendments that Carter could not accept, the bill came to the floor June 20. The House passed the committee bill without major change June 21 on a 224-202 vote. The key vote came when the House rejected by 20 votes a Hansen amendment to require Panama to pay all U.S. costs in implementing the treaties.

The House also held its first closed session since 1830 to consider allegations by Bauman and others that Panama was supplying guns and money to guerrillas seeking to overthrow the regime of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somozo. *(Closed session, box, p. 149)*

Supporters credited passage to three factors: 1) the administration argued successfully that Panama could legally take over the canal in October if the United States violated the treaties, 2) the bill had strong support from the maritime industry, and 3) Murphy carefully crafted his bill to meet most of the objections of treaty opponents.

In lobbying for the bill, the administration even enlisted the services of actor John Wayne. On June 7, four days before he died, Wayne sent Speaker O'Neill a mailgram supporting the bill. Wayne was a long-time friend of Panama strongman Torrijos.

Senate Consideration. Carter recovered much of what he wanted during Senate action. By a 64-30 vote, the Senate July 26 passed a version of HR 111 that was close to the administration's original proposal in many respects. Although it made several concessions to conservative critics of the treaties, the bill contrasted sharply with the House version. *(Vote 221, p. 38-S)*

The Senate adopted Carter's proposals for management of the canal and rejected a number of the House provisions that allegedly violated the treaties. Provisions dropped included those that: placed the canal commission under Defense Department direction and under the control of a U.S military officer during wartime, put conditions on the $10 million surplus revenue payments, and required congressional approval of all property transfers to Panama.

The Senate did retain the House provision requiring the canal commission to pay the United States annual interest on its net investment in the canal.

Senate debate amounted to a brief rerun of the four months of argument over the treaties in 1978. "This is last year's issue," one Armed Services Committee aide said before the bill went to the floor. "People around here aren't all that hot about it now."

Conference Compromises. As expected, the House July 30 voted overwhelmingly to instruct its conferees to stick to the House-approved language on key issues in dispute.

The August recess prevented early resolution of disagreements between the two chambers, and it was not until Sept. 17 that conferees filed their report. In essence, the Senate agreed to accept the House provisions for running the canal, and the House agreed either to drop or modify several provisions Carter said violated the treaties.

The Senate approved the conference compromise Sept. 20, but the House rejected it. The House then asked for a second conference to work out an acceptable compromise.

State Department lobbyists then tried to ensure that only "cosmetic changes" would be made — ones that would satisfy House treaty critics without modifying the substance of the bill.

Time also became a crucial factor. In a letter to Murphy, Carter said passage of the bill by Oct. 1 was essential "if we are to faithfully discharge our obligations under the treaties." Murphy warned the House that the United States would "have no legal basis to operate the Panama Canal" if the legislation were not passed, but he contended that Carter could temporarily implement the treaties by executive order if the bill were not enacted by Oct. 1.

Senate and House conferees met Sept. 24, reaching agreement on three substantive revisions and new wording that they hoped would satisfy treaty critics.

The Senate approved the second compromise Sept. 25, and the House gave final approval to the legislation the following day.

Observers attributed the House reversal to two factors:

- The last-minute tacit endorsement of the bill by Bauman, its most visible critic. Although he voted against the conference report, Bauman admitted it had to be passed by Congress. Bauman said the final version satisfied his most serious criticisms.
- Improved lobbying by the White House and the House leadership, which enlisted former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and other influential figures to warn House members of the consequences if the bill were rejected. House leaders persuaded several conservative Democrats and moderate Republicans to support the bill, and also rounded up several members who were inexplicably absent for the vote on the first conference report.

Passage of the legislation cleared the way for Vice President Walter F. Mondale to attend the Oct. 1 ceremony in Panama at which the United States formally turned over most of the Panama Canal Zone.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, HR 111 (PL 96-70):

Title I — Canal Administration and Regulation

- Established the Panama Canal Commission, as a U.S. government agency, to run the Panama Canal through 1999. The president's authority over the commission was to be exercised through the Defense Department. All funds collected by the commission, including the canal tolls, were to be deposited in the U.S. Treasury, and all expenditures by the commission had to be authorized and appropriated by Congress.
- Provided that the commission, in compliance with the 1978 Panama Canal treaties, would be supervised by a nine-member board, including five U.S. citizens and four Panamanians, all of whom were to be appointed by the president. The U.S. representatives must be confirmed by the Senate. Panamanian representatives would be nominated by Panama. One of the U.S. representatives had to be designated by the secretary of defense, and three had to be private citizens. One of the U.S. representatives had to have experience in shipping; one in ports; and one in U.S. labor matters. All U.S. members had to cast their votes as directed by the secretary of defense.
- Required the supervisory board of the Panama Canal Commission to establish a code of conduct with provisions similar to those governing the conduct of U.S. government officials. The commission could investigate any allegations of violations of the code and recommend to the president that he suspend a member, officer or employee pending the outcome of such charges.
- Directed the president to negotiate with Panama on arrangements for the United States and Panama to enforce the code of conduct for their respective representatives to the supervisory board.
- Established three top positions under the commission: administrator, deputy administrator, and chief engineer. The treaties required that through 1989 the administrator had to be a U.S. citizen and the deputy administrator had to be a Panamanian. In 1990 the two positions were to be switched.
- Established a Consultative Committee as a "diplomatic forum for the exchange of views" between the United States and Panama. U.S. members were to be appointed by the president.
- Established a Joint Commission on the Environment, composed of three U.S. citizens and three Panamanians, to review the impact on the environment of the canal treaty implementation.
- Provided that in the event of an armed attack on the canal, or when the president determined that the security of the canal was threatened, the canal administrator was to comply with orders issued by the U.S. military officer responsible for defense of the canal.
- Authorized the president to appoint U.S. members to any future joint committee to study the possibility of constructing a sea-level canal in Panama. But such a canal could not be constructed by the United States and Panama without approval by Congress.
- Gave the U.S. ambassador to Panama the responsibility for coordinating the transfer to Panama of U.S. control over the canal and related property.
- Stated it to be the sense of Congress that the president should negotiate with Panama for the stationing of U.S. military forces in the former Canal Zone after the canal was turned over to Panama in the year 2000. The president was directed to report to Congress "in a timely manner" on the status of the negotiations.
- Directed the canal commission to appoint an ombudsman to investigate and resolve complaints from employees of the canal commission and related agencies.
- Authorized a special cost-of-living allowance for commission employees, beginning Oct. 1, 1984, to make up for

the loss of U.S. military subsidized postal service and retail stores. The amount of the allowance could be determined by the canal commission. Those eligible for the allowance included: canal commission employees who were U.S. citizens employed by the former Panama Canal Co. or the Canal Zone government on Sept. 30, 1979, and canal commission employees recruited outside Panama after Sept. 30, 1979.

- Excluded the following employees from coverage under U.S. workers compensation, Civil Service retirement, life insurance and health insurance benefits: non-U.S. citizens; employees appointed after Oct. 1, 1979; and employees covered by the Panamanian social security system.
- Directed the president to establish a Panama Canal Employment System to cover all employees of the Panama Canal Commission or any other U.S. government agency that elected to place its employees in Panama under the system.
- Provided for a "recruitment and retention" differential of 25 percent of basic pay for employees covered by the Panama Canal Employment System who were employed before Oct. 1, 1979, by the former Panama Canal Co., the Canal Zone government or any other U.S. agency in the Canal Zone; were recruited outside Panama after Oct. 1, 1979, or were medical doctors employed in Panama by the Defense Department or by the Panama Canal Commission.
- Established $2.90 as the permanent minimum wage for first-year employees hired into the the Panama Canal Employment System after Oct. 1, 1979. Pay for employees covered under minimum wage would be increased 2 percent annually after the first year of employment.
- Established procedures for U.S. government employees to transfer temporarily to and from the Panama Canal Commission. Pay rates, benefits and other terms of employment would have to be "generally no less favorable" for employees who transferred to the commission or to a related agency in Panama than they were under the former Panama Canal Co. or the Canal Zone government.
- Provided that teachers who were transferred from the former Canal Zone system to the Defense Department Overseas Teachers system would not come under the Defense Department pay scale until that scale caught up with the former Canal Zone school pay scale.
- Provided special early retirement benefits for employees of the canal commission or other U.S. government agencies operating in the former Canal Zone. The extra benefits would be available to employees who lost their jobs due to the canal treaties after 20 years of service, or after 18 years of service at age 48, or who retired voluntarily after 23 years of service, or after 18 years of service at age 48. For most employees, the special benefit would be an additional 2.5 percent for each of the first 20 years, and 2 percent for each year over 20 years of service.
- Required the canal commission to use canal revenues to pay the additional cost of the special retirement benefits.
- Required any unexpended balances of the Canal Zone government, as of the effective date of the act, to be deposited in the U.S. Treasury.
- Required all funds received and spent by the Panama Canal Commission to be authorized and appropriated by Congress.
- Stated it to be the sense of Congress that the additional cost to the United States of implementing the Panana Canal treaties "should be kept at an absolute minimum level" and further stated that the total cost of implementing the treaties should not exceed $665.7 million.
- Directed the Treasury secretary to establish an emergency fund, with an authorized initial deposit of $40 million, to pay for emergency expenses of the Panama Canal. The fund could not, however, be used to make the payments to Panama required by the 1978 treaties.
- Directed the comptroller general of the General Accounting Office to conduct an annual audit of the Panama Canal Commission and to report the results of the audit to Congress. The annual report had to include a statement of all direct and indirect costs to the United States of implementing the Panama Canal treaties.
- For fiscal 1980, directed the comptroller general to "take into account the problems inherent in converting the existing accounting system" of the former Panama Canal Co. into the new system required for the Panama Canal Commission. The comptroller general was directed not to act against the commission so long as it was in "substantial compliance" with the requirements of the law.
- Mandated the continued operation of the Canal Zone College until Jan. 1, 2000.
- Discontinued the former Canal Zone Postal Service.
- Directed the canal commission to make payments to Panama from canal revenues as required by the treaties. Those payments included: a subsidy of 30 cents per net ton of shipping passing through the canal; a $10 million annual payment for police, fire, street lights and other services provided in the former Canal Zone; and a payment of up to $10 million annually from any canal commission surpluses.
- Prohibited the annual payments to Panama from canal surpluses until the following canal commission expenses had been met: general canal operating expenses; other treaty-mandated payments to Panama; capital improvements to the canal; annual interest payments to the United States; and reimbursement to the United States for the cost of schools and hospitals for commission employees and dependents.
- Prohibited the president from agreeing to any interpretation of the treaties that would permit Panama to levy retroactive taxes on any businesses or U.S. citizens in the former Canal Zone.
- Authorized the commission to sell supplies, equipment and services, including water and electricity, to Panama.
- Directed the president to advise the government of Panama that: 1) no treaty-mandated payments to Panama would be made from U.S. tax revenues; 2) the United States "retains full discretion" to determine whether U.S. tax dollars would be spent to implement the treaties; 3) no U.S. tax dollars would be spent to implement the treaties without prior authorization and appropriation by Congress; 4) the commission could not spend more than had been appropriated to it; and 5) the prohibitions on use of U.S. tax dollars did not apply to the transfer of remains from the Mount Hope Cemetery in the former Canal Zone.
- Established procedures and standards for the canal commission to pay valid claims for personal and property damage claims of $50,000 or less, and vessel damage claims of $120,000 or less.
- Stated that no U.S. property in Panama could be disposed of except by law enacted by Congress.
- Authorized the secretary of state to transfer the former Canal Zone to Panama on Oct. 1, 1979, except for the canal itself and the areas reserved to the United States under the treaty.
- Authorized the secretary of state to transfer to Panama all other U.S. property in the former Canal Zone, in accordance with the schedule established by the treaties.

• Directed the president, at least 180 days before transferring property, to submit a report to Congress describing the property to be transferred; certifying the state of Panama's compliance with the treaties; and stating the reasons for the property transfer.

• Prohibited the president from transferring the canal to Panama before Dec. 31, 1999.

• Established the basis for setting and collecting tolls from vessels passing through the canal. The tolls had to be set at a sufficient rate to meet the total operating and maintenance costs of the canal commission.

• Established standards for determining the payment of interest to the United States on the net U.S. investment in the canal. The annual payments were to be made from canal revenues. The Treasury secretary was to determine the interest rate.

• Directed the canal commission to publish proposed toll adjustments in the *Federal Register*, and to hold public hearings before adopting any change in tolls, except during fiscal 1980.

• Authorized the president to issue regulations concerning the operation of the canal, the navigation of the canal and adjacent waters, the passage and control of vessels through the canal, pilotage in the canal, and licensing of officers and operators of vessels in the canal and adjacent waters.

• Authorized the canal commission to issue regulations, approximating U.S. Coast Guard regulations, for the inspection of vessels in canal waters.

Title II — Treaty Transition Period

• Mandated that the Canal Zone Code and other regulations in force in the former Canal Zone were to remain in force during the 30-month period of transition from U.S. to Panamanian control of the Canal Zone.

• Continued the jurisdiction of the U.S. District Court for the District of the Canal Zone, and the two magistrates courts in the Canal Zone, during the transition period. The president could terminate one of the magistrates courts if the workload was insufficient to justify two courts.

Title III — General Provisions

• Allowed for special immigration to the United States of past and present employees (and their spouses and dependents) of the Canal Zone and the Panama Canal Co. No more than 5,000 special immigrants could be admitted to the United States each year. A total of 15,000 special immigrants could be admitted to the United States through March 31, 1982.

• Directed the president to report annually to Congress on the exercise of rights and responsibilities by the United States under the canal treaty. The report had to include discussions of actions taken by Panama toward persons living in the former Canal Zone, the terms and charges for land-use licenses within the areas the United States continued to control, and the conditions of former employees of the Panama Canal Co. and Canal Zone government who continued to live in Panama.

House Committee Action

Merchant Marine and Fisheries

The Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, which had jurisdiction over the heart of the canal bill, discarded the administration measure and worked from Chairman Murphy's counterproposal (HR 111). that bill also contained provisions on matters considered by the other three committees. The committee approved HR 111 (H Rept 96-98) by a 20-17 vote on April 23.

The committee also filed a report (H Rept 96-94, Part 2) April 11 on the administration bill (HR 1716) after amending it so it was virtually identical to Murphy's bill on all the major points.

During consideration of HR 111, Republicans and several junior Democrats on the committee joined forces to reject several attempts to restore language closer to the administration's position.

The Murphy bill contained several provisions opposed by the White House. Administration officials were particularly critical of the provision making the canal commission a government agency under the control of the Defense Department and subject to the annual congressional budget process.

Panama Canal Commission. Under the treaty, the canal was to be run through 1999 by a commission supervised by a nine-member board (five Americans and four Panamanians) appointed by the U.S. president. Panama would nominate its representatives. The treaty did not specify the form of the commission, requiring only that it was to be a "United States government agency."

The Carter administration proposed making the commission a government corporation similar to Amtrak or the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. It would be structured much like the Panama Canal Co., which had run the canal since 1951.

Vote on Murphy Substitute

By a vote of 21-17, the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee April 3 approved an alternative (HR 111) to the Carter administration's plan for implementing the 1978 Panama Canal treaties. The substitute was drafted by committee Chairman John M. Murphy, D-N.Y.

Voting to report the bill were: Murphy; Thomas L. Ashley, D-Ohio; Mario Biaggi, D-N.Y.; Glenn M. Anderson, D-Calif.; John B. Breaux, D-La.; Gerry E. Studds, D-Mass.; David R. Bowen, D-Miss.; Don Bonker, D-Wash.; Les AuCoin, D-Ore.; Norman E. D'Amours, D-N.H.; James L. Oberstar, D-Minn.; William J. Hughes, D-N.J.; Barbara A. Mikulski, D-Md.; David E. Bonior, D-Mich.; Daniel K. Akaka, D-Hawaii; Michael "Ozzie" Myers, D-Pa.; Mike Lowry, D-Wash.; Edward J. Stack, D-Fla.; Paul N. McCloskey Jr., R-Calif.; Joel Pritchard, R-Wash.; and Melvin H. Evans, R-V.I.

Voting not to report the bill were: E. "Kika" de la Garza, D-Texas; Carroll Hubbard Jr., D-Ky.; Joe Wyatt Jr., D-Texas; Earl Hutto, D-Fla.; Brian J. Donnelly, D-Mass.; Gene Snyder, R-Ky.; Edwin B. Forsythe, R-N.J.; David C. Treen, R-La.; Don Young, R-Alaska; Robert E. Bauman, R-Md.; Norman F. Lent, R-N.Y.; David F. Emery, R-Maine; Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif.; Thomas B. Evans Jr., R-Del.; Paul S. Trible Jr., R-Va.; Robert W. Davis, R-Mich.; and William Carney, R-N.Y.

Voting "present" were: John D. Dingell, D-Mich.; and Walter B. Jones, D-N.C.

Administration officials said a corporation, subject to business-type accounting, would be more efficient than a government agency.

But the committee, seeking to establish "close congressional oversight over the canal operations," preferred Murphy's provision setting up the commission as a government agency, subject to annual congressional authorizations and appropriations and under the "direction" of the secretary of defense. The committee said the commission would not be considered part of the Defense Department, but that the department's oversight "is particularly appropriate in view of the" department's responsibility to defend the canal.

Under the Murphy bill, all tolls and other revenue collected by the commission would have to be deposited in the U.S. Treasury and then authorized and appropriated by Congress throughout the 20-year transfer period.

The committee also required that three of the five U.S. commission members represent special interests: shipping lines, ports and other commercial interests, and labor unions. In its report, the committee said the "orientation of the members of the board to private business and professional experience is preferable to a parochial approach resulting from identification with the particular interests of one or another department of the government."

All five U.S. members would be required to cast their votes as directed by the defense secretary. The U.S. members would be appointed by the president, subject to Senate confirmation.

Payments to Panama. Under the treaty, Panama was to receive four separate annual payments from canal revenues totaling approximately $85 million: a subsidy of 30 cents per net ton of canal traffic, amounting to about $55 million; an additional "fixed annuity" of $10 million; a $10 million subsidy for police, fire, street maintenance, garbage collection and other services; and up to $10 million from any profit the canal might generate. If the full $10 million in profits were not paid in any one year, the remainder would be paid from profits in future years.

It was this last provision that was particularly distasteful to treaty opponents, and the committee attached restrictions that made it virtually impossible for Panama ever to receive that money. It added two conditions that would:

- Prohibit any portion of the $10 million not paid each year because of insufficient profits to be paid from profits in subsequent years, except profits generated in 1999, the last year of the treaty. This would make it very unlikely that Panama could receive the full $200 million from surpluses that might be generated over 20 full years of the treaty.
- Require the canal commission to reimburse the United States for all its costs of implementing the canal treaties. The State Department estimated U.S. costs over 20 years at about $900 million, while treaty critics put the U.S. burden at $4 billion to $6 billion. Reimbursement of all U.S. costs would ensure that the canal would never run a profit.

Property Transfers. The administration insisted that the treaty itself provided for the transfer of the canal and fixed property in the Canal Zone to Panama. But the committee argued that under the Constitution, only Congress could dispose of government property.

Murphy's bill authorized the transfer of the canal railroad, housing units and other Canal Zone property that the treaty specified was to be turned over to Panama. But it required any other property transfers not spelled out in the treaty to be approved by Congress.

Canal Tolls. The committee language generally retained past procedures for determining canal tolls. Tolls would have to be set high enough to make the annual payments to Panama (except for the $10 million payment contingent on profits), plus canal commission expenses for plant expansion and improvements. The commission would also have to continue paying interest to the United States on its investment in the canal.

A major difference between the committee and administration bills dealt with the interest payments to the United States, which averaged around $20 million in recent years. Under the treaty, the interest payment would be discontinued unless Congress passed legislation to continue it. President Carter had proposed discontinuing the payment, saying it would require a 7-8 percent toll increase.

But the committee, exercising the option set out in Reservation 6 of the treaty, voted to continue the payment. The payment would be calculated on the U.S. net direct investment in the canal.

Foreign Affairs

The Foreign Affairs Committee had jurisdiction over most of Title I of the administration's bill, which set out provisions for defense of the canal and established two advisory commissions.

As reported by the committee (H Rept 96-94, Part 1) April 11, that title was virtually the same as the administration's version with one major exception.

The administration had not proposed language dealing with defense of the canal during wartime. Instead, it relied on the treaty requirement that the United States exercise its authority over the canal through the canal commission.

But the Murphy bill approved by the Merchant Marine Committee and the amended version of the administration bill the committee reported contained language authorizing the president to appoint a U.S. military officer to run the canal during wartime. The administration opposed that provision because it diluted the authority of the canal commission.

The Foreign Affairs Committee adopted a compromise provision sponsored by David R. Bowen, D-Miss., stating that during wartime the canal commission would have to comply with any war-related directives from the military officer appointed by the president to defend the canal. The administration agreed to that compromise.

Judiciary

The Judiciary Committee reported Title IV (H Rept 96-94, Part 4) of the administration's bill April 11. That title implemented treaty provisions calling for the United States and Panama to exercise joint jurisdiction over legal matters in the Canal Zone during a 30-month transition period.

The committee made only one change in the administration proposal, deleting a section making approximately 1,000 current and former non-U.S.-citizen employees of the canal eligible for special immigrant status. Special immigrants were exempt from the U.S. immigration quotas.

The committee said such a provision was unnecessary because the secretary of state already had authority to grant special immigrant status to current and former U.S. government employees.

Post Office and Civil Service

The Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which had jurisdiction over Title III of HR 1716, reported the bill (H Rept 96-94, Part 3) April 11. Title III dealt with the

transfer of U.S. employees to the new canal commission, financial incentives for employees to remain in their canal jobs after the canal was taken over by the commission, and special early retirement benefits for those who left.

In a major change in the administration-proposed bill, the committee approved an amendment to require the cost of special early retirement of canal employees to be paid from canal revenues rather than through U.S. tax dollars. Of the 10,000 U.S. canal employees, approximately 1,500 were expected to retire when the treaties took effect. Estimates of the cost of the special retirement payments for those employees ranged from $205 million to $335 million.

The administration opposed the change, saying it would require an additional 7-8 percent increase in canal tolls. The committee also reduced or eliminated several special benefits for canal employees that had been requested by the administration. Most of these benefits had been retained in the Murphy bill.

Rules Committee Action

The outlook for passage of the administration version of the implementing legislation grew even bleaker after the House Rules Committee acted April 26.

In granting a rule for floor consideration of the legislation, the committee spurned the administration's already heavily amended bill (HR 1716) in favor of Murphy's bill, which originally was strongly opposed by the White House.

In the only concession to the administration, the Rules Committee rejected a request by treaty opponents to allow a third bill (HR 3656) also to be considered.

That measure, sponsored by treaty opponent George Hansen, R-Idaho, contained provisions administration officials said directly violated the treaty. Hansen would have required Panama to pay the full cost of implementing the treaties by requiring that country to use most of its expected $60-million-$70-million annual subsidy from canal revenues to, in effect, buy the U.S. property in the Canal Zone.

By a party-line vote of eight Democrats to four Republicans, the committee rejected Hansen's bill. Hansen said he would offer his bill on the floor in a series of amendments. He had more than 200 House cosponsors for an earlier version (HR 1958) of his bill.

Murphy said he was able to convince Rules to accept his bill as the vehicle for House debate because he had enough votes to pass his bill and the administration didn't. The administration later acknowledged the correctness of Murphy's assertion by endorsing his bill in an effort to prevent adoption of the Hansen amendments.

In granting a rule for Murphy's bill, the Rules panel rejected requests by the three other committees that the administration bill, together with the various committees' amendments, be the primary bill before the House. However, under the rule, amendments by the three committees were in order.

Adoption of the Rule

The implementing legislation survived its first floor test when, with only two votes to spare, the House May 17 cleared HR 111 for floor action in early June. The 200-198 vote adopting the rule setting guidelines for the debate clearly showed the strength of sentiment against even the tough Murphy bill. *(Vote 144, p. 46-H)*

General debate was scheduled for May 21, but worried House leaders postponed all votes on amendments indefinitely to give the Carter administration more time to lobby. Administration officials contended that passage of legislation to implement the treaties was not absolutely necessary, but that failure to enact the bill would disrupt operations of the canal after Oct. 1, when the new treaties took effect.

As expected, opposition was strongest among Republicans and Southern Democrats. Only 19 Republicans voted for the rule (H Res 274).

House Floor Action

Apparently persuaded that the Panama Canal treaties could not be wished away, the House June 21 handed President Carter a major victory by approving HR 111.

With a handful of votes to spare, the House turned back repeated attempts by conservative opponents of the 1978 treaties to tack on amendments the administration said violated U.S. commitments.

As passed, the bill was little changed from the version reported by the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

The victory for Carter followed weeks of intense lobbying during which it often seemed the House might reject the bill outright or attach amendments Carter could not accept.

Carter said he would ask the Senate to make "improvements" in the bill, but said he appreciated "the courage of all those [House] members who recognized the national interest by voting for this legislation." Influential House members warned that the House would not accept major changes when the bill eventually went to conference.

On the key vote, the House June 20 sidetracked an amendment by Hansen that would have forced Panama to pay all U.S. costs of implementing the treaties. The vote was 220-200. *(Vote 245, p. 74-H)*

Administration officials had said that amendment violated the treaties, thus giving Panama the legal right to take over the canal on Oct. 1.

The bill survived six other test votes, including a 210-213 vote rejecting a part of the Hansen amendment that was offered separately. *(Vote 248, p. 76-H)*

The bill was passed on a 224-202 vote, winning support from 189 Democrats and 35 Republicans; 80 Democrats and 122 Republicans voted against HR 111.

The two-day debate June 20 and 21 was highlighted by the first closed session in the House since 1830. *(Box on secret sessions, p. 149)*

Hansen Amendment

During months of maneuvering on the bill before it was sent to the floor, opponents focused their efforts on passing the Hansen amendment.

Hansen built support for his amendment largely on charges that President Carter and his aides lied to the American public in 1977 and 1978 when they said the treaties would not result in additional costs to U.S. taxpayers.

In January administration officials said the treaty would cost the United States approximately $350 million. That estimate was later increased to $871 million. Hansen claimed the treaty would cost $4 billion, but he never mentioned that at least $2 billion of that amount would come from canal revenues, not from the U.S. Treasury.

Bowen, a key supporter of the administration bill, said the total direct cost of the treaties to the United States through 1999 would be $830 million. Most of that amount

— $757 million — was for removing U.S. military bases from the Canal Zone and paying for hospitals, schools and other services for canal employees and their dependents. Another $2.8 billion in annual payments to Panama required by the treaties was to come from canal revenues, not from the United States.

Hansen's amendment would have prohibited "any cost to the U.S. taxpayers" of implementing the canal treaties. The amendment, in effect, would have required Panama to buy the canal from the United States.

In presenting what he called the "honesty" amendment, Hansen said it was "meant to do no more than keep the promises that were made by the president of the United States, by senators and others who were proponents of the treaties, that the taxpayers would be immune from any costs in these treaties."

Murphy's version, offered as a substitute for Hansen's, was the same as the committee-reported version of HR 111 except that it contained a provision prohibiting the transfer of canal property to Panama unless Panama paid for all water, electricity and other services it bought from the canal commission.

Murphy argued that his version, unlike Hansen's, did not violate the treaties. His bill sent "a very clear message" that "our people will not pay to give away the canal," Murphy said.

The administration backed the Murphy language as the only way to head off the Hansen amendment, and Murphy's alternative was adopted 220-200. That vote effectively broke the back of the irreconcilable anti-treaty forces and all but assured passage of the bill in a form acceptable to Carter.

Treaty opponents insisted the vote was not a clear test of the merits of the Hansen amendment. So the following day, after all amendments were considered, Bauman moved to recommit the Murphy bill to the Merchant Marine Committee with instructions that the Hansen amendment be substituted for Murphy's language. But that motion failed, 210-216. *(Vote 250, p. 76-H)*

Montgomery Amendment

The closest vote on the bill, 210-213, came June 21 on an amendment sponsored by G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery, D-Miss.

Montgomery's amendment would have required Panama to pay the $75 million cost of relocating U.S. installations in the Canal Zone. He said "the United States should not have to pay for moving these military facilities."

But Murphy said that amendment, like the Hansen amendment, would "clearly violate" the treaties. Nevertheless, House leaders had to make last minute appeals for votes to defeat the amendment. *(Vote 248, p. 76-H)*

Other Anti-Treaty Moves

The House rejected four other attempts to add language that the administration said would violate the treaty:

- By Ken Kramer, R-Colo., to, in effect, prohibit Panama from appointing its members to the canal commission until its government had been installed by "free national elections in which all population groups and political parties have been allowed to participate." The amendment was offered to embarrass President Carter, who had not criticized the autocratic government of Panama, but had demanded free elections in Rhodesia. Recorded vote, 142-274. *(Vote 247, p. 76-H)*
- By Ed Bethune, R-Ark., to delete the enacting clause, thereby killing the bill, before it was opened to amendments. Recorded vote, 97-315. *(Vote 242, p. 74-H)*
- By Philip M. Crane, R-Ill., to retain U.S. control of all property in the Canal Zone until after Dec. 30, 1999, when further congressional approval would be required. Recorded vote, 177-248. *(Vote 249, p. 76-H)*
- By Bill Goodling, R-Pa., to require Panama to pay the United States the fair market value of any property given to Panama that was constructed after April 18, 1978. That was the date when the Senate approved the resolution of ratification of the main canal treaty. Voice vote.

Closed House Session

A secret, or closed, session of the House was held June 20 during consideration of the Panama Canal implementing legislation (HR 111). It was the first in the House in 149 years. After the House agreed to a motion by Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., to close the session, capitol police cleared the public galleries and the press gallery. Guards were posted around the House chamber to prevent eavesdropping.

On May 27, 1830, the House convened in closed session to hear a confidential message from President Andrew Jackson during debate on a bill dealing with trade with Great Britain. The bill eventually became law.

The Senate has gone into closed session much more frequently, usually for discussion of national security information. From the end of World War II through the 95th Congress, the Senate held 20 secret sessions.

The last closed Senate session, as of the end of the first session of the 96th Congress, was held on Sept. 21, 1979, to discuss classified data on a military exercise, called "Nifty Nugget," which tested U.S. readiness to mobilize for war.

Other recent secret Senate sessions were held on Feb. 21-22, 1978, during debate on the Panana Canal treaties, to hear charges by treaty opponents that high Panamanian officials were involved in illicit narcotics trafficking; on July 1, 1977, to consider information dealing with the neutron bomb; on Dec. 17-18, 1975, to consider U.S. activities in Angola; on Nov. 20, 1975, to consider releasing a study on the Central Intelligence Agency and alleged political assassinations; and on June 10, 1974, and June 5, 1975, to consider the development of new strategic missiles.

During the secret House session June 20, according to members present, Rep. Bauman presented a statement from Gen. Dennis P. McAuliffe, commander of U.S. armed forces in Panama, on alleged Panamanian involvement in the Nicaraguan civil war. Bauman and other treaty opponents had charged that Panama was supplying guns, men and money to guerrillas seeking to overthrow the regime of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. A House panel had held hearings on the issue June 6-7.

Although McAuliffe's evidence was classified, several members said they heard little or nothing in the session that was not public knowledge. And those members said much of the session was taken up with a vigorous debate on the legislation itself.

Gun-Running Amendment

Without debate, the House adopted by voice vote an amendment that attempted to force Panama to end its support for the rebels in Nicaragua. Treaty opponents had alleged that Panama was providing guns and money to guerrillas seeking to overthrow the Nicaraguan dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. *(Box, this page)*

Sponsored by Charles (Chip) Pashayan Jr., R-Calif., the amendment prohibited annual payments to Panama if the president or Congress determined that Panama was "interfering in the internal affairs of any other state, either directly or indirectly."

The amendment was accepted by Murphy one of Somoza's staunchest U.S. supporters, without comment.

Citrocose Amendment

The House rejected, 194-227, what opponents described as a "private relief" amendment on behalf of America's reputed richest man, shipping magnate Daniel K. Ludwig. *(Vote 244, p. 74-H)*

Sponsored by Mario Biaggi, D-N.Y., and Ronald M. Mottl, D-Ohio, the amendment would have stopped the annual payments to Panama from canal revenues unless Panama settled all outstanding expropriation claims by American businesses.

Accusing the State Department of "foot-dragging" on expropriation cases, Biaggi said the amendment would benefit all 107 American businesses in Panama that were "potential targets" of takeovers.

But opponents, including Murphy, said the amendment was aimed solely at forcing Panama to settle a claim by Citrocose Corp., owned by Ludwig. That company ran a fruit plantation in Panama until 1974, when it was shut down by Ludwig. Panama then took over the plantation. Negotiations on the case had continued ever since.

Ludwig hired the Washington law firm of Ragan and Mason to lobby for the amendment. One of the firm's lobbyists was former Rep. James V. Stanton, D-Ohio (1971-77).

Employee Benefits

An attempt by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee to pare back the especially lucrative benefits for Panama Canal employees was rejected by the House.

HR 111 as reported by the Merchant Marine Committee accepted most of the administration recommendations for increased benefits for canal employees. Those benefits were early retirement at age 48 after 18 years' service, higher annuities for employees who continued to work on the canal after Oct. 1, special "bumping" privileges for employees who lost their jobs, and special cost-of-living pay.

But the Post Office and Civil Service Committee had voted to reduce those benefits to the same level enjoyed by other federal employees. During the committee's deliberations Chairman James M. Hanley, D-N.Y., had added his panel's version to the Murphy bill.

In both the Murphy and Hanley bills, all special benefits were to be paid for from canal tolls, not from U.S. taxes.

On the floor, Murphy offered a substitute for the Hanley version that retained the benefits Hanley sought to reduce. Referring to warnings that canal employees might strike if their benefits were cut, Murphy said the Hanley amendment "will affect the cooperation of an element vital to the continued smooth functioning of the canal."

The Murphy substitute was adopted on a 277-142 vote. *(Vote 243, p. 74-H)*

Gun-Running Charges Aired

On the eve of the House debate on the Panama Canal implementing legislation (HR 111), opponents charged that Panama had been aiding guerrillas seeking to overthrow the Nicaraguan dictatorship of President Anastasio Somoza. The charges cast an additional cloud over the canal legislation, which already faced serious opposition in the House.

Allegations of Panamanian gun-running were aired in hearings June 6 and 7 by the House Foreign Affairs Panama Canal Subcommittee. Subcommittee Chairman Carroll Hubbard Jr., D-Ky., and four other members opposed the canal bill.

The hearings were requested by the two most vocal critics of the bill, George Hansen, R-Idaho, and Robert E. Bauman, R-Md. They said the charges against Panama had a "direct bearing" on the treaty legislation.

John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., chairman of the House Merchant Marine Committee, was in France during the hearings. He submitted a statement saying "there is no question" that Cuba and Panama were providing arms to Nicaraguan rebels. But he said the charges against Panama should not be used to defeat the legislation, although "some modifications" might be needed.

Murphy was a leading congressional supporter of Nicaraguan President Somoza whose autocratic regime was the target of the Sandinista rebels. The rebels, who took their name from Gen. Augusto Cesar Sandino (1895-1934), had formed the Sandinista National Liberation Front in 1962 to oppose the Somoza regime.

The panel's interest in the charges against Panama were spurred by the May 15 federal grand jury indictment in Miami of three Panamanians and two Americans. They were charged with conspiring with a Panamanian ex-consul, Edgardo Lopez, to ship surplus military weapons to Panama without an export license. Hansen and Nicaraguan government officials said the weapons were destined for the Sandinista guerrillas.

During the hearings, witnesses gave the subcommittee little proof that the Panama government had supplied Nicaraguan rebels with vast quantities of money or arms. But several witnesses said they were convinced of Panamanian support for the Sandinistas, and they produced evidence showing that weapons had been funneled through Panama to the rebels.

State Department witnesses refused to discuss specific charges against Panama, but Lt. Gen. Dennis P. McAuliffe, commander of U.S. armed forces in Panama, acknowledged that Panama had given some support to the anti-Somoza elements in Nicaragua.

The charges had little visible effect on the House, which passed the legislation June 21 on a 224-202 vote. By that time, U.S. public opinion was swinging from Somoza toward the rebels. That drift was accelerated June 20 when a member of Somoza's National Guard killed an American television newsman.

Somoza was finally forced to resign July 17, and two days later the government of the country passed to a five-man junta chosen by the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

Other Amendments

Other amendments adopted by the House were:

- By David C. Treen, R-La., to allow the canal commission to establish a 15-cent-per-ton surcharge on canal tolls to pay the estimated $61 million annual capital costs of the canal, including the $20 million annual payment of interest to the United States. Vessels bound for, or coming from, the United States would not have to pay the surcharge. Voice vote.
- By Bauman, to permit the United States to assume military authority over the canal if Panama was at war with another nation. Voice vote.
- By Bauman, essentially adopting an administration proposal to grant special immigration status to canal employees. The Judiciary Committee sought to delete the provision, arguing that the administration already could admit those employees to the United States. Voice Vote.
- By Toby Roth, R-Wis., directing the president to negotiate with Panama to keep U.S. troops at the canal after it was turned over to Panama in 1999. Voice Vote.
- By Eldon Rudd, R-Ariz., to require the Panama Canal Commission to operate on a self-sustaining basis, and to prohibit the appropriation of U.S. tax dollars to subsidize it. Voice vote.

Senate Committee Action

The Armed Services Committee reported HR 111 (S Rept 96-255) July 21. The committee acted on the bill in executive sessions July 13 and 17.

As reported, the bill, drafted by Carl Levin, D-Mich., incorporated provisions from both the original Carter administration bill and the House-passed bill. In general, the committee supported the administration and rejected the most controversial provisions added by the House.

The committee did not even consider several of the House provisions that administration officials maintained violated the treaty. Levin deleted those provisions from his draft proposal to the committee, and they were not offered as amendments during the committee's consideration of the bill.

Those provisions placed the canal commission under Defense Department direction, put conditions on a $10 million "contingency payment" to Panama from surplus canal revenues, gave the United States military control over the canal during wartime and required congressional approval of all property transfers to Panama.

The committee sided with the House bill only on several financial issues that the administration had given up its efforts to defeat because of the overwhelming congressional concern about costs.

In an indirect criticism of the House bill, the committee said: "If the legislation designed to implement the treaties instead creates confusion in the operation and administration of the complex U.S. activities in Panama, it will destroy the very purpose of the treaties: to guarantee uninterrupted access to an efficiently operating canal for the indefinite future."

The committee reported the bill, and rejected amendments similar to the House bill, on votes of 9-8; all nine Democrats sided with the administration, and all seven Republicans plus independent conservative Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., opposed the administration.

Panama Canal Commission. The committee agreed with President Carter that the canal should continue to be run by a quasi-governmental corporation, rather than by a U.S. government agency, rejecting, 8-9, an amendment by Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., to substitute the House provision making the Panama Canal Commission a government agency.

But the committee argued that the corporate form "provides the most efficient way of managing the canal," and "the discipline of having to live within revenues provides great protection to the taxpayers' interests."

Changing the canal operation before October would "take needless risks that may threaten the smooth operation of the canal," the committee said.

Armed Services also rejected a House requirement that three of the five U.S. members on the commission represent private interests. The committee said the president should have the flexibility to determine the members. The committee agreed with the House, however, that U.S. commission members should be confirmed by the Senate.

Defense Department Control. The committee bill eliminated the House provisions that gave the Defense Department formal control of the canal commission.

One House provision placed the commission under the "direction" of the secretary of defense. The other provision authorized the president to appoint a U.S. military officer to run the canal in wartime.

Property Transfers. One of the House provisions most strongly opposed by the administration required congressional approval of all property transfers to Panama, including the eventual turnover of the canal in the year 2000. The Senate bill eliminated that provision.

House members said the provision would ensure congressional involvement in the canal. The administration, however, argued that it would give Congress frequent opportunities to overturn the canal treaties.

The Senate committee said the issue of property transfers was settled by the treaty, which authorized transfers at fixed intervals. The House bill suggested that "the United States might renege on its international obligations and violate the treaties," the committee warned.

Payments to Panama. The House bill placed three conditions on treaty-mandated payments to Panama from canal revenues. The payments, which would not come out of U.S. taxes, were expected to average $50 million to $75 million a year.

Conditions imposed by the House bill were: 1) Panama could not receive the payments if it levied retroactive taxes on businesses in the former Canal Zone; 2) the $10 million annual payment to Panama from canal surpluses could not be made until the United States had been reimbursed from those surpluses for its costs in implementing the treaties; and 3) the $10 million surplus payment could not be made if the president or Congress determined that Panama was interfering in the internal affairs of another nation.

The Senate bill eliminated all three conditions because "they are obvious violations of the treaty. Enactment of any of these provisions would be an attempt to renegotiate the treaties after the fact and would constitute a failure by the United States to live up to its international obligations."

Employment Benefits. A major focus of the House bill was the improvement of benefits for canal employees who remained after the new treaties went into effect. The Senate committee kept the House provisions allowing early retirement, pay differentials and increased annuity payments for those employees.

But the Senate committee rejected two other provisions involving minimum wage and labor relations stan-

dards, which had been pushed by labor unions representing canal employees. Those provisions were:

• Under the House bill the canal commission was required to continue paying unskilled canal employees at least the U.S. minimum wage. The administration opposed that provision, saying it might cost $100 million over the next 20 years. The U.S. minimum wage was nearly three times the prevailing wage for unskilled workers in Panama, administration officials said.

• The House bill also required the canal commission to adhere to labor standards provisions of the 1978 Civil Service Reform Act. The administration said the commission should be allowed to develop its own labor relations standards, because of the special circumstances of the canal operation.

Special Immigration. The committee developed a compromise between House and administration provisions allowing canal employees into the United States as special immigrants. The special benefit was aimed at West Indians who reportedly did not want to live in the Canal Zone after Panama took over.

By setting certain eligibility requirements, the administration bill proposed to allowed about 60,000 canal employees into the United States. The House bill placed a limit of 7,500 immigrants. As a compromise, Armed Services accepted the administration-proposed eligibility requirements, and set an annual limit of 7,500 immigrants and a total limit for the next 20 years of 25,000.

Money Savers. The committee adopted two House provisions designed to reduce the U.S. cost of implementing the canal treaties. Both provisions required higher toll increases than the administration wanted.

One required that canal tolls, rather than U.S. taxes, pay the $200 million to $300 million cost of providing early retirement to canal employees. The committee said that was a "legitimate personnel cost" of the canal commission. Carter had proposed that the United States pay for the early retirements.

The other provision adopted by the committee required the canal commission to continue paying interest to the United States on the U.S. investment in the canal. Carter had proposed eliminating the interest payments in order to keep tolls low.

The committee also adopted a sense of the Congress resolution that the net cost to the United States of implementing the treaty should not exceed the administration's March 1979 estimate of $665.7 million, adjusted for inflation.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate July 26 passed the Carter-approved version of HR 111 by a 64-30 vote, after rejecting four attempts by treaty opponents to add controversial provisions of the House bill. As passed, the bill was essentially the same as that reported by the Armed Services Committee. *(Vote 221, p. 38-S)*

Rerun of '78 Debate

Senate debate on the legislation amounted to a rehashing of the arguments voiced during the 1978 ratification debate. Since passage of the legislation was a foregone conclusion, opponents focused their efforts on attacking Panama and warning that the canal issue was still alive.

Referring to Panama's alleged assistance to the Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua, Jesse Helms, R-N.C., said: "This bill seals our relationship with a nation, Panama, which has amply demonstrated that it has absolutely no intention of reciprocating the duties and obligations of the treaties — a nation ruled by an unelected dictatorship characterized not only by Marxist-Leninist adventurism, but by crude and ruthless gangsterism."

A senator who voted for the bill "is putting himself in a most compromising position," Helms said. "The American people have not forgotten the Panama Canal issue."

But supporters argued that the United States must keep its promises. By violating the treaties, the United States could give Panama the legal right to take over the canal in October when previous treaties expired, they said. The treaties gave the United States sufficient rights to run and defend the canal, Levin said. "If we try to tack onto this legislation terms which violate the treaties, even for the ostensible purposes of strengthening our defense rights, we will only succeed in throwing those treaty-guaranteed rights into jeopardy."

And Frank Church, D-Idaho, Foreign Relations chairman, insisted the United States could not regulate Panama's behavior under the treaty.

"It may come as a surprise to some members of the Senate, but Panama is an independent country. It is not a colony of the United States," Church said. "The United States cannot get its way by laying down demands upon other sovereign people, in violation of the solemn covenants contained in our treaties."

Amendments

The Senate rejected five amendments:

• By Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, to require Congress to approve all property transfers to Panama, including the eventual transfer of the canal itself in the year 2000. Rejected 41-56. *(Vote 216, p. 37-S)*

• By Robert Dole, R-Kan., to prohibit treaty-mandated payments to Panama unless the United States was reimbursed for all its costs in implementing the treaties. Rejected 34-62. *(Vote 218, p. 37-S)*

• By Dole, to authorize the president to take "any appropriate action," including overriding actions by the canal commission, to keep the canal open and secure. Rejected 46-50. *(Vote 219, p. 37-S)*

• By Helms, to prohibit payments to Panama, from canal revenues, if either the president or Congress determined that Panama was interfering in the affairs of another nation "either directly or indirectly." Rejected 22-73. *(Vote 220, p. 37-S)*

• By Mike Gravel, D-Alaska, to establish a commission to study the possibility of a new sea-level canal. Rejected 43-54. *(Vote 217, p. 37-S)*

Carter suffered only one setback, on an amendment by Charles McC. Mathias, R-Md., to put Panama Canal employees under the labor relations provisions of U.S. Civil Service law. Carter had wanted to allow the canal commission to set its own labor provisions. Pushed by organized labor, the amendment was adopted 53-45. *(Vote 215, p. 37-S)*

Conference Action

The House formally stated it would not accept any major changes in its version of the bill when it voted 308-98 July 30 to instruct its conferees to insist on the House-approved language on key issues. *(Vote 362, p. 106-H)*

That action brought a sharp rebuke from Armed Services Committee Chairman John C. Stennis, D-Miss.

"I want to note, not with bitterness, but with some complaint, that you gentlemen [House conferees] come here with instructions not to recede," Stennis said at the opening conference session. "We have one group of conferees with both hands tied behind their backs."

Stennis did not say so, but his rebuke was aimed at Murphy who was sitting directly across the table. Murphy and Bauman had sought to instruct conferees in order to strengthen the House position during the conference. Bauman claimed that a majority of the 18 House conferees appointed by Speaker O'Neill "are not necessarily in favor of the House's position."

As Stennis delivered his lecture, Murphy sat unsmiling, then launched into a defense of the House action as being "in the full spirit of what a conference is." He noted that the bill "is one of the most vital political issues" before Congress."

Murphy and Stennis then announced that conferees would be unable to resolve all differences before the August recess and asked aides to work out compromise provisions during the recess.

First Conference Report

The conference report on HR 111 was filed Sept. 17 (H Rept 96-438).

In essence, the Senate agreed to accept the House provisions for running the canal, and the House agreed to drop several provisions that President Carter said would violate the 1978 canal treaties.

Following are the major changes and compromises made by conferees:

Canal Commission

The touchiest issue involved the form of the Panama Canal Commission, which would run the canal through 1999. Carter wanted the commission to be a quasi-governmental corporation, and the Senate backed Carter.

But Murphy insisted that the commission be a government agency, subject to annual congressional authorization and appropriation. Murphy's Merchant Marine Committee would have oversight of the canal commission.

Early in the conference negotiations it became clear that some of the Senate conferees were not as committed to the Senate position as House conferees were to the House version. Murphy insisted on his position and won strong support from fellow House conferees.

In the key bargain struck in the conference committee, Senate conferees accepted the House provision in return for House agreement to eliminate the so-called treaty violations language.

Treaty Violations

The main House provisions that President Carter claimed violated the treaties, either directly or indirectly, would have:

- Placed several conditions on treaty-mandated payments to Panama from canal revenues. In particular, Panama would have had to reimburse the United States for all its costs in implementing the canal treaties before Panama could receive a treaty-mandated payment of up to $10 million per year from canal profits. The conference committee eliminated all the conditions.
- Placed the canal commission under the direction of the Defense Department. Carter said this violated the treaty because Panama's four members on the commission would then be subject to the direction of the United States.

The House provision was replaced with compromise language stating that the U.S. president would exert his authority over the canal through the secretary of defense.

- Allowed the U.S president in wartime to put the operation of the Panama Canal under the direct control of a U.S. military officer. As a compromise, the conference committee adopted language directing the canal administrator to accept orders from the U.S. military officer on matters dealing with defense of the canal. Conferees said this language was taken from Article IV of the Panama Canal Treaty, which defined U.S. defense rights.
- Required that Congress give its approval before any canal property, including the canal itself, could be transferred to Panama under the treaty. This provision caused a major dispute between the House and Senate. Many House members were angered in 1977 and 1978 that they were not allowed to vote on the transfer of the canal. They said the Constitution required congressional approval of any giveaways of U.S. property.

But senators insisted that the treaty was all the Constitution required to transfer property. And Carter's aides said the House provision violated the treaties because it allowed either chamber to overturn the treaties by refusing to pass legislation authorizing a treaty-mandated property transfer.

The issue was settled by giving both chambers what they wanted. The House got a provision stating that congressional authorization was necessary for all property transfers. And the Senate got a provision authorizing the president to transfer all property to Panama specified in the treaty. Although the president would have to notify Congress of any property transfers 180 days before they took effect, Congress would have no veto over the tranfers.

In their report, conferees said that provision "is not intended to permit the president to accelerate the ultimate transfer of the Panama Canal" to Panama in 1999. But Bauman noted that the bill itself did not prohibit the president from transferring the canal to Panama before 1999.

Wages and Benefits

A key agreement centered on wage increases and other benefits for Canal Zone employees, especially some 500 teachers in the zone schools. Carter had wanted to put those employees under the wage standards of the Defense Department, which were considerably less favorable than those currently enjoyed by zone employees.

Sympathizing with the employees, the House voted to keep the current salary levels. But conservatives on the Senate Armed Services Committee forced through an amendment putting zone employees under the Defense Department wage base standards. The Senate amendment was estimated to save about $40 million over the 20-year life of the treaties.

The issue caused a major dispute in conference, especially when labor leaders threatened to oppose the bill if the House provisions were not retained. Labor leaders charged that several provisions of the Senate bill violated administration and congressional promises to zone employees.

In private negotiations, Thurmond and other Senate conservatives insisted on keeping the more restrictive provisions. They said it was one of the few steps Congress could take to keep down the cost of the treaties.

That put both Levin and Murphy in a difficult position. Levin personally supported the House provisions, but

was bound to back the Senate position. Murphy, a strong labor supporter, also backed the House position, but realized the Senate would stand firm.

In the end, Murphy conceded the issue to the Senate, over the strong opposition of labor lobbyists and members of the conference committee from the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

"Murphy sold labor down the river," one Senate aide said.

During the final conference session on the issue, Post Office Committee Chairman Hanley reminded Murphy and Levin that employees had been promised they could keep the existing wage system.

If the Senate plan were adopted, Rep. Hanley said, "we'll be eating crow, and saying we really don't mean what we said."

But Levin told Hanley that the entire conference compromise was "a fragile document," which would be "shattered" if major changes were made.

In a last-minute attempt to mollify Hanley and other labor interests, Sen. Stennis got the conference committee to adopt a further compromise allowing zone employees to keep the existing generous system of leave and travel benefits.

Other Major Issues

Commission Membership. At Murphy's urging, the House provided that three of the five U.S. members of the canal commission would represent shipping, ports, and maritime labor interests. The Senate had no such provision, and administration officials opposed the House provision, maintaining that it would give private interests too much influence in canal affairs.

As a compromise, the conference committee agreed that three U.S. members should be private individuals, but it did not specify what interests they should represent. At Thurmond's urging, conferees recommended that the remaining two members be Defense Department officials.

Bauman objected to the compromise, and forced a vote among House conferees on the issue. But on an 8-8 tie vote, he lost an attempt to overturn the compromise.

Minimum Wage. Under the House bill, all Canal Zone employees were to be covered by the U.S. minimum wage law. Because that provision was estimated to cost up to $100 million over 20 years, the Senate required only current canal employees to be covered by the minimum wage law; all new employees (primarily Panamanians) would be paid the prevailing wage in Panama.

As a substitute, the conference committee adopted the current Defense Department policy for new employees abroad. Under that policy, new employees were paid the 1979 minimum wage of $2.90 an hour, and were then eligible for annual increases of 2 percent.

Special Immigration. Both houses provided for special immigration to the United States by canal employees, principally West Indians, who wanted to leave the Canal Zone when Panama took over.

The House limited the total number who could immigrate to 7,500. The Senate increased the limit to 25,000, but said only 7,500 could be admitted to the United States in any one year. The conference committee compromised on a total limit of 15,000, with an annual limit of 5,000.

Conference Report Rejected

Less than two weeks before the Panama Canal treaties were to take effect, the House Sept. 20 rejected, 192-203, the conference report on HR 111. The House then asked for a new conference. *(Vote 454, p. 132-H)*

A few hours earlier, the Senate had approved the compromise version by a 60-35 vote. This followed a 50-45 vote in which the Senate rejected a Republican-led attempt to recommit the bill to the conference committee, which would have killed it. *(Votes 296, 297, p. 50-S)*

Vote Explanation. After the vote, opponents of the treaties declared that House members had voted against the "giveaway" of the canal. "The American people are overwhelmingly opposed to the giveaway of the canal," Bauman said. "I think the House has just had enough of these policies."

But supporters of the bill said many House members were merely expressing their frustration with recent developments in Latin America, especially the revolution in Nicaragua and the disclosure of Soviet troops in Cuba.

"A member registers the misapprobation of his district against these things, even though he may be voting against the interests of the United States," Murphy said.

Murphy also noted that 25 Democrats failed to vote on the bill. Eighteen of those Democrats were present for other House votes earlier the same day, 13 of whom had voted for the bill in June.

"Some people must not have wanted to show up for this one," Murphy said.

Another major factor was the defection of 14 Republicans, including Minority Leader John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz., who had supported the bill in June.

Murphy said he would try in the second conference to "recapture the stronger House language" on issues that were compromised in the first conference. Among those issues were: whether Congress should have the authority to block future transfers of canal property to Panama, whether the president should have the authority to put the canal under the direct control of a U.S. military officer in wartime, and whether the United States should be reimbursed for all its costs incurred in implementing the treaties.

Second Conference Report

At a hastily convened meeting Sept. 24, House and Senate conferees agreed on three substantive revisions, plus new wording changes aimed at satisfying treaty critics. Conferees filed the report (H Rept 96-473, S Rept 96-330) the same day.

Although none of the changes produced a major shift in U.S. policy toward the canal, they were strong enough to enable Bauman to say that many demands of House conservatives had been met. Just as important to the White House, however, was that the bill contained none of the earlier House provisions that President Carter said would violate the treaties.

Following are the major differences between the first and second conference committee compromises:

Property Transfers

The House had originally required formal congressional approval for all property transfers, including the eventual turnover of the canal itself. But Carter and the Senate insisted that the treaties already provided the necessary authorizations for the transfer of property in the Canal Zone to Panama.

The first conference report gave half a loaf to each chamber. It affirmed that congressional approval was nec-

essary for all property transfers, but it also authorized the president to give Panama all the property entitled to it under the treaty.

The second conference added a paragraph saying the president could not transfer the canal itself to Panama before Dec. 31, 1999 — the date called for in the treaties.

Sen. Levin said that new provision was "unnecessary and meaningless" because the president never had the authority under the treaties to give Panama the canal before Dec. 31, 1999.

Bauman, however, said the provision was needed to ensure that the canal remained in U.S. hands until the year 2000.

Both conference versions required the president to notify Congress 180 days before transferring any property to Panama under the treaty. But conferees rejected a bid by treaty critics to give Congress the automatic right to veto, or block, property transfers. Bauman said Congress would have to pass a separate law prohibiting such a transfer, and then override a likely presidential veto.

Canal Commission Membership

The second conference also acceded to a House demand that three of the five U.S. members on the nine-member Panama Canal Commission represent special interests. President Carter and the Senate had opposed such a provision, and this view was incorporated in the first conference report.

Under the final version of the bill, one member would have to have experience in shipping, one in U.S. port operations and one in U.S. labor matters.

The bill also said that three of the U.S. members could not be government employees. But in a concession to Carter, it stated that those three did not necessarily have to be the same three as the special interest representatives. That could give the president the flexibility, for example, to appoint a government official experienced in shipping as the shipping representative.

Cost to the United States

The final bill also went part of the way toward fulfilling a House demand that the United States be reimbursed for all its costs in implementing the treaties.

The first conference had required canal users to pay higher tolls to reimburse the United States only for the direct costs of operating and maintaining the canal. That would have left the United States paying all its implementing costs, including the transfer of the military bases, schools, hospitals, housing and other facilities.

House conservatives strongly objected to that provision. In an effort to satisfy them, conferees worked out a compromise requiring canal users to pay the United States about $10 million a year for the expenses of operating its schools and hospitals in Panama.

Wartime Control

Bauman, Murphy and other House conservatives lost a key fight to place the canal commission under the total control of the U.S. military during wartime. But in both conference bills they did win provisions that granted some measure of U.S. military authority over the canal.

A provision adopted by the first conference required the canal administrator to accept defense-related orders from the U.S. military officer in wartime. That would apply even after 1990, when the administrator would be a Panamanian.

Bauman insisted that provision did not give enough authority to the U.S. military. In the second conference, he won approval of language defining a security threat to the canal as including "any circumstance in which foreign combat troops or military forces (other than those of the United States. . .) are located within the Republic of Panama."

The Bauman amendment had the effect of stating that U.S. policy would not tolerate foreign troops in Panama. Conservatives had complained about Panama's close ties to Cuba, and Bauman said his amendment might make Panama's leaders aware that the United States would not permit Cuban or Russian troops to be located in Panama.

Retroactive Taxes

The House-passed bill prohibited treaty-mandated payments to Panama if that nation levied retroactive taxes on businesses in the Canal Zone owned by U.S. companies and citizens.

Bauman said Panama had threatened to impose millions of dollars in retroactive taxes on those businesses once it took over the zone. Carter said the provision violated the treaties, which already prohibited retroactive taxation.

The House prohibition was deleted by the first conference committee. But in another effort to satisfy Bauman, the second conference committee added a non-mandatory provision stating that the president "shall not accede" to any interpretation of the treaty that would permit retroactive taxation.

Final Conference Action

The House two days later, on Sept. 26, approved the second conference report by a comfortable margin, 232-188, completing congressional action. *(Vote 463, p. 134-H)*

The Senate routinely approved the report Sept. 25 by 63-32 after a perfunctory debate. *(Vote 306, p. 52-S)*

In contrast to the earlier debates on the subject, the House debate was subdued and remarkably free of campaign-type rhetoric. Even some members who had fought the bill at every stage admitted the House had no choice but to pass the legislation before the Oct. 1 deadline.

"Today we are at the end of the road, so far as the obligation of the Congress" is concerned, Bauman told the House. "For the continued operation of the canal, we need in place some implementing legislation, and this is the only implementing legislation left. We do not really have time to rewrite it."

But Bauman said, in effect, that he did not have to vote for the bill, even though other members should. "I do not feel any obligation to vote for this bill," he said.

Murphy warned what might happen if the House defeated the measure. Murphy told members they could no longer afford to vote against the bill just to express displeasure with the canal treaties.

"We no longer have the luxury of giving vent to our anger. A time bomb is ticking away and the hour is short," he said. "A defeat of this bill would be unthinkable, and would not only mean the shutting down of the Panama Canal, but could very well result in the loss of American lives" if Panamanians riot in protest.

But several die-hard opponents continued to urge defeat of the bill, which they said sealed the "giveaway" of the canal.

"Today we will find whether the members of this great body will have the courage and foresight to head off the

startling decline of the United States of America," said Hansen, one of the chief opponents of the bill.

And Floyd Spence, R-S.C., said the bill was an attempt to "appease our enemies." Giving the canal to Panama, he added, "is like walking down the street with your wife and you meet some person who wants her. He says, 'Give her up or I'll fight you,' and so you give her up. When do you draw the line?"

But after those speeches Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, and Speaker O'Neill took the floor to lecture members on their responsibilities.

Wright said that "at least a score, probably 30," members had told him they wanted the bill to pass, but could not vote for it themselves.

Some members are afraid to vote for the bill "for fear of reprisals from well-meaning, but ill-informed, citizens," he said.

"You sell America short, you sell your constituents short," Wright said, "if you do not think they possess the intelligence to understand" why the bill is needed.

"Every member of this House knows that the question here is not whether we like the Panama Canal treaty," he said. "Most of the members realize quite fully that enactment of this legislation is necessary in the interest of the United States."

And O'Neill told the House that the canal treaties were important symbolically to Latin Americans, even though U.S. citizens thought of the canal only as a commercial waterway used to transport goods to the United States.

"That's all we thought of, what it means to us," he said. "We never gave a thought to what it means" to Latin Americans. "I think we have done the honorable thing for America, and in doing the honorable thing we will have greater security and a better feeling for the people of the Caribbean area. We will have kept our commitments." ▮

Sanctions Against Rhodesia

An agreement reached in December on a peace plan for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia appeared to end a seven-year civil war in that troubled southern African nation. The agreement also settled the issue of U.S. economic sanctions against the Salisbury government.

Under the patient prodding of Great Britain, the black-led government elected in April reached agreement with guerrilla leaders on a plan for majority black rule and an end to the hostilities. The agreement came after three months of intense negotiations in London, which was generally looked upon as the last chance for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Although the United States stayed on the sidelines during the London talks, American involvement — especially American money — was considered crucial to the future success of the compromise. In order to cement the plan, the British promised a multibillion-dollar economic development fund for Rhodesia after the war was over. The Carter administration pledged limited U.S. support for that fund.

London Negotiations

Settlement of the Rhodesian issue was reached in three stages. On Oct. 18 negotiators reached agreement on a new constitution; on Nov. 15 they settled on a transition plan featuring a British-run interim government; and on Dec. 5 they agreed in principle to a cease-fire plan. The third agreement was formally signed Dec. 21.

The final settlement was agreed to by all three major Rhodesian parties: Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, the black prime minister elected in April who headed a government heavily reliant on whites; Joshua Nkomo, head of the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army; and Robert Mugabe, head of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army. Nkomo and Mugabe had united their guerrilla forces under the "Patriotic Front."

Former Prime Minister Ian Smith, a cabinet minister in the Muzorewa government, left the conference in October when his uncompromising position cost him the support of his fellow white leaders.

At each stage of the talks, British Foreign Minister Lord Carrington persuaded Muzorewa to accept the British plan, and then set a deadline for acceptance by Nkomo and Mugabe. The guerrilla leaders gave their approval after the intervention of leaders from the five so-called "front-line states" that bordered Rhodesia: Tanzania, Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique and Angola.

The new constitution eliminated most provisions in the previous constitution that guaranteed continued white domination of the Salisbury government. Whites were guaranteed 20 of the 100 seats in the new parliament. But the white minority no longer could block major constitutional changes or control the civil service, police and the courts.

Under the transition agreement, Muzorewa resigned in December, and a British governor took temporary control. Parliamentary elections, which were to be supervised by a British-led council, were scheduled for February 1980. Representatives from British Commonwealth nations were assigned to observe the elections and provide troops to monitor the cease-fire.

The cease-fire agreement provided for personnel from the guerrilla factions as well as armed forces of the Salisbury government to be stationed in camps in Rhodesia before the elections took place.

The guerrillas had battled the Rhodesian government since 1965 when Ian Smith rejected British calls for a black-dominated government and unilaterally declared Rhodesia's independence from Britain. The war claimed more than 20,000 lives, forced more than 250,000 black Rhodesians to take refuge in neighboring countries and drove thousands of whites from the country.

The war continued during the London negotiations. Guerrillas raided inside Rhodesia and the Rhodesian government responded with air strikes on guerrilla bases in Zambia and Mozambique.

Economic Sanctions

In Congress, the issue of the economic sanctions was the vehicle for a debate on U.S. policy toward southern Africa.

The Carter administration, and most congressional liberals, supported sanctions as a tool to force the white minority to turn over power to the black majority. But most conservatives said the sanctions merely encouraged Marxist guerrillas to continue their war against the pro-Western regime in Salisbury.

After the white-supremacist Rhodesian government headed by Ian Smith declared its independence from Britain in 1965, the United Nations imposed economic sanctions against Rhodesia. The United States complied with the sanctions until 1971, when Congress lifted a ban against importation of Rhodesian chrome. In 1977 Carter

convinced Congress to restore the sanctions, which led conservatives supporting the white-dominated government to again try to remove them.

In 1979 the Senate voted repeatedly to lift the sanctions, while the House went along with Carter's wish to retain them. The issue was temporarily settled in August when Congress gave Carter until Nov. 15 to remove the sanctions, but allowed the president to continue them if he thought that course was in the national interest. Congress, however, was allowed to override such a decision.

Carter consistently maintained that the United States should follow the lead of Great Britain, the country that had originally asked the United Nations to impose the sanctions. With progress being made at the London talks, Britain allowed its law imposing sanctions on Rhodesia to expire Nov. 15. However, British trade with Rhodesia still was prohibited through administrative regulations until the interim government was in place.

As a result, President Carter announced Nov. 14 that he would not lift the U.S. sanctions until the interim government had taken over and the process for impartial elections had begun. On Dec. 12 a British governor temporarily assumed power in Rhodesia. Three days later, Carter lifted the sanctions, making further congressional action on the trade ban unnecessary.

Background on Sanctions

After Smith broke away from colonial rule in 1965, Britain and the United States quickly imposed economic sanctions against the white supremacist government. The United Nations adopted limited sanctions in 1965 and 1966, but they had little effect. In 1968 the U.N. Security Council voted unanimously to impose mandatory sanctions against imports of all Rhodesian products, including chrome, a metal then critical to the U.S. specialty steel industry.

In 1971 Congress approved an amendment sponsored by Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., that barred the president from refusing to import strategic metals from noncommunist countries. The effect of the amendment was to exempt Rhodesian chrome ore and ferrochrome (refined chromium) from the U.N. sanctions. This placed the United States in direct violation of international law. *(1971 Almanac p. 305)*

Then, in an important foreign policy victory for President Carter, Congress in 1977 reimposed the ban on Rhodesian chrome imports. Carter wanted the trade ban to show black Africans that the United States was committed — beyond policy statements — to majority rule and equal rights in Rhodesia. *(1977 Almanac p. 328)*

Moves to lift the sanctions gained headway early in 1978 after Smith and three black moderate leaders engineered an "internal settlement," formed a transitional government in which whites played a major role, and agreed to hold elections. The settlement was opposed by Nkomo and Mugabe, the leaders of the two guerrilla factions comprising the Patriotic Front.

The Carter administration, which had called for an all-parties conference to resolve the Rhodesian conflict, also opposed the internal settlement. The administration insisted that the guerrillas had to have a role in any new government, contending that no government could last without their participation. Moreover, the administration said that free elections would mean nothing so long as whites continued to control the military and key government posts.

But congressional conservatives, saying that formation of the transitional government showed acceptance of democratic majority rule, urged that sanctions be lifted. That effort was headed off in 1978 when Senators Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., and Clifford Case, R-N.J. (1955-79), drafted a compromise that was incorporated in the fiscal 1979 foreign military aid bill.

The compromise said the United States would not enforce sanctions against Rhodesia after Dec. 31, 1978, if "the government of Rhodesia has demonstrated its willingness to negotiate in good faith at an all-parties conference, held under international auspices, on all relevant issues; and a government has been installed, chosen by free elections in which all political and population groups have been allowed to participate freely, with observations by impartial, internationally recognized observers."

But the votes taken on the issue in both the House and Senate indicated widespread sentiment for lifting the sanctions once elections were held.

1979 Congressional Action

Election Observers

Originally scheduled for Dec. 31, 1978, the Rhodesian elections were delayed until April 1979. On March 29, the Senate voted 66-27 to send a team of observers to oversee the elections. The resolution (S Con Res 8) was sponsored by George McGovern, D-S.D., who favored continuation of the sanctions, and S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, R-Calif., who wanted them lifted. *(Vote 31, p. 7-S)*

Conceding there was strong congressional support for an end to the sanctions, McGovern said any decision should be based on "a reasonable degree of confidence that the principles for which the United States stands — self-determination and majority rule — are not compromised."

The amendment was opposed by most liberals in the Senate. Sending American observers to the election "amounts to a de facto recognition of the Smith regime," Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., said. "The Rhodesian government will interpret the observers as the first step the United States will take toward lifting economic sanctions and recognizing their illegal regime."

Although the Carter administration refused to send its own observers, it did not actively oppose the resolution.

The House Foreign Affairs African Subcommittee rejected the Senate resolution April 2. But when the House took up the fiscal 1980 foreign economic aid bill (HR 3324) April 9, supporters of the Rhodesian government offered amendments authorizing the sending of observers. The House tentatively agreed to an amendment urging the president to send observers and authorizing $20 million in aid to Rhodesia. But it then killed the amendment on a 180-190 vote. *(Vote 75, p. 26-H; details, p. 117)*

First Senate Resolution

The Rhodesian elections were held April 10-21 without major incident. Between 50 and 65 percent of the black population voted. When the new government was installed June 1, Bishop Muzorewa, head of the African National Council and one of the three blacks who helped Smith form the transitional government, became Rhodesia's first black prime minister. Muzorewa's party had won 51 of the 100 seats in the new parliament.

The nation was renamed Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

Observers sent by conservative groups reported the election was legitimate. One such observer team, sponsored by the pro-Rhodesian American Conservative Union, said the election was conducted "on a free and fair basis."

The two guerrilla factions, which were legally banned, did not participate in the election.

The apparently successful election raised new congressional support for an end to the sanctions. On May 15 the Senate, by a 75-19 vote, declared that Rhodesia had met the conditions laid out in the 1978 Case-Javits compromise and urged President Carter to lift the trade ban 14 days after the new Rhodesian government was installed. *(Vote 92, p. 18-S)*

Despite the elections and the Senate action, Carter on June 7 announced that he would continue imposition of the sanctions indefinitely.

Carter said the elections were "reasonably fair under the circumstances." But he added that they did not meet the conditions of the 1978 Case-Javits amendment because blacks were not allowed to vote on the new constitution and because whites continued to dominate the important government posts. Carter promised to consult with Congress every month on progress made by the new government.

Second Senate Resolution

Carter's decision brought immediate protests from congressional supporters of Rhodesia. Less than a week later, the Senate approved an amendment to the fiscal 1980 Defense Department authorization bill (S 428) that required Carter to lift economic sanctions against Rhodesia immediately.

The Senate Armed Services Committee had included the provision in its report on the procurement bill. The amendment was sponsored in committee by Byrd, Ind-Va.

When the measure reached the floor June 12, administration supporters, led by Javits and Frank Church, D-Idaho, pushed a compromise that required Carter to lift the sanctions by Dec. 1 unless he determined it was not in the national interest to do so. That language, which was offered as a substitute for an amendment by Tsongas, would have given Carter nearly total freedom on the issue. But the Church-Javits amendment was killed when the Tsongas amendment was tabled on a 52-41 vote. That action left intact the Byrd provision requiring the lifting of sanctions immediately. The Senate then passed the defense bill by a wide margin. *(Vote 126, p. 23-S)*

The White House lobbied heavily on the issue. Carter telephoned senators until the vote was under way, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance testified before two congressional committees and nearly a dozen administration officials pressed Carter's case on Capitol Hill. After the vote, Vance said Carter would "quite likely" veto the defense procurement bill if the final version contained the Rhodesia provision.

House Backs Carter

The debate shifted next to the House, which handed President Carter two quick victories on the Rhodesia issue. By a 147-242 vote, the House June 28 killed a move to force Carter to lift sanctions by the end of the year. It then passed, 350-37, legislation (HR 4439) directing Carter to end the trade ban by Oct. 1 unless he determined such action was not in the national interest. *(Votes 282, 283, p. 84-H)*

Then on July 11 the House refused to request the immediate lifting of the sanctions. The House vote was 168-248 on a motion to instruct House conferees to accept a Senate-passed provision to the fiscal 1980 State Department authorization that urged the president to lift the sanctions. *(Vote 291, p. 86-H)*

That vote came just 24 hours after Prime Minister Muzorewa visited Capitol Hill to lobby for an end to the trade ban. Muzorewa's new government had asked the United States and Britain to lift the sanctions and extend diplomatic recognition to the new Salisbury government.

Newly elected British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had promised not to renew the sanctions when they expired Nov. 15, but in July Thatcher conditioned that promise on the Rhodesian government's acceptance of further changes in the constitutional provisions guaranteeing whites special influence in the new government.

The House vote indicated that a majority of House members seemed to support Carter's contention that the United States should not do anything to endorse the new Rhodesian government until Britain had acted.

Compromise Reached

This view prevailed during the House-Senate conference on the State Department authorization bill. Conferees reported a compromise provision that moved the United States toward lifting the sanctions, while giving Carter room to negotiate with Britain and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

The compromise was split into two sections: a finding by Congress that progress toward black majority rule had been made, and a procedure for lifting the sanctions.

The congressional finding stated that the April election "constituted a significant step" toward black rule; that the new government had expressed its willingness to negotiate with guerrilla groups on all issues at an internationally supervised conference; and that Great Britain had not recognized the new Rhodesian government.

The compromise directed Carter to continue efforts "to promote a speedy end to the Rhodesian conflict" and to lift sanctions by Nov. 15 unless he determined it was not in the interest of the United States to do so.

The compromise allowed Congress to override Carter in the latter event by passing a concurrent resolution within 30 days of Carter's announcement that he intended to continue the ban.

The compromise pleased both proponents and opponents of the sanctions. Both the House and Senate approved the conference report by voice vote Aug. 2. *(Details, foreign economic aid bill, p. 117)*

With that compromise in place, congressional attention to Zimbabwe-Rhodesia subsided somewhat. On Sept. 10 the conference involving all parties to the conflict opened in London.

In late September conferees on the fiscal 1980 defense procurement bill dropped the Senate language requiring an immediate lifting of the sanctions and replaced it with language stating the sense of Congress that the United States should be free to import strategically critical raw materials — primarily chrome — from Rhodesia. Congress then cleared the bill Oct. 16. *(Details, defense procurement bill, National Security chapter)*

The compromise on the State Department bill also made unnecessary further action on the House-passed measure (HR 4399), which directed Carter to lift sanctions by Dec. 1.

Sanctions Lifted

On Nov. 14, one day before the August compromise required him to lift the sanctions, President Carter announced that he would continue U.S. sanctions.

The president acknowledged that "encouraging progress has been made" toward a peaceful settlement of

the war. Noting that the London conference negotiations "are at a critical stage," he said "a termination of sanctions at this stage could lead all the parties to harden their positions, and would jeopardize the chances for a successful settlement for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia."

Carter said he would "be prepared to lift sanctions when a British governor assumes authority in Salisbury and a process leading to impartial elections has begun."

On Oct. 18 the London negotiators reached agreement on a new constitution. On Nov. 15 they settled on a transition plan featuring a British-run interim government. Still under negotiation when Carter announced continuation of the sanctions was a cease-fire plan to end the fighting.

Carter's assurance that he would lift sanctions once the interim government was installed again led to a consensus on Capitol Hill that the United States should tie its actions on sanctions to the British role in Rhodesia.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee drafted a compromise bill (S 2076 — S Rept 96-447) Dec. 3 that required the president to lift sanctions when the British governor assumed authority in Rhodesia, or by Jan. 31, 1980, whichever came earlier.

On Dec. 5 negotiators announced they had reached tentative agreement on a cease-fire plan. On Dec. 6 the Senate passed S 2076 on a unanimous vote, 90-0. *(Vote 444, p. 75-S)*

The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved S 2076 Dec. 11 and the full House was scheduled to act Dec. 17. However, Carter lifted the sanctions Dec. 15, three days after Lord Christopher Soames arrived in Salisbury as the interim British governor. Great Britain lifted its sanctions upon Soames' arrival.

The London negotiators finally signed a cease-fire agreement Dec. 21. ▮

Development Banks

Congress did not complete action in the first session on legislation authorizing additional U.S. contributions to three international development banks. Although the legislation was approved by the Senate without controversy, it was never considered by the full House.

As passed by the Senate May 17 by a 67-24 vote, the legislation (S 662) set the U.S. commitment to the three banks — the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the African Development Bank — at $4,019,207,988 over a four-year period. *(Vote 101, p. 19-S)*

Because most of the money represented loan guarantees, only $1.5 billion of the total required an appropriation from the U.S. Treasury. The funds committed by the bill covered fiscal 1980 through 1982. The administration's fiscal 1980 appropriations request for funds authorized by the bill was only $379.5 million.

The Foreign Relations Committee reported the measure (S Rept 96-135) May 11. The bill did not cover the World Bank. Congress last authorized payments to that agency in 1977 (PL 95-118). *(1977 Almanac p. 370)*

The perennial argument between the two houses on the use of U.S. contributions to the international banks for loans to Vietnam stalled House action on the bill. Restrictions on such aid were attached to the House version of the fiscal 1980 foreign aid appropriations bill (HR 4473), but the Senate had removed them. House leaders decided to delay further action on the banks bill until the issue was resolved in the appropriations legislation in order to avoid rehashing the debate. The House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee had reported a companion bill (HR 3829 — H Rept 96-135) May 10.

A House-Senate conference committee on the foreign aid appropriations bill tentatively agreed to drop the aid restrictions in return for a pledge by World Bank President Robert S. McNamara that the bank would not lend money to Vietnam, but other foreign aid disagreements prevented final action on the fiscal 1980 appropriations bill in 1979. *(Foreign aid appropriations, p. 258)*

U. S. Contributions

Inter-American Development Bank

The Inter-American Bank had provided $14 billion in loans and technical assistance to Latin American and Caribbean nations since its founding in 1959. The United States provided 35 percent of the bank's money — the single biggest share. Argentina, Brazil and Mexico also were major financial supporters of the bank.

As approved by the Senate, S 662 authorized $3.449 billion for bank operations for fiscal 1980 through 1983. The recommended authorization included $2.7 billion for loans carrying interest rates that were just below commercial rates and $700 million for low-interest loans. Because most of the authorization was in the form of loan guarantees, outlays were expected to total only $906 million over the four-year period.

Asian Development Bank

The Asian Development Bank had loaned $5.4 billion for development projects since 1966, including $1.5 billion in concessional, or low-interest, loans. Japan and the United States were the major financial supporters of the bank.

The Senate bill authorized $445 million for the Asian Development Fund of the Bank, which made loans at a 1 percent interest rate over 40 years, with a 10-year grace period on repayment of the principal.

African Development Bank

The African Development Fund, an independent arm of the African Development Bank, made concessional loans to the poorest countries of Africa. Since its founding in 1974, most of the fund's loans had been used for agricultural and transportation projects. The United States, West Germany, Japan and Canada were the major contributors to the fund.

The Senate bill authorized $125 million to the fund, which was to be appropriated at the rate of $41.7 million annually over fiscal 1980-82. ▮

Termination of U.S. Treaties

The Senate June 6 went on record in favor of requiring the president to obtain Senate approval before he ended a mutual defense treaty with another country.

The Senate's action, though tentative, was an indirect slap at President Carter's December 1978 decision to terminate the mutual defense treaty with the Republic of China on Taiwan at the end of 1979. *(Taiwan relations legislation, p. 99)*

By a 59-35 vote, the Senate adopted an amendment by Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., to S Res 15, which he sponsored. Byrd's amendment restored the original text of the resolution, which had been watered down by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee before that panel reported the measure (S Rept 96-119) May 1. *(Vote 121, 22-S)*

But the Senate's action remained incomplete as that body never took a final vote on the resolution during the session. As amended by the committee, the resolution expressed the sense of the Senate that the Senate's approval "is required to terminate any mutual defense treaty between the United States and another nation."

Immediately after the vote on the Byrd amendment, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, offered an amendment to ensure that the resolution would not apply to Carter's termination of the Taiwan treaty.

Concerned that a vote on that controversial issue would complicate a federal suit brought by Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., and other members of Congress challenging Carter's unilateral withdrawal of the Taiwan defense treaty, Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., averted a vote on the Church amendment by recessing the Senate for the day. The resolution was never brought up again for a final vote.

Further action on the resolution was made unnecessary when the Supreme Court Dec. 13 dismissed Goldwater's suit. That decision permitted Carter to terminate the treaty without congressional approval. *(Court challenge, box, p. 100)* ▮

U.S. Aid to Uganda Restored

Congress Sept. 11 cleared legislation (S 1019 — PL 96-67) repealing a ban on economic aid to Uganda. But a prohibition on military aid to the East African nation was retained.

The bill also formally lifted a trade embargo on Uganda. Under his own authority, President Carter had already lifted the embargo in May.

Final action on the repeal came when the Senate by voice vote adopted a conference committee version of S 1019. The House had approved the conference report (H Rept 96-395) Sept. 7 on a 280-69 vote. *(Vote 412, p. 120-H)*

Congress acted in response to the April 11 overthrow of dictator Idi Amin and the severe economic problems in Uganda that resulted from Amin's eight-year regime. Amin was overthrown by an invasion from neighboring Tanzania, supported by Ugandan exiles.

Congress banned all aid to Uganda in 1977. The trade boycott was enacted in September 1978. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 428)*

Legislative Action. The Senate voted May 7 to lift all restrictions on aid to Uganda, including both economic and military aid. The Senate version also lifted the trade embargo. But the House by voice vote May 21 agreed to lift sanctions only on economic aid.

In July a House-Senate conference committee reached a compromise under which the United States would lift its prohibition on foreign economic aid and on aid under the "security supporting assistance" program, which supplied economic aid to friendly nations faced with large military expenditures.

The conference committee also accepted the Senate provision lifting the trade embargo.

China Trade Status

The House Ways and Means Committee Dec. 13 approved a trade agreement with the People's Republic of China that would reduce U.S. tariffs on imports from China. House consideration of the agreement was expected in the second session of the 96th Congress.

The House committee, by a 24-8 vote, approved H Con Res 204. The resolution acceded to the trade agreement between the United States and China signed in Peking July 7.

The Senate Finance Committee held hearings on the agreement in November, but delayed further action until 1980.

President Carter submitted the agreement to Congress Oct. 23. Under the 1974 Trade Act, the agreement could not take effect unless it was approved by both houses of Congress within 60 legislative days. That deadline was expected to expire in early February.

The three-year trade agreement would end discriminatory tariff treatment by granting China "most favored nation" status.

The so-called Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1974 Trade Act prohibited most favored nation status and Export-Import Bank credits to communist nations that did not allow free emigration. The main effect of the amendment had been to bar favorable U.S. trade concessions to China and the Soviet Union.

Using a loophole in the Jackson-Vanik amendment, Carter waived the prohibition on trade concessions to China. The president cited private and public assurances from the Chinese that their emigration would not be restricted.

Immediately after Carter signed the measure into law Sept. 21, the State Department approved $6.2 million in emergency food and development aid from unspent funds for fiscal 1979. Included in that amount was $3 million to subsidize food imports and $3.2 million for schools, refugee aid and agricultural improvements.

In related action, the Senate Oct. 11 added an amendment to the fiscal 1980 foreign aid appropriations bill (HR 4473) authorizing up to $20 million in economic aid for Uganda. But that bill was still stalled in a conference committee when the session ended. *(Foreign aid appropriations, p. 258)* ▮

Intelligence Failures in Iran

The fall of the shah of Iran in January 1979 produced a spate of congressional criticism throughout the session of the Carter administration's foreign intelligence-gathering operations.

The most concerted congressional criticism came in a report issued Jan. 24 by the Evaluation Subcommittee of the House Select Intelligence Committee. Chaired by Rep. Charlie Rose, D-N.C., the subcommittee charged that "the intelligence collection and analysis were weak." But just as important, the report said, was that Washington "policymakers' confidence in the shah, which intelligence [officials] did not challenge, in turn skewed intelligence."

Human Rights and Trade With Romania

In a vote testing congressional sentiment on the issue of emigration and human rights policies in communist nations, the House July 25 defeated an attempt to remove trade benefits for Romania.

By a vote of 126-271 the House rejected a resolution (H Res 317) to disapprove the president's request for a 12-month extension of his authority to waive the emigration provisions of the 1974 Trade Act. *(Vote 353, p. 104-H)*

At issue was the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1974 act, which prohibited the lower tariffs provided by most favored nation (MFN) status and Export-Import Bank credits for communist countries that do not permit freedom of emigration. The act allowed the president to waive this prohibition if he determined it would promote emigration. The president's extension request then would be granted automatically unless either House disapproved.

Rejecting the extension would revoke the benefits of a 1975 trade agreement that granted Romania MFN status and credits.

Opponents of the disapproval resolution argued that the trade agreement had helped promote emigration and that continuing the agreement would encourage Romania to be more independent in its relations with the Soviet Union. Supporters said additional barriers to emigration had been erected since 1975 and that emigration to Israel had declined.

Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee Chairman Charles A. Vanik, D-Ohio, said the vote in favor was about 25 fewer than he had anticipated and "represents the hard-core position in the House against any of the socialist states of Europe." He added that as a result of the vote he felt a bit more optimistic about possible House acceptance of trade agreements with China and the Soviet Union.

Support for continuing the agreement, he said, was given an important boost recently when an American Jewish delegation succeeded in winning an informal commitment to faciliate emigration from the Romanian government.

During floor debate, Richard T. Schulze, R-Pa., sponsor of the resolution, charged that Romania had "repeatedly violated" the objectives of the Jackson-Vanik amendment by abusing its Hungarian minority population, running labor camps to "re-educate" political and religious activists, allowing a decline in emigration to Israel and erecting several new barriers to the emigration application process.

The Ways and Means Committee July 12 voted 26-10 to reject H Res 317. In its report filed July 13 (H Rept 96-336), the committee said that Romanian emigration to the United States had increased moderately.

The report said the decline in emigration to Israel had been "drastic," significantly below the departures permitted in 1974, when MFN was not in effect. Evaluation of this trend was difficult, the report said, because the Romanian Jewish community was relatively small (about 40,000) and there was "no clear estimate of the number or identity of persons who wish to emigrate."

Because the intelligence agencies failed to adequately warn high administration officials of the depth of the turmoil in Iran, "the attention of top policy-makers was not brought forcefully to bear on Iran until October 1978," the subcommittee said.

"By then, the degree of dissidence there had made orderly transition away from the shah's autocratic rule nearly impossible," the panel said in its report. "U.S. policy options that might have existed earlier — such as encouraging the shah to bring opposition elements into his government — no longer held promise."

Summing up the frustration expressed by a number of legislators, Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., chairman of the Middle East Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, remarked at a Jan. 17, hearing: "As a politician, I find it extraordinarily difficult to believe that millions and millions of people could have such strong feelings about the shah and we [the United States] weren't sensitive to that."

Why Intelligence Failed

The Rose subcommittee cited the "lack of widespread contact" with Iranians as "the critical weakness in intelligence collection on Iran." But broad contact with Iranians was ruled out because of "U.S. close identification with the shah."

In testimony before the Middle East Subcommittee, Assistant Secretary of State Harold H. Saunders admitted that "on occasion we did limit our contacts with certain elements of Iranian society. We did that out of sensitivity to our relationships with the Iranian government. That did not preclude us, I think, from understanding what was going on in general."

American intelligence operatives were not Islamic and did not speak Persian. Thus, they were unable to contact religious dissidents, Saunders said. During much of the mid-1970s, only one American Embassy official spoke the language, he admitted.

CIA Policies Questioned

The Rose panel said the Central Intelligence Agency produced "no reports based on contacts with the religious opposition" in Iran during 1976 and most of 1977.

Because of the limited contacts with the Iranian people, "intelligence field reporting from Iran provided a narrow and cloudy window through which to observe the sweeping social and political changes underway," the Rose report concluded.

The CIA was caught in a conflict of interest, according to the report: "On the one hand, the CIA had historically considered itself the shah's booster. On the other hand, it was supposed to provide sound intelligence analysis of the Iranian political situation."

And the CIA director also served in two conflicting roles: head of the agency that collected intelligence and the president's chief adviser responsible for analyzing the quality and meaning of that information, the report said.

The intelligence committees in both chambers worked on measures to rewrite the charters of the intelligence agencies, but no legislation emerged in 1979. ▮

Budget and Appropriations

The fiscal 1980 budget was conceived in inflation, nurtured in the politics of the balanced budget, and born on the edge of recession.

Not surprisingly, then, its development tied Congress in knots, straining longstanding political coalitions and slowing action to the point that the timetable for budget decisions was seriously breached. In fact, Congress didn't complete action on the second budget resolution until Nov. 28, 59 days after the beginning of the budget year and 74 days past the deadline set by the budget act.

If any single date was crucial in the development of the 1980 budget, it was Oct. 24, 1978. On that day, President Carter set a goal of bringing the federal deficit to below $30 billion as part of his anti-inflation program.

The $30 billion deficit target was embraced almost universally — but not without misgivings — in Congress. Most members of the Budget committees predicted it would be very difficult to achieve politically. Urban liberals were especially concerned, fearing it would lead to serious slashes in domestic social programs. But others found it uncomfortably high.

Early in the year, the balanced budget movement had a powerful effect on congressional budget-writers. A number of state legislatures and possible presidential candidates clamored for a constitutional amendment prohibiting deficits. Conservatives pushed the federal government to the brink of legal insolvency by stalling debt limit legislation until given assurances they would be given a chance to vote on balancing the budget. The Senate Budget Committee then laid out a strategy to balance the budget by fiscal 1981, but it said the price of achieving that goal would be steep — namely, no tax cuts until 1982.

After a long and arduous battle — especially in the House, which was divided sharply along partisan and ideological lines — Congress adopted a first budget resolution (H Con Res 107) that promised to bring the deficit down to $23 billion — $6 billion less than President Carter proposed in January — and keep the government on track toward a balanced budget in the future.

The first resolution proved overly ambitious. As the year progressed, it became clear that it had been based on unduly optimistic predictions for the economy and inaccurate estimates of the cost of government programs.

Rampant inflation, fueled in part by steep increases in oil prices, drove up the cost of government programs and promised to slow the economy. That in turn promised to increase costs further by adding to unemployment.

Moreover, Senate consideration of the SALT II arms limitation treaty with the Soviet Union ironically created a strong push in that chamber for a substantial increase in military spending above the hike President Carter had already recommended.

As the signs of impending recession grew, so did the demand for tax cuts to stimulate the economy and offset the loss in purchasing power resulting from inflation. The demand came mostly from Republicans, but a few influential Democrats also joined in.

Fiscal '80 Budget Totals Compared

(in billions of dollars)

	Administration January Budget	First Resolution	Administration July Revision	Second Resolution
Budget Authority	$615.5	$604.4	$622.8	$638.0
Outlays	531.6	532.0	542.4	547.6
Revenues	502.6	509.0	513.8	517.8
Deficit	− 29.0	—23.0	—28.7	—29.8

For the second budget resolution (S Con Res 53) Congress bought Senate support for the Salt II treaty by providing an extra $5.7 billion over the first resolution for defense spending. But House liberals put a price-tag on the extra military funds — more spending for domestic social programs.

In sum, Congress' spending limit for 1980 increased $15.6 billion in the second resolution. But lawmakers were able to keep the deficit below $30 billion by increasing their estimates of tax collections.

When Congress went home for the year, there were strong doubts it could stick even to that more generous budget. While the unemployment rate remained surprisingly stable, virtually all experts were predicting a recession in 1980.

And to make fiscal discipline yet more difficult to enforce, the House rejected $3.6 billion in "reconciliation" orders included in the Senate's initial second resolution as a way to force committees to live within their spending limits.

The final budget adopted by Congress dropped those orders, but warned committees that they would not be bailed out with a third resolution to cover increases in spending. Privately, however, Budget leaders predicted another resolution would be necessary to help ease the recession.

Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets

Congress completed action on fiscal 1980 budget targets May 24, following a successful last-minute effort by House liberals to force a slight increase in social spending.

Led by David R. Obey, D-Wis., they convinced the House May 23 to reject the House-Senate conference agreement on the first 1980 budget resolution (H Con Res 107) on the grounds that it gave too much to defense and too little to education and jobs programs. Although the Senate remained steadfast against cutting defense, it did offer more money for the social programs. That proved acceptable to enough liberal Democrats in the House that the resolution

was then approved by a slim six-vote margin, 202-196. *(Vote 155, p. 50-H)*

The last-minute gyrations added up to an important political victory for liberals, who had been in retreat ever since President Carter submitted his "austere" budget that cut social programs while adding substantially to the defense budget. At the same time, it was an unpleasant experience for House Republicans, whose own disunity contributed to the liberal success.

The fiscal 1980 budget process was complicated because Congress at the same time had to revise the 1979 second budget resolution to make room for higher than expected costs and various supplemental appropriations. In addition, the Senate had included in its resolution tentative budget figures for fiscal 1981 and 1982. *(1979 second budget resolution, 1978 Almanac p. 43; Carter budget revisions, p. 183)*

Compared to earlier figures, the final budget totals were as follows *(in billions of dollars)*:

1980 BUDGET TOTALS

	Carter Revised Request	Senate	House	Final
Budget Authority	$615.0	$600.3	$605.1	$604.4
Outlays	532.3	532.6	529.9	532.0
Revenues	503.9	503.6	509.0	509.0
Deficit	—28.4	—29.0	—20.9	—23.0

1979 REVISED BUDGET TOTALS

	Second Resolution	Senate	House	Final
Budget Authority	$555.65	$560.7	$557.9	$559.2
Outlays	487.5	494.5	494.3	494.45
Revenues	448.7	457.2	458.5	461.0
Deficit	—38.8	—37.3	—35.9	—33.45

House Committee Action

The House Budget Committee reported its version of the budget resolution April 13 (H Con Res 107 — H Rept 96-95).

Fiscal 1980 budget totals, as approved by the committee April 5, were as follows *(in billions of dollars)*:

	Carter Revised Estimates	House Committee
Budget Authority	$615.0	$608.4
Outlays	532.3	532.7
Revenues	503.9	507.8
Deficit	−28.4	−24.9

To get the deficit below $25 billion, the committee recommended cutting defense spending and eliminating general revenue sharing for states — both favorite Republican programs. It also saved a considerable sum by rejecting the president's proposed anti-inflation real wage insurance tax program. *(Real wage insurance, Economic chapter)*

While cutting Republican and presidential dollars, the committee appeared to win grudging liberal support by restoring some of Carter's proposed cuts in jobs, education, health and social services programs.

Caucus Action

Committee Democrats caucused for several days before the formal markup to hammer out the main outlines of the resolution.

That was a departure from past practice. In the past, Budget Committee Chairman Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., prepared his own recommendations, which served as the basis for committee markup. But Giaimo decided to involve fellow Democrats more in the process in 1979, apparently because of the strains that President Carter's budget had created among the party's congressional liberals and conservatives.

The resulting "recommendation" was clearly the product of the committee's fairly liberal Democratic membership.

The caucus first shaved $4.1 billion in budget authority ($1.9 billion in outlays) off Carter's defense budget. To reach that goal, the Democrats advised against building a new aircraft carrier ($1.8 billion in budget authority) and recommended a number of fairly traditional defense savings. In addition, they approved a proposal by Obey to "transfer" another $1.1 billion from defense to social programs — a recommendation vehemently resisted by Giaimo.

Those savings helped pay for some social spending increases. The caucus decided to support Carter's proposals to reduce the number of countercyclical public service jobs to 200,000 from 358,000, but it recommended restoring the number of summer youth jobs to the one million level. Carter had proposed cutting back the number of jobs in the program to 750,000.

In addition, the caucus endorsed providing funds to increase the Community Services Employment for Older Americans program to 52,500 from 47,500 slots.

The caucus also restored a number of Carter's proposed education program cuts, increased discretionary health programs by 3 percent above the president's recommended level in order to allow more spending for biomedical research and less severe reductions in manpower training programs, and allowed more money than Carter requested for subsidized housing.

On two key issues, the caucus remained loyal to the president. It kept $2.5 billion in the budget for the real wage insurance program despite the proposal's weakness in Congress. And it endorsed his proposed hospital cost containment legislation.

There were some surprises in the caucus recommendation. It proposed eliminating $1.2 billion in budget authority requested by the president for a new rural home-ownership subsidy program.

Even more surprising, the Democratic caucus proposed completely phasing out over three years the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) on the grounds that it was "of lower priority in a period of fiscal restraint."

Committee Markup

The full Budget Committee restored the $1.1 billion "transferred" from defense but upheld the rest of the caucus defense cut. It also put the LEAA funds and some of the money for the rural home-ownership program back in the budget.

During the committee markup, liberals sought to increase social spending beyond the levels approved by the Democratic caucus, but most of the time they found themselves fighting further reductions sought by conservatives.

James R. Jones, D-Okla., and Jim Mattox, D-Texas, proposed a series of amendments to cut spending below Carter's proposed levels. The two conservative Democrats tried to pick up the support of enough Democrats to join with the committee's eight Republicans to shift the resolution toward a tighter spending policy. On some tests, they won the support of Bill Nelson, D-Fla., but they usually fell short of winning the needed two extra Democratic votes.

The committee rejected a number of more extreme Republican budget-cutting proposals — including one by Marjorie S. Holt, Md., and Ralph S. Regula, Ohio — to establish the following budget totals: budget authority, $596.0 billion; outlays, $525.6 billion; revenues, $506.2 billion; and deficit, $19.4 billion.

Republicans did contribute to the committee vote against Carter's real wage insurance program. They were joined by Democrats Mattox, Leon E. Panetta, Calif., Timothy E. Wirth, Colo., William M. Brodhead, Mich., Paul Simon, Ill., and Elizabeth Holtzman, N.Y., in the 14-11 vote against the anti-inflation tax program. That cut Carter's budget figures by $2.5 billion, although estimates of the actual cost of the program had recently ranged around $6 billion.

Republicans were particularly unhappy about the Democrats' proposal to cut $2.3 billion representing the states' share of general revenue sharing.

But Giaimo was forceful in insisting that the cut remain. He called the program "evil at its inception," and argued that it should be eliminated as a punishment to states that had called for a constitutional convention requiring balanced budgets.

"Let the states prove to us they need this money from the federal government which they are so eager to condemn," he said.

Fiscal 1979 Revisions

The House committee included in H Con Res 107 revised budget figures for fiscal 1979, as follows: budget authority, $555.7 billion; outlays, $492.8 billion; revenues, $458.5 billion; and deficit, $34.3 billion.

The changes were needed because outlays had exceeded the $487.5 billion ceiling established in the second resolution in September 1978. Inflation, which had driven up costs, and higher interest rates set by the Federal Reserve Board to slow rising prices were the major reasons why spending had exceeded the levels expected six months earlier. But inflation and stronger-than-expected economic growth had boosted tax revenues even more than spending, to $448.7 billion, thus lowering the projected deficit from the $38.8 billion level set in the second resolution.

The House committee agreed to increase the 1979 spending ceiling to allow for unavoidable cost increases, but it left room for only part of the optional supplemental appropriations requested by the administration. The committee made allowance for supplemental appropriations for discretionary programs amounting to $3.2 billion in budget authority ($1.2 billion in outlays) for fiscal 1979. In deriving its total, the panel assumed that Congress would reject the entire $2.1 billion supplemental requested by the Defense Department.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Budget Committee reported its recommendations April 12 (S Con Res 22 — S Rept 96-68), following six days of markup.

Near the end of the arduous task that produced a recommended $532.4 billion fiscal 1980 spending plan, the committee came to the conclusion that it could either balance the budget or cut taxes in fiscal 1981, but not both. It opted for balancing the budget, postponing the tax cut until 1982.

At the same time, however, it reported an "alternative" budget (S Con Res 23) that would allow for a tax cut in 1981 by waiting until 1982 to balance the budget.

The committee's deliberations were its first under a new three-year budget procedure established by the debt limit legislation (HR 2534 — PL 96-5) that cleared Congress April 2. *(Debt limit, Economic chapter)*

In the past, the committee wrote budgets for only one year at a time. But the new debt limit law directed it to consider not only fiscal 1980, the year starting Oct. 1, 1979, but to show how the budget could be balanced in either fiscal 1981 or 1982 as well.

Dealing first with 1980, the committee slashed spending to a level its experts said was more than $11 billion below what would be needed to continue current policies for another year. That was lower, they said, than either President Carter or the House Budget Committee recommended.

Even with the committee's recommended 1980 cuts, there wasn't enough room in the budget for both a tax cut and a balanced budget in 1981. So, defying conventional congressional mores, the committee decided overwhelmingly to recommend setting aside a tax cut until fiscal 1982 so that the budget could be balanced in 1981.

Budget Totals

The Budget Committee recommended spending totals for fiscal 1980 as follows *(in billions of dollars)*:

	Senate Committee	House Committee	Carter Revised Estimates
Budget Authority	$600.6	$608.4	$615.0
Outlays	532.4	532.7	532.3
Revenues	503.6	507.8	503.9
Deficit	− 28.8	− 24.9	− 28.4

The Senate committee based its budget projections on Congressional Budget Office (CBO) economic assumptions, which were more pessimistic than the forecasts used by Carter or the House committee.

CBO predicted a 7.6 percent inflation rate during 1980, compared to the administration's 6.3 percent assumption and the House committee's 6.7 percent figure. Similarly, CBO predicted that the unemployment rate would be 6.7 percent at the end of 1980, while the administration and the House committee forecast a 6.2 percent rate.

In assuming higher inflation and unemployment, the Senate committee predicted that costs would automatically go higher. As a result, it had to propose deeper cuts in discretionary spending programs in order to reach the same deficit results as Carter or the House committee did.

The Senate committee claimed that it actually cut the budget further than either Carter or the House panel. It reestimated the actual deficit that would result from President Carter's budget recommendations at $40.6 billion, and it said the House committee's proposals would produce a $33.6 billion shortfall.

Put another way, the Senate committee estimated that its budget proposals would produce a deficit of $19.7 billion based on the administration's economic assumptions.

Balanced Budget vs. Tax Cut

The Senate committee claimed that its $28.8 billion deficit would put the budget on the track toward virtual balance in 1981 — provided taxes were not cut in the meantime.

"A 1981 balance, in my mind, excludes the possibility of a tax cut in 1980," said Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, after the committee had twice gone through the entire budget.

Muskie suggested that the committee present two options to the Senate. One would lead to a balanced budget in 1981. The other would delay that goal one year, but in the process provide for a $19 billion tax cut in fiscal 1981 and a $41 billion cut in fiscal 1982.

On a surprisingly lopsided 11-3 vote, the committee decided to recommend a slight variation of the 1981 balance strategy. Proposed by Lawton Chiles, D-Fla., the committee's first preference would balance the budget in 1981 and then provide a $55 billion tax cut during fiscal 1982.

Chiles said his plan would shrink government spending to 20.4 percent of gross national product (GNP) in 1981, and on down to 17.7 percent in 1984. He said it would allow for tax cuts totaling $75 billion in fiscal 1983 and $100 billion in fiscal 1984.

But the senator's 1983 and 1984 figures were disputed in the Budget Committee. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., warned that they would "tear the Democratic Party apart" by reducing the role of government to levels unacceptable to heirs of the New Deal tradition. Moynihan supported the 1981 and 1982 figures, though.

Muskie also criticized the long-range conclusions in Chiles' proposals, but on more pragmatic terms. "We can't really project what the needs of the country will be that far ahead," he said.

Some committee Democrats supported the short-term elements of Chiles' plan while questioning its long-term conclusions; some Republicans challenged its 1981 and 1982 implications.

"What we're really saying is we're going to balance the budget in 1981 because there's a hue and cry to do that, and we're going to do it by increasing taxes," Armstrong said.

He was joined by Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., and Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan., in voting against the motion to recommend that the Senate follow the Chiles plan.

The committee's final decision came down to the choice between cutting taxes or balancing the budget in 1981 apparently because the senators decided they could cut spending no further than they already had.

The $532.4 billion fiscal 1980 spending total was $11.7 billion less than the committee staff estimated would be necessary to continue present policies at their current level through the coming fiscal year.

Major Controversies

The most controversial Senate committee decisions involved national defense, economic development, jobs programs and revenue sharing.

Defense. Spending at or above the Carter level was favored by a solid majority of the Senate panel, including nearly all the Republicans, the four southern Democrats and Moynihan.

The committee voted 9-6 to recommend a defense ceiling of $138.3 billion in new budget authority, $100 million more than the Carter request. But two of the "nay" votes were cast by conservative Republicans who felt the figure should have been higher.

Real Wage Insurance. The panel let Carter's real wage insurance proposal die by default. The proposal, rejected by the House Budget Committee, was never even considered in the Senate committee.

Economic Development. But administration lobbyists turned out in force to fight for the package of grant, loan and loan guarantees Carter had requested in place of his national development bank. The committee voted 6-11 against a motion by Chiles that would have precluded funds for the economic development initiative, and it then approved, 13-4, a proposal by Moynihan that would provide it $800 million in budget authority ($200 million in outlays). Only Chiles, William L. Armstrong, R-Colo., J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., and Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, voted no.

Anti-recession Fiscal Assistance. Moynihan was less successful later when he tried to add to the panel's budget total funds for a "targeted fiscal assistance" program designed to help local governments when unemployment exceeded 6.5 percent. The proposal, sought by the Carter administration, died on a 9-11 vote, with Chiles, Johnston and J. James Exon, D-Neb., joining the committee's eight Republicans in voting no.

Public Service Jobs. Moynihan also led the fight to limit the cut in countercyclical public service jobs programs to only the 200,000 level proposed by President Carter. He said Carter's cuts were "sharp" enough — an assessment shared by Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich.

"This is a program of last resort for people who are permanently unemployed," Riegle said.

Some committee members vehemently objected to that view. Ranking Republican Henry Bellmon, Okla., said the program was designed only to help during periods of high unemployment, and he said recent declines in the jobless rate made it unnecessary.

"If we can't get rid of countercyclical under these conditions, we might as well stop calling it countercyclical," Bellmon said. "It will have become a permanent fixture."

Only five committee liberals — Moynihan, Muskie, Riegle, Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, and Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash. — supported Carter's request, but it took the committee eight more roll-call votes before finally approving a compromise proposed by Chiles.

Under Chiles' plan, the program would be reduced to 100,000 jobs in 1980, and phased out by 1982. In addition, Carter's 250,000 job reduction in the summer youth employment program to 750,000 would be supported, the work incentive (WIN) program would be phased out over two years, and some additional funds would be provided to boost efforts to find private sector jobs for the unemployed.

The five liberals were joined by Gary Hart, D-Colo., and Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., in opposing the Chiles proposal.

Revenue Sharing. Divisions over revenue sharing cut across party lines, with Bellmon and Republicans Domenici and Hatch joining Democrats Chiles, Johnston, and Hart on one vote in supporting a one-third reduction — roughly the amount cut by the House Budget Committee. That would be roughly equivalent to the $2.3 billion that state governments received under the program. Muskie, Magnuson, Riegle, Exon, Bob Packwood, R-Ore., and Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., voted against the cut.

Later attempts to cut the program were turned back by large majorities.

Packwood, responding to a plea from the National Governors' Association, then proposed cutting $1.2 billion in budget authority ($900 million in outlays) from the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program and shifting it to revenue sharing.

The governors had said they would be willing to accept cuts in categorical grant programs, which come with strings attached, if Congress would increase revenue sharing.

Packwood's motion was defeated, 8-11.

Package Proposals

After going through the entire budget for four days, April 3-6, the committee found that it had cut the 1980 deficit to $30.1 billion. Experts projected a $7.8 billion 1981 deficit at that point.

Muskie then proposed a series of additional spending cuts totaling $1.6 billion in budget authority in 1980 and $4.1 billion in 1981. Coupled with a $4.7 billion revenue "gain" expected from Carter's "cash management" proposals, Muskie said his "second round" proposal would lead to a balanced budget in 1981.

Among the second round Muskie cuts were a total of $500 million in defense spending reductions, a $400 million cut in water resources project construction, the one-year delay in implementation of Carter's welfare reform proposals, and others.

The committee accepted them all with one exception: Johnston successfully led a move to block the water projects cut.

But while that would balance the fiscal 1981 budget, it would leave no room for a tax cut that year — a point that committee Republicans quickly noted.

"As political realists, we ought to admit there will be a tax cut in 1980," Bellmon said. "We're kidding ourselves about balancing the budget in 1981 unless we leave room for a tax cut."

The committee's ranking Republican had a solution to the problem. After arguing unsuccessfully for several weeks prior to the markup, and after four caucuses during the week-long committee deliberations, the panel's Republicans reached agreement April 9 on an "alternative" budget package.

The Republican proposal would reduce spending $11.7 billion in budget authority and $8.8 billion in outlays below the level ultimately approved by the full panel. For fiscal 1981, the Republican cuts would be $9.1 billion in budget authority and $8.9 billion in outlays below the committee's final recommendation.

That would allow for an $8.3 billion tax cut in 1981, Bellmon said.

To reach their lower spending levels, the Republicans recommended a variety of cuts, especially in countercyclical jobs and youth jobs programs, economic development, Amtrak and Conrail, health programs, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps and LEAA. They also proposed a 5 percent cut in categorical grant programs (although they didn't specify programs to be reduced), which would be partially offset by an increase in revenue sharing.

The Republican alternative also assumed a substantial gain in revenues by requiring tax withholding on dividend and interest income.

The proposal was a difficult one for even some Republicans to swallow — especially because of cuts in education and health programs. It was defeated on a straight party-line vote with relatively little debate in committee.

Fiscal 1979 Revisions

The Senate committee approved the following revised totals for fiscal 1979: budget authority, $559.4 billion; outlays, $493.4 billion; revenues, $457.2 billion; and deficit, $36.2 billion.

The committee voted 11-9 to shave $600 million from the administration's defense supplemental request. That sum represented the amount requested to purchase two U.S.-built naval destroyers ordered by the shah of Iran but canceled by the new Iranian government.

Senate Floor Action

Following three days of floor action, the last of which stretched a marathon 16 hours, the Senate adopted S Con Res 22 April 26 by a 64-20 vote. *(Vote 61, p. 13-S)*

Before approving the resolution, lawmakers turned back three conservative attempts to slash spending more deeply than recommended by the Budget Committee. Two of those proposals would have allowed for tax cuts beginning in fiscal 1980.

The senators also turned back two efforts to cut defense spending, and they rejected new attacks on countercyclical public service jobs, foreign aid, food stamps and welfare programs. They did allow liberals two small increases in social spending, though.

The final results for the four fiscal years beginning with 1979 were as follows *(in billions of dollars)*:

	1979	1980	1981	1982
Budget Authority	$560.7	$600.3	$637.2	$686.2
Outlays	494.5	532.6	575.6	614.1
Revenues	457.2	503.6	576.2	615.0
Deficit or surplus	—37.3	—29.0	+ 0.6	+ 0.9

While suffering some defeats in floor action, the Senate Budget Committee fared well on the Senate floor. As in the past, the close cooperation between Chairman Muskie and ranking Republican Bellmon lent an aura of bipartisanship to the panel's recommendations. And many observers believed the committee accurately represented the attitudes of the full Senate.

Under the new budget procedures established by the recent debt limit legislation, the Budget Committee gave the full Senate the option of following its recommendations to balance the budget in 1981 by waiting until 1982 to cut taxes, or taking the alternative plan.

But the Senate never considered the alternative. Instead, conservatives offered several plans to slash spending below the levels proposed by the Budget Committee so as to allow for a tax cut in 1980 and subsequent years.

Alternative Approaches

Few lawmakers seriously favored balancing the budget in fiscal 1980. An amendment by William Proxmire, D-Wis., to cut spending $28.8 billion below the Budget Committee's recommendation — to the $503.6 billion expected revenue take — was rejected 23-67. *(Vote 45, p. 11-S)*

Two other proposals to cut spending and allow for earlier tax cuts won only slightly more support. One, by William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., would have cut 1980 spending $10 billion lower than the Budget Committee proposed, mostly by eliminating countercyclical public service jobs, and cutting health, welfare, food stamps, categorical grants to states and federal travel expenses.

Roth said his plan would allow for a $10 billion tax cut in 1980, growing to $25 billion in 1981 and $75 billion in 1982.

Conservative backers of that approach complained that the Budget Committee had erred in balancing the budget by waiting until 1982 to offset automatic tax increases resulting from scheduled Social Security tax boosts and inflation.

"I believe that it may be the purpose of some members of the committee to reduce the pressure coming from the grass roots for a balanced federal budget by allowing taxes to increase to achieve this balance, rather than by restraining spending. . . ," said Hatch.

Muskie denied the charge, and argued that the Roth proposal would cause the economy to shrink to the point that revenues would decline and the budget would still be unbalanced.

The chairman labeled as "invalid" Roth's claim that his tax cuts would encourage savings and investment to the point the economy would grow without inflation. In fact, he said, Roth's amendment would reduce unemployment slightly below the 6.3 percent expected under the committee proposal in 1982, but it would accelerate inflation somewhat more than the committee's proposal after that year.

Roth's amendment was rejected 36-56, and a variation on the same theme proposed by Domenici suffered a similar 38-55 demise. *(Votes 50 and 51, p. 11-S)*

Besides being criticized on economic grounds, the two proposals lost support because they cut social programs while leaving defense relatively unscathed. Bellmon observed that the Domenici proposal would allow defense spending to rise $600 million in 1980 while cutting social programs $8.3 billion below the Budget Committee recommendations.

Defense Increases Upheld

The Budget Committee's proposal to pare only $400 million off President Carter's $138.2 billion defense budget easily survived on the Senate floor, even though defense was the only major spending area increased in the budget.

Apparently conceding the weakness of liberal anti-defense forces, George McGovern, D-S.D., proposed a sharply scaled-back amendment to reduce defense spending.

In 1978, McGovern sought to cut the 1979 defense budget by $4.6 billion in budget authority, and to "transfer" those funds to social programs.

But in 1979, McGovern sought to cut a mere $1.7 billion out of defense, and to switch only $1 billion of that to nutrition, education for the handicapped, energy conservation and railroad rehabilition programs. The rest he recommended using to reduce the deficit. Even that relatively modest cut was rejected 24-69. *(Vote 46, p. 11-S)*

While the Senate showed no appetite for cutting the defense budget, it also had little sympathy for higher defense spending. John Tower, R-Texas, proposed a $2 billion defense increase, but then withdrew the amendment, observing that it would be soundly defeated by senators full of budget-balancing zeal.

Iranian Ships

The most heated defense spending debate involved a specific "line item," and revealed again that the budget process was a very crude weapon when it came to influencing spending details.

The issue was four U.S.-built naval destroyers ordered by the shah of Iran but canceled by the new Iranian government. The Pentagon, the Carter administration and the Senate Armed Services Committee all wanted to buy the ships, even though Navy shipbuilding plans had never included such vessels. A major part of their reasoning was that the ships, already under construction, could be obtained much more cheaply than if they had to be built from scratch.

The Carter administration originally requested funds for two of the ships in the 1979 budget. It proposed buying the other two in 1980, but it recommended finding money for that purchase within its 1980 request — in other words, by reducing some other 1980 defense proposal by the amount needed to buy the second two ships.

Riegle won a fight in the Budget Committee to drop from the budget the funds Carter had specifically requested for the ships. That had the effect of eliminating money for the two ships the administration budget actually included.

But the ships were a high priority for Armed Services Committee Chairman John C. Stennis, D-Miss. He apparently was willing to drop other parts of the administration's 1979 defense supplemental request in order to buy all four with the funds allowed by the Budget Committee.

Upset that the committee action wouldn't actually preclude purchase of the ships, Riegle proposed on the Senate floor a further reduction in the defense budget.

The problem was that the Budget Committee's defense spending recommendation did not assume funds for any of the ships. Muskie thus argued that Riegle's motion would cut proposals other than the ships, according to Budget Committee assumptions.

The chairman concluded that Riegle was wrong to try to use the budget process to predetermine how the Armed Services Committee would decide to spend the overall amount allocated to it by the budget resolution.

Attacked by both supporters of the ships and senators who said he was misusing the budget process, Riegle was defeated 26-62. *(Vote 54, p. 12-S)*

The Social Spending Debate

Besides easily turning back assaults on its defense recommendations, the Budget Committee had little difficulty defeating several conservative attempts to cut social programs further than it recommended.

The biggest battle came when Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., proposed cutting $1 billion in spending for food stamps, an amount that would be saved if Congress kept the "cap" limiting expenditures under the program. Lugar complained that food stamps had been poorly managed and subject to fraud, and he said the cap would be a way of controlling an "uncontrolled entitlement program." He was defeated 30-61. *(Vote 49, p. 11-S)*

Also defeated were amendments by Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., to eliminate all funds for countercyclical public service jobs and to slash foreign aid $1 billion. *(Votes 47 and 48, p. 11-S)*

While defeating those amendments, liberals won only two relatively modest victories of their own on the Senate floor. One was an amendment by Metzenbaum to add $100 million to the Budget Committee recommendation for nutrition programs. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., called that amendment a "symbol, a sense of protest in terms of what looks . . . like taking it, really out of the big cities." *(Vote 53, p. 12-S)*

The other liberal victory came when Chiles, normally an aggressive budget-cutter but also senator from a state with a very large population of elderly people, successfully

led a fight to restore $300 million earmarked for Social Security. That cut to $300 million the "savings" the Budget Committee and the administration recommended through reduction in some relatively minor benefits. *(Vote 58, p. 12-S)*

That was one of two spending increases sought by Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass. The other, a $100 million increase in funds for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, was rejected 38-46. *(Vote 57, p. 12-S)*

Finally, the Senate agreed to cut $400 million in 1980 to represent a reduction in government travel and film-making activities, and it added funds to meet unexpected increases in food stamp costs (due to food inflation and larger-than-anticipated enrollment) and disaster assistance.

House Floor Action

Budget floor managers courted southern Democrats and capitalized on Republican disunity to win House approval for the budget resolution by a surprisingly wide 36-vote margin May 14.

The House leadership had been confident of victory for several days. Shortly before the final vote, Norman Y. Mineta, D-Calif., head of a task force appointed to steer the resolution through the House, told House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., that the budget would win by 7 to 11 votes. In fact, the House approved the measure by a more substantial 220-184 spread. *(Vote 135, p. 44-H)*

Mineta attributed the wider-than-expected margin to several factors, some planned and some accidental. First, he said, the House leadership had aggressively courted conservative Democrats. That job was made easier by the Congressional Black Caucus' wholesale and very vocal opposition to the resolution.

Mineta also said that Republicans unwittingly played into the hands of the Democratic leadership. The minority party had been given probably the best chance ever to influence the budget, but Mineta said Republicans' inability to unite behind a single alternative to the Budget Committee's recommendations seriously diluted their impact. In the end, a majority sufficient to pass the resolution came from Democratic ranks, and none of the nine Republican votes to adopt the Resolution were needed.

Across-the-Board Cut

The resolution may have won additional support thanks to a last-minute amendment by Joseph L. Fisher, D-Va., which cut spending by $2.5 billion, or 0.5 percent, across-the-board. Although Budget Chairman Giaimo opposed the amendment for fear it would lose too many liberal votes, the Fisher proposal actually made it easier for lawmakers to approve the resolution by giving them one more chance to demonstrate their fiscal conservatism.

Finally, general fatigue may have worked in favor of the resolution. The House spent nine days on the budget before the final vote, and some lawmakers may have been reluctant to vote against the resolution simply because they had had enough.

DEBATE, APRIL 30-MAY 3

The House set the stage April 30-May 3 for a final showdown over the 1980 budget with a series of votes involving 1979 supplemental appropriations and the ever-popular idea of balancing the budget.

1979 Supplemental Compromise

In producing a series of votes that strongly indicated House sentiment on specific supplementals, Budget Committee leaders helped determine their fate even before they reached the House floor.

The Budget Committee's heightened power over supplementals caused some concern on the Appropriations Committee.

"One of the worries I had as a member of the original study group [that wrote the Budget Act] and later as a member of the [Budget C]ommittee was that, through this vehicle, we would begin to dictate by item the amounts that the Congress itself could deal with," noted Appropriations Chairman Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss. ". . .[I]n the process of lifting [the 1979 spending ceiling], we are doing it by justification on individual items, which is the first step toward dealing with the budget ceiling by items."

There was little Whitten could do to prevent that from happening, though.

Even before coming to the floor, the Budget Committee and House leadership decided the resolution had been too tight on 1979 supplementals. As a result, they proposed a floor amendment, sponsored by Paul Simon, D-Ill., to add $2.2 billion in budget authority and $1.5 billion in outlays to their 1979 recommendations.

That would boost the recommended fiscal 1979 budget to $557.9 billion in budget authority and $494.3 billion in outlays, with an expected $35.8 billion deficit.

The Simon amendment included funds to meet unexpected cost increases in several programs, most notably disaster loans and food stamps.

But it also provided for several politically popular programs. Defense interests were offered $628 million to purchase two naval destroyers originally ordered by the shah of Iran, while liberals were given $250 million for anti-recession "targeted fiscal assistance" for local governments in areas with high unemployment.

Budget Committee members described the Simon amendment as a "carefully constructed package," and they resisted efforts to modify it.

"What we are trying to determine here today is what is a sensible compromise between essentially two different groups of people, with competing philosophies on the budget," explained Obey. He said the Budget Committee recommendation was "a reasonable compromise between the traditional knee-jerk defense people and the traditional knee-jerk social program people." The House approved the compromise, 235-177. *(Vote 100, p. 34-H)*

Targeted Fiscal Assistance

The compromise withstood a series of tests — but just barely.

The most serious challenge came on an amendment by Jim Mattox, D-Texas, to eliminate funds for targeted fiscal assistance. Mattox was strongly supported by Government Operations Chairman Jack Brooks, D-Texas, whose committee had jurisdiction over such legislation.

". . .[C]ountercyclical assistance . . . died, as it was intended to die, when unemployment dropped below 6 percent," Brooks said. "Now there is an effort to bring it back . . . and turn what was supposed to be a temporary, shot-in-the-arm kind of program into a permanent one and continue to pump money out of the federal Treasury into the operating revenues of our cities, without any requirement for the cities to establish any real need for the money."

Proponents of the program, led by Stephen J. Solarz, D-N.Y., said the new program would be tailored just to provide funds to governments in areas with unemployment exceeding 6.5 percent.

Solarz warned that a number of liberals wouldn't support the resolution if the countercyclical aid were deleted, but the House May 1 approved the Mattox amendment 212-198. That set off an aggressive lobbying effort by liberals and by budget resolution floor managers concerned that the compromise would crumble. Their efforts paid off May 2, when the House approved 224-197 a Solarz amendment to restore $200 million for the anti-recession aid program. *(Vote 94, p. 32-H; vote 96, p. 34-H)*

Liberals next won another victory, defeating 146-276 an amendment by Steven D. Symms, R-Idaho, to cut $515 million from the Simon amendment's proposed food stamp funding increase. *(Vote 97, p. 34-H)*

Defense Spending Debated

Money in the Simon amendment for the two destroyers was much more secure than the countercyclical aid funds. An amendment by Harold L. Volkmer, D-Mo., to delete them was easily turned back, 88-325. *(Vote 98, p. 34-H)*

Pro-defense forces proved themselves to be fairly strong, but not strong enough to increase military spending. Amendments by Charles H. Wilson, D-Calif., and Jack Edwards, R-Ala., to increase the defense figure in the Simon amendment to $1.4 billion — enough to purchase the two ships and several other items in the Carter administration's defense supplemental request — were turned back. *(Vote 93, p. 32-H; vote 99, p. 34-H)*

Obey warned that either amendment would lift the tight fiscal lid the Budget Committee was trying to impose.

While both amendments were rejected, pro-defense advocates later revealed their considerable strength when another amendment by Wilson to add $2.6 billion to the Budget Committee's 1980 defense (for a total of $137.8 billion in budget authority) failed by only 21 votes, 188-209. If approved, the Wilson amendment would have set the House's defense figure a mere $400 million below President Carter's. *(Vote 101, p. 34-H)*

In 1978, a similar amendment to the 1979 budget resolution, sponsored by Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y., was defeated by a much more substantial 142-262 margin.

Balanced Budget Amendments

Unlike its Senate counterpart, the House Budget Committee didn't propose a plan for balancing the budget in fiscal 1981 or 1982. The House committee acknowledged the new debt limit legislation only with a little-noticed report (H Rept 96-96) projecting the future year impact of the 1980 budget recommendations and printing the views of a number of legal and economic experts on a constitutional amendment requiring balanced budgets.

Republican balanced-budget plans were offered by John H. Rousselot, R-Calif., and Chalmers P. Wylie, R-Ohio. Both assumed that inflation would drive revenues higher than envisioned by the House Budget Committee. Rousselot set his spending figure $17.7 billion below the Budget Committee recommendation, while Wylie proposed spending $25.6 billion less.

Giaimo said both recommendations failed to take account of the impact inflation would have in driving up government costs. He also argued that they would choke off economic growth so that revenues would drop and the budget would continue to post a deficit.

Lawmakers took advantage of the amendments to conduct a protracted debate on fiscal and economic policy. Wylie's proposal was then defeated, 134-275, and Rousselot's, 186-214. *(Votes 104 and 105, p. 36-H)*

Later, Obey facetiously offered another amendment to show the consequences of balancing the budget. Among a long list of effects, he noted that spending would have to be cut $38 billion to eliminate a $25 billion deficit, 500,000 federal employees would be laid off, federal contractors would lose one million jobs, economic growth would virtually halt, and unemployment would climb 1 percent. All that would reduce the inflation rate by only 0.1 percent, he said. The amendment was rejected, 2-376. *(Vote 106, p. 36-H)*

Other Amendments

In other floor action, the House:

- Approved by voice vote an amendment to add $75 million in budget authority in 1979 for elderly nutrition programs.
- Rejected 79-317 an amendment by Holtzman to cut $8.1 billion in 1980 budget authority ($2.7 billion in outlays). She said the sum was equal to 15 percent of past appropriations which government agencies hadn't yet contracted to spend (unobligated balances). Giaimo said that defense, construction and land, procurement and research and development would be most affected. *(Vote 102, p. 34-H)*
- Added $265 million for veterans' programs. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee originally wanted $765 million more, and Giaimo called the reduced figure a good compromise.
- Cut $1.1 billion, representing savings that could be realized by reducing excessive government travel, film-making, and paperwork, 403-3. *(Vote 103, p. 36-H)*

MAY 7-10

The Budget Committee successfully turned back attacks from the political right and left, as House floor consideration of the fiscal 1980 budget stretched to eight days May 7-10.

The stretched schedule marred a generally successful performance by the Budget Committee. The panel won almost all of a long series of bruising floor battles, only to see the endless onslaught of amendments fray nerves and shorten tempers to the point the budget process itself came under renewed criticism.

Still, in a number of decisive votes, lawmakers:

- Rejected two Republican plans to cut the Budget Committee's proposed $24.9 billion deficit to below $20 billion, and defeated a proposal to cut taxes in 1979 and 1980.
- Turned back a liberal attempt to "transfer" funds from defense to other programs, and killed a proposal to raise money for social programs by closing some tax "loopholes."
- Voted to recommend that the tax credit allowed oil companies on their foreign earnings be curtailed.
- Upheld the Budget Committee recommendation eliminating funds for the states' share of general revenue sharing.

Republican Substitutes

The key showdown came on two Republican alternative budget plans, one offered by the Budget Committee's ranking member, Delbert L. Latta, R-Ohio, and the other by Budget panel members Holt and Ralph S. Regula, R-Ohio.

The two plans were very similar. Both added $2.8 billion in budget authority to the Budget Committee's recommendation for defense spending, increasing that budget function to $138.1 billion. President Carter requested $138.2 billion for defense.

Both also assumed that inflation would average 9.4 percent in 1979 and 8 percent in 1980, as compared to the Budget Committee's assumed 8.2 percent and 7.1 percent figures. The higher inflation assumption, which the Republicans insisted was "more realistic," led them to predict that revenues would be higher. That in turn enabled them to leave room in their budget recommendations for a $6.5 billion fiscal year revenue reduction, which Latta said would allow for a $15 billion tax cut in calendar year 1980, while still projecting higher revenues than the Budget Committee did.

House Democratic leaders aimed most of their fire at the Holt-Regula plan because it was closer to the Budget Committee recommendation. It would have cut 1980 budget authority $9.3 billion to $523.4 billion, and outlays $6.8 billion to $526.9 billion. The Latta amendment cut $14.6 billion in budget authority and $8.4 billion in outlays from the Budget Committee proposal.

Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, called the Holt plan "about as insubstantial as a big wad of cotton candy" in its claim that taxes could be cut without a loss in revenues. Singling out the alternative budget's increase in defense and its failure specifically to disallow funds for general revenue sharing, he complained that the plan had "only two beneficiaries" — "the defense pipeline and state budget surpluses."

The Republicans defended their plans, saying they would cut the deficit and slow inflation, but they were defeated by 37 and 20 vote margins, respectively. *(Votes 122 and 123, pp. 40-H, 42-H)*

Tax Cuts Rejected. Later, the House rejected 182-229 an amendment by Jack F. Kemp, R-N.Y., to cut taxes $6 billion in fiscal 1979 and $17.4 billion in fiscal 1980. *(Vote 126, p. 42-H)*

The committee, recommending no significant departure from existing tax policy, projected 1980 revenues would be $508.7 billion. Committee members argued that it was more important to reduce the deficit than cut taxes, and they suggested that a tax cut might worsen inflation.

But Kemp proposed a 10 percent reduction in tax rates, claiming that tax cuts would give people greater incentives to save and invest, in turn encouraging greater production. He said the result would be an increase in economic activity, which would offset much of the revenue loss that would result from the tax cuts.

The net effect of his proposal on revenues, Kemp said, would be a reduction $400 million below the committee recommendation for 1979 and $7.8 billion for 1980.

In addition, Kemp argued that the increased economic activity would help hold unemployment down, saving the government $1.4 billion in 1979 and $6.1 billion in 1980 in various unemployment compensation and welfare programs.

Budget Chairman Giaimo merely replied that most economists disagreed with Kemp's conclusions.

Liberals' Amendments Rejected

While Republicans came fairly close to overturning the Budget Committee's recommendations, Democratic liberals fell far short on two attempts to "transfer" money from one part of the budget to various domestic programs.

Ted Weiss, D-N.Y., proposed shifting $1 billion in budget authority and $355 million in outlays from defense for the Young Adult Conservation Corps, youth employment and training programs, and a tax credit for employers who hired people aged 16-18. He said the proposal would create 60,000 new jobs, but his amendment was rejected 92-321. *(Vote 115, p. 40-H)*

The key liberal amendment was offered by Parren J. Mitchell, D-Md. He proposed raising $1 billion in revenues in 1979 and $4 billion in 1980 by closing tax "loopholes." Of that sum, $1.5 billion in outlays would be distributed among energy conservation, jobs, education and health programs in 1980, while $2.5 billion would go to reduce the deficit.

The amendment was easily rejected 130-277. *(Vote 124, p. 42-H)*

Oil Companies' Tax Credits

An unlikely coalition of liberals and conservatives did manage to use the budget deliberations to voice their frustration with one tax expenditure — the credit allowed oil companies on their foreign earnings.

Holtzman started the debate with an amendment to curtail the credit. She said $1.2 billion in revenue could be gained, and that $1 billion of that should be used for various domestic social programs. She criticized U.S. tax regulations that allowed oil companies to count royalties paid for oil as taxes, thus qualifying them for lucrative tax credits rather than less beneficial business deductions.

That argument picked up conservative support. Clarence D. Long, D-Md., termed the credit "invisible foreign aid to the Arab Middle East oil-producing countries."

Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman, D-Ore., fought the amendment, arguing that Holtzman had overestimated its impact on revenues. He was joined in that opposition by Giaimo, who predicted Congress would not agree to limit the credit.

Despite that, critics of the credit urged the House to adopt the amendment to "signal" their opposition to it.

Before approving the Holtzman amendment 355-66, however, the House approved an amendment by Gerald B. Solomon, R-N.Y., stripping it of the provisions transferring funds to domestic programs on a voice vote. *(Vote 116, p. 40-H)*

Revenue Sharing

The Budget Committee's proposal to cut from the budget $2.3 billion — the amount of general revenue sharing provided state governments — survived four House challenges.

Barber B. Conable Jr., R-N.Y., led the predominantly Republican battle to leave room for the states' general revenue sharing funds. He argued that the program should be continued because it decentralized power, and he warned that its elimination would force states to cut back aid to localities, in turn leading to increases in local property taxes.

Critics of the program replied that the federal government shouldn't continue providing the aid to states when most state budgets were posting surpluses.

Olympia J. Snowe, R-Maine, proposed offsetting the spending increase that would result from restoring general revenue sharing by cutting categorical grant programs by 5 percent, or $2.6 billion. But she didn't specify which programs would be cut.

The Snowe amendment was defeated 147-237. Conable then lost by a 190-195 margin. *(Votes 110, 111, p. 38-H)*

John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, later proposed transferring $2.3 billion from foreign aid programs to revenue sharing.

That amendment was defeated 199-214. A final effort by Bud Shuster, R-Pa., to revive general revenue sharing by recommending restoring half of the cut funds — $1.1 billion — was also rejected 203-216. *(Votes 117 and 119, p. 40-H)*

Other Amendments

In the meantime, the House:

- Rejected by voice vote a proposal by Mattox to reduce 1980 budget authority $3.7 billion ($1.2 billion in outlays), representing the amount of new program initiatives in the Budget Committee recommendations.
- Rejected 140-245 an amendment by James R. Jones, D-Okla., to cut 1980 budget authority by $500 million (outlays by $50 million) by recommending elimination of new economic development initiatives by the Economic Development Administration. Following that vote, Jones said he would not offer an amendment cutting countercyclical public service jobs under CETA. *(Vote 109, p. 38-H)*
- Rejected 196-227 an amendment by Dan Glickman, D-Kan., to increase 1980 budget authority by $83 million (outlays by $73 million) by recommending restoring half of the cuts favored by the Carter administration and Budget Committee in the Amtrak budget. Glickman said his amendment would express congressional disapproval of the cutbacks. *(Vote 113, p. 38-H)*
- Rejected 104-316 a proposal by Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo., to cut 1980 budget authority by $497 million (outlays by $50 million), an amount that would be saved by eliminating the LEAA. Gephardt said LEAA was an experiment whose time had passed. *(Vote 114, p. 38-H)*

HOUSE PASSAGE

Ending nine days of action on the budget resolution, the House adopted H Con Res 107 May 14 by a comfortable 220-184 vote. *(Vote 135, p. 44-H)*

One of the biggest surprises was the defection of the Congressional Black Caucus.

In previous years, black support was deemed necessary for the budget resolution to be adopted. In 1978, for instance, the caucus provided 11 votes for the Budget Committee's recommendation, which won approval by a margin of only four votes. No black caucus member voted against the resolution. *(Vote 255, 1978 Almanac p. 72-H)*

But blacks, disenchanted with the growing fiscal conservatism of the White House and Congress, vowed to oppose the resolution in 1979. They stuck to their guns, voting 0-13 against adoption (two other voting members of the caucus were not recorded).

Before the final vote, the resolution's floor managers worried that the caucus' opposition could doom the resolution, but it apparently had the opposite effect. The blacks failed to swing many northern liberal votes away from the resolution, and they apparently provoked a number of southern Democrats whose support was shaky to vote for the budget.

In 1978, northern Democrats voted 152-25 for the budget resolution. That support was only slightly diminished in 1979, as they supported adoption by a 147-33 margin.

But southern Democrats, who had supported the resolution by only 46-36 in 1978, gave it a lopsided 64-17 vote.

The resolution picked up nine Republican votes, compared to only three in 1978. They included: Robin L. Beard Jr., Tenn.; Silvio O. Conte, Mass.; Charles F. Dougherty, Pa.; Jack Edwards, Ala.; Newt Gingrich, Ga.; Harold C. Hollenbeck, N.J.; Paul N. McCloskey Jr., Calif.; Marc L. Marks, Pa.; and Carl D. Pursell, Mich.

Those votes proved unnecessary, however, in light of the strong support afforded the resolution by southern Democrats.

Moreover, Republicans inadvertently helped pass the budget, Mineta and others argued, by failing to present a united front.

"If they had their act together, they could have taken credit for this," Mineta said.

He was referring to the failure of House Republicans to agree on a single alternative to the Budget Committee recommendations.

A number of Democrats told the resolution's floor managers that they found it difficult to go on record against the Republican proposals to cut spending. But because there were two GOP alternatives, the House leadership was able to divide the waivering Democrats in two groups. Some voted for one Republican plan, and others voted for the other. Because their votes were split, all got to go on record favoring budget cuts while depriving both Republican plans of the votes necessary to be adopted.

A total of 173 lawmakers supported both the Latta and Holt-Regula alternative plans, while 199 voted against both. Four Republicans and 33 Democrats voted for one plan or the other, but not both. Three of the four Republicans — Conte, Dougherty and Stewart B. McKinney, Conn., — were liberals who favored the less conservative of the alternate plans. Of the 33 Democrats, 14 voted only for the tougher alternative proposed by Latta, and 19 voted only for the more moderate Holt-Regula plan.

Since the Republican proposals lost by only 37- and 20-vote margins, respectively, the 33 waivering Democrats could have tipped the balance in their favor if their vote hadn't been divided.

Fisher Amendment

Further indication that Republicans might have played a more important role came when the House approved, 255-144, Fisher's across-the-board 0.5 percent budget cut. *(Vote 133, p. 44-H)*

Fisher called his proposal "a small meat axe," and argued it was a good way to put pressure on agencies to cut costs. Budget Committee members were afraid, though, that it would prompt too many lawmakers to oppose the resolution, since it would require cuts of $592 million in defense, $921 million in income security, $271 million in health and $149 million in education, among others.

But the overall cut was so small that floor managers found it difficult to fight. "How do you combat an amendment cutting only one-half of one percentage point?" asked Mineta.

"The Fisher amendment started snowballing too much too quickly."

In approving the cut, the House brought the 1980 budget totals down to $605.1 billion in budget authority and $529.9 billion in outlays. The deficit fell to $20.9 billion. That was only $5.1 billion in budget authority, $3 billion in outlays and $2.2 billion in deficit higher than the Holt-Regula alternative.

With the Fisher amendment, a number of lawmakers found it easier to support the entire resolution. As a result, the 7- to 11-vote margin floor managers had counted before the final vote swelled to a 36-vote victory.

Budgets Compared

Below are the differences between the fiscal 1980 budget recommendations of President Carter, the House and the Senate *(in billions of dollars)*:

	Carter Request	Senate	House
Budget Authority	$615.0	$600.3	$605.1
Outlays	532.3	532.6	529.9
Revenues	503.9	503.6	509.0
Deficit	—28.4	—29.0	—20.9

Major Differences

In general, the House reduced the deficit by cutting defense, proposing elimination of general revenue sharing for state governments, predicting higher revenues from a stronger economy and from the closing of one major tax expenditure, and anticipating lower costs from programs sensitive to an economic slowdown. The Senate proposed higher defense spending, continued revenue sharing, higher economically determined program costs resulting from a weaker economy, and steeper cuts in a variety of domestic social programs.

- The House proposed a $134.7 billion defense budget, $3.1 billion lower than the Senate recommended. President Carter requested $138.2 billion. The House justified its figure by arguing that a "small" aircraft carrier requested by Carter might be unnecessary. It also argued that defense programs had been funded too quickly in the past, and predicted that Congress would cut defense procurement bills.
- The House proposed cutting general revenue sharing $2.3 billion — the amount of revenue sharing provided state governments — to $4.6 billion. The Senate recommended providing the full $6.9 billion.
- The House assumed the unemployment rate would average 6.2 percent in 1980, while the Senate assumed an average 6.8 percent joblessness rate. As a result, the House predicted the cost of various economically determined programs, such as unemployment compensation, would be $1.4 billion in budget authority and $3.0 billion in outlays lower than the Senate did. The Carter administration agreed with the House economic forecast.
- The House supported Carter's request for funds to provide 200,000 jobs under Title VI of CETA, while the Senate recommended paying for only 100,000.
- The House assumed a one million job level for the CETA summer youth employment program, while the Senate recommended providing only 750,000 jobs.
- The House endorsed Carter's request for $150 million for targeted fiscal assistance. The Senate rejected it.
- The House increased Carter's request for funds for subsidized housing to $28.9 billion from $26.7 billion. The Senate cut it to $22.6 billion.
- The House assumed that revenues would be increased by $1.2 billion by curtailing the foreign tax credit for oil companies. The Senate made no such assumption.
- The House included $609 million for regular Economic Development Administration (EDA) funds, plus $500 million for a new grant and loan program designed to replace the defunct national development bank. The Senate provided $539 million for regular programs and $788 million for the national development bank's successor. Carter requested $522 million for the regular programs, plus $788 million for the new initiative.
- The House recommended the full $675 million requested by Carter for the urban development action grants program. The Senate included only $138 million.
- The House provided $500 million for Carter's proposed new central liquidity facility to back up federally chartered credit unions. The Senate didn't.
- The House recommended $500 million in budget authority to initiate a special home-ownership assistance program. Carter sought twice that amount. The Senate included no funds for the program.
- The House cut income security programs by $950 million, without specifying where the savings would be realized.
- The House recommended providing $15.2 billion — $900 million more than the Senate proposed — for education programs.
- The House recommended $1.7 billion more in budget authority for energy programs than the $18.4 billion proposed by the Senate. The lower Senate figure reflected its recommendations to provide less money for energy supply, conservation and emergency preparedness (strategic petroleum reserve).
- The House increased funds for urban mass transit, while the Senate supported the president's lower figures. But the House supported Carter's proposed funding levels for highway programs, while the Senate recommended substantial cuts.

Conference Action

House and Senate conferees agreed May 18 (H Rept 96-211) to a fiscal 1980 budget plan that would reduce the federal deficit to $23 billion, and set the stage for a balanced budget in 1981.

After debating a wide range of national priorities for three days, conferees set the following totals for the first budget resolution for 1980: budget authority, $604.4 billion; outlays, $532.0 billion; revenues, $509.0 billion; and deficit, $23 billion.

While the 1980 budget figures approved by the House and Senate were fairly close, they were based on different assumptions. Conferees debated those assumptions at length, providing a preview of more substantive policy battles due later in the year. But in a number of controversial areas, they ended up agreeing on budget figures without agreeing on their assumptions. "You can have your assumptions, and we can have ours," explained House conferee Bill Frenzel, R-Minn.

Defense *vs.* Social Programs

As in the past, the most difficult issue to resolve was the relative level of spending for defense and domestic social programs. In the end the conferees split their differences. The senators agreed to cut their defense total $1.2 billion to $136.6 billion, and to add $1.4 billion to their total for public service jobs and education programs. The House, in turn, added $2 billion to its defense proposal, and cut $1.8 billion from jobs and education programs.

One of the most immediately important decisions involved the 1979 increase for defense spending. The conference agreement provided $900 million.

Several 1980 controversies were resolved more ambiguously. After a long debate on the relative merits of general revenue sharing for states and anti-recession aid for local

governments in economically ailing areas, conferees agreed to a compromise that left the door open to either option.

Finally, some issues went unresolved. Concerning 1981 and 1982, for instance, the Senate stuck with its numbers while House members decided simply to project the future impact of their 1980 assumptions.

State and Local Aid

The compromise over aid to state and local governments took a small nick out of general revenue sharing and left some light in the budget for a new targeted fiscal assistance program.

While the disagreement involved substantial sums of money, conferees were more concerned about the symbolic impact of their decision. The final compromise left open the possibility that either program would be approved. Under the final compromise, conferees provided nearly enough money to continue revenue sharing at its existing $6.9 billion level. They said some of that money could be used for targeted fiscal assistance, however. And they agreed that they would add funds in the second resolution if Congress decided simply to continue revenue sharing.

Other Issues

In other conference agreements:

- Conferees agreed on $25.8 billion in budget authority for subsidized housing programs. That was $3.1 billion lower than the House amount, and $3.2 billion above the Senate number.
- The Senate agreed to a House proposal providing $500 million for new economic development programs replacing the national development bank, and $609 million for current Economic Development Administration programs. The Senate also agreed to the House's $675 million budget authority figure for urban development action grants, although conferees stuck to a lower Senate outlay figure for that program.
- House and Senate staff economists agreed to forecast a 6.5 percent average unemployment rate for 1980. That forced the House to increase its funds for unemployment compensation and related programs, and enabled the Senate to decrease its estimates.
- Conferees decided to include $100 million for a new program sought by the Carter administration to help people in rural areas buy homes. The House had recommended $500 million for the program, which the Senate flatly opposed.
- The Senate increased its highway aid money by $250 million, and the House reduced its figure by the same amount, so that the conference total was $8.4 billion.
- The conferees easily agreed on the $509 billion total for 1980 revenues. Senate members said a stronger-than-expected performance by the economy, which previously convinced them to increase 1979 revenues, justified a similar increase for 1980. House members said that number allowed the foreign oil tax credit to be curtailed. Both sides agreed the revenue figure provided for no tax cut in 1980.

Final Action

When the conference report came to the House floor May 23, liberals aimed their fire at two key provisions in the conference agreement: national defense and "function 500," which included funds for education, training, employment and social service programs.

The conferees had been far apart on those issues. The House's $134.7 billion defense total was $3.1 billion below the Senate's $137.8 billion. And, its $32.3 billion figure for function 500 was $3.2 billion above the Senate's $29.1 billion.

The conferees adopted a $136.6 billion defense total — $1.2 billion below the Senate figure and $1.9 billion above the House. For function 500, the total was $30.5 billion — $1.4 billion above the Senate and $1.8 billion below the House.

The conference agreement was more favorable to the Senate position because fiscal conservatives held sway on the conference committee. Senate Republican conferees Domenici and Armstrong were joined by House Republicans in insisting on a high defense total. But House Democratic conferees found no support from their colleagues across the table for the higher education and jobs number. Instead, they faced an aggressive attack from Chiles on CETA jobs programs.

Liberal Attack

Obey was joined in opposing the conference agreement by the executive committee of the liberal Democratic Study Group, of which he was chairman. It voted May 22 to urge the House to reject the conference report.

An impressive array of liberal lobby groups enlisted in the attack. By May 23, Obey listed 53 organizations that favored rejecting the conference report. By far the most active of them were the AFL-CIO, which wanted more money for jobs programs, and state departments of education, which were concerned that the conference agreement would squeeze education appropriations.

Obey said he would be satisfied if $300 million was shifted from the conference defense figure to social programs. That amount was well within the margin of estimating error for a half-trillion dollar budget, and the chances were it would be more than absorbed by re-estimates before the binding budget resolution was adopted in September.

But Obey insisted the vote to reject the conference report was more than symbolic. He said that the function 500 figure wouldn't accommodate education spending approved by the Labor-HEW Appropriations Subcommittee in a closed subcommittee session May 16. That would set the Budget Committee against the appropriations measure, weakening its chances.

While Obey saw the issue as a narrow one involving education spending, he clearly picked up a lot of support from lawmakers eager to strike a blow for CETA and against defense spending. The vote also provided an opportunity for liberals to express some pent-up frustration. The result was an overwhelming 144-260 vote rejecting the conference report. *(Vote 150, p. 48-H)*

Democrats, who supported the resolution 211-50 the first time around, split 108-152 against the conference agreement. A total of 96 northern Democrats and 13 southern Democrats who had supported the budget resolution initially voted to reject the conference report. They were joined by four of the nine Republicans who voted for the resolution the first time around.

Republicans' Dilemma

The massive defections of liberal Democrats set up a political situation that had been anticipated ever since President Carter sent his budget to Congress in January. The Democratic center found itself needing Republican support to pass the budget.

The choice for Republicans was a difficult one. Some said they should continue their traditional stance of voting against the resolution rather than take responsibility for a deficit. But others observed that failure to approve the conference agreement would lead to changes that would move further from Republican priorities.

"...[I]f this resolution is sent back to conference, it will come back to us with less money for defense, more money for unneeded programs and a larger deficit," warned Edwards, R-Ala.

Edwards voted for the resolution, as did the Budget Committee's ranking Republican, Latta and House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz.

But Republicans were unable to provide enough support to carry the day for the conference agreement. Only 36 Republicans voted for it, while 108 voted no.

"We have been a minority party a long time, and we have fairly well developed postures," said Conable, one of the Republicans who voted for the conference figures, in explaining the Republicans' failure to lend more support to the resolution. "It's much easier to take postures than [make] pragmatic decisions."

Outcome

After the conference report was defeated, House conferees proposed to the Senate a $200 million cut in defense and a $50 million cut in international relations, coupled with a $300 million increase in function 500.

Senators, with an eye toward the impending vote on the Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT) treaty with the Soviet Union, refused to budge on defense. Instead, they agreed to a $350 million increase in budget authority for function 500 alone. Then, to reinforce their refusal to give in on defense, they amended the conference agreement to that effect, 72-17. *(Vote 112, p. 21-S)*

House conferees were unhappy not to see some defense cut, but they decided they had pushed the issue as far as they could.

When the revised budget resolution came back to the House, lawmakers returned to more traditional voting patterns. Democrats approved it 174-80, while Republicans voted against it 28-116. *(Vote 155, p. 50-H)*

Binding Budget Levels

House Republicans made a final stand Nov. 28 against a fiscal 1980 spending ceiling they charged was too high, but failed to block passage of the long-overdue second budget resolution.

The Republican move came as the House was considering what Budget Committee Chairman Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., called "a new name for an old piece of legislation" — the Senate's revision of the compromise budget resolution fashioned in conference.

In that new resolution (S Con Res 53), the Senate replaced formal enforcement orders the House had rejected with a warning that Congress would not bail out committees that failed to meet their spending limits.

House Budget leaders said they were pleased with the revised resolution, which passed the Senate Nov. 16, and predicted it easily would win House approval.

But on the morning of the final vote, Republicans surprised Giaimo and his Democratic panel members by moving to send the budget back to committee with orders to cut 2 percent from all areas but defense and veterans' affairs.

"At this late stage," an angry Giaimo complained, "we would have to go back to committee and start all over. Do not be taken in by this attempt by the minority to destroy the [budget] process."

The House went along with Giaimo, rejecting the Republican spending cut maneuver, 187-207. It then adopted the resolution, 206-186, completing action on the measure. *(Votes 608, 609, p. 180-H)*

As cleared Nov. 28, S Con Res 53 established the following binding budget levels for fiscal 1980 *(in billions of dollars)*:

	First Budget Resolution*	Second Budget Resolution*
Budget Authority	$604.4	$638.0
Outlays	532.0	547.6
Revenues	509.0	517.8
Deficit	− 23.0	− 29.8

* *Also included non-binding estimates for fiscal 1981-82.*

Final action on the resolution came more than two months after the Sept. 15 deadline set by the Congressional Budget Act (PL 93-344).

The original version (H Con Res 186) reported by the House Budget Committee failed by a 192-213 vote Sept. 19, and final House approval of the resolution (S Con Res 36) was delayed until Sept. 27.

Then conferees haggled for a record 23 days over spending for defense and social programs and the question of enforcement, known as reconciliation.

Senate and House budget conferees finally agreed to increase in both areas — allowing $129.9 billion for defense; $31 billion for education and social services; $7.25 billion for energy projects; and $190 billion for welfare programs.

They set the total budget authority at $638 billion; outlays at $547.6 billion; revenues at $517.8 billion; and the deficit at $29.8 billion.

But they could not resolve their differences over whether to order certain committees to make $3.6 billion in spending cuts in order to meet the budget limits.

This reconciliation process was approved by the Senate in a lopsided 90-6 vote Sept. 18 on its committee-drafted second budget resolution.

Finally, House members agreed to take the budget to the floor with an amendment to strike the reconciliation orders. Their resolution passed 205-190, sending the issue back to the Senate.

There, Budget Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, conferred with colleagues for more than a week on how to keep some teeth in the resolution.

They ultimately agreed on what he called a "sense of Congress commitment" that warned committees to stay within their limits and banned a third resolution to bail them out.

That language was then added to the conference-approved budget figures and sent to the floor Nov. 16. The Senate passed the revised resolution, 57-20, sending the measure to the House for the final vote Nov. 28.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Budget Committee reported the second fiscal 1980 budget resolution Aug. 24 (S Con Res 36 — S Rept 96-311).

Invoking a little-used procedure, the committee agreed Aug. 2 to propose that six authorizing committees and the Appropriations Committee be required to report legislation cutting $4 billion from 1980 spending.

The decision to try to force reluctant committees to reduce spending was part of a general Budget Committee agreement to stick as closely as possible to the tight fiscal policies approved in the first budget resolution, despite pressures for higher spending and a larger deficit. Those pressures included:

- Demands by some key senators for greater defense outlays in return for their support for the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II).
- Uncontrollable increases in the costs of Social Security, unemployment compensation, food stamps and similar programs.

Substantially revising its mid-July budget estimates, the Congressional Budget Office said outlays would automatically rise $9 billion above the first resolution figure due to the more pessimistic economic outlook. CBO also revised its early revenue forecasts, concluding that they would not rise enough to offset automatic spending increases. The budget office reported that the net budgetary impact of its changed forecasts would be to increase the deficit to $28.5 billion from $23 billion.

- Pressure from Republican lawmakers and some economists to cut taxes to fight recession.
- A few unanticipated cost increases, including an expanded effort to help Indochinese refugees and cost-overruns in the space shuttle.

"There seems to be only one direction: up," sighed Budget Committee Chairman Muskie as he reviewed the new budget figures.

Another budget panel member, Gary Hart, D-Colo., also noted a change in attitude since spring.

"A hundred and twenty days ago this committee was meeting, and the only phrase I heard was 'balance the budget,' " Hart said. "I've heard that phrase about three times this week."

Steady Fiscal Policy

After four days of markup, the Budget Committee agreed that defense spending would go up in future years, and it acquiesced to uncontrollable economy-related spending increases. But it rejected proposals for a tax cut, and voted to insist that committees stick to the tight discretionary spending and no tax cut policies the Senate adopted in May.

"It may well be that the economy will deteriorate in a way that will persuade all of us a tax cut is necessary," Muskie conceded. "But what troubles me is this: for the first time in years we've had a steady fiscal policy . . . tied to a commitment to hold down the deficit to curb inflation. To shift to a stimulative policy now is going to look like the same old Congress going for the first excuse to run up the deficit."

New budget totals approved by the committee were as follows *(in billions of dollars)*:

	First Budget Resolution	Senate Committee Recommendation
Budget Authority	$604.4	$632.2
Outlays	532.0	542.7
Revenues	509.0	514.7
Deficit	− 23.0	− 28.0

Although the committee's recommended deficit was $4.8 billion higher than the figure approved by Congress in May, almost the entire difference resulted from automatic changes resulting from new economic forecasts. Without the committee's proposed spending cutbacks, the deficit could be close to $32 billion.

Reconciliation

In an unusual move, the committee approved budget figures lower than the sum of authorizing and appropriations bills Congress was likely to approve. The panel then voted 9-4 to invoke the budget act's "reconciliation process," requiring individual committees to report legislation cutting spending bills to fit the budget resolution.

"Many Senate committees have failed to meet the [first] budget resolution mandate to make savings and economies in the programs under their jurisdiction," Muskie said.

The reconciliation process had never been successfully invoked. The Senate Budget Committee tried to use it in 1977 to force the Agriculture Committee to cut $700 million from that year's farm bill. The Agriculture Committee successfully fought off that challenge. *(1977 Almanac pp. 189, 417)*

In 1979, the Budget Committee sought a much more substantial reconciliation. It recommended that committees be ordered to report the following savings:

- Appropriations Committee, $2.3 billion ($700 million of which required action by authorizing committees).
- Finance Committee, $1.7 billion.
- Veterans' Affairs, $200 million.
- Environment and Public Works, $250 million (budget authority).
- Agriculture, $100 million.
- Armed Services, $100 million.
- Governmental Affairs, $100 million.

Other Upward Pressures

The Budget Committee acknowledged two major causes of increased federal spending, although neither would have substantial impact in the coming fiscal year.

First, the committee approved a proposal to increase its projected future level of defense spending $13.4 billion between 1982 and 1984. Those increases reflected deployment of the M-X missile, the air-launched cruise missile, a new cruise missile launch plane, the Trident submarine and Trident 1 and 2 missiles.

Friends and foes of those increases acknowledged that the Senate's SALT debate had made deployment of those new weapons systems likely.

"Something has changed since the last [budget] resolution," said Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del. "And that something is SALT. . . . I'm not at all convinced that the national interest requires [the increases], but I'm absolutely convinced it's going to happen."

Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., sponsor of the increases, agreed. "To get rid of the inadequacies in SALT, they are going to be deployed," he said. "This is a recognition of what probably is going to happen if SALT II is approved."

The committee did reject two proposals to increase 1980 defense spending. It voted 3-11 against a proposal by William L. Armstrong, R-Colo., to exempt uniformed military personnel from the 5.5 percent "cap" on pay raises for government employees.

Later, it rejected, 6-8, a proposal by Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., to add $2.6 billion to the defense budget to assure

that the United States met its commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to increase defense spending by 3 percent above inflation. Several pro-defense committee members, including Domenici, opposed the motion, arguing that it was too late for Congress to decide how to use those funds in 1980. The real battle over defense spending, would involve the years beyond 1980, they said.

The Budget Committee also acknowledged likely increases in energy spending by increasing budget authority for energy supply programs by $23.5 billion in fiscal 1980. Most of that represented creation of President Carter's proposed Energy Security Corporation.

The committee rejected, 5-11, the only proposal that would have substantially altered the fiscal policies set in the first resolution. The proposal, by Armstrong, would have cut 1980 spending to $529.6 billion while providing a $13.6 billion tax cut.

The lawmakers did acknowledge the increased threat recession posed to local governments in economically ailing regions, voting 9-6 to include funds in the budget in 1980, 1981 and 1982 for countercyclical fiscal assistance. A temporary program favored by the Finance Committee would provide $800 million in fiscal 1980, $1.3 billion in fiscal 1981 and $1 billion in fiscal 1982 to local governments in high unemployment areas. The program wouldn't be triggered until national unemployment surpassed 6.5 percent.

Finally, the Budget Committee gave further indication that general revenue sharing would be a major issue in the 1980 session of Congress. It voted 8-7 to eliminate from the budget a sum estimated to be the share of money that went to state governments under the program.

Reconciliation Compromise

The reconciliation dispute was largely resolved, in a substantial victory for Muskie, when Senate Democrats negotiated a compromise Sept. 13.

Under the compromise, several key committee chairmen agreed to cut $3.6 billion of the $4 billion the Budget Committee had insisted they take out of already approved spending bills. The accord left the Appropriations Committee free to decide where to make its $2.5 billion in cuts, took $300 million off the Finance Committee's $1.7 billion in required cuts, reduced to $100 million the $200 million in cuts expected of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, and gave all committees 30 days instead of 10 to make the savings.

Muskie termed the compromise "an important gain for the budget process."

The Senate had been scheduled to take up the budget resolution Sept. 12, but Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., postponed floor action pending resolution of the controversy.

House Committee Action

The House Budget Committee reported its version of the second resolution Sept. 14 (H Con Res 186 — H Rept 96-435).

Despite strong signs that the U.S. economy had tipped into a recession, the committee turned thumbs down to a stimulative tax cut Sept. 10, and instead tried mightily to propose a second budget resolution with a deficit below the magic $30 billion figure.

Unlike its stronger Senate counterpart, the House committee backed away from a direct confrontation with other panels on the reconciliation issue.

"I don't think we should try reconciliation," House Budget Chairman Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., told his committee. "I think we've tightened as much as we can without disrupting necessary government functions."

The House panel rejected on a voice vote a proposal by David R. Obey, D-Wis., to leave room in the budget for a $24 billion tax cut.

"When inflation is running at 10, 12, 14 percent a year, to talk about a tax cut is crazy," said Budget Committee member William M. Brodhead, D-Mich. His views typified those of the Democratic majority on the House panel.

During its two-day markup of the second budget resolution, the House Budget Committee made few substantive policy changes from the fiscal goals established in the first budget resolution.

Still, the committee wound up proposing a binding spending total almost $17 billion higher than the $532 billion Congress set as its target in the first resolution.

The House committee's totals, compared to the first resolution and the second resolution proposed by the Senate Budget Committee were as follows *(in billions of dollars)*:

	First Budget Resolution	Senate Committee	House Committee
Budget Authority	$604.4	$632.2	$632.6
Outlays	532.0	542.7	548.7
Revenues	509.0	514.7	519.5
Deficit	—23.0	—28.0	—29.2

Most of the increase in outlays between the first and second budget resolutions was forced by changes in the economic outlook and by re-estimates of the costs of various government programs.

Budget Chairman Giaimo estimated that higher interest rates, higher unemployment and inflation would add $7.3 billion to the cost of programs approved in the first resolution. In addition, he said, re-estimates of outlays for various programs added another $3.2 billion to the first resolution figure.

On top of that, the Budget Committee concluded that Congress was unlikely to achieve anywhere near the $4.3 billion in savings that the first budget resolution assumed would result from various legislative reforms. In spite of that, the committee built into its second resolution figures admittedly optimistic assumptions that more than $2.5 billion of those savings might still be achieved.

Assumed policy changes from the first resolution added about $5.5 billion to the committee's spending total. They included:

- A $1.9 billion increase in defense budget authority. That would allow a 7 percent pay raise in October, instead of 5.5 percent, plus additional funds to meet higher than anticipated fuel and other costs. Civilian government employees would also benefit from the higher pay raise.
- An increase of $400 million, to $550 million, for anti-recession fiscal assistance to local governments. The first budget resolution assumed that only $150 million would be spent, but higher unemployment estimates prompted the House committee to assume that a proposal by President Carter to provide special anti-recession assistance to states and localities when national unemployment topped 6.5 percent would be triggered.
- An additional $2.6 billion in outlays to accommodate new energy initiatives in 1980.

• An additional $674 million to fund fully the general revenue sharing program. The House had favored cutting the program in the first budget resolution, but Congress had since decided to continue it at full strength through the coming fiscal year.

• Other increases to provide for Indochinese refugees and to help resolve unexpected problems in development of the space shuttle.

The Deficit Problem

As the House panel neared completion of its markup, it became evident that it would have trouble bringing the deficit below $30 billion, a figure that had held considerable political sway since Carter first announced it as a goal in October 1978.

Having rejected reconciliation at a caucus Sept. 10, House Budget Democrats settled on several ideas to increase revenues enough to bring their projected deficit down to $29.2 billion.

First they voted to assume that the administration would begin requiring large employers to deposit their withheld taxes twice a week instead of just once. In addition, they voted to assume that legislation would be enacted increasing the amount of estimated taxes corporations must pay. Both would have the effect of bringing in more money during the fiscal year, although they wouldn't actually increase taxes over the long run. The Budget Committee estimated they would raise 1980 revenues $2 billion.

In addition, Giaimo convinced the committee to raise its revenue estimate $1.5 billion on the assumption that the increase in outlays from the first resolution would accelerate economic activity and thus add to the government's tax take.

Senate Floor Action

In the clearest indication yet that the SALT II arms control treaty had created a surge of support for military spending, the Senate Sept. 18 approved large increases in the defense budget for the next three years.

That action came shortly before the Senate adopted the second budget resolution by a 62-36 vote. *(Vote 295, p. 49-S)*

As approved by the Senate, the resolution provided the following binding budget levels for fiscal 1980: budget authority, $636.6 billion; outlays, $546.3 billion; revenues, $514.7 billion; and deficit, $31.6 billion.

Reconciliation

Most observers had expected the Senate Budget Committee's effort to wring spending cuts from reluctant lawmakers to be the dominant issue when S Con Res 36 reached the Senate floor. But the controversy was largely resolved, in a substantial victory for Muskie, when Senate Democrats negotiated a compromise Sept. 13.

The key to Muskie's success was an agreement he reached with Appropriations Committee Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash. The agreement left the Appropriations panel free to decide later how to achieve the $2.5 billion in spending cuts sought by the Budget Committee.

Under the reconciliation process invoked by the Budget Committee, the Appropriations panel would have been required to report legislation promptly to achieve the cuts. The Muskie-Magnuson agreement allowed Magnuson's panel to complete action on all appropriations bills and then decide how to live within the overall spending limits imposed by the budget resolution. In return for that flexibility, Magnuson promised he would stay within the limits.

Muskie cemented his agreement with Magnuson by successfully opposing a floor move by Budget Committee Republicans to clamp down more tightly on the Appropriations Committee.

The Republican amendment, sponsored by Domenici and Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., would have kept pending appropriations bills in Congress until the Appropriations Committee completed its work. It would have further required the Appropriations panel to estimate supplemental appropriations anticipated in spring 1980, and then to report rescission bills in fall 1979 that would assure that the overall spending limits were not breached.

Muskie's opposition to the amendment eased his recently strained relationship with Magnuson. "...Senator Magnuson ... has given us his commitment that he will do his best...," Muskie said. "I am willing to accept that commitment...."

The amendment died, 37-59. *(Vote 285, p. 48-S)*

While placating Magnuson, Muskie apparently appeased Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., by reducing to $1.4 billion, from $1.7 billion, the amount of savings that panel would be expected to achieve under the reconciliation process.

Muskie then won direct floor battles with disgruntled members of the Agriculture and Veterans' Affairs committees. Both panels mounted efforts to escape the Budget Committee's efforts to force them to report legislation to cut $100 million from programs in their jurisdictions. The Budget Committee prevailed on back-to-back 69-16 and 49-39 votes, paving the way for Senate approval of the entire reconciliation proposal on an overwhelming 90-6 vote. *(Votes 282, 283 and 286, p. 48-S)*

The Senate Armed Services and Governmental Affairs committees didn't even oppose reconciliation orders that they cut $100 million, respectively; nor did the Environment and Public Works panel object to a $250 million reduction in budget authority demanded of it.

The Defense Debate

Even before the Senate floor vote, the Budget Committee had conceded that defense spending should rise substantially in the next few years. The dramatic shift is revealed by the table below, which shows the first budget resolution defense total compared to the Senate Budget Committee's recommendation and the final figure approved on the Senate floor.

As the figures demonstrate, the Senate added a total of $42.5 billion to its three-year estimate of defense budget authority between the time the first budget resolution was adopted May 24 and the Senate floor action Sept. 18 on the second resolution. The totals *(in billions of dollars):*

	1980	1981	1982
First Budget Resolution	$136.6	$146.8	$156.5
Committee August Recommendation	136.8	147.3	159.0
Senate Floor Action	141.2	159.8	180.4
Total Increase	5.6	13.0	23.9

The dramatic nature of those spending increases was matched by the rhetoric of various pro-defense senators who spoke out for the hikes.

"It is time to wake up to the fact that we are engaged — whether we like it or not — in a serious competition with the Soviet Union, in which military strength inevitably plays a vital role," said Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C. "It is time to take our defense needs seriously. . . . While the Soviets build toward superiority, we allow our own strength, and consequently our own credibility, to ebb. . . . And then we sit and wonder why things seem to be going against our interest around the world."

That theme was repeated by Senate hawk after Senate hawk. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., said: "I think I can safely say that this country has never, in its history, been in such a dangerous condition militarily as we find it today."

Sam Nunn, D-Ga., a leading proponent of defense increases, put it this way: ". . .[W]e in this country have gone to sleep on the theory that we can end the arms race by slumbering away, and the Soviet Union has diligently, consistently, steadily set about a task of building the most awesome military machine mankind has ever seen."

Muskie countered that massive increases in defense spending would overwhelm efforts to balance the budget and slow down inflation.

". . .[T]he enemy who has the capacity . . . to devastate this economy . . . is not the Soviet Union nor any other enemy I can foresee," he said. "It is the enemy called inflation."

Stennis Support

Somewhat surprisingly, the Budget Committee chairman picked up support from Armed Services Chairman John C. Stennis, D-Miss. While Stennis supported the 1980 increase, he warned that the high 1981 and 1982 defense totals had not been adequately justified. Those figures could wind up haunting Congress because defense lobbyists would use them as a minimum for future efforts to increase military spending, Stennis warned.

"What are we voting for? Do we know how many submarines or ships or planes or missiles or what have you?" he asked. "No one knows. There has been no listing, no report, no examination, no priorities."

In two key votes, Hollings and Nunn prevailed over Muskie as the Senate approved first the Hollings proposal to boost defense spending to guarantee 3 percent real growth in 1980, and then the proposal to set a goal of 5 percent annual defense spending growth in 1981 and 1982. The 1980 increase, which had been endorsed by President Carter, was relatively non-controversial, 78-19. But the 55-42 vote on 1981 and 1982, while a very preliminary decision, marked a clear shift in Senate opinion on the military budget. *(Votes 288 and 289, p. 48-S)*

Other Issues

The defense increases drove the Senate's deficit above the $30 billion target that had been widely sought all year. But an effort by Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., to bring the shortfall back down by cutting non-defense programs across-the-board was tabled 57-41. Muskie vehemently denounced the cut as unfair in light of the defense spending hikes. *(Vote 294, p. 49-S)*

In other action, the Senate rejected two Republican efforts to slash spending drastically and make room in the budget for a tax cut. Opponents said the spending cuts were unrealistic and the tax cuts undesirable in view of inflation. Both votes fell basically along party lines. *(Votes 290 and 291, p. 49-S)*

Initial House Floor Action

Compared to the orderly and thorough Senate budget debate, the House took up its version of the second budget resolution in a disarray that grew through an evening session and culminated in the surprise rejection of the resolution Sept. 19.

The unexpected defeat, the first ever for a propcsed second budget resolution, appeared to result more from overconfidence on the part of House leaders and disorder in the ranks than from clearly defined differences over issues.

Typical of the confusion was a whirlwind debate on an amendment by Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y., to increase the House Budget Committee's defense total to the level endorsed by President Carter and the Senate. The amendment, which was called up without advance warning, was defeated 191-221, leaving the House Budget Committee's $138.2 billion budget authority and $128.6 billion outlay defense figures intact. *(Vote 441, p. 128-H)*

Stratton attributed the defeat largely to the fact that the Armed Services Committee hadn't organized an effort to win support for it. He also said the Carter administration's failure to lobby for the higher figure, despite the president's endorsement of it, hurt.

"In the past two or three years, the Armed Services Committee has always made an effort to restore the administration's defense figure after the Budget Committee cut it," Stratton said. "This year we couldn't even get the administration to come in and support their own figure."

Stratton said administration officials had told him they decided not to lobby for higher defense spending for fear House liberals would be so alienated that they would vote against the entire budget resolution. Budget Committee Democrats confirmed that they had urged the administration to take that position.

Partisanship

On other issues, the House's budget deliberations were a replay of former times. Once again, Republicans proposed a substitute amendment that would slash spending drastically and cut taxes. And John H. Rousselot, R-Calif., again offered a "balanced budget" amendment that inspired lengthy campaign-style rhetoric. Both amendments were defeated on essentially party-line votes. *(Votes 440 and 444, p. 128-H)*

There was one conservative Democratic attempt to cut spending — also a repeat of past budget debates. Jim Mattox, D-Texas, proposed eliminating funds for anti-recession fiscal assistance to state and local governments, and was again defeated. *(Vote 442, p. 128-H)*

In a largely symbolic vote, lawmakers approved an amendment purporting to endorse the concept of tuition tax credits. *(Vote 443, p. 128-H)*

But more important than the actual votes was the apparent collapse of efforts earlier in the year by fiscally conservative Democrats to form a budget coalition with Republicans.

James R. Jones, D-Okla., the leader in efforts to form the conservative budget coalition, denounced House Republicans for using the budget resolution to play politics rather than truly affect a conservative compromise.

Partly because of the breakdown of all efforts to form a conservative budget alliance, the House leadership approached the final budget vote with much greater confidence than it did the first budget resolution.

That confidence grew as the Stratton and Mattox amendments were quickly swept aside, and then as three amendments to cut spending across-the-board died without even coming to a recorded vote.

Although the mood of the House was increasingly rambunctious and the hour was late, the resolution's floor managers decided to push for a final vote late Sept. 19. The result was a stinging 192-213 defeat. *(Vote 445, p. 128-H)*

The defeat probably could have been avoided. The liberal Democratic vote was split. In addition, 21 Democrats, many of whom probably would have supported the resolution, were absent for the late-hour tally.

The lateness of the vote, a breakdown in discipline, and the unexpected rapidity with which the resolution moved through the House all apparently contributed to the vote.

"Things are crazy around here after nine o'clock," sighed Norman Y. Mineta, D-Calif.

The next day, Sept. 20, the Budget Committee agreed to cut $384 million from its earlier proposal and return to the House the following week.

House Passage

The budget resolution, slightly modified by the House Budget Committee following rejection of its first recommendation, was approved Sept. 27 on a slim 212-206 vote. No Republican voted for the measure, which was considered as a substitute for the Senate-approved text of S Con Res 36. *(Vote 467, p. 136-H)*

The fiscal 1980 budget totals approved by the House Sept. 27 and the Senate Sept. 19 are as follows *(in billions of dollars)*:

	Senate-passed	House-passed
Budget Authority	$636.6	$631.8
Outlays	546.3	548.2
Revenues	514.7	519.3
Deficit	—31.6	—28.9

Several factors helped assure House approval even though the revised resolution was essentially the same as the one the House had previously voted down. They included:

- Agreement on the part of a number of key liberals who opposed the previous resolution to support the revision. "This is not the kind of priority I would like to see established in this Congress," said one of the liberals, Parren J. Mitchell, D-Md. "Yet I have to look at ... political realities."
- A deal whereby the House leadership postponed a vote on a bill (S 832) limiting the amount of money political action committees (PACs) could give to House campaigns, in return for a promise from Mendel J. Davis, D-S.C., to deliver 11 votes for the budget resolution.

The deal may have been essential to the budget resolution's success, but it still upset Budget Chairman Giaimo. "The problem with the budget process is that it gets held hostage to every interest group that comes down the pike," he said.

- An agreement between Giaimo and Jones to work together on an amendment to the budget act which would impose an overall limit on government spending. *(Balanced Budget Movement, Economic Policy chapter)*

Conference Action

Faced with what Giaimo called a "classic conflict" over spending for arms and social welfare programs, conferees took a record 23 days to fashion a compromise second budget resolution for fiscal 1980 (H Rept 96-582 — reported Nov. 2).

And even then they were unable to resolve the reconciliation issue, leaving it to be thrashed out on the Senate and House floor.

House conferees agreed early during the long days of bargaining to meet the Senate's demand for $3 billion more in budget authority for defense.

And they approved an $1.4 billion increase in defense outlays above the House-passed level.

That allowed them to demand concessions from their more conservative Senate counterparts for education, welfare and social program funds.

When Muskie suggested cutting funds for certain programs, Giaimo was able to remind him, "We've gone up $3 billion in defense."

The House chairman won support for his position from Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., who lobbied the conferees to provide higher arms funds and advised them not to "bloody" themselves over "a few billion dollars" in extra social spending.

Complained Muskie at one point: "Every time we try to talk about those items, we get defense thrown in our face. It's as though we have to expiate our sins."

Budget Levels

As finally approved by the conferees Oct. 31, S Con Res 36 set the following binding budget levels *(in billions of dollars)*:

	Senate	House	Conference
Budget Authority	$636.6	$631.8	$638.0
Outlays	546.3	548.2	547.6
Revenues	514.7	519.3	517.8
Deficit	—31.6	—28.9	—29.8

The conference version provided for $1.3 billion more in spending than the version adopted by the Senate.

However, by increasing their estimates of fiscal 1980 tax revenues, the conferees were able to trim the deficit to $29.8 billion, $1.8 billion less than the Senate originally estimated.

The House hoped to peg that revenue increase to a windfall profits tax. But at Muskie's insistence, the conferees opted for language that specified the increase was due to a "compromise on numbers," not a policy decision.

Other agreements on spending ceilings included:

- Defense: $141.2 billion in budget authority; $129.9 billion in outlays. That outlay figure was $700 million lower than the Senate-passed level, but the House allowed dramatic increases over the ceiling in its resolution.
- Energy: $39.5 billion in budget authority; $7.25 billion in outlays. The outlays included an extra $250 million the Senate conceded to the House for new, unspecified energy programs.
- Education, jobs and social services: $30.9 billion in budget authority; $31 billion in outlays. The Senate agreed to increase its level by $500 million for these programs, but the House had to cut $300 million from its resolution.

The conferees earmarked this increase for the basic educational opportunity grants program, "pursuant to the appropriations process."

• Welfare: $190 billion for outlays. That was $1.3 billion higher than the Senate-passed figure, with most of the increase earmarked for the low-income fuel assistance program.

Reconciliation

The compromise resolution also contained instructions to six authorizing committees to cut $1.8 billion from already passed legislation.

And it ordered House and Senate appropriations panels to cut spending 1980 by $2.55 billion.

However, House conferees opposed the reconciliation instructions and said they would move to strike that provision.

Giaimo said his panel already had negotiated $1.7 billion in legislative savings from committee chairmen. To require them to make more cuts would be risky, he maintained.

"I would have much preferred if the House had agreed [on reconciliation]," Muskie said after conclusion of the conference.

"But the issue will be presented to the House in a legitimate and constructive way — which I hope will have the effect of legitimizing the reconciliation process."

Impact of Delay

Conferees worried throughout the long conference that delay might weaken the budget process.

"We have to salvage the budget process in the next few days or just concede that we're unable to achieve any discipline in any of these programs," Domenici argued.

But Muskie and Giaimo stressed they were not alone in missing a legislative deadline: Several appropriation and authorization bills also were overdue.

"There's nothing magic in a deadline date if it's impossible to reach agreement on it," Giaimo said.

Reconciliation Stalemate

The Senate by a 65-27 vote Nov. 7 approved the conference report's spending and revenue limits, but with the provision requiring seven committees to cut $3.6 billion from spending bills. *(Vote 387, p.64-S)*

Muskie urged the House to adopt the resolution as approved by the Senate as a "clear signal to the American public that the Congress is serious about fiscal restraint and is using every legislative tool to control the federal budget."

But Giaimo asked the House Nov. 8 to approve a resolution that did not contain the budget-cutting instructions.

Requiring further cuts, Budget Committee member Paul Simon, D-Ill., argued, would be like "throwing salt in the wounds of our colleagues who have done a good job."

House Republican Leader John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz., tried to muster a bipartisan coalition to fight for reconciliation. He promised that Republicans would vote for the budget if it contained such instructions.

"I consider reconciliation so important that I would be willing to vote for this budget, even though the spending figures are way out of line," he said in a statement Nov. 7.

But the House sustained Giaimo, approving the resolution, minus reconciliation, 205-190. *(Vote 569, p. 168-H)*

"We pulled out all the stops to get it passed," a committee aide said.

Had Giaimo's resolution failed, Delbert L. Latta, R-Ohio, ranking Republican on the Budget Committee, would have offered an alternative budget containing identical spending figures but restoring the reconciliation instructions.

That way, Giaimo would have had an up or down vote on whether the House was willing to make the $3.6 billion in budget cuts.

Muskie and ranking Republican on the panel, Henry Bellmon, Okla., immediately issued statements saying they were encouraged by the "closeness" of the vote.

'Landslide' Margin

But Giaimo disagreed that the vote was close. He called it a "landslide" margin for the budget resolution — which often passed only by a few votes.

"I don't see how they can take any solace from the vote," Giaimo said.

The House Budget chairman pointed to the 15-vote spread as evidence that "I can't take on seven committees in the House" over spending cuts.

And he maintained there was not enough time left on the legislative calendar to order the panels to rescind spending and report reconciliation bills to the floor.

"They've made their point. We've made Congress aware of reconciliation," Giaimo said. "But it's just too massive to achieve this year."

Senate Compromise

The Senate agreed Nov. 16 to drop formal enforcement language from the second fiscal 1980 budget resolution, but replaced it with a warning that Congress would not bail out committees that refused to meet their spending limits.

By a 57-20 vote, the Senate adopted a new version of the resolution (S Con Res 53) that retained the compromise spending and tax levels previously approved by both chambers in S Con Res 36. In addition, it included a "sense of the Congress" commitment urging committees to make budget cuts originally ordered by the Senate in the form of reconciliation instructions. *(Vote 411, p. 69-S)*

The Senate Budget Committee finally conceded that the House would not approve the formal budget cutting procedure, so it constructed the sense of Congress language instead.

The sense of Congress commitment also barred passage of a third budget resolution in the second session, except to offset a severe recession or other emergency.

"We are making clear now we will not have a third budget resolution to bail out committees who do not make the concessions," Bellmon said.

$10.7 Billion Supplemental

Muskie said the budget provided only enough funds for a $10.7 billion supplemental appropriations bill — a sum that would be cut by $3.6 billion if committees refused to make their assigned savings.

That would threaten such programs as food stamps, refugee assistance, student aid, strategic stockpile acquisitions and countercyclical revenue sharing, Muskie said.

"This is not some horrors list, designed to frighten and alarm. It is the actual list of major 'controllable' supplemental appropriations requests which will have to bear the brunt of spending for the lost savings," he said.

Budget Levels by Function

(in billions of dollars)

Budget Authority

	First Resolution	Second Resolution
National Defense	$136.6	$141.2
International Affairs	12.6	13.1
General Science, Space and Technology	5.7	5.85
Energy	18.8	39.5
Natural Resources and Environment	12.6	12.6
Agriculture	5.0	5.0
Commerce and Housing Credit	6.9	6.8
Transportation	19.45	19.5
Community and Regional Development	8.9	8.9
Education, Training, Employment and Social Services	30.5	30.9
Health	58.1	58.8
Income Security	214.8	218.5
Veterans Benefits and Services	21.2	21.45
Administration of Justice	4.2	4.2
General Government	4.4	4.45
General Purpose Fiscal Assistance	8.1	9.05
Interest	56.0	58.1
Allowances	− 0.1	− 0.2
Undistributed Offsetting Receipts	− 19.7	− 19.7
Total	$604.4	$638.0

Outlays

National Defense	$124.2	$129.9
International Affairs	7.9	8.4
General Science, Space, and Technology	5.5	5.7
Energy	6.8	7.25
Natural Resources and Environment	11.7	11.9
Agriculture	5.4	2.55
Commerce and Housing Credit	3.2	2.85
Transportation	18.2	18.6
Community and Regional Development	8.1	8.35
Education, Training, Employment and Social Services	30.5	31.0
Health	53.6	54.45
Income Security	183.3	190.0
Veterans Benefits and Services	20.6	20.8
Administration of Justice	4.4	4.4
General Government	4.3	4.2
General Purpose Fiscal Assistance	8.1	9.05
Interest	56.0	58.1
Allowances	− 0.1	− 0.2
Undistributed Offsetting Receipts	− 19.7	− 19.7
Total	$532.0	$547.6

Final Action

When the revised resolution came to the House floor Nov. 28, Republicans made a last-ditch attempt to block passage by moving to refer the resolution to the Budget Committee with instructions to cut 2 percent from all areas but defense and veterans' affairs.

Leading the well-orchestrated Republican maneuver was Latta, who charged the cut was necessary to contain Congress' "reckless, expansive fiscal policies."

The GOP proposal, Latta argued, would trim the growth in federal spending from nearly 11 percent to just over 9 percent and save taxpayers $7.9 billion.

"I'm convinced the federal government can exist perfectly well on a spending increase of 9.3 percent," Latta said.

GOP colleague Ralph S. Regula, R-Ohio, criticized as "nothing more than appeasement language" the Senate-drafted language banning another budget resolution to bail out committees that spend more than their limits.

And Republican policy chief Bud Shuster, Pa., warned that "next spring, when cherry blossoms bloom around the Tidal Basin, there's going to be a third budget resolution blossoming on Capitol Hill."

Giaimo, however, accused the Republicans of "speaking with forked tongue."

He said they refused to vote for budget resolutions on grounds they were too generous, while also opposing legislation designed to save money — such as the hospital cost containment bill rejected by the House Nov. 15. *(Cost containment, Health, Education and Welfare chapter)*

"In the Senate the Republicans are committed to the budget process," Giaimo said. "In the House they are not."

20-Vote Margin

Giaimo's heated speeches to his Democratic colleagues carried: The House defeated the Republican motion by a vote of 187-207. It then adopted the resolution, 206-186. *(Votes 608, 609, p. 180-H)*

Speaking to reporters after the vote, Giaimo acknowledged that Congress might need a third budget resolution given "this [economic] downturn that is going to come after the first of the year."

But he said such a resolution would not be used to fund spending by committees that refused to meet their limits under the budget.

"It is a real ceiling with real teeth," Giaimo said, indicating he would support efforts to shelve bills that exceeded the budget limit.

Under House rules, any member could raise a point of order against a bill on grounds it would push spending over the budget ceiling. That would prohibit consideration of the legislation. In the Senate, such points of order could be appealed and overturned.

Giaimo also told reporters he and Rep. James R. Jones, D-Okla., had made "substantial" progress on an amendment to the 1974 Congressional Budget Act that would limit federal spending to 20 percent of the gross national product (GNP) and also put a cap on taxes.

Such legislation was needed, he said, because "the budget process obviously is not working as well as we would expect."

The Budget chairman complained, "I can show them how to cut — but can I get the committees to go along with me? No." ∎

Carter Budget

Fiscal 1980 Budget: 'The Policy of Restraint'

The growth of government would nearly grind to a halt under the "lean and austere" fiscal year 1980 budget President Carter sent to Congress on Jan. 22.

True to his commitment to reduce the federal deficit and shrink the relative size of the government, Carter proposed a $531.6 billion spending total. He estimated revenues at $502.6 billion, and predicted a resulting $29 billion deficit.

Overall, the president's budget would actually reduce government services in all but three major areas. The most controversial of these was national defense spending, which would climb 3 percent above inflation. In addition, the rising cost of retirement, disability and health care programs would be met. And the unavoidable increase in interest on the national debt would be covered.

But otherwise the president's budget was tight indeed. At $531.6 billion, it would be $17.8 billion below the goal Carter set in July 1978. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) reported that it was $12.6 billion less than would be needed to maintain all government services at their 1979 levels.

Carter said the budget would help ease inflation while enabling the economy to continue growing. Some economists argued that even that sober assessment was overly optimistic.

While insisting on a fairly upbeat economic forecast, the president did agree that an economic slowdown and a slight increase in joblessness were necessary in order to bring inflation under control.

"The policy of restraint . . . is an imperative if we are to overcome the threat of accelerating inflation," he said. "If that threat is realized, it would severely disrupt our economy and the well-being of our society. Americans with low and fixed incomes would suffer the most. Restraint would eventually become an inescapable necessity. But the longer we wait, the more severe and costly the inevitable restraint will be." *(Text of message, p. 3-E)*

Administration Claims

Administration officials claimed that Carter had gone about the task of reducing spending without crippling government or hurting the poor.

"While the budget is austere, it is also fair," said OMB Director James T. McIntyre Jr. "It restrains the government's demand on the economy but at the same time it makes the federal dollar work harder and better."

The theme was echoed by other Carter aides. Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal said the budget was "tough, but fair and prudently scaled" to the nation's resources. Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Charles L. Schultze said it was "feasible and desirable."

Carter followed a variety of strategies to reduce spending. He dropped or scaled back several of his own planned initiatives, proposed major cutbacks in anti-recession public service jobs programs, and chipped away at some social programs by reducing benefits and tightening eligibility requirements. The president's budget leveled the flow of grant money to state and local governments, tried in some cases to shift spending to the public sector, planned for substantial controls on health care costs, and suggested a ceiling on federal employees' pay that would drop government workers further behind their counterparts in the private sector than they already are.

Aside from the general belt-tightening, it was difficult to find a unifying theme in the budget. Rather than promise new initiatives or innovations, it attempted basically to manage a reduction in the size of government as peacefully and efficiently as possible.

Carter did make innovations in the way he prepared and presented the budget. Rather than sending the usual one-year budget, he spelled out his spending plans for the next three years. He also proposed a new process for planning and controlling federal credit activities.

Budget Totals

(in billions of dollars)

	1978 actual	1979 estimate	1980 estimate
Budget outlays	$450.8	$493.4	$531.6
Budget receipts	402.0	456.0	502.6
Deficit (—)	48.8	37.4	29.0
Budget authority	$501.5	$559.7	$615.5

Overall Budget Policy

Carter's tight-fisted approach to the budget was foreshadowed a year ago, but the 1980 proposal restrained spending even more dramatically. The $38.2 billion increase for the new fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1, would boost spending by 7.7 percent — only slightly more than the 7 percent inflation the administration forecast for the fiscal year. That increase compares to a 9.4 percent increase for the previous year and an average annual growth in federal spending of 12.1 percent between 1973 and 1978.

The slower growth in federal spending would continue in the future under Carter's budget. He proposed an 8.7 percent increase in outlays for 1981, and a 6.4 percent boost in 1982.

The president boasted that his spending plans would reduce the relative size of the federal government, which he described as "a fundamental goal of my policy, equally as important as reducing the deficit."

Under the new budget, federal outlays would drop to 21.2 percent of gross national product (GNP) in 1980 from 22.1 percent in 1978. Carter projected that his policies would further reduce the government's share of the economy to 20.3 percent in 1982.

As published in the CQ Weekly Report, Jan. 27, 1979

Economic Assumptions

(Calendar years; dollar amounts in billions)

Item	Actual 1977	FORECAST 1978	1979	1980	ASSUMPTIONS 1981	1982	1983	1984
Major economic indicators								
Gross national product, percent change, fourth quarter over fourth quarter:								
Current dollars	11.9	12.7	9.8	9.8	10.0	8.9	7.4	5.8
Constant (1972) dollars	5.5	4.0	2.2	3.2	4.6	4.6	4.2	3.0
GNP deflator (percent change, fourth quarter over fourth quarter)	6.1	8.4	7.4	6.4	5.2	4.1	3.0	2.7
Consumer Price Index (percent change, December over December)[1]	6.8	9.2	7.4	6.3	5.1	4.0	2.9	2.7
Unemployment rate (percent, fourth quarter)	6.6	5.8	6.2	6.2	5.4	4.6	4.0	4.0
Annual economic assumptions:								
Gross national product:								
Current dollars:								
Amount	1,887	2,106	2,343	2,565	2,825	3,090	3,336	3,546
Percent change, year over year	11.0	11.6	11.3	9.5	10.1	9.4	7.9	6.3
Constant (1972) dollars:								
Amount	1,333	1,384	1,430	1,466	1,528	1,599	1,669	1,727
Percent change, year over year	4.9	3.9	3.3	2.5	4.2	4.7	4.4	3.4
Incomes:								
Personal income	1,529	1,707	1,894	2,078	2,288	2,503	2,702	2,872
Wages and salaries	984	1,101	1,217	1,335	1,469	1,607	1,734	1,844
Corporate profits	174	202	227	237	264	293	317	337
Price level:								
GNP deflator:								
Level (1972 = 100), annual average	141.6	152.1	163.9	175.0	184.9	193.2	199.8	205.3
Percent change, year over year	5.9	7.4	7.7	6.8	5.7	4.5	3.4	2.8
Consumer Price index:[1]								
Level (1967 = 100), annual average	181.5	195.4	211.4	225.5	238.4	249.1	257.6	264.7
Percent change, year over year	6.5	7.6	8.2	6.7	5.7	4.5	3.4	2.7
Unemployment rates:								
Total, annual average	7.0	6.0	6.0	6.2	5.7	4.9	4.2	4.0
Insured, annual average[2]	3.9	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.2	2.6	2.2	2.1
Federal pay raise, October (percent)[3]	7.0	5.5	5.5	5.25	5.0	4.75	4.5	4.25
Interest rate, 91-day Treasury bills (percent)[4]	5.3	7.2	8.8	7.6	6.6	5.4	4.4	3.7

[1] *CPI for urban wage earners and clerical workers. There are now two versions of the CPI published. The index shown here is that currently used, as required by law, in calculating automatic cost-of-living increases for indexed Federal programs.*

[2] *This measures unemployment under state regular unemployment insurance as a percentage of covered employment under that program. It does not include recipients of extended benefits under that program.*

[3] *Pay raises become effective in October of each year—the first month of the new fiscal year. Thus the October 1979 pay raise will set new pay scales that will be in effect during fiscal year 1980.*

[4] *Average rate on new issues within period. In the past, interest rates for the forecast period have been assumed to remain at the levels prevailing at the time the estimates were made. Because it would be unrealistic to assume continuation of the current unusually high interest rates, these estimates assume, by convention, that interest rates decline with the rate of inflation.*

SOURCE: Fiscal 1980 Budget

Those policies would shrink the relative size of the government to its lowest level since 1974, when a deep recession, coupled with high inflation, sent costs skyrocketing. Still, government would consume a larger share of the nation's economic output in 1980 than it did in any year between 1958 and 1974 — with the single exception of 1968, when Vietnam War spending reached its peak.

While Carter's budget would reduce spending in relative terms, his decision to forgo a general income or Social Security tax cut meant that tax burdens would rise. That's because taxes increase as inflation pushes wage earners into higher tax brackets. Carter estimated that federal taxes would comprise 20.1 percent of GNP in 1980, up from 19.9 percent in 1979. Barring future tax cuts, the federal tax bite would equal 21.6 percent of GNP by 1982, according to the president's budget.

The expected rise in tax burdens enabled Carter to project that the federal budget would be nearly balanced by fiscal 1981, and that it would post a significant surplus in 1982 and 1983. But administration officials cautioned that the need to stimulate the economy, and the president's desire to reduce tax burdens, could very well foil the chances of an actual surplus.

"Our projections assume no change in tax policy," McIntyre told reporters. "We haven't made a conscious decision about tax policy yet."

Reaction

Carter's proposed budget austerity set off howls of protest from liberal groups.

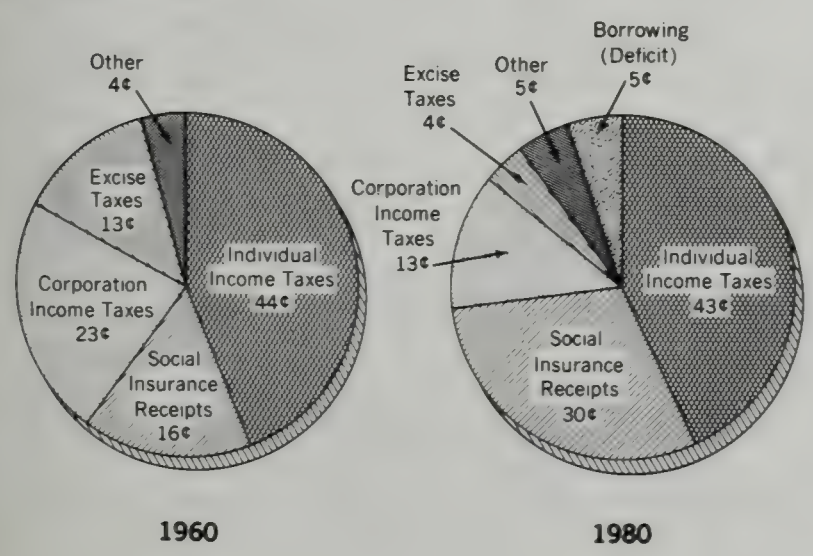
The administration tried to depict critics of the president's budget as being "special interest" groups not concerned about the best interest of the entire country. But a number of coalitions began forming to fight the proposed budget cuts anyway.

Even most liberals conceded the political attractiveness of a reduced deficit. Rather than argue that overall spending should be higher, they complained that Carter hadn't fairly distributed the hardship of austerity.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said at a press conference Jan. 22 that the idea of a $30 billion deficit was an "admirable goal." But he told the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights: "The budget is an unfair one because it gives too much to some in our society and demands too much from others."

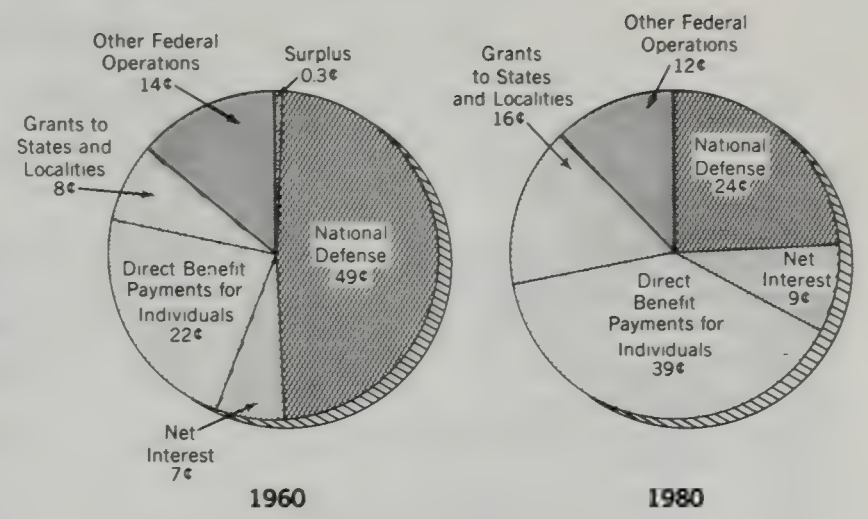
The Budget Dollar

Where it comes from...



The Budget Dollar

Where it goes...



Kennedy criticized Carter's decision to increase defense spending, and he complained that the president hadn't proposed eliminating tax expenditures — "loopholes" — as a means of bringing down the deficit.

From the political right came complaints that Carter hadn't cut federal spending enough. "To describe such a budget as 'lean and austere' is like talking about a crash diet that permits banana splits and lemon cream pie," said Sen. William L. Armstrong, R-Colo. He said Carter had made "cosmetic cuts" without reducing the "big spending programs where most of the waste occurs."

Also holding that view was a five-senator group that dubbed itself the "Save Our Bucks Task Force." Originally established in 1978, the group vowed to press an alternative spending plan that would be $10 billion — about 2 percent — below Carter's proposal.

Budget's Realism Questioned

Between those two extremes were a number of lawmakers who praised Carter's objectives but questioned whether they could be attained.

House Budget Committee Chairman Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., pledged to try to meet Carter's goal of reducing the deficit, but he cautioned that economic forces could make the goal unreachable.

"It must be borne in mind . . . that even with austere spending restraint, the future performance of the economy can swing the deficit significantly," Giaimo said. "An increase of just 1 percent in unemployment, for example, can increase the deficit by $16 billion-$20 billion because of the necessity of increased spending for mandated programs such as unemployment compensation and welfare, and the revenue loss due to reduced tax receipts."

The credibility of Carter's budget came into question Jan. 25, when Congressional Budget Office Director Alice M. Rivlin told the House Budget Committee that the president had understated how much would have to be cut from the budget to reach the $30 billion deficit goal. She estimated that the president's proposals would actually result in a deficit around $41 billion.

"Under the economic conditions forecast by CBO, the committee would have to recommend deeper spending cuts than proposed by the president in order to achieve a budget deficit of under $30 billion and to hold the growth in outlays to below 8 percent in 1980," Rivlin said.

Fiscal 1980 Budget by Function: $531.6 Billion in

(in millions of dollars)†

	BUDGET AUTHORITY‡			OUTLAYS		
	1978	1979 est.	1980 est.	1978	1979 est.	1980 est.
NATIONAL DEFENSE						
Military Defense	$115,322	$125,209	$135,041	$103,042	$111,900	$122,700
Atomic Energy Defense Activities	2,514	2,614	3,022	2,070	2,509	2,968
Defense-Related Activities	93	94	183	76	97	166
Deductions#	—2	—3	—3	—2	—3	—3
TOTAL	$117,926	$127,915	$138,243	$105,186	$114,503	$125,830
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS						
Foreign Economic and Financial Assistance	$ 6,472	$ 7,013	$ 8,348	$ 4,629	$5,303	$ 5,523
Military Assistance	608	653	560	484	577	516
Conduct of Foreign Affairs	1,241	1,330	1,352	1,128	1,218	1,410
Foreign Information and Exchange Activities	451	508	521	423	505	529
International Financial Programs	1,124	4,216	2,952	—641	—193	314
Deductions#	—100	—97	—78	—100	—97	—78
TOTAL	$ 9,795	$13,622	$13,655	$ 5,922	$7,312	$ 8,213
GENERAL SCIENCE, SPACE AND TECHNOLOGY						
General Science and Basic Research	$ 1,275	$ 1,349	$ 1,485	$ 1,160	$1,300	$1,403
Space Flight	2,192	2,424	2,332	2,260	2,371	2,339
Space Science, Applications and Technology	1,065	1,227	1,401	972	1,170	1,310
Supporting Space Activities	369	384	435	354	387	407
Deductions#	—4	—2	—2	—4	—2	—2
TOTAL	$ 4,897	$ 5,381	$ 5,651	$ 4,742	$ 5,226	$ 5,457
ENERGY						
Energy Supply	$ 3,725	$ 3,010	$ 17,999	$ 3,970	$ 4,896	$ 4,371
Energy Conservation	527	659	555	221	490	660
Emergency Energy Preparedness	3,175	3,007	8	897	2,367	1,961
Energy Information, Policy and Regulation	842	980	1,003	798	974	969
Deductions#	—25	—96	—84	—25	—96	—84
TOTAL	$ 8,242	$ 7,560	$ 19,482	$ 5,861	$ 8,630	$ 7,878
NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT						
Water Resources	$ 3,818	$3,531	$ 4,113	$ 3,468	$ 3,600	$ 3,670
Conservation and Land Management	2,450	2,198	1,877	1,984	2,014	1,716
Recreational Resources	1,825	1,873	1,752	1,439	1,460	1,394
Pollution Control and Abatement	5,376	5,312	5,105	3,964	4,083	4,673
Other Natural Resources	1,212	1,307	1,370	1,157	1,303	1,342
Deductions#	—1,087	—1,252	—1,339	—1,087	—1,252	—1,339
TOTAL	$ 13,593	$ 12,970	$ 12,878	$ 10,925	$ 11,207	$ 11,456
AGRICULTURE						
Farm Income Stabilization	$ 1,337	$ 6,910	$ 3,559	$ 6,588	$ 4,920	$ 3,049
Agricultural Research and Services	1,221	1,405	1,311	1,129	1,307	1,223
Deductions#	14	—3	—3	14	—3	—3
TOTAL	$ 2,573	$ 8,312	$ 4,868	$ 7,731	$ 6,224	$ 4,269
COMMERCE AND HOUSING CREDIT						
Mortgage Credit and Thrift Insurance	$ 1,968	$3,442	$ 4,405	$ 210	$ —472	$ —323
Postal Service	1,787	1,803	1,698	1,778	1,803	1,698
Other Advancement and Regulation of Commerce	1,558	1,737	2,213	1,342	1,637	2,016
Deductions#	—5	—*	—*	—5	—*	—*
TOTAL	$ 5,308	$6,982	$8,315	$3,325	$2,968	$3,390
TRANSPORTATION						
Ground Transportation	$ 9,819	$ 14,095	$ 13,205	$ 10,355	$ 11,973	$ 11,876
Air Transportation	3,321	3,792	3,760	3,277	3,526	3,635
Water Transportation	1,920	2,056	2,096	1,854	1,906	2,057
Other Transportation	85	91	90	61	97	91
Deductions#	—102	—53	—50	—102	—53	—50
TOTAL	$ 15,043	$ 19,981	$ 19,101	$15,444	$ 17,449	$ 17,609
COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT						
Community Development	$ 4,403	$ 4,794	$ 4,834	$ 3,302	$ 3,715	$ 4,316
Area and Regional Development	2,679	2,797	6,049	4,850	4,062	2,473
Disaster Relief and Insurance	3,246	553	394	2,871	1,305	510
Deductions#	—23	—19	—19	—23	—19	—19
TOTAL	$ 10,306	$ 8,126	$ 11,259	$ 11,000	$ 9,063	$ 7,281

Expenditures, $615.5 Billion in Spending Authority

(in millions of dollars)†

	BUDGET AUTHORITY‡			OUTLAYS		
	1978	1979 est.	1980 est.	1978	1979 est.	1980 est.
EDUCATION, TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL SERVICES						
Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education	$ 6,721	$ 7,765	$ 7,730	$5,686	$ 6,517	$ 7,106
Higher Education	4,300	5,507	5,200	3,486	4,873	4,887
Research and General Education Aids	1,228	1,339	1,405	1,082	1,272	1,330
Training and Employment	4,802	12,094	10,623	10,784	11,729	11,002
Other Labor Services	440	530	543	410	520	525
Social Services	4,891	5,823	5,414	5,027	5,757	5,372
Deductions#	—12	—12	—12	—12	—12	—12
TOTAL	$ 22,370	$ 33,046	$ 30,903	$ 26,463	$ 30,656	$ 30,210
HEALTH						
Health Care Services	$ 41,773	$47,499	$ 52,660	$ 39,103	$ 44,494	$48,462
Health Research	3,007	3,388	3,440	2,822	3,029	3,365
Education and Training of Health Care Work Force	850	694	579	930	704	623
Consumer and Occupational Health and Safety	858	949	962	838	925	943
Deductions#	—18	—15	—14	—18	—15	—14
TOTAL	$ 46,469	$ 52,515	$57,627	$ 43,676	$ 49,136	$ 53,379
INCOME SECURITY						
General Retirement and Disability Insurance	$ 92,893	$106,028	$121,816	$ 97,257	$107,903	$121,224
Federal Employee Retirement and Disability	18,069	20,836	23,020	10,665	12,368	14,127
Unemployment Compensation	14,676	15,726	15,710	11,769	10,296	12,410
Public Assistance and Other Income Supplements	54,438	48,363	53,914	26,521	28,300	31,360
Deductions#	*	—*	—*	*	—*	—*
TOTAL	$180,077	$190,954	$214,460	$146,212	$158,867	$179,120
VETERANS BENEFITS AND SERVICES						
Income Security	$ 10,132	$ 11,244	$12,251	$ 9,745	$ 10,918	$ 11,955
Education, Training and Rehabilitation	2,635	2,446	2,278	3,365	2,701	2,241
Hospital and Medical Care	5,638	6,149	5,862	5,254	5,918	5,842
Housing	0	0	0	28	106	—215
Other Benefits and Services	635	678	635	585	689	642
Deductions#	—3	—3	—3	—3	—3	—3
TOTAL	$ 19,037	$ 20,514	$ 21,024	$ 18,974	$ 20,329	$ 20,461
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE						
Federal Law Enforcement Activities	$ 1,894	$ 2,066	$ 2,087	$ 1,831	$ 2,071	$ 2,072
Federal Litigative and Judicial Activities	1,029	1,212	1,346	943	1,189	1,328
Federal Correctional Activities	308	350	334	307	367	377
Criminal Justice Assistance	654	658	546	729	733	622
Deductions#	—8	—10	—10	—8	—10	—10
TOTAL	$ 3,877	$ 4,276	$ 4,304	$ 3,802	$ 4,351	$ 4,388
GENERAL GOVERNMENT						
Legislative Functions	$ 904	$ 1,011	$ 1,041	$ 900	$ 1,022	$ 1,064
Executive Direction and Management	79	85	92	73	89	91
Central Fiscal Operations	2,171	2,453	2,494	2,124	2,438	2,485
General Property and Records Management	279	460	387	214	304	226
Central Personnel Management	126	135	136	129	135	140
Other General Government	691	575	510	523	606	538
Deductions#	—188	—182	—133	—188	—182	—133
TOTAL	$ 4,063	$ 4,536	$ 4,528	$ 3,777	$ 4,413	$ 4,412
GENERAL PURPOSE FISCAL ASSISTANCE						
General Revenue Sharing	$ 6,862	$ 6,862	$ 6,861	$ 6,830	$ 6,860	$ 6,869
Other General Purpose Fiscal Assistance	2,865	1,911	1,943	2,772	2,077	1,945
TOTAL	$ 9,728	$ 8,773	$ 8,804	$ 9,601	$ 8,936	$ 8,814
INTEREST						
Interest on the Public Debt	$ 48,695	$ 59,800	$ 65,700	$ 48,695	$ 59,800	$ 65,700
Other Interest	—4,728	—7,035	—8,679	—4,729	—7,034	—8,678
TOTAL	$43,967	$ 52,765	$ 57,021	$ 43,966	$ 52,766	$ 57,022
CIVILIAN AGENCY PAY RAISES	$ 0	$ 0	$ 926	$ 0	$ 0	$ 898
CONTINGENCIES	$ 0	$ 100	$ 1,500	$ 0	$ 0	$ 500
OFFSETTING RECEIPTS	$—15,772	$—18,670	$—19,002	$—15,772	$—18,670	$—19,022
GRAND TOTAL	$501,500	$559,658	$615,526	$450,836	$493,368	$531,566

† Figures may not add to totals due to rounding.
‡ Primarily appropriations.
 # For offsetting receipts.
** Less than $500 thousand.*

SOURCE: Fiscal 1980 Budget

Budget Terminology

The federal **budget** is the president's financial plan for the federal government. It accounts for how government funds have been raised and spent, and it proposes financial policies. It covers the **fiscal year**. Fiscal year 1980 begins Oct. 1, 1979, and ends Sept. 30, 1980.

The budget discusses **receipts**, amounts the government expects to raise in taxes; **budget authority**, amounts agencies are allowed to obligate or lend; and **outlays**, amounts actually paid out by the government in cash or checks during the year. Examples of outlays are funds spent to buy equipment or property, to meet the government's liability under a contract or to pay the salaries of employees. Outlays also include net lending — the difference between disbursements and repayments under government lending programs.

The purpose of the budget is to establish priorities, and to chart the government's **fiscal policy**, which is the coordinated use of taxes and expenditures to affect the economy.

Congress adopts its own budget in the form of **budget resolutions**. The **first budget resolution**, adopted May 15, sets overall goals for tax and spending, broken down among major budget categories, called **functions**. The **second budget resolution**, adopted Sept. 15, sets binding budget figures.

An **authorization** is an act of Congress that establishes government programs. It defines the scope of programs and sets a ceiling for how much can be spent on them. Authorizations do not actually provide the money. In the case of authority to enter contractual obligations, though, Congress authorizes the administration to make firm commitments for which funds must later be provided. Congress also occasionally includes mandatory spending requirements in an authorization in order to ensure spending at a certain level.

An **appropriation** provides money for programs, within the limits established in authorizations. An appropriation may be for a single year, a specified period of years, or an indefinite number of years, according to the restrictions Congress wishes to place on spending for particular purposes.

Appropriations generally take the form of **budget authority**. Budget authority often differs from actual outlays. That is because, in practice, funds actually spent or obligated during a year may be drawn partly from the budget authority conferred in the year in question and partly from budget authority conferred in previous years.

She also warned that a change in economic conditions could virtually destroy the chances of achieving the shrunken deficit.

Fiscal Policy

Even before the budget was released, Carter had made it clear that he had reduced his goals for economic growth and increased jobs in order to fight inflation.

When the president presented his fiscal 1979 budget to Congress, in January 1978, he said his policies were designed to help the economy grow at a rate of 4.8 percent in 1979. That would help cut unemployment to 5.8 percent by the end of the year. Inflation, which received secondary attention in the 1979 budget, was expected to run at about a 6 percent clip.

In 1978, unemployment dropped and inflation accelerated more rapidly than Carter expected. The jobless rate fell to 5.8 percent — a level Carter hadn't expected until a year later. The consumer price index, on the other hand, climbed an unexpected 9.25 percent during the last year.

Both developments prompted Carter to shift his attention from unemployment toward inflation. The change was reflected in the new economic forecasts in the fiscal 1980 budget.

For 1979, Carter revised his forecast for overall economic growth downward to 2.2 percent. He conceded that the new policies would be unable to keep unemployment from rising to 6.2 percent from 5.8 percent. But he argued that his policies would help reduce the inflation rate to 7.4 percent in 1979 — still above the level he predicted a year ago but significantly lower than the actual rate in 1978.

Administration economists predicted that growth would pick back up to 3.2 percent in 1980. They said the unemployment rate would hold steady at 6.2 percent, and they said that inflation would slow further — to 6.3 percent.

Brookings Institution economist Arthur M. Okun described the Carter administration's fiscal strategy as an attempt to bring about a "soft landing" for an economy nearing the end of a boom in the business cycle.

By late 1978, there was plenty of evidence to support the argument that the economy was due for a downturn. The budget reported that employment rose to 95.9 million from 88.4 million between December 1976 and December 1978 — "one of the most rapid increases in employment the economy has experienced in peacetime."

President's Economic Report

That sharp growth in jobs suggested that labor markets were tightening — a sure sign that the top of the business cycle was near and that inflation would soon tip the economy into recession. But the Council of Economic Advisers suggested in the president's economic report, which was released Jan. 25, that the availability of labor was still greater than it had been at previous business peaks. *(Economic report text, p. 7-E)*

The council said the current inflation resulted less from labor market tightness and more from the fact that labor productivity hadn't been increasing as much as normal — meaning that production costs weren't declining sufficiently to offset rising wages and keep prices from going up. The report blamed the problem on a decline in investment, an increase in the number of inexperienced workers in the labor force, and inadequate research and development.

Whatever the cause, the decline in productivity prompted the Carter's economists to cut to 3 percent from 3.5 percent their estimate of the full potential growth rate of the economy. A slower growth rate would mean that "living standards will not rise as fast as they have in the past two years."

While lowering its long-term expectations, the administration insisted that the economy stood a good chance of improving in the near future.

Releasing the president's economic report, CEA Chairman Schultze told reporters that there was a

Budget Authority and Outlays by Agency

(in millions of dollars)†

DEPARTMENT OR OTHER UNIT	BUDGET AUTHORITY 1978 actual	BUDGET AUTHORITY 1979 estimate	BUDGET AUTHORITY 1980 estimate	OUTLAYS 1978 actual	OUTLAYS 1979 estimate	OUTLAYS 1980 estimate
Legislative branch	$ 1,071	$ 1,213	$ 1,273	$ 1,049	$ 1,209	$ 1,305
The Judiciary	458	539	625	435	526	619
Executive Office of the President	78	83	91	75	88	89
Funds appropriated to the President	7,528	11,372	10,345	4,450	5,090	5,133
Agriculture	16,535	23,660	20,544	20,368	20,205	18,404
Commerce	2,308	2,533	3,217	5,239	4,331	3,261
Defense — Military[1]	115,322	125,209	135,041	103,042	111,900	122,700
Defense — Civil	2,797	2,669	3,059	2,553	2,644	2,724
Energy	10,695	9,716	7,447	6,286	8,946	8,893
Health, Education and Welfare	162,192	184,002	205,170	162,856	180,714	199,428
Housing and Urban Development	38,000	31,112	33,295	7,589	8,962	10,634
Interior	4,590	4,683	4,438	3,821	4,015	3,764
Justice	2,370	2,510	2,398	2,397	2,586	2,505
Labor	20,028	28,911	27,534	22,896	22,854	24,484
State	1,483	1,674	1,712	1,252	1,399	1,677
Transportation	13,478	17,272	17,813	13,452	15,363	15,793
Treasury	56,771	65,570	70,051	56,355	65,462	69,890
Environmental Protection Agency	5,498	5,410	5,087	4,071	4,194	4,753
General Services Administration	151	313	308	83	158	131
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	4,060	4,562	4,723	3,980	4,401	4,593
Veterans Administration	19,010	20,486	20,992	18,962	20,315	20,450
Other independent agencies	32,851	34,728	56,959	25,396	26,675	27,961
Allowances[2]	—	100	2,426	—	—	1,398
Undistributed offsetting receipts:						
Employer share, employee retirement	—4,983	—5,388	—5,482	—4,983	—5,388	—5,482
Interest received by trust funds	—8,530	—9,782	—10,940	—8,530	—9,782	—10,940
Rents and royalties on the Outer Continental Shelf lands	—2,259	—3,500	—2,600	—2,259	—3,500	—2,600
Total budget authority and outlays	$501,500	$559,658	$615,526	$450,836	$493,368	$531,566

† Figures may not add to totals due to rounding.
1. Includes allowances for civilian and military pay raises for Department of Defense.
2. Includes allowances for civilian agency pay raises and contingencies.

SOURCE: Fiscal 1980 Budget

"much lower margin of unused resources" in the economy at the beginning of 1979 than there was a year earlier. But administration officials said there was no indication of one of the major signs of impending recession — an excessive build-up of inventories.

Schultze concluded that the economy could escape recession in the immediate future. But he said government should cut back spending to avoid overheating the economy and setting the stage for a downturn.

Carter's chief economic adviser said the policy of restraint was justified by two other concerns. First, he said it was necessary to establish a "climate" in which Carter's wage-price guidelines could work. If the government were to continue heavy spending in an economy near its peak, the result would be to drive up wages as employers compete for increasingly scarce workers. That would seriously jeopardize the administration's hope that inflationary wage increases can be avoided.

Schultze also argued that, regardless of the real economic effect of a policy of restraint, there was a strong "public perception" that reducing the deficit was a needed first step in solving the inflation problem.

Overly Optimistic?

A number of economists warned that the administration's hopes for a "soft landing" were overly optimistic. Forecasts for 1979 and 1980 by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) and three private firms — Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates, Data Resources Inc. and Chase Econometrics — all suggested that economic growth would be slower and unemployment and inflation higher than Carter predicted.

Their forecasts were even less optimistic than the numbers suggested, because they based their numbers on the assumption that Congress would opt for more fiscal stimulus — higher spending and lower taxes than Carter proposed.

The three private firms assumed that Congress would cut taxes by $10 billion in 1980. They also assumed, along with the CBO, that Congress would set spending for the fiscal year higher than the $531.6 billion recommended by Carter.

If the president's more restrictive fiscal policies were cranked into their forecasts, it is likely that they would predict an even gloomier economic performance than they

'Demographic Tidal Wave' May Cause . . .

While the president and Congress write federal budgets on a year-by-year basis, underlying forces are at work that may dramatically change government's role in financing education, jobs, the armed forces, criminal justice, housing, retirement and medical care. Indeed, even the shape of the federal system could undergo quite a transformation.

That analysis was included in a special section of President Carter's fiscal year 1980 budget. Its implications reach far beyond the immediate questions about economic assumptions, the deficit, guns and butter that will dominate the 1979 budget debate.

Population Trends

The discussion begins with the observation that the shape of government finance has been profoundly influenced by the post-war "baby boom" — a "demographic tidal wave" that began after World War II and peaked in 1957.

In that year, 4.3 million babies were born. During the 1930s, fewer than 2.5 million babies were born annually, and in recent years annual births have totaled about 3 million.

In general, U.S. fertility rates have been declining ever since 1800, with the sole exception of the post-war baby boom. Currently, fewer babies are being born than would be necessary to keep the population constant. "Zero population growth" requires an average of about 2,100 babies to be born to each 1,000 women of child-bearing age. But in 1976, the rate was 1,760 babies per 1,000 women. If continued indefinitely, present birth rates would cause the population of the United States to decline about 17 percent per generation. Immigration is currently filling only half of that "birth gap."

The implications of those trends are considerable.

Education

The declining birth rate could mean a drop in school enrollment, for instance. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of elementary and high school age children increased 20 percent. But the estimated school age population for 1978 is 11 percent lower than in 1970, and a further 10 percent decline could occur over the next decade.

Despite the drop in the school age population in the last eight years, federal spending for elementary and secondary education increased 25 percent after inflation — or 9 percent per pupil.

"In the face of the decline in school age population, the long run federal effort in education would appear to merit re-examination," the budget concludes.

It notes, however, that the number of students isn't the only consideration. One reason for the recent rise in education spending is the commitment to increase educational opportunities for students with special problems. Also, the decline in enrollment may slow temporarily, as baby boom mothers start having children and thus cause a "mild demographic echo" of the original boom.

The Labor Force

The effects of the baby boom on the economics of the labor force are more clear. The budget analysis observes that the most rapid rate of growth of the labor force since the second world war is now occurring, as people born in the baby boom enter the work force.

Because the baby boom population is just starting to work, the average age of the work force is relatively young. The budget suggests that may account for the decline in labor productivity in recent years.

As labor force growth slows in the future and the number of young people seeking work declines, the demands on government may change. Labor markets may tighten, and it is possible that labor shortages will even develop.

"If so, the federal investment in training, employment and labor services will need to be re-examined," the budget asserts. "Possibly, there will need to be less emphasis on youth programs and public sector jobs, and more emphasis on retraining and retention of older workers, increasing the mobility of workers and providing

did, so that the gap between their expectations and Carter's would widen.

Major Cuts

To reduce the deficit, Carter made substantial real cuts in spending. In general, the reductions appeared to be based on several criteria.

- Frequently, broad programs were sacrificed to maintain "targeted" ones designed to help the most disadvantaged. For instance, the administration shaved 158,000 of 358,000 public service jobs from the general countercyclical (anti-recession) public service employment program, while maintaining the jobs program for low income and chronically unemployed people at its present 287,000 job level. Similarly, it cut school lunch programs 10 percent by making students from upper income families ineligible. It also recommended eliminating post-secondary education benefits which are paid to Social Security survivors regardless of their income, but it proposed full funding for the needs-based Basic Education Opportunity Grant (BEOG) program.
- Major cuts in anti-recession programs — including the reduction in countercyclical employment and a decision not to propose further local public works or to revive Carter's labor-intensive "soft" public works program — were recommended on the grounds that the economy has grown much healthier than it was when they were established.
- In some cases the administration tried to shift costs to the private sector. It requested funds for a special program to help move Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) participants into private sector jobs. In addition, it proposed further application of the "user pays" concept to financing transportation — in 1978 the concept was applied to financing operation of inland waterways, and in 1979 the administration proposed making private plane pilots pay more of the costs of airport safety and development.

. . .Dramatic Changes in Government Role

services (child care, transportation) to people who otherwise would have difficulty working."

Armed Forces

The likely tightening of labor markets could also pose problems for the all-volunteer army. In 1977, about 20 percent of that year's 18-year-old males were recruited into the armed forces. But if the armed forces are to maintain their present size, they will either have to recruit a larger percentage of the shrinking pool of available 18-year-old men, start recruiting women or increase the number of people who stay in the services.

"The budget could be affected if adjustments in military pay and benefits relative to private sector compensation become necessary," the budget observes.

Crime, Housing

The president's budget analysts are less certain about the significance of changing demographic patterns on the criminal justice system. They note that two-thirds of the arrests in 1975 were of people between the ages of 13 and 29 — a fact that suggests that the nation might "literally grow out of its high crime problem." But they also observe that recent trends suggest a drop in the crime rate despite demographic trends.

The effect of population patterns on housing are also unclear. The fact that baby boom people are now at the house-buying age has probably contributed to the strong demand for new housing and maybe the demand will drop as that population group ages. But on the other hand, the slack may be picked up as people seek better homes.

Still, the budget notes that the young age of the baby boom "tidal wave" has contributed to the tremendous demand for housing and consumer credit in recent years. As that segment of the population grows older, and becomes wealthier, the present demand for credit may be converted into net savings — a shift that would increase the availability of credit, drive down interest rates, and possibly increase economic growth.

Retirement and Medical Programs for the Aged

One of the clearest effects of present demographic trends on the federal government is the growing demand for retirement and medical benefits by the elderly. Already the aged portion of the population is growing, and it will balloon when baby boom children reach retirement.

The budget analysis notes that total federal, state and local taxes in recent years amounted to 33 percent of gross national product — 11 percent of which was for social insurance. If requirements for other purposes remain at 22 percent of GNP, and if average benefits don't decline relative to average wages, total tax burdens in 50 years could reach 50 percent.

"Ultimately the issue will be how much of the resources produced in 2035 by the labor force employed at that time will be transferred to the retired generation," the budget concludes.

Federalism

Finally, the changing demographic patterns should significantly affect the relationship between the federal and state and local governments.

Education is the single largest component of most state and local budgets, while retirement and disability programs comprise the greatest share of the federal budget. After 1980, the school age population will become a decreasing proportion of the total population, while the retired population will be the only group still increasing after the year 2000.

That means that state and local governments will have increasing financial flexibility, either to take on new tasks, run surpluses or cut taxes. At the same time, the federal budget will have fewer long-term options.

"If retirement and related benefits continue to grow faster than the economy, we must face a choice among such alternatives as reducing other federal programs in relative size, increasing the size of the federal sector, reducing retirement benefits or raising the retirement age," the report concludes.

• In a number of cases, grants to state and local governments suffered the administration's budget austerity. Overall, the budget recommended increasing total grant-in-aid outlays by less than 1 percent, to $82.9 billion. That compares to a 5.4 percent increase between fiscal years 1978 and 1979, and to an annual average increase of 14.6 percent between 1958 and 1978.

The administration attributed the virtual halt in grant increases to four factors: a phase-down to $2.9 billion from $9.2 billion in the amount of temporary economic stimulus outlays in light of improved economic conditions; the need for overall budget restraint; increased efforts to hold down health care costs through hospital cost containment and anti-fraud and abuse proposals; and "a recognition that, relative to state and local governments as a group, fiscal pressures on the federal budget have become more acute due to the change in the population age mix." *(Box, above)*

• The administration predicted that some savings would result from greater efficiency. Increased competitive bidding, tighter controls on contractor overhead, better purchasing and supply techniques, and improved inventory control were expected to produce savings of $1 billion. In addition, proposals to speed up state and local deposits of Social Security taxes and employer deposits of withheld taxes, and to increase individual and corporate estimated taxes would increase revenues by $2.2 billion during the fiscal year.

• Some of the administration's proposals to cut spending appeared fairly arbitrary. For instance, it increased to 15 from 14 the age for eligibility for the summer youth employment program simply "to make a cut," according to Labor Secretary F. Ray Marshall.

• Assumed health care cost controls accounted for more than $3 billion in planned budget savings. The controls included the administration's hospital cost control plan, a proposal to reduce Medicare-Medicaid payments to hospi-

tal-based physicians (a first step toward controlling physicians' fees), a change in the federal formula by which hospitals are reimbursed for malpractice insurance costs and others.

• Some cuts, including the proposal to hold government employees to a 5.5 percent pay raise, were justified as being necessary in the fight against inflation.

• Finally, the administration justified another major spending reduction — a series of proposals to cut "unnecessary benefit payments" under the Social Security system — on the grounds that the benefits weren't truly related to Social Security taxes. Carter pledged that he would consider supporting a Social Security tax rollback beginning in 1981 if the benefit reductions were approved.

Current Services

Among the best indicators of the policy decisions made in a budget are the current services estimates. As interpreted by OMB, they detail the cost of continuing various programs in the new fiscal year with adjustments for demographic changes and for inflation in "indexed" programs — ones for which automatic inflation adjustments are required by law.

Under OMB's estimates, the current services budget for fiscal 1980 would total $536.1 billion. Making legislative changes to offset inflation in non-indexed programs would increase the current services estimates $8 billion, to about $544 billion — $12.6 billion higher than the figure Carter actually recommended.

OMB reported that Carter recommended policy changes that would reduce the current services figures by $9.7 billion. That would be partially offset by $5.2 billion in increases above the current services level.

The major reductions included various efforts to contain health care costs, for a reduction of $3.1 billion; the proposal to limit federal pay raises to 5.5 percent, for a saving of $1.2 billion; reductions in countercyclical public service jobs programs, saving $600 million; cuts in Social Security benefits, $600 million; a proposal to limit school lunches to low income children, $400 million; and elimination of countercyclical revenue sharing, $400 million.

The major increases above current services included the proposed National Development Bank, $3.5 billion in budget authority; higher military spending, $2.9 billion in budget authority; increased support for international lending institutions, $1.7 billion in budget authority; a new Central Liquidity Facility in the National Credit Union Administration, $1.7 billion in budget authority; higher food stamp expenditures resulting from a proposed elimination of a 1977 statutory ceiling, $700 million in outlays; increased grants for social and child welfare services, $500 million in outlays, and a 7.8 percent increase in compensation benefits for veterans with service-connected disabilities, $500 million in outlays.

Revenues

Carter was likely to encounter opposition from the political right and left for his decision to forgo general tax cuts in 1979. Republicans were likely to press for an across-the-board income tax cut — possibly in the form of a tax "indexing" measure. Some Democrats, on the other hand, were expected to press for a rollback in Social Security taxes.

The president's only major tax proposal was his "real wage insurance" plan, whereby workers in groups that keep wage increases below 7 percent would receive tax credits if inflation exceeds that rate. Carter called the proposal an "integral part" of his anti-inflation program, designed to increase compliance with his voluntary wage standards.

Beyond that, Carter promised in the budget that he would fight to preserve "carryover basis," one of the key tax "reforms" of 1976. Its effective date has been delayed until 1980. It provides that heirs pay capital gains taxes on the entire appreciation realized on property they inherit. Previously, heirs only had to pay taxes on the appreciation that occurred from the time they inherited property — with the result that large amounts of capital gains completely escaped taxation. Carter said he would recommend exempting small estates and simplifying administrative procedures to meet some objections to the new tax law.

The president also said he would propose standards for taxing fringe benefits, and for defining when people should be classified as "independent contractors" rather than "employees" for tax purposes.

Beyond those relatively minor issues, Carter said he would propose a variety of administrative tax changes that he said would increase government income by $2.2 billion in 1980.

Budget Receipts by Source

(in billions of dollars)

Source	1978 actual	1979 estimate	1980 estimate	1981 estimate
Individual income taxes	$181.0	$203.6	$227.3	$269.1
Corporation income taxes	60.0	70.3	71.0	76.7
Social insurance taxes and contributions	123.4	141.8	161.5	185.2
Excise taxes	18.4	18.4	18.5	19.4
Estate and gift taxes	5.3	5.7	6.0	6.2
Customs duties	6.6	7.5	8.4	9.5
Miscellaneous receipts	7.4	8.7	9.9	10.6
Total, budget receipts	**$402.0**	**$456.0**	**$502.6**	**$576.8**

Controlling Federal Credit Activities

Building on a theme he developed in his fiscal 1979 budget, Carter proposed that Congress join him in asserting greater control over federal credit activities.

He estimated that direct loans and loan guarantees by federal agencies and government-sponsored enterprises would total $61 billion in 1980. He estimated that $552 billion in federal loans and loan guarantees would be outstanding at the end of the fiscal year, as compared to $381 billion at the end of 1977.

The president complained that there currently is no "systematic" way to evaluate the total extent of federal credit activity, or to decide how it is divided between different objectives.

To correct the problem, he suggested that in the future the president should propose annual limitations on total loan activities, and on each individual loan program. Congress, he said, should then set aggregate ceilings in its budget resolutions, and impose legally binding limitations in regular appropriations acts. ▮

Fiscal 1979 Supplemental: $13.8 Billion

President Carter signed into law July 25 a catchall measure providing nearly $13.8 billion in additional funds for government agencies and departments for the year ending Sept. 30.

The conference report on the fiscal 1979 supplemental appropriation bill (HR 4289 — PL 96-38) cleared the Senate July 20 by voice vote. It had won House approval by a 284-132 vote July 17. *(Vote 310, p. 92-H)*

The largest single item in the bill provided $2.4 billion for increased pay costs resulting from a pay raise granted to civilian and military employees of the federal government in October 1978. The legislation also provided nearly $1.5 billion to support the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty.

Senate-House conferees agreed to provide $1.4 billion for the Navy to purchase four destroyers, originally ordered by the shah of Iran but later canceled by the government that succeeded him. The House had wanted to buy only two of the ships.

Other major appropriations included $1.1 billion for veterans' compensation and pensions, $1 billion for Small Business Administration disaster loans, $900 million for the food stamp program, $554 million for Medicaid payments, $500 million for the Unemployment Trust Fund, $335 million for civil service retirement benefits and $300 million for the black lung benefits program.

The bill also contained $162 million in advance fiscal 1981 funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The final measure was $2.2 billion higher than the original House-approved bill, but was nearly $244 million less than the Senate version and $3.1 billion less than the revised administration request.

The total appropriation remained within the limits set by the revised fiscal 1979 budget resolution: It was $462 million below the ceiling on budget authority and $221 million below the ceiling on outlays which Congress approved May 24.

Provisions

The final version of HR 4289 appropriated the following amounts for fiscal 1979:

	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
Agriculture	$ 2,208,647,000	$ 1,045,270,000
Defense	2,420,362,000	1,837,862,000
Energy, Water	274,136,000	168,000,000
Foreign Operations	1,723,166,000	1,725,187,000
Housing, Independent Agencies	1,955,084,000	1,882,449,000
Interior, Related Agencies	312,492,000	190,387,000
Labor, HEW	3,049,015,000	2,424,446,000
Legislative Branch	18,976,600	6,522,000
State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary	1,246,000,000	1,227,227,000
Transportation	480,799,000	470,535,000
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government	567,629,000	392,994,000
District of Columbia	73,965,000	23,965,000
Pay Increases	2,591,408,300	2,388,978,100
Total	$16,921,679,900	$13,783,822,100

House Committee Action

The House Appropriations Committee reported HR 4289 on May 31 by voice vote (H Rept 96-227). As reported, the bill provided $11,494,682,100.

The committee noted that it had been unable to act earlier on $15 billion in budget requests — much of it for mandatory or emergency spending that could not be eliminated or delayed — because it had been forced to wait until Congress revised the fiscal 1979 budget resolution to accommodate the additional funding.

The report said Congress was falling behind in its efforts to control federal spending — in spite of the congressional budget process — primarily because of entitlement legislation that mandated a certain amount of funding, or escalator clauses that required increases to keep pace with inflation. Such uncontrollable spending accounted for 76 percent of fiscal 1980 outlay requests, according to the report.

"Efforts directed at improved congressional control cannot be isolated to that shrinking portion of the budget presently classified as controllable," the report said.

Agriculture. The committee recommended $507,450,000 for agriculture and related programs, cutting the administration's request by $1,042,111,000.

The two major items provided the full request of $379.7 million for the food stamp program and $100 million, $33 million less than requested, for child nutrition programs.

The food stamp allocation raised the program's appropriation for fiscal 1979 to the $6.16 billion limit set by Congress in 1977. The extra funding was needed to prevent the program from running out of money by August.

The committee acknowledged that costs warranted supplemental funds for child nutrition, but it said part of the needed funds should come from money saved through improved efficiency.

The committee refused a $984,960,000 request for funds to help low-income rural residents purchase homes. The report cited the need to stay within the budget ceiling and the fact that it was a proposal, not an existing program.

Defense. The committee recommended a $2,884,300,000 appropriation, $1.4 billion less than the administration sought.

Major cuts came in pay for retired military personnel, military operation and maintenance costs, and some supplemental fund requests for weapons and equipment purchases.

The committee approved $628 million to purchase two destroyers ordered by the shah of Iran but canceled by the new Iranian government.

The panel went along with a $190 million request for development of the M-X missile. The funds would go to develop the weapon's "initial operational capability" three to six months sooner than originally planned. A request for $75 million for basing options was denied.

To pay the United States' share in the cost of establishing a NATO early warning system, the committee recommended $80.1 million, to be financed by a transfer of funds designated for aircraft purchases. There was no administration request for the appropriation.

The committee approved the Defense Department's request of $132,300,000 for military personnel programs. Most of the money would cover increases in allocations for living and moving expenses. It recommended $133,662,000, $45 million less than requested, for retired military pay costs.

Energy, Water. The committee recommended $36.3 million for the Department of Energy, $61,650,000 below the administration request.

Responding to shortages created when the Nuclear Regulatory Commission shifted personnel to focus on the Three Mile Island nuclear accident, the committee recommended 100 more positions for nuclear plant licensing, to be financed within the Energy Department's current budget.

The committee backed administration requests of $127 million for water projects, flood control and coastal emergencies under the Army Corps of Engineers.

Foreign Operations. The committee recommended $1,711,487,000 to supplement foreign operations for fiscal 1979, cutting $11,679,000 from the administration request.

The package approved in committee included $1.47 billion requested by the president for support of the Mideast peace pact. The figure included $300 million in economic aid to Egypt, $800 million for construction of Israeli air bases, $370 million to finance foreign military credit sales to Egypt, and $1.5 billion in similar sales to Egypt.

The committee also recommended $100 million in economic aid to Turkey, the full administration request.

The committee reappropriated $22.5 million in previously appropriated funds for the military assistance program, raising the ceiling for fiscal 1979 to $232,875,000. The administration had sought $33 million.

A request of $114,910,000 for migration and refugee assistance under the State Department, including $10 million to bolster an emergency fund, was approved by the committee. It was based on predictions of a continuing flow of Indochinese refugees representing "a dramatic increase" in potential immigrants, according to the report.

Housing and Urban Development-Independent Agencies. The committee provided $1,891,449,000 for fiscal 1979, $63.6 million less than the administration asked.

It recommended reappropriation of $194 million for "urgent" disaster relief to counter effects of floods and tornadoes that had struck several southern and midwestern states. The appropriation was $6 million below the budget request.

The committee made no changes in two major administration requests, recommending appropriations of $185 million for the space shuttle program of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and $1,492,159,000 for Veterans Administration programs.

Interior, Related Agencies. The committee recommended $178,296,000, $123,196,000 less than the administration's request.

For Department of Energy programs that fell within the Interior subcommittee's jurisdiction, the committee approved $5.6 million to continue audits of major oil refiners to check their compliance with oil pricing regulations.

Major reductions came in other energy programs. The committee refused the entire $24.6 million requested for a gasoline rationing plan, citing "disapproval" of the idea by Congress.

The panel slashed $97,305,000 from administration requests for supplemental funds for coal studies and various energy conservation programs, saying the programs could be supplemented with existing funds or included in 1980 appropriations.

The committee's largest recommendations were for appropriations to fight forest fires that threaten the nation's timber supply. In each case, the committee approved the full amount requested by the administration, $44,850,000 for the Bureau of Land Management and $60 million for the Forest Service, $7 million for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and $1,727,000 for the National Park Service.

But the panel voted to reduce by $17.5 million the administration's request to fund grants for urban parks and recreation development. The $20 million appropriation voted was all that could be awarded by the end of fiscal 1979, according to the report.

Labor-Health, Education and Welfare. The bill provided $1,577,346,000, $671.7 million less than the administration asked.

The committee denied $400 million for new job-training initiatives under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program, saying the Labor Department had reallocated $75 million of the amount from existing funds, and would seek the balance in its fiscal 1980 budget request.

The committee left intact the administration's $554,429,000 Medicaid request, approving payment of the federal government's share of rising costs in state programs.

In other health and education matters, the committee rejected or cut budget requests for several programs, including funds for community health centers, family planning, mental health research on rape, student counseling and testing, and the "Push for Excellence" program.

The committee provided $162 million, as requested, in advance fiscal 1981 funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. While the corporation was normally funded two years in advance, authorizing legislation was not enacted in time for the fiscal 1981 funds to be included in the regular fiscal 1979 Labor-HEW appropriations bill.

Legislative Branch. The committee approved $4,328,000 in supplemental funds for Congress and legislative branch agencies for fiscal 1979.

To finance cost of living pay raises granted in October 1978, the committee recommended release of $13,445,200 that had been restricted under provisions of the regular annual appropriations bill (PL 95-391). That measure required withholding of 5 percent of fiscal 1979 appropriations, except for payments required by law.

State, Justice, Commerce, Related Agencies. The committee approved $1,131,191,000, cutting the budget request by $62,809,000.

The major item was $1,018,000,000 for disaster loans by the Small Business Administration.

The committee slashed $27,716,000 from the estimate for dues to international organizations, reflecting "disapproval" of the request to restore funds for foreign technical assistance furnished by the United Nations and its agencies. A ban on the use of U.S. funds for such assistance had been lifted by the House April 24 and the Senate May 15. *(State Department authorization, p. 131)*

It recommended the full $40 million requested to help pay for peacekeeping forces in Lebanon.

Transportation, Related Agencies. The bill provided $450,086,000 for fiscal 1979, $6,213,000 less than the administration request.

Among the major recommendations were two appropriations for railroad improvement — $35 million to eliminate public grade crossings in the Northeast corridor, and $119

million for Amtrak. Both met the administration request. The funds would cover operating deficits and the purchase of electric locomotives to speed corridor trips.

The committee recommended $10,850,000, $2.7 million less than requested, for the Federal Aviation Administration to improve radar and communications systems, and $100 million in authority to guarantee aircraft loans for private carriers. The loan limitation was $50 million more than requested.

Treasury, Postal Service, General Government. The committee recommended $413,078,000, reducing the administration request by $155,332,000.

The largest single item was $335,355,000 for the Office of Personnel Management for mandatory payments to the Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund.

The bill included an appropriation of $18,233,000 for the Postal Service, the full amount requested. The funds would offset losses from reduced mailing costs for political committees. The committee said it did not approve of the mail subsidy, which was required under 1978 legislation, and urged the appropriate legislative committee to consider its ramifications and costs. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 800)*

Pay Raises. Title II of the bill provided $2,360,709,100 for federal pay raises and related costs for fiscal 1979. The committee cut the administration request by $222,861,200, which it said would "result in about 34 percent absorption of the total cost of pay raises."

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 4289 on June 6 by voice vote after accepting two amendments and rejecting four others. As passed, the bill appropriated $11,572,461,100. It was $1.8 billion under the ceiling for fiscal 1979 budget authority, and almost $1 billion below the outlay limit.

Funding Increases. The House increased the allotment for Head Start by $35 million, and the elderly meals program by $15 million, with adoption by voice vote of an amendment by Silvio O. Conte, R-Mass.

Conte cited revisions in budget estimates by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Administration on Aging, and higher estimates from state administrators. The committee already had recommended $27 million for the elderly feeding program.

The House also approved on a 26-4 standing vote an amendment by Michael D. Barnes, D-Md., to restore $27,716,000 for U.S. contributions to the United Nations and related agencies, which had been cut by the Appropriations Committee.

Barnes urged Congress to stop "playing politics" with dues owed to international organizations. He quoted a letter from Vice President Mondale saying the funds were "of major importance" to the administration.

Amendments Rejected. The House rejected by voice vote an amendment by Dan Lungren, R-Calif., that would have prohibited funds allocated for Navy ship acquisition from being paid, directly or indirectly, to the Iranian government.

It also rejected a proposal by Hamilton Fish Jr., R-N.Y., to add $125 million for urban mass transportation grants. The amendment was rejected by a vote of 127-270. *(Vote 169, p. 54-H)*

Fish said the national increase in mass transit ridership, 5 percent in 1978, "is only a beginning of what is to come." He also suggested the delay between ordering and delivery of buses and rail cars justified an appropriation before the end of fiscal 1979.

But others argued that the president had not requested any supplemental appropriation for this purpose, and that the amendment might hurt efforts to conform to a budget ceiling.

Also rejected was an amendment by Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio, for a 5 percent across-the-board cut in appropriations, excluding the amount set aside for support of the Mideast treaty.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Appropriations Committee reported HR 4289 on June 18 (S Rept 96-224).

Characterizing itself as "far more restrictive" than in the past in its consideration of supplemental requests, the committee warned that "the president and the OMB [Office of Management and Budget] must impose tighter fiscal management controls over the executive agencies."

Nevertheless, the committee approved $14 billion in supplemental appropriations, an increase of $2.5 billion over the House bill. The bill would be $1 million under the ceiling for fiscal 1979 outlays, according to the Senate Budget Committee, and $201 million below the ceiling for budget authority for fiscal 1979.

The Senate committee considered several administration requests that were submitted too late for House action. In its report, the committee criticized the administration for delays in submitting estimates to Congress, saying that this made the committee's task "difficult, if not impossible."

The committee also complained about unauthorized budget requests. "In this bill alone, budget requests for $800 million lacked authorizations," the report noted.

Major changes in the House bill included the following:

Agriculture. The committee approved $988,786,000 for the food stamp program, $50 million less than the administration's revised estimate, but $609,086,000 above both the House allowance and the $16.6 billion ceiling imposed by Congress in 1977.

Defense. The committee approved $1,353,000,000 to allow the Navy to buy all four destroyers that had been ordered by the shah of Iran and later canceled by the new Iranian government.The Senate figure was $725 million more than the administration request and $822.7 million more than the House figure. The House had approved $628 million for the purchase of two of the ships.

The committee included in the bill language designed to keep the Army's civilian marksmanship program from being shut down by the Defense Department. It said it had been informed that the Army had "initiated actions to commence disestablishment of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, Office of the Director of Civilian Marksmanship by attrition and the issuance of Reduction in Force (RIF) notices as of June 30, 1979."

Labor-Health, Education and Welfare. Acting on estimates received too late for House consideration, the committee recommended the full administration requests of $300 million to pay benefits to victims of black lung disease and $500 million for advances to the Unemployment Trust Fund and other funds.

Legislative Branch. The committee added $2,194,000 to the House bill for Senate salaries, expenses and office building repairs, which were not included in the House measure.

State, Justice, Commerce, Related Agencies. The committee added $60 million for construction by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration of a regional center in Seattle, Wash. The recommendation was $8 million above the budget estimate, which was submitted too late for House action.

Transportation, Related Agencies. The committee disapproved $10,850,000 the House had set aside for an air traffic control system proposed by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). Subcommittee Chairman Birch Bayh, D-Ind., later characterized the plan as "one of the most controversial rules FAA has ever proposed," and said a new set of rules was likely.

Treasury, Postal Service, General Government. In a major cutback, the committee deleted $18,233,000 approved by the House to compensate the Postal Service for losses resulting from mail subsidies for political committees. The report urged the Postal Service to adjust its rates to make up for the loss.

Pay Raises. The committee recommended $2.4 billion in budget authority for fiscal 1979 government pay increases, adding $51,456,000 to the House appropriation.

The major increase over the House measure was $37,140,000 approved for defense costs. The figure included $19,040,000 for military raises and $20 million for civilians.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed HR 4289 on June 26 by a vote of 86-8, after increasing the bill's funding total to $14,027,712,000. *(Vote 151, p. 28-S)*

UN Payments, Refugees

The Senate voted 70-22 to accept a Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., amendment cutting from the bill $27,716,000 appropriated for contributions to the United Nations. The amendment added $15,575,000 to allow the United States to take in 1,000 more Indochinese refugees each month. *(Vote 143, p. 27-S)*

"All of us are aware of the tragedy, the human tragedy which is taking place in Southeastern Asia," said Boschwitz. He argued that money for refugee assistance was needed immediately, while UN payments could be postponed until fiscal 1980.

HEW Waste, Fraud and Abuse Reduction

Much of the floor debate focused on objections to a Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) plan to cut $831 million in social services payments to states as a means of complying with the Michel amendment to the fiscal 1979 appropriations act (PL 95-480). The amendment — named for sponsor Robert E. Michel, R-Ill. — directed the department to achieve a $1 billion reduction in budget authority by reducing waste, fraud and abuse. *(Labor-HEW appropriation, p. 236)*

Roger W. Jepsen, R-Iowa, proposed a "sense of the Senate" amendment urging HEW to borrow the money for payments from fiscal 1980 appropriations. Jepsen, expressing "utter contempt" for the department's failure to reduce spending as required, said the department's plan to cut payments now would unfairly hurt individual recipients.

Lawton M. Chiles Jr., D-Fla., proposed a substitute for the Jepsen amendment that would restrict HEW to borrowing only "if necessary to make payments to eligible recipients." Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., opposed the substitute on the grounds that it might make HEW so cautious about borrowing that the department would cut the payments "to protect themselves."

Chiles' amendment was rejected, 41-52, with proponents arguing that the substitute would warn HEW and the states that Congress meant to enforce the Michel amendment, if not immediately, in fiscal 1980. *(Vote 148, p. 27-S)*

Jepsen's amendment was then accepted 67-24. An earlier motion to table it was rejected 36-55. *(Votes 147, 149, pp. 27-S, 28-S)*

Food Stamps

Two attempts to reduce supplemental funds for the food stamp program were defeated by large margins. One proposal by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., would have reduced the appropriation by more than $328 million, to a Congressional Budget Office estimate of the minimum amount needed to finish fiscal 1979 without cutting benefits. The amendment was defeated June 25 by a vote of 22-66. *(Vote 145, p. 27-S)*

A second amendment by S. I. Hayakawa, R-Calif., would have sliced $188 million. Hayakawa argued that the food stamp program had "blatantly ignored" its budget limitation and had engaged in "free spending," including payment of benefits to ineligible persons. His amendment was defeated 28-62. *(Vote 146, p. 27-S)*

Other Issues

Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., offered an amendment to make one of the four Iranian destroyers to be purchased by the Navy an AEGIS guided missile destroyer. Three of the four ships had been completed with a Tartar-D air defense system, an older system that Riegle said had become less useful given recent Soviet advances in missile development.

Opponents of the change included John Tower, R-Texas, ranking minority member of the Armed Services Committee. Tower argued that "the net effect here would be the loss of a ship," since the bill did not include money for a ship's conversion to the more sophisticated system.

The Senate voted 79-19 to table the Riegle amendment. *(Vote 144, p. 27-S)*

Criticizing a proposed $13 million loan guarantee for construction of a Pennsylvania steel rail mill, Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., offered an amendment to eliminate that amount from the appropriation for the Economic Development Administration (EDA) revolving fund.

Weicker said the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp., which would receive the loan guarantee, had failed to meet EDA guidelines that tied a certain number of jobs to the amount of a loan.

John Heinz, R-Pa., said the amendment would create unemployment by hurting the steel manufacturer's financial future.

The Senate rejected the amendment 29-59. *(Vote 142, p. 27-S)*

In other floor action, the Senate adopted the following amendments by voice vote:

- By John C. Stennis, D-Miss., to delay until fiscal 1980 $7.2 million to begin implementation of the Panama Canal pact.
- By Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., to provide $462,500 to enable the District of Columbia to begin implementing a financial management system.
- By John Melcher, D-Mont., to add $4.2 million for energy conservation programs under the Community Services Administration.

• By Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., to enable the Department of Energy to hire more auditors to investigate whether oil companies were manipulating supply.

The Senate rejected amendments by:

• J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., to eliminate $20 million in assistance making up the Virgin Islands' operating deficit for fiscal 1979. Roll call, 35-43. *(Vote 141, p. 27-S)*

• Robert Dole, R-Kan., to restore $1,135,000 for a rapid draft registration system. Voice vote.

• Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., to limit salaries in the National Commission on the International Year of the Child. Voice vote.

Conference Action

The conference report on the bill was filed July 11 (H Rept 96-331). Conferees provided total appropriations of $13,783,822,100.

The conference committee cut $270 million from supplemental defense appropriations approved by the Senate, but the compromise was nearly $734 million more than approved by the House.

It also accepted $1.4 billion approved by the Senate to allow the Navy to buy four destroyers. The House had approved $628 million for two of the vessels. The ships were part of a deal that fell through when the new Iranian goverment came to power.

In another compromise, the committee voted to reduce by $88.8 million the Senate appropriation for food stamps, which had been based on an administration estimate submitted after House consideration. The compromise figure was $900 million.

The conferees accepted the Senate floor amendment that increased by $15.6 million funds for the admission of Indochinese refugees. But it voted to drop language that would have encouraged "a substantial increase" in the number of refugees admitted. The committee also restored $27.7 million for United Nations dues that the Senate had cut when it approved more refugee assistance funding.

Conferees voted to eliminate from the Senate bill $20 million to cover the fiscal 1979 operating deficit of the Virgin Islands. The Senate had rejected such a move June 25 when it defeated, 35-43, a floor amendment that sought to eliminate the Virgin Islands funds.

Two other Senate floor actions did not fare any better in conference. The committee deleted a Senate-approved amendment that would have increased by $2.5 million funds available to the Energy Department for monitoring oil distribution. And it deleted language passed by the Senate to allow the Community Services Administration to spend an extra $4.2 million in fiscal 1979 for energy conservation services.

Responding to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's announced intention to drastically cut federal payments to states under the Medicaid and Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) programs, the conference report agreed with non-binding Senate language that barred the department from failing to make the payments, and directed HEW to borrow from fiscal year 1980 funds to make the payments.

The conference report also directed HEW to issue regulations requiring states to lower their error rates, and limited the amount department funds could be reduced if congressionally mandated spending cuts are not achieved by the start of the fourth quarter of a fiscal year.

In other action, the conferees provided $150 million for HEW concentration grants, which give extra funds to schools with large concentrations of "disadvantaged" students. The amount was $50 million below the House figure; the Senate had voted nothing for this purpose. ▮

Treasury, Postal Appropriations Bill

Congress Sept. 26 cleared and sent to President Carter a fiscal 1980 appropriations bill (HR 4393 — PL 96-74) prohibiting the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) from issuing new rules designed to revoke the tax-exempt status of private schools practicing racial discrimination.

The bill, signed into law Sept. 29, also prevented the president from pocketing his unspent entertainment expense account money.

HR 4393, to fund the fiscal 1980 activities of the Treasury Department, Postal Service, Executive Office of the President and some independent agencies contained slightly more than $8.8 billion in new budget authority, a drop of about a half-billion dollars from the fiscal 1979 level of $9,354,377,000.

The Carter administration had asked for fiscal 1980 new budget authority of $9,021,250,000.

The final appropriation of $8,837,278,100, approved in both houses by voice votes, reflected reductions in several categories, but most notably in funding for property resource functions of the General Services Administration, which had been beset by fraud and mismanagement.

Final House action on the conference report came Sept. 26 (H Rept 96-471). The Senate approved the report the same day.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, HR 4393 appropriated the following amounts for fiscal 1980 *(in thousands of dollars)*:

Agency	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
Treasury Department		
Office of the Secretary	$ 30,850	$ 30,700
International Affairs	22,752	22,726
Federal Law Enforcement Training Center	12,670	13,003
Bureau of Government Financial Operations	191,315	190,561
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms	139,000	138,482
U.S. Customs Service	450,157	447,457
Bureau of the Mint	60,647	59,047
Bureau of the Public Debt	183,466	183,466
Internal Revenue Service	2,182,490	2,192,279
Payment where energy credit exceeds liability for tax	900	900
U.S. Secret Service	157,000	157,000
Subtotal	3,431,247	3,435,621

Agency	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
U.S. Postal Service		
Payment to the Postal Service Fund	1,697,558	1,676,810
Subtotal	1,697,558	1,676,810
Executive Office of the President		
President's Compensation	250	250
Office of Administration	11,900	7,920
The White House Office	18,210	18,210
Executive Residence	2,957	2,957
Official Residence of the Vice-President	233	233
Special Assistance to the President	1,404	1,404
Council of Economic Advisers	2,075	2,075
Council on Wage and Price Stability	8,483	8,483
Domestic Policy Staff	2,650	2,650
National Security Council	3,557	3,557
Office of Management and Budget	28,054	32,400
Office of Federal Procurement Policy	3,000	3,000
Unanticipated Needs	1,000	1,000
Subtotal	83,773	84,089
Independent Agencies		
Administrative Conference of the United States	1,079	1,079
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations	1,654	1,654
Advisory Committee on Federal Pay	232	232
Committee for Purchase of Products from Blind, Handicapped	481	481
Federal Election Commission	8,646	8,646
General Services Administration	590,186	416,999
Office of Personnel Management	3,171,752	3,171,552
Merit Systems Protection Board	11,119	16,591
Federal Labor Relations Authority	12,132	12,132
President's Commission on Pension Policy	2,000	2,000
U.S. Tax Court	9,391	9,391
Subtotal	3,808,672	3,640,757
Grand Total*	$9,021,250	$8,837,278

* Figures may not add due to rounding.

House Committee Action

HR 4393 was reported on a voice vote by the House Appropriations Committee June 7 (H Rept 96-248). The bill recommended $8,819,118,000, which was $186,096,000 less than the administration's request and $37,226,000 under the amount approved for the departments and agencies for fiscal 1979.

Most of the difference between the fiscal 1980 budget request and the committee recommendation was accounted for in the committee's denial of $177 million requested for stockpile acquisitions by the government of essential raw materials.

The report noted "the committee is reluctant to appropriate funds for acquisitions" since legislation was under consideration in that area. A bill (HR 2154 — H Rept 96-201)to reorganize procedures for acquiring stockpile materials cleared Congress July 13.

Treasury Department

The committee recommended $3,410,406,000 in fiscal 1980 funding for the Treasury Department, $7,474,000 less than the administration request.

It approved the full budget requests of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the United States Customs Service, the Bureau of the Mint and the Bureau of the Public Debt.

Internal Revenue Service. The committee slashed $7,422,000 from the IRS's $2,182,490,000 budget request, recommending $2,175,068,000 for the agency in fiscal 1980.

The report reprimanded the IRS for its proposed regulations on the tax exempt status of private schools and accused the agency of usurping legislative authority to implement the regulations.

United States Secret Service. In granting the total administration request of $157,000,000, the committee said it was "very concerned about [political] candidates charging Secret Service agents for riding in candidates' aircraft while these agents are protecting the candidates."

The panel said candidates "ought not to be allowed to charge the secret service commercial rates" since that put the agents "in the position of subsidizing candidates' air travel."

Refundable Energy Credit. The committee recommended $900,000 be appropriated for refunds for energy tax credits claimed under the Energy Tax Act of 1978 (PL 95-618). *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 641)*

Postal Service

The $1,697,558,000 budget request was recommended in full by the committee, an amount $87,618,000 less than fiscal 1979 funds. As in the 1979 bill, the lion's share of funding was to pay for operating post offices that were not self-sustaining. That portion totaled $828 million.

Executive Office of the President

The committee recommended $81,386,000 for the president's executive office and funds appropriated to the president in fiscal 1980. That figure was $2,387,000 less than the administration's $83,773,000 budget request.

Office of Management and Budget. The administration request for OMB was reduced by $454,000 to $27,600,000 with a warning. "The committee is concerned about the extent to which OMB has become directly involved in [other] agency operations," the report said. "The committee cautions the Office about this involvement."

Office of Administration. The panel cut $900,000 from the $11,900,000 administration request, denying funding to increase the office's data processing activities.

Council on Wage and Price Stability. The committee urged a cutback in personnel and recommended $7,500,000 for the council, a $983,000 reduction from the $8,483,000 budget request.

Domestic Policy Staff. The committee cut $50,000 from the $2,650,000 budget request for the domestic policy staff.

Independent Agencies

For the various independent agencies covered by HR 4393, the committee recommended a total of $3,629,768,000, a reduction of $176,235,000 from the administration's request.

General Services Administration. The committee "denied without prejudice" the $177 million requested for stockpile acquisitions. It noted legislation was pending in this area.

In recommending the full amount of $798,000 for allowances and office staff for former presidents, the committee instructed the GSA to "more carefully monitor the expenditures made under this account and to disallow all expenditures which are not consistent with the purpose of the appropriation."

Federal Election Commission. The committee recommended the full amount of $8,646,000 for the Federal Election Commission, but added language prohibiting "random and often unjustified" audits of campaign committees in the future.

Merit Systems Protection Board. The committee added $2,631,000 to the administration request of $11,119,000. Approximately half of the increase was for an expected increase in workload under the new Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (PL 95-454).

House Floor Action

The House voted July 16 to stop Carter from keeping the unused portion of his official expense account as income and to make former President Nixon pay for improvements unrelated to security that were made on his property at San Clemente, Calif.

After the amendments were added to HR 4393, the House went on to pass the bill to appropriate $8,789,724,000 by a vote of 344-49. *(Vote 309, p. 92-H)*

Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., proposed the amendment to prohibit the president from spending for any other purpose his $50,000 allowance for official expenses and to require that any unused portion be returned to the Treasury.

The amendment was adopted 294-90 after members pointed to Carter's solicitation of corporate funds to help pay for past White House receptions, and his legal declaration of unspent expense account funds as income in 1977 and 1978. *(Vote 307, p. 90-H)*

Allen E. Ertel, D-Pa., proposed the amendment to limit funding for allowances and office staff for former President Nixon to $191,386. Adopted on a voice vote, the limit was designed to make Nixon pay $66,614 he spent on improvements unrelated to security on his property at San Clemente.

Two provisions in HR 4393 as reported from committee were eliminated on points of order. House Rule 21 provided that appropriations bills could not be approved until the programs they are intended to fund had been authorized. The points of order were based on that rule.

Sustaining the points of order eliminated provisions that sought to appropriate $8,646,000 for the Federal Election Commission and language that sought to limit future federal salary increases.

The House adopted the following amendments:

- By Tom Steed, D-Okla., increasing by $1.9 million appropriations to the Secret Service for the balance of fiscal 1979 to pay for travel costs for protective assignments, by voice vote.
- By Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio, prohibiting use of funds appropriated for the Secret Service to pay any candidate or campaign committee for providing air transportation for agents protecting that candidate, by voice vote.
- By Steven D. Symms, R-Idaho, prohibiting use of Treasury Department funds to collect taxes imposed by the Internal Revenue Service unless IRS employees complied with provisions of the Fair Debt Collection Practices Act. Agreed to by a 299-69 vote after it was rejected by a standing vote of 15-17. *(Vote 301, p. 90-H)*
- By John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, prohibiting use of Treasury Department funds to carry out or devise any rule or policy which would cause the loss of tax-exempt status to private, religious, or church-operated schools, unless such rule or policy was in effect prior to Aug. 22, 1978. Adopted 297-63. *(Vote 302, p. 90-H)*
- By William D. Ford, D-Mich., reducing appropriations for payments to the Postal Service Fund by $20,748,000, and limiting use of Postal Service funds for special bulk third-class rates for "qualified political committees" to those national, state and congressional committees of political parties with 5 percent or more of the direct vote in the previous presidential election, by a 30-9 standing vote.
- By Neal Smith, D-Iowa, preventing the General Services Administration from entering into contracts, or renewing or extending existing contracts with property owners who had violated their contracts involving funds derived from the Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal Program, by voice vote.
- By Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif., prohibiting the IRS from implementing any rule that a taxpayer was not entitled to a charitable deduction for general purpose contributions which are used for educational purposes by a tax-exempt religious organization, by a 40-25 standing vote.
- By Dornan, prohibiting use of Treasury Department funds to implement the Treasury rulings published August 22, 1978, and revised Feb. 9, 1979, to revoke the tax-exempt status of racially discriminatory schools as determined by the IRS, by a standing vote of 36-19.
- By Cecil Heftel, D-Hawaii, allowing the purchase of electric and combined electric and gasoline vehicles by the federal government at prices above limits in the bill, by voice vote.
- By Ertel, placing a $191,386 limit on appropriations of funds for office staff and expenses for former President Nixon, by voice vote.
- By Bauman, adding language requiring the president to use for official expenses only the $50,000 appropriated for official expenses, and to return any unused funds to the Treasury, by a 294-90 vote. *(Vote 307, p. 90-H)*

The House rejected the following amendments:

- By Symms, to prohibit awards to individuals who provided information to the IRS on possible tax-evaders and defrauders, by voice vote. The amendment was rejected by a 12-33 standing vote after it was proposed a second time.

• By Miller, to cut $710,000 from the $18.2 million for the White House Office, by a 22-78 standing vote.

• By Miller, to reduce the $8.8 million committee recommendation by 2 percent across-the-board, by voice vote.

• By Ertel, to prohibit GSA funds appropriated for former presidents to be used for travel expenses, by a 156-232 vote. *(Vote 308, p. 92-H)*

Senate Committee Action

HR 4393 was reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee by voice vote Aug. 2 (S Rept 96-299). It recommended $8,846,104,100, which was $56,380,100 more than passed by the House and $173,603,900 less than the administration's amended fiscal 1980 budget request.

Most of the difference between the bill as reported and the House passed version was accounted for in the committee's recommended appropriation for Internal Revenue Service tax examinations and appeals. The committee recommended $34.7 million more than approved by the House for IRS audits of 1979 tax returns.

Treasury Department

The committee recommended an appropriation of $3,445,240,600 for the Treasury Department, $34,834,600 more than approved by the House and $13,993,600 more than the administration's budget request.

Internal Revenue Service. The Senate panel recommended $2,212,990,000 for the IRS, an increase of $37,922,000 over the amount approved by the House. Most of the additional funding was for tax audits.

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Although the House approved the full administration request of $139 million for the BATF, the Senate panel cut $517,400 from that amount, recommending $138,462,600.

In its report, the committee noted its recommendation would fund only 3,900 positions in the bureau, an 8 percent cut from the administration's request.

The panel concurred with the House in continuing to prohibit the agency from issuing or carrying out any matter relating to firearms regulations.

U.S. Customs Service. The panel recommended $600,000 more than the House's $446,857,000 appropriation for the Customs Service. The amount was $2,700,000 less than the administration's amended request. Part of the additional funding was for 200 extra inspection officials to offset a proposed reduction of 308 positions by the service.

"This reduction could have a significant impact on the ability of the Service to process in a timely and correct manner the increasing flow of merchandise and travelers though our many ports of entry," the report stated.

U.S. Secret Service. The panel recommended $151,400,000 for the service, a $5.6 million cut from the $157 million administration request that had been approved in full by the House.

The report noted that although $5.7 million had previously been appropriated in payments for state and local governments to protect foreign diplomatic missions, only $65,000 had been expended under the program (PL 94-196). The committee recommended that $5.6 million of this amount be reprogrammed to other needs of the service.

Postal Service

The $1,676,810,000 passed by the House for the postal agency was concurred in by the Senate panel. The House had cut $20,748,000 from the administration's request for free and reduced mail rates — "revenue foregone" — and the Senate panel directed the service "to more carefully define 'qualified political committees' " able to take advantage of reduced postage rates.

Executive Office of the President

The panel added $2,547,000 to the House-approved $81,386,000 appropriation for the Executive Office. The Senate amount was $160,000 above the administration request and $8,824,000 more than appropriated in fiscal 1979.

The panel recommended increases of $983,000 for the Council on Wage and Price Stability and $50,000 for the Domestic Policy Staff over the House-passed appropriations for those offices, thus restoring the full original administration requests. The House had approved $7.5 million for the council and $2.6 million for the Domestic Policy Staff.

Office of Management and Budget. The panel recommended an increase of $4,886,000 over the House-passed appropriation of $27.6 million for the office. Most of the increase came from shifting automatic data processing services to OMB from the Office of Administration.

Independent Agencies

For the various independent agencies covered by HR 4393, the committee recommended a total of $3,640,120,500, which was $18,998,500 over the House amount and a reduction of $167,009,500 from the administration's request. Most of the approximately $19 million difference resulted from creation of an independent account for the Office of Inspector General in the General Services Administration.

General Services Administration. Within the GSA, the committee recommended $18,874,000 for an independent Office of Inspector General. The office was responsible for conducting audits and investigations within the government for alleged fraud and abuse of federal property.

Although the House recommended the full administration request of $798,000 for allowances and office staff for former presidents, the Senate panel approved only $759,500.

The report said $33,000 of the $38,500 difference resulted from an amended request by former President Ford and the $5,500 balance was cut by the committee from former President Nixon's travel funds. The panel did not agree with the House's reduction in Nixon's allowances as reimbursement for expenses on improvements unrelated to security on his property at San Clemente.

As in the House, the panel "denied without prejudice" the $177 million requested for stockpile acquistions. President Carter signed legislation July 30 (HR 2154 — PL 96-41) to reorganize procedures for acquiring stockpile materials.

Merit Systems Protection Board. The $16,591,000 recommended by the committee was $2,841,000 higher than the House appropriation and $5,472,000 more than the administration request. The committee said it approved the original requests submitted by the board to OMB before cuts by the White House.

The board had complained that lack of funding might hamper its enforcement activities under the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (PL 95-454).

Office of Personnel Management. The committee recommended $3,171,552,000 for the office, $200,000 less

than both the House-passed appropriation and the administration's budget request. The panel said that since $200,000 was approved for OPM in the fiscal 1979 supplemental appropriations for a study on revision of federal work schedules, that amount was deducted from the office's fiscal 1980 request.

Senate Floor Action

The issue of IRS revocation of schools' tax-exempt status occupied the Senate on both days HR 4393 was debated on the floor.

Under proposed IRS regulations, which drew fire from conservative and religious groups, certain categories of private schools would have lost their tax-exempt status unless they could prove to the IRS that they were not engaging in discrimination. The proposed rules would create stricter standards for schools to retain tax-exempt status than under existing IRS regulations.

The Senate approved an amendment by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to prohibit the Internal Revenue Service from issuing or implementing new rules designed to revoke the tax-exempt status of segregated private, religious or church-operated schools.

Before agreeing to the Helms amendment, the Senate Sept. 5 rejected 31-54 an amendment by Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., to strike other language from the bill specifically prohibiting the IRS from carrying out proposed revenue procedures issued Feb. 13, 1979, and Aug. 22, 1978, relating to the revocation of tax-exempt status of private schools. *(Vote 251, p. 43-S)*

After rejecting the Javits amendment Sept. 5, the Senate adopted the Helms amendment the following day by a 47-43 vote. *(Vote 252, p. 44-S)*

A motion to table a Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, motion to reconsider the vote by which the Helms amendment was adopted was rejected by a 45-45 tie vote. Then, by a 43-47 vote, the Senate rejected the motion to reconsider the vote approving the Helms amendment. *(Votes 253 and 254, p. 44-S)*

The Senate went on to pass HR 4393 on Sept. 6 by an 88-2 vote. *(Vote 255, p. 44-S)*

As passed by the Senate, HR 4393 appropriated $8,846,646,100, some $56,922,100 more than the House bill and $173,061,900 less than the administration's amended budget request of $9,019,708,000.

Before passing HR 4393 the Senate took action on a number of amendments.

It adopted the following amendments by voice vote:

- By David Pryor, D-Ark., expressing the sense of the Senate that former President Richard M. Nixon should reimburse the government for improvements unrelated to security on his property at San Clemente, Calif., when the property is sold.
- By Gary Hart, D-Colo., expressing the sense of the Senate that Nixon should reimburse the government for improvements on his San Clemente property that have increased the fair market value of his property or for reimbursement of the original cost, whichever is less, when the property is sold.
- By Lawton Chiles, D-Fla., to add $1,542,000 to the $10,590,000 committee recommendation for the Federal Labor Relations Authority to carry out additional responsibilities assigned to it under the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978.
- By Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev., and Quentin N. Burdick, D-N.D., to delete restrictions on the Postal Service expanding use of electronic message systems.
- By William L. Armstrong, R-Colo., to prohibit the IRS from collecting taxes on interest on short-term certificates of deposit until the interest had been received by the taxpayer.
- By Armstrong, to prohibit the IRS from issuing or enforcing regulations relating to the inclusion in gross income of employee fringe benefits.
- By Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., to delete from the bill certain criteria for selecting postmasters in small communities.
- By Carl Levin, D-Mich., to prohibit the Postal Service from charging postage to intermediate school districts on mail circulated within a school district.

The Senate, by roll-call votes, adopted the following amendments:

- By Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, R-N.M., to delete $1 million from IRS funding for a test program to withhold tax refunds from former students who had defaulted on their government-guaranteed student loans, 52-38. *(Vote 248, p. 43-S)*
- By Helms, barring the IRS from establishing or carrying out new guidelines to revoke the tax-exempt status of racially discriminatory private schools as determined by the agency, 47-43. *(Vote 252, p. 44-S)*

The Senate rejected the following amendments:

- A committee amendment, to delete House language requiring IRS agents to comply with the Fair Debt Collection Practices Act, 41-49. *(Vote 249, p. 43-S)*
- By Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., to set aside $500,000 in Federal Election Commission funds to investigate the Carter warehouse loan allegation, rejected on a motion to table (kill) 61-29. *(Vote 250, p. 43-S)*
- By Javits, to delete language prohibiting the IRS from carrying out proposed new procedures for revoking the tax-exempt status of racially discriminatory private schools as determined by the agency, 31-54. *(Vote 251, p. 43-S)*

House-Senate Comparison

As passed by the House and the Senate, HR 4393 appropriated the following amounts for fiscal 1980:

Agency	House-passed Appropriation	Senate-passed Appropriation
Treasury Department	$3,410,406,000	$3,444,240,600
U.S. Postal Service	1,676,810,000	1,676,810,000
Executive Office of the President	81,386,000	83,933,000
Independent Agencies	3,621,122,000	3,641,662,500
Total	$8,789,724,000	$8,846,646,100

Conference Action

The conference report on the bill was filed Sept. 24 (H Rept 96-471).

Tax-Exempt Segregation Academies. House-Senate conferees agreed to an amendment by Rep. John M. Ashbrook Jr., R-Ohio, to bar the Internal Revenue Service from establishing or enforcing new rules to revoke the tax-exempt status of private, religious or church-operated schools that the IRS determined were discriminating racially.

The IRS had proposed a controversial new regulation on the subject on Aug. 22, 1978, but the Ashbrook amendment would prevent its implementation by stipulating that any such regulation had to be in effect prior to that date.

Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., had won approval of a similar but broader amendment in the Senate, but the conferees dropped the Helms proposal.

Presidential Expenses. Congress directed President Carter either to spend all his $50,000 yearly allowance for official entertainment expenses or return the remainder to the Treasury.

Previously, presidents could keep the unspent portion, but had to pay taxes on it. White House solicitation of corporate donations to underwrite presidential events, such as the dinner after the signing of the Middle East peace agreement, spurred the restriction.

Nixon Reimbursement. Conferees knocked out a House provision designed to compel former President Nixon to pay $66,614 he spent on improvements to his property at San Clemente, Calif., that were unrelated to security.

Substituted was a sense of the Congress resolution merely urging Nixon to reimburse the government.

Nixon, planning to sell the Pacific ocean front estate and move to New York, subsequently offered to pay $2,300 only, for the cost of a flagpole. The Secret Service insisted on all other additions, he said.

Merit Systems Protection Board. The MSPB, set up to protect federal employees from unfair treatment or retaliation because they exposed corruption and mismanagement, got a boost of nearly $5.5 million above the administration's budget request. The board had complained that it lacked the money to do an adequate job.

Office of Federal Procurement Policy (OFPP). The office, established in 1974 to draw up sounder procurement practices, had difficulty getting off the ground. Part of the reason, critics said, was that its research arm, the Federal Acquisition Institute, was under the Department of Defense.

The bill transferred the institute to the OFPP, a step that also was taken when Congress reauthorized the agency. ▮

State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations

Congress gave final approval Sept. 10 to a bill (HR 4392 — PL 96-68) appropriating $8,345,091,000 for the fiscal 1980 operations of the Departments of State, Justice and Commerce, the federal judiciary and related agencies.

President Carter signed the bill into law Sept. 24, 1979.

The Senate cleared the bill for the president by adopting, on a non-record vote, a conference report (H Rept 96-402) reconciling differences between House and Senate versions of the bill.

On Aug. 2, the House approved the conference report by a 291-106 vote. *(Vote 391, p. 114-H)*

The final appropriation was $181,777,000 less than the administration had requested for fiscal 1980 and $803,842,000 below the amount appropriated for the departments and agencies in fiscal 1979.

The large decrease was due to the non-recurrence of a $1 billion Small Business Administration disaster loan program.

The final appropriation was $91,757,000 more than the Senate had recommended and $650,084,000 more than the bill passed by the House.

The large increase over the House bill was due to inclusion of a number of programs that the House had not considered. A large portion of this increase was attributable to funding of law enforcement assistance programs costing $486,463,000. Conferees attached a provision making expenditure of funds for these programs contingent on enactment of authorizing legislation.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, HR 4392 (PL 96-68) appropriated the following amounts for fiscal 1980:

Agency	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
State Department		
Administration of foreign affairs	$ 853,267,000	$ 845,924,000
International organizations and conferences	502,945,000	499,000,000
International commissions	26,733,000	26,600,000
Educational exchange	7,000,000	500,000
Subtotal, State Department	1,389,945,000	1,372,024,000
Justice Department		
General administration	28,168,000	32,500,000
U.S. Parole Commission	5,555,000	5,500,000
Legal actitivites	431,627,000	436,451,000
Federal Bureau of Investigation	575,608,000	584,408,000
Immigration and Naturalization Service	304,354,000	318,465,000
Drug Enforcement Administration	193,836,000	193,836,000
Federal prison system	327,460,000	337,344,000
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and related agencies	546,347,000	486,463,000
Subtotal, Justice Department	2,412,955,000	2,394,967,000
Commerce Department		
General administration	47,412,000	27,375,000
Bureau of the Census	686,606,000	656,990,000
Economic and Statistical Analysis	17,898,000	17,875,000
Economic Development Administration	(759,042,000)*	——
Regional action planning commissions	(74,005,000)*	——
Industry and Trade Administration	85,083,000	77,670,000
Minority Business Enterprise	58,783,000	58,689,000

Agency	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
United States Travel Service	——	8,000,000
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration	792,503,000	771,125,000
Patent and Trademark Office	97,598,000	99,672,000
Science and Technology	100,454,000	96,528,000
National Telecommunications and Information Administration	42,467,000	41,010,000
Maritime Administration	178,832,000	181,922,000
Subtotal, Commerce Department	2,107,636,000	2,036,856,000
The Judiciary		
Supreme Court	12,407,000	12,407,000
Court of Customs and Patent Appeals	1,719,000	1,719,000
Customs Court	4,983,000	4,850,000
Court of Claims	5,361,000	5,230,000
Court of Appeals, District Courts, and other judicial services	569,652,000	543,500,000
Administrative Office of the United States Courts	15,879,000	15,100,000
Federal Judicial Center	9,768,000	8,500,000
Subtotal, the Judiciary	619,769,000	591,306,000
Related Agencies		
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	18,876,000	18,270,000
Board for International Broadcasting	86,917,000	84,470,000
Commission on Civil Rights	11,372,000	11,230,000
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe	432,000	264,000
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	125,060,000	119,000,000
Federal Communications Commission	71,816,000	72,535,000
Federal Maritime Commission	11,217,000	11,175,000
Federal Trade Commission	(69,021,000)*	——
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission	1,030,000	——
International Communication Agency	431,492,000	426,089,000
International Trade Commission	16,200,000	15,130,000
Japan-United States Friendship Commission	1,500,000	1,500,000
Legal Services Corporation	337,500,000	300,000,000
Marine Mammal Commission	640,000	940,000
Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	4,273,000	4,000,000
Presidential Commission on World Hunger	975,000	975,000
Renegotiation Board	7,363,000	——
Securities and Exchange Commission	69,039,000	68,986,000
Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy	2,226,000	1,600,000
Small Business Administration	795,300,000	811,300,000
U.S. Metric Board	3,335,000	2,474,000
Subtotal, Related Agencies	2,065,584,000	1,949,938,000
Grand Total	$8,526,868,000	$8,345,091,000

**Action deferred pending authorization. Figures are not included in totals.*

House Committee Action

HR 4392 was ordered reported by the Committee on Appropriations May 31 on a voice vote. It was reported June 7 (H Rept 96-247).

As reported, the bill provided $7,646,707,000 in fiscal 1980 budget authority for the Departments of State, Justice and Commerce, the federal courts and related agencies. The amount was $458,276,000 above comparable appropriations enacted for the agencies for fiscal 1979 and $321,105,000 below the $7,967,812,000 requested by the administration.

The committee recommended no funding for continuation of the Renegotiation Board, which went out of business on March 31. The president's budget had requested $7,363,000.

As reported by the House Appropriations Committee, HR 4392 contained the following major provisions:

Department of State. The committee recommendation for the State Department totaled $1,325,569,000, an increase of $91,049,000 over the amount appropriated for fiscal 1979.

Salaries and expenses and contributions to international organizations and for international peacekeeping forces accounted for a significant portion of the increase.

The committee bill cut $3,000,000 from the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, reducing its staff by half because, the report said, "the Bureau is overstaffed and generally ineffective."

Department of Justice. The committee recommendation for the Department of Justice was $1,848,448,000. That amount was $30,162,000 less than the administration request, but $21,850,000 above the amount appropriated for fiscal 1979.

The Justice Department appropriation included:

- Antitrust Division, $43,544,000. The figure was $2,833,000 below the appropriation for fiscal 1979 due to completion of a state antitrust enforcement program that would no longer receive federal funds.
- U.S. attorneys and marshals, $231,275,000. A major $34,575,000 increase over the fiscal 1979 appropriation resulted in large measure from legislation approved in the 95th Congress creating 630 additional positions in the offices of U.S. attorneys and 117 additional positions for U.S. marshals.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. Traditionally one of the sacred cows in the appropriation process, the committee recommended giving the FBI the full amount it requested, $575,608,000. The amount represented a $14,267,000 increase over the appropriation for fiscal 1979.

• Immigration and Naturalization Service, $299,326,000. The committee made a modest $24,000 reduction in INS funding but was sharply critical of the service's performance.

• Drug Enforcement Administration. The committee recommended the full $193,836,000 requested by the DEA.

Commerce Department. The committee recommended $1,904,987,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Commerce, $181,974,000 less than the administration request but $314,031,000 above the fiscal 1979 appropriation. Significant components of the department's funding included:

• An increase of $388,904,000 above fiscal 1979 appropriations for the Bureau of the Census, attributable largely to costs of the decennial census.

• An increase of $38,481,000 in budget authority for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. An increase of $28,006,000 was included for various fisheries, marine, environmental and weather prediction programs.

• An increase of $6,208,000 in operating-differential subsidies in the Maritime Administration budget to allow employment of U.S. seamen. The total amount of the subsidy for fiscal 1980 was $256,208,000. Combined with funds carried over from fiscal 1979 funding totaled $306,714,000, a $14,188,000 increase over the previous fiscal year.

• A reduction of $125,000,000 in maritime construction-differential subsidies from the fiscal 1979 appropriation. The committee recommended $32,000,000 in subsidies, rejecting a $69,000,000 administration request for construction of three dry bulk ships, arguing that funds were expected to be requested in separate legislation.

The Judiciary. The committee recommendation for the judicial branch was $589,866,000, a decrease of $29,903,000 from the amount requested by the administration. The committee recommendation represented an increase of $100,219,000 over fiscal 1979 appropriations, increases attributable to enactment of the Omnibus Judgeship Act, the Bankruptcy Reform Act and the Jury System Improvements Act in 1978.

House Floor Action

The House passed a $7.7 billion appropriation for the fiscal 1980 activities of the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the federal judiciary and 18 related agencies July 12 by a 299-93 vote. *(Vote 300, p. 90-H)*

Attached to the bill (HR 4392) was an amendment to prohibit the Department of Justice from spending money to require the busing of school children. The amendment, sponsored by James M. Collins, R-Texas, passed 209-190. *(Vote 298, p. 88-H)*

The bill also included an amendment to prevent the Department of State from spending 5 percent of the funds appropriated for it in the bill. That amendment, sponsored by John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, was adopted 210-199. *(Vote 295, p. 88-H)*

Several agencies that had not been authorized by the appropriate authorizing committees received no funding.

The Collins amendment was the first anti-busing proposal to reach the floor since a constitutional amendment that would outlaw busing was discharged from the House Judiciary Committee June 27 through a petition signed by 218 House members.

Don Edwards, D-Calif., attacked Collins' proposal as unconstitutional, saying it would deny equal protection to school children who were victims of discrimination. But Collins insisted that discrimination and integration were not at issue.

Although Ashbrook succeeded in winning approval of an amendment to prevent the State Department from spending 5 percent of its appropriated funds, a second Ashbrook amendment, to increase funding for the FBI by $10.1 million, did not fare so well. That amendment, to earmark $1.8 million for counterterrorism efforts, was defeated on a voice vote.

An effort to make an across-the-board 2 percent cut in the State, Justice, Commerce appropriation bill also was rejected by the House on a voice vote. The amendment was offered by Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio.

Merchant Marine Committee Chairman John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., failed in an effort to restore $69 million for the Maritime Administration for ship construction. The Appropriations Committee had reduced the subsidy amount because it had not received specific plans for using the money. The Murphy amendment was defeated 135-272. *(Vote 296, p. 88-H)*

An amendment proposed by Philip M. Crane, R-Ill., to eliminate all funding for the U.S. Metric Board was defeated 122-280. *(Vote 297, p. 88-H)*

During floor consideration of HR 4392, the House also adopted the following amendments:

• By Silvio O. Conte, R-Mass., to add $3 million for salaries and expenses of the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs in the State Department. The Conte amendment was adopted 25-11 by non-record vote and on reconsideration of the vote was adopted 173-62, also by non-record vote.

• By John M. Slack, D-W.Va., to restore $41.2 million for contributions to international organizations for technical assistance. The amendment, adopted 216-190 in Committee of the Whole and later adopted by the House 198-197, required the United States to pay its full assessment of United Nations dues. *(Votes 294 and 299, p. 88-H)*

• By Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., to increase the funding of the Justice Department's Criminal Division by $2.3 million to $100,900,000 and earmarking an additional $1.5 million for investigation and prosecution of denaturalization and deportation cases involving alleged Nazi war criminals. Adopted by non-record vote.

• By Robert McClory, R-Ill., to increase FBI salaries and expenses by $1.8 million to supplement terrorism investigations. Adopted by non-record vote.

Senate Committee Action

HR 4392 was ordered reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee July 19 (S Rept 96-251).

As reported the bill provided $8,252,044,000 in fiscal 1980 budget authority. The amount was $902,137,000 below comparable appropriations enacted for the agencies for fiscal 1979 and $274,824,000 below the amount requested by the administration.

The committee recommended no funding for continuation of the Renegotiation Board.

The bill reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee recommended $44,032,000 more than comparable amounts in the House-passed bill. But the Senate bill contained $512,953,000 in funds that were not considered by the House. The difference was attributable largely to a Senate recommendation of $486,463,000 for the proposed Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics

(OJARS), which was not considered by the House. OJARS was to include the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and two proposed related agencies.

As reported, the Senate bill contained the following major provisions:

Department of State

The committee recommendation for the State Department totaled $1,375,387,000, an increase of $22,072,000 over the amount appropriated for fiscal 1979. The increase was attributable primarily to non-discretionary wage and salary increases, price increases overseas and increased workloads in the consular offices. The amounts largely followed those in the House bill.

Department of Justice

The committee recommended $2,402,722,000, a decrease of $107,016,000 from the fiscal 1979 level. The decrease was attributable to a reduction in the funding level for OJARS.

Major items in the Justice appropriation included:

• **Antitrust Division.** The committee recommended $48,544,000, a figure $2,167,000 above the fiscal 1979 appropriation and $5 million above the amount appropriated by the House. The increases were earmarked for economic analysis and legal and business research for antitrust litigators.

• **U.S. attorneys and marshals.** An appropriation of $233,700,000 was recommended. The amount represented an increase of $37 million over the 1979 appropriation and a $2,425,000 increase over the House appropriation. The increase was attributable in large measure to increased services required by legislation that created new U.S. attorney and marshal positions.

• **Federal Bureau of Investigation.** The committee recommended $584,408,000, a figure that was $3,838,000 higher than the 1979 appropriation and $7 million above the amount recommended by the House. The appropriation included $4 million "to be applied as the [FBI] director sees fit to organized and white-collar crime investigations and to other high priority areas."

Expressing concern over recent increases in the crime rate, the committee also recommended 93 new positions and $1.7 million for general law enforcement training, 101 positions and $2.6 million to maintain the bank robbery investigations program, and nine positions and $500,000 for coordination of terrorism investigations.

• **Immigration and Naturalization Service.** An appropriation of $318,854,000 was recommended, an amount $9,569,000 above the 1979 appropriation and $19,528,000 above the House recommendation. Because of "increasing population pressures on the Southwestern border," the committee recommended an additional 495 positions and $14.5 million for the Border Patrol.

• **Drug Enforcement Administration.** Like the House, the Senate committee recommended the full $193,836,000 requested by DEA, a figure $883,000 more than the 1979 appropriation.

Department of Commerce

The committee recommended $2,084,142,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Commerce, $23,494,000 less than the administration request, $179,155,000 above the House recommendation, and $391,655,000 above the 1979 level for the department. The appropriation included:

• An increase of $412,529,000 above the 1979 appropriation for the Bureau of the Census attributable to funding for the 1980 decennial census, $30.5 million above the House recommendation and more than $21 million less than the budget request.

• An appropriation of $8 million for the U.S. Travel Service, which the administration had proposed eliminating.

• A reduction of $56 million in Maritime Administration ship construction subsidies. The committee recommended $101 million in ship construction subsidies, $69 million more than the House bill. The difference would cover construction of three dry bulk ships requested by the Maritime Administration.

The Judiciary

The committee recommended a total of $592,806,000 for the operations of the U.S. Supreme Court, Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, Customs Court, Court of Claims, federal district and appeals courts, Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts and the Federal Judicial Center.

The total was $79,819,000 above the fiscal 1979 appropriation, $2,940,000 above the House recommendation and $26,963,000 less than the budget request.

Increases over fiscal 1979 largely reflect increased costs due to creation of 152 new federal district and appellate court judgeships. A significant portion of the increase would go to providing staff for the new judges as well as additional legal and secretarial assistance for appellate court judges. The committee recommended $60 million for the bankruptcy courts, an increase of $23,342,000 above 1979 necessitated by enactment of the 1978 Bankruptcy Reform Act.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate approved an $8.3 billion State, Justice appropriation July 24 on an 86-10 vote. *(Vote 211, p. 36-S)*

The vote to pass the bill came after the Senate rejected an anti-busing amendment identical to one attached by floor amendment to the House bill.

The busing amendment, sponsored by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., would have prohibited the Department of Justice from spending money to bring legal actions to force the busing of any student to a school other than the one closest to his home, except for students requiring special education. It was rejected 37-60. *(Vote 209, p. 36-S)*

As passed, the bill provided no funding for the Economic Development Administration, Regional Action Planning Commissions or the Federal Trade Commission because authorizations for the agencies had not been approved. The president requested more than $1.6 billion to fund these agencies.

Aside from the anti-busing amendment, the State, Justice, Commerce bill proved largely non-controversial.

During floor debate the Senate increased the committee-recommended appropriation by only $1,440,000, agreeing to the following amendments:

• By Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., to increase funds for the Federal Communications Commission by $440,000. The funds would go for a study of the AM radio band designed to open it up to additional stations. Adopted on a non-record vote.

• By John Glenn, D-Ohio, to increase by $1 million funds for the Census Bureau's educational campaign in the 1980 census. The $1 million figure was an arbitrary figure that

would allow the Senate and House to decide in conference whether or not additional funding is needed for the public information program and how much. Adopted on a non-record vote.

• By Hollings to transfer an additional $2,835,000 to the U.S. Marshals Service in fiscal 1979 to provide protection for members of the federal judiciary and U.S. attorney staffs in four judicial districts. Adopted on a non-record vote.

• By Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., to bring the terms of loans made by the Small Business Administration more in line with those of the Farmers Home Administration in order to encourage farmers to seek loans from the latter agency. Adopted on a non-record vote.

• By Hollings to give the attorney general authority to make funds available to state and local drug strike forces. Adopted on a non-record vote.

• By John Melcher, D-Mont., to prohibit the Census Bureau from using funds in the bill for sending certain types of questionnaires to small business men engaged in soil preparation, landscaping, horticulture and gardening. Adopted 93-4. *(Vote 210, p. 36-S)*

House-Senate Comparison

HR 4392, as passed by the House and Senate, included the following appropriations:

Agency	House-passed appropriation	Senate-passed appropriation
Department of State	$1,369,821,000	$1,375,387,000
Department of Justice	1,852,548,000	2,402,722,000
Department of Commerce[1]	1,904,987,000	2,085,142,000
The Judiciary	589,866,000	592,806,000
Related Agencies:		
Arms Control & Disarmament Agency	17,670,000	18,870,000
Board for International Broadcasting	82,990,000	84,700,000
Commission on Civil Rights	11,230,000	11,370,000
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe	264,000	264,000
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	119,000,000	125,000,000
Federal Communications Commission[2]	71,816,000	73,255,000
Federal Maritime Commission	11,175,000	11,217,000
Federal Trade Commission	——	——
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission	——	——
International Communication Agency	429,112,000	425,842,000
International Trade Commission	14,106,000	16,200,000
Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission	1,500,000	1,500,000
Legal Services Corporation	305,000,000	291,800,000
Marine Mammal Commission	640,000	940,000
Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiation	3,900,000	4,273,000
Presidential Commission on World Hunger	975,000	975,000
Renegotiation Board	——	——
Securities and Exchange Commission	68,946,000	68,986,000
Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy	1,600,000	1,600,000
Small Business Administration	836,300,000	657,300,000
U.S. Metric Board	1,613,000	3,335,000
Total	$7,695,059,000	$8,253,484,000

[1] *A floor amendment added $1 million for the Census Bureau's educational campaign in the 1980 census.*

[2] *A floor amendment increased the appropriation for the Federal Communications Commission by $440,000 for a study of the AM radio band.*

Conference Action

House and Senate conferees filed the conference report on HR 4392 (H Rept 96-402) July 31.

Conferees resolved the following major differences between the two versions:

• **Busing.** Dropped a House amendment that would have prohibited the Justice Department from bringing legal actions to require busing of children to schools other than those closest to their homes.

• **State Department.** Dropped a House provision which would have limited expenditures for the Department of State to 95 percent of funds appropriated. Agreed to Senate action holding wage increases for foreign national personnel at the International Communication Agency to 7 percent.

• **Justice Department.** Retained the Senate recommendation for staff increases in Justice Department Land and Natural Resources, Civil Rights and Criminal divisions.

• **FBI.** Agreed to provide $500,000 for the FBI's anti-terrorism program, a sharp reduction from the $1.8 million approved by the House.

• **Nazis.** Agreed to a House amendment providing $2.3 million for investigation and prosecution of denaturalization and deportation cases involving alleged Nazi war criminals.

• **INS.** Agreed to increase funding for the Immigration and Naturalization Service by $19,139,000 above the House recommendation, providing funding for 495 new Border Patrol positions.

• **Census.** Agreed to provide $656,990,000 for the Bureau of the Census, a $22 million increase over the House bill. Conferees dropped a House-proposed prohibition on dissemination of a census questionnaire to small business men engaged in soil preparation, landscaping, horticulture and gardening. Conferees agreed to prohibit prosecution of individuals who failed to complete the forms.

They also agreed that not more than $2.8 million should be spent for promotion of the 1980 decennial census.

• **Maritime Subsidies.** Agreed to a Senate provision providing $69 million to the Maritime Administration to subsidize construction of three dry bulk ships.

• **Travel Service.** Agreed to a Senate provision appropriating $8 million for the U.S. Travel Service, which the Carter administration had proposed eliminating. ▮

HUD-Independent Agencies

Congress Oct. 24 cleared the fiscal 1980 appropriations bill for the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the Veterans Administration and 18 other federal agencies.

The bill (HR 4394 — PL 96-103) appropriated a total of $71,842,684,000, about $1 billion less than President Carter requested.

For fiscal 1979, HUD-independent agencies appropriations totaled $70 billion. The 1980 figure represented a 1.4 percent increase over the previous year. *(Fiscal 1978 appropriation, 1978 Almanac p. 78)*

The largest single item in the bill involved $1,140,661,000 in new contract authority for subsidized housing programs. That figure represented about $26.7 billion in actual appropriations — budget authority — which reflected the runout costs of long-term housing contracts that could last as long as 40 years.

The bill also appropriated $4.7 billion for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), $4.9 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and $20.3 billion for the Veterans Administration (VA).

The final compromise bill was slightly under the first House and Senate versions. Citing Appropriations Committee pledges to honor the ceilings set by the second fiscal 1980 budget resolution, Senate Budget Committee Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, backed the compromise measure.

Major cuts included $400 million from funds requested for EPA construction grants for wastewater treatment facilities and $500 million in borrowing authority sought by the National Credit Union Administration. State revenue sharing funds survived budget-cutting attempts in both chambers. And the House and Senate approved Carter's request to increase funding for urban development action grants by $275 million over the previous year.

A final vote on the bill was delayed several weeks when conferees could not reach agreement on funds for two relatively modest spending programs.

The Senate wanted $3 million for an urban arts program, not funded by the House. And it wanted an extra $23 million for several NASA projects.

Conferees finally agreed to drop funds for the arts program and scale down the sum for NASA to an extra $8 million. They also dropped a House provision requiring NASA to obtain congressional approval before starting a proposed two-mission space shuttle program.

Final Provisions

As cleared by Congress, HR 4394 made the following appropriations for fiscal 1980:

	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
Department of Housing and Urban Development		
Housing Programs	$28,315,448,750	$28,352,949,000
Community Planning and Development	4,745,000,000	4,752,500,000
Neighborhoods, Voluntary Associations and Consumer Protection	29,000,000	19,000,000
Department of Housing and Urban Development		
Policy Development and Research	53,000,000	49,650,000
Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity Assistance	3,700,000	3,700,000
Management and Administration	296,002,000	284,189,000
Total, HUD	$33,442,150,750	$33,461,988,000
Independent Agencies		
American Battle Monuments Commission	7,603,000	7,603,000
Consumer Product Safety Commission	41,776,000	40,600,000
Cemeterial Expenses, Army	7,943,000	8,326,000
Environmental Protection Agency	5,109,238,000	4,660,242,000
Council on Environmental Quality	3,126,000	3,126,000
Office of Science and Technology Policy	2,900,000	2,625,000
Federal Emergency Management Act	458,430,000	441,930,000
Consumer Information Center	1,364,000	1,315,000
HEW Office of Consumer Affairs	1,861,000	1,861,000
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	4,945,000,000	4,923,500,000
National Commission on Air Quality	6,000,000	5,500,000
National Consumer Cooperative Bank and Treasury Investment	88,900,000	74,000,000
National Credit Union Administration	500,000,000	—
National Institute of Building Sciences	750,000	750,000
National Science Foundation	1,006,000,000	996,250,000
Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation	9,500,000	12,000,000
Selective Service System	9,825,000	7,830,000
Revenue Sharing	6,861,261,000	6,861,161,000
New York City Loan Program	1,034,000	1,022,000
Veterans Administration	20,310,577,000	20,331,055,000
Grand Total	$72,815,238,750	$71,842,684,000

House Committee Report

As reported by the House Appropriations Committee June 7 (H Rept 96-249), HR 4394 provided $72,215,975,000 in new budget authority for HUD and the independent agencies covered by the bill. That was $509.8 million less than the Carter administration had requested but $4.3 billion — or 7 percent — over what Congress originally appropriated for fiscal 1979. According to Appropriations Committee calculations, the bill exceeded allocations under the first 1980 budget resolution by $40.8 million.

HUD Department

Housing. The committee recommended an additional $1,160,474,000 in new annual contract authority ($26,680,128,000 in budget authority) for subsidized housing programs, the full amount requested by the administration. That funding level would support up to 313,000 additional rental units for low-income households in the coming fiscal year, the committee said. It designated 50,000 of the units for public housing and the remainder for Section 8 rental subsidies for low- and moderate-income families.

The committee limited contract authority for new and substantial rehabilitation under the Section 8 program to $609.7 million. It earmarked at least $352.1 million for existing Section 8 units and $37.5 million for modernization of public housing projects. The effect of its actions, the committee said, was to increase the share of subsidies for existing housing units to 40 percent (from 34) and to reduce the share for new construction and substantial rehabilitation to 60 percent (from 66). The new mix of subsidies, the panel noted, would provide an additional 13,000 housing units for the same number of dollars.

"New housing units require annual payments that are almost twice as high as existing units," the committee said. "Clearly, where market conditions are favorable, a good case can be made, on the basis of cost effectiveness, to utilize existing units. This point . . . is the principal rationale behind the committee's recommendations for fiscal year 1980."

The committee recommended the full request of $741.5 million for public housing operating subsidies, $14.5 million less than the fiscal 1979 appropriation. In cutting $5 million from the $82 million requested for operating subsidies for financially troubled projects, the committee expressed concern that HUD "may be embarking on a new *permanent* operating subsidy program" despite "the *temporary* concept of the original authorizing legislation."

Community Development. The committee cut $10 million from the administration's $3.9 billion request for the community development block grant program, a response to staff criticisms of the management of the HUD secretary's discretionary fund. It provided the full $675 million requested for urban development action grants.

The panel approved $140 million for the Section 312 rehabilitation loan program, a $10 million increase in the administration's request but still $100 million less than Congress provided in fiscal 1979.

Two programs authorized by Congress in 1978 fared poorly at the committee's hands. It provided only half of the $10 million requested for the neighborhood self-help development program and denied altogether a $5 million request for the livable cities program — deferring funding responsibility for the community cultural project to the National Endowment for the Arts. *(Authorization, 1978 Almanac p. 303)*

Independent Agencies

Environmental Protection Agency. The committee recommended $4.6 billion for the Environmental Protection Agency, $468 million less than the budget request and $784.7 million less than the previous year's appropriation. Almost the entire cut came in funding for construction grants for municipal wastewater treatment facilities.

In cutting funding for the grant program to $3.4 billion, the committee said more than $6.5 billion was currently available from previous appropriations. It also urged EPA to develop a system by which states with greatest needs could borrow funds allocated to other states in order to begin high priority projects.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The committee cut $34.5 million from the administration's $4.9 billion request for NASA, with the bulk of the cuts falling in research and development programs.

While granting full funding of $220 million for ongoing space shuttle development problems, the committee deferred a $15 million request for additional studies of thrust augmentation proposed for the shuttle.

National Credit Union Administration. The bill provided $300 million of the $500 million requested for emergency lending by the secretary of the Treasury to the National Credit Union Central Liquidity Facility, to be established Oct. 1. The committee said the amount provided would be sufficient to instill investor confidence in the new facility, which would borrow money to supply temporary funds to member credit unions.

As requested by the administration, the committee recommended a $300 million ceiling on the amount of funds that could be borrowed from the public or any other source except the Treasury secretary. It also recommended a $1.8 million limitation on administrative expenses to give Congress an opportunity for annual review of the facility's operations. *(Authorization, 1978 Almanac p. 302)*

National Science Foundation. In providing $911 million for the National Science Foundation, the committee cut $18.5 million from the request for research and related activities. The report noted that other agencies obligate large sums for basic research. It said the foundation would provide only about 18 percent of total federal support for basic research in 1979.

Selective Service System. The committee cut $2 million from the $9.8 million request for the Selective Service System. It said it was recommending a $600,000 fiscal 1979 supplemental appropriation to allow the agency to upgrade its data processing, but it denied supplemental funding to expand the number of field offices.

Treasury Department. The bill included the full $6.85 billion for general revenue-sharing payments to state and local governments.

The committee cut $10 million from the $60 million funding request for the National Consumer Cooperative Bank, noting that it had approved $8 million in supplemental funding for fiscal 1979 and that the new agency would not be operational as soon as anticipated. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 521)*

Veterans Administration. The $20.3 billion recommended for the Veterans Administration exceeded administration requests by $72.7 million. A $76.4 million increase for medical care offered in VA hospitals and other facilities was partially offset by small cuts in other programs.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 4394 with few changes June 27. The 359-53 vote followed two attempts by Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio, to cut the spending plan by 2 percent across-the-board. Miller, who introduced a similar proposal in 1978, failed to win support for a recorded vote on his amendment. His motion to recommit with instructions to make the cuts subsequently was rejected 170-243. *(Votes 266, 267, p. 80-H)*

Through a variety of amendments and parliamentary maneuvers, however, the House trimmed $252.5 million

from the bill's funding total, putting the measure back within the limits set by the budget resolution.

Revenue Sharing

Bill Nelson, D-Fla., failed in two bids to trim revenue sharing funds for states from $2.3 billion to about $1.6 billion. During debate on the budget resolution, the House voted four times to cut the funds, but its position was not upheld in conference. Nelson's first proposal was defeated by a 19-41 standing vote, and a second amendment was rejected by a lopsided 102-302 recorded vote. *(Vote 264, p. 80-H)*

HUD Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman Edward P. Boland, D-Mass., urged that the funding be continued until fiscal 1981, when the program would come up for reauthorization.

One appropriations staff member called the original budget cuts in state revenue sharing "somewhat of a cheap vote."

During the budget process, he said, "it is very easy to vote against large spending. But when it comes down to the appropriations bill, where the real money is, they [lawmakers] have to think again."

He added that since the initial vote to cut revenue sharing to the states, "we have noticed that not too many states are clamoring for a constitutional convention" to require a balanced budget.

"Had they continued," he said, "an amendment like this would have zipped through. In fact, they probably would have taken the entire $2.3 billion" earmarked for the states.

Other Amendments

The largest cut the House made in the appropriations bill — $275 million — came when Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., won a point of order against the panel's $675 million recommendation for urban development action grants. Boland reinstated the program in the bill, but at the currently authorized $400 million level. Carter had requested the higher sum.

The House, however, reinstated some funds trimmed by committee:

- $10 million for the congregate services program that provided group housing for the elderly and handicapped. The proposal by Edward R. Roybal, D-Calif., carried by voice vote.
- $10 million for community development grants, restoring committee cuts in the HUD secretary's discretionary fund, for use in small cities. Offered by Boland, the amendment was adopted by voice vote.
- $1 million for EPA salary and travel fund increases. Again, the proposal by the subcommittee chairman was approved by voice vote.
- $1.5 million for EPA environmental protection training programs — an amendment by Matthew F. McHugh, D-N.Y., that succeeded by voice vote.

The House rejected two proposals designed to boost EPA's research and abatement capabilities.

The first amendment — sponsored by Jerome A. Ambro, D-N.Y., and defeated 129-237 — would have provided an additional $10 million for groundwater contamination studies and research into methods of controlling hazardous substances. *(Vote 254, p. 78-H)*

The second, brought by John J. LaFalce, D-N.Y., would have added $10 million for EPA research and another $10 million for emergency abatement and control of hazardous wastes. It was rejected 136-219. *(Vote 255, p. 78-H)*

By a standing vote of 16-38, the House turned down an amendment by Donald J. Mitchell, R-N.Y., to add $37.4 million for civil defense planning and mobilization.

And it voted 113-292 against a proposal by Ted Weiss, D-N.Y., to cut $14.7 million from NASA research funds earmarked for the development of a commercial supersonic plane. He argued that although the cost of the project was relatively modest in fiscal 1980, it would increase over the next decade to about $2.5 billion. *(Vote 265, p. 80-H)*

Senate Committee Report

As reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee July 24 (S Rept 96-258), HR 4394 set total fiscal 1980 budget authority for HUD and the independent agencies at $71,356,151,000. That was up $1.3 billion from $70,040,207,000 appropriated for fiscal 1979 — but $607,324,000 less than the House-passed version.

Major changes in the House bill:

HUD Department

Housing. For assisted housing projects, the panel cut the House allocation by $20 million, allowing $1.14 billion in new contract authority — which represented $26.7 billion in budget authority for long-term runout costs. But it increased funds for modernizing public housing projects from $37 million to $50 million.

The panel also added $5 million for subsidies for ailing housing projects. It reduced by $7.3 million HUD personnel salaries and expenses.

And it eliminated a House provision targeting 60 percent of housing subsidies for new units and 40 percent for existing units.

Community Development. The committee increased funds for urban development action grants by $275 million — a 70 percent funding hike requested by the administration. The increase had been deleted in the House on a point of order.

The committee also increased funding of the comprehensive planning grant program by $15 million more than the House had allocated, bringing the program total to $50 million.

And it included $3 million for the livable cities program, which was not funded by the House. Carter requested $5 million.

The panel reduced the rehabilitation loan program by $10 million to $130 million, the amount requested.

It also approved an administration proposal to rescind $5 million in previously approved contract authority — $200 million in long-term budget authority — reflecting uncommitted balances in the rent supplement program. The House had denied the request.

Independent Agencies

Environmental Protection Agency. The committee recommended $4.7 billion for the Environmental Protection Agency — an increase of $46.4 million over the House bill.

According to the committee report, nearly $20 million of that increase was prompted by a budget amendment allowing more spending to monitor and clean hazardous waste sites.

Another increase, of $10 million, would go for the areawide waste treatment management program.

The panel also included an extra $6 million for anticipatory research.

And it restored $6 million cut by the House from salaries and expenses — a cut Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md., argued "would have severely curtailed EPA's ability to implement the Toxic Substances Control Act."

The committee concurred with the House reduction of $400 million from Carter's request for the waste treatment construction grant program.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The committee recommended an increase of $33 million in the House-approved budget for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration — for a total $4,943,500,000 in fiscal 1980 authority. Although the total was $1.5 million below the budget request, it represented an increase of almost 10 percent from 1979.

The bulk of the increase was to fund research and development programs.

The committee also included $17 million for projects not included in the president's budget — the variable cycle engine (for the next generation of supersonic aircraft), advanced rotorcraft technology and a satellite system to provide ocean condition data.

National Credit Union Administration. The committee allocated no funds for the National Credit Union Administration. It argued that the agency's new Central Liquidity Facility was unlikely to need the $300 million in lending authority approved by the House or the $500 million requested by the administration.

National Science Foundation. The committee restored $18.5 million in National Science Foundation research funds cut by the House — putting the foundation's budget over the $1 billion mark for the first time, at $1,005,500,000.

Treasury Department. The committee cut revenue sharing funds by $684 million, reducing the state portion of the program by about one-third.

Veterans Administration. The committee appropriated $20.3 billion for the Veterans Administration, a funding level $2.75 million below the House.

The largest cut was $5 million for medical and prosthetic research.

But the committee endorsed the House increase of $76.4 million above the budget request to support an additional 3,800 medical workers.

General Provisions. The Senate bill also included language prohibiting any government agency employee from using annual leave to extend a brief business trip.

Senate Floor Action

Ignoring the pleas of fiscal watchdog and bill manager William Proxmire, D-Wis., the Senate July 27 fattened HR 4394 by nearly $800 million. As passed by a vote of 60-25, the bill provided $71.9 billion for HUD and 20 independent agencies. *(Vote 227, p. 38-S)*

"It is a mammoth amount and it is too big," Proxmire said.

The size of the bill also drew the ire of Budget Committee Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, who charged that Congress was calling off "the signals in the fight against inflation."

Proxmire and Muskie argued that because supplemental spending requests were likely to add another $1.1 billion to HUD-independent agencies funds for 1980, the Senate should adopt an austere bill.

Muskie vowed he would vote for the bill "only if amendments are adopted by the Senate which reduce the bill's cost enough to eliminate the subcommittee's potential overage" with respect to the budget resolution.

But Mathias, the ranking Republican on Proxmire's HUD Appropriations Subcommittee, warned that "you do not want to look so far ahead that we become paralyzed and not be able to deal with the problems that are immediately ahead of us."

And Mathias maintained that HUD's allocation under the first budget resolution was too low because it assumed legislative budget reductions that were not enacted.

State Revenue Sharing

The greatest portion of the Senate's addition to the committee-recommended bill went to restore funds to the states' share of general revenue sharing.

Proxmire said the committee trimmed the $684 million in revenue sharing funds because "a great number of states — 19 to be precise — have cut taxes in the last 18 months because of surpluses, while all of the states are taking in more money than they are spending."

And when the committee's action was ruled out of order — on grounds it was a legislative, not an appropriations, decision — Proxmire offered an amendment to delete the funds. It was rejected, 31-59. *(Vote 222, p. 38-S)*

Joint Economic Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, pushed for the cut in the revenue sharing program, which was scheduled to expire Sept. 30, 1980.

"It makes little sense for the federal government to worsen its deficit position by paying billions of dollars in revenue sharing funds to states that are cutting taxes and running large surpluses," he said.

But Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., maintained the funds "belonged to the states."

And Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., argued it was "untimely" to reduce revenue sharing funds during a recession. "For heaven's sake," he added, "let us not wreck one of the really fine pieces of intergovernmental exchange machinery which we have created."

Subsidized Housing Funds

Also defeated, 36-52, was Proxmire's amendment to trim budget authority for subsidized housing by $700 million. Because that figure reflected runout costs of housing contracts over the next 40 years, Proxmire said the cut was a "relatively limited sacrifice" that would reduce the number of rental-assisted units by only 9,000. *(Vote 226, p. 38-S)*

Harrison A. Williams Jr., D-N.J., chairman of the Banking Subcommittee on Housing, called the amendment "extreme and unnecessary."

And Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., charged, "It would appear that the administration and the Congress have found a mutually agreeable scapegoat: urban affairs. The cities of this country, and the people in those cities, are taking it on the chin."

But Muskie again supported Proxmire.

"How can you say a proposal is unfair, is cutting back, is hurting housing, when it allows an increase of 23 percent?" Muskie asked.

Other Amendments

The Senate adopted amendments by:

- Jim Sasser, D-Tenn., to prohibit use of federal funds for indoor plant care or watering services. He said his

amendment, adopted by voice vote, would save the government nearly $200 million a year.

- Muskie, to exempt EPA water and sewage construction projects from retroactive changes in plans and designs if begun within six months of department approval.
- Alan Cranston, D-Calif., to add $25,096,000 to the VA budget to cover the cost of the new veterans' health care law (PL 96-22) authorizing counseling for Vietnam era veterans and expanding the alcohol and drug treatment program.
- Moynihan, to authorize the HUD secretary to negotiate with financially ailing state-sponsored housing projects and set terms under which federal assistance would be available.

The committee bill excluded state-financed projects from the troubled housing assistance program, a provision Moynihan argued had the effect of "cutting off 20 percent of the nation's total [housing] projects and leaving them to face a national inflation problem alone."

- Jennings Randolph, D-W.Va., to add $5 million for construction grants for state extended-care facilities for elderly veterans.
- Williams, to add $60 million in borrowing authority to the housing loan fund for the elderly and handicapped.

A substitute by Lawton Chiles, D-Fla., to counteract the increase in funds for elderly housing projects by reducing the assisted housing program, was ruled out of order.

House, Senate Bills Compared

As passed by the House and Senate, HR 4394 made the following appropriations for fiscal 1980:

	House-passed Appropriation	Senate-passed Appropriation
Department of Housing and Urban Development		
Housing Programs	$28,520,449,000	$28,385,449,000
Community Planning and Development	4,475,000,000	4,755,000,000
Neighborhoods, Voluntary Associations, and Consumer Protection	19,000,000	22,000,000
Policy Research and Development	49,000,000	50,300,000
Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity	3,700,000	3,700,000
Management and Administration	288,377,000	281,002,000
Total, HUD	$33,355,526,000	$33,497,451,000
Independent Agencies		
American Battle Monuments Commission	8,186,000	7,603,000
Consumer Product Safety Commission	41,250,000	40,600,000
Cemeterial Expenses, Army	8,326,000	7,611,000
Environmental Protection Agency	4,621,788,000	4,668,142,000
Council on Environmental Quality	3,026,000	3,126,000
Office of Science and Technology Policy	2,725,000	2,625,000
Federal Emergency Management Agency	443,830,000	441,930,000
Consumer Information Center	1,315,000	1,315,000
HEW Office of Consumer Affairs	1,861,000	1,861,000
National Aeronautics & Space Administration	4,910,500,000	4,943,500,000
National Commission on Air Quality	5,000,000	5,500,000
National Consumer Cooperative Bank and Treasury Investment	74,000,000	74,000,000
National Credit Union Administration	300,000	——
National Institute of Building Sciences	718,000	750,000
National Science Foundation	987,000,000	1,005,500,000
Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation	9,500,000	12,000,000
Revenue Sharing and New York City Loan Program	6,862,195,000	6,862,183,000
Selective Service System	7,830,000	7,830,000
Veterans Administration	20,318,899,000	20,346,720,000
Grand Total	$71,963,475,000	$71,930,247,000

Conference Agreement

Conferees on the HUD-independent agencies appropriations bill met Aug. 1, approving a compromise spending plan (H Rept 96-409) lower than either chamber-passed version but failing to reach agreement on funds for two programs: the Senate's $3 million appropriation for the livable cities program, and $23 million added by the Senate for a variety of NASA projects, including $17 million not requested by the administration. Both items were reported in disagreement.

Other spending provisions that sparked controversy in conference were:

- The 60 percent-old, 40 percent-new subsidized housing mix recommended by the House. Conferees agreed to the Senate-administration ratio of 66-34 percent.
- The comprehensive planning grant program, for which the House allowed $35 million; the Senate, $50 million. "The House didn't want to go much over $40 million" for that program, a committee aide said, but finally agreed to split the difference at $42.5 million.
- New contract authority for the assisted housing program. The House accepted the Senate's lower $1.14 billion allocation, which would fund 266,000 units. The House had recommended $1.16 billion for 300,000 units.
- EPA abatement and control programs. The committee agreed to allow $508.8 million instead of $475.8 million recommended by the House and $515.5 million proposed by the Senate. A $7.5 million hike from the House-passed bill for the area-wide waste treatment management planning grant program constituted the bulk of the increase.
- EPA research and development programs. Senate committee members concurred with the House figure of $233.5

million, with most of the increase going for anticipatory research and clean air programs.

House and Senate conferees also agreed:

- To provide the full $675 million requested for the urban development action grant program, as voted by the Senate.
- To rescind $200 million in budget authority for the rent supplement program. The rescission, which translated into $5 million in contract authority, was requested by the administration.
- To delete $300 million voted by the House for emergency lending to the National Credit Union Administration. The Senate had denied funding.
- To delete the Senate-passed provision banning agency employees from extending a business trip with annual leave. "This issue can be more properly addressed by agency regulations," the conferees said.

House Action

In action on the measure Sept. 27, the House voted 128-278 against funding the livable cities program. *(Vote 469, p. 136-H)*

It elected to accept the Senate's extra $23 million for NASA but earmarked the funds for the financially troubled space shuttle. And it added language requiring NASA to obtain approval by both the House and Senate Appropriations committees before starting a proposed two-mission space shuttle program.

That language was agreed to by key authorizing committees and NASA, which announced in late August it might split its planned 1982 space shuttle launch into two missions.

Senate Action

The Senate took up the House-approved bill Sept. 28, with Appropriations Committee members prepared to support it in order to complete action on the measure before the beginning of the new fiscal year Oct. 1.

On the Senate floor, however, Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md., insisted NASA should not be required to take its case on the space shuttle to the spending committees.

By a 49-20 vote, Mathias won Senate approval of his amendment deleting the clause and providing $10 million over the original House figure for special NASA projects. *(Vote 318, p. 53-S)*

Seeing that the House-approved bill would not win Senate approval, Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., requested a vote on the livable cities issue. Lawmakers voted 35-30 to retain $3 million for the program. *(Vote 319, p. 53-S)*

While supporting the measure, Senate Budget Chairman Muskie noted that he had reached an agreement with Appropriations Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash., under which the Appropriations panel pledged to stay within the limits set by the second budget resolution.

Final Action

In a second conference Oct. 22, conferees reached agreement on a compromise proposal (H Rept 96-542). Senate conferees agreed to scale down their demands for space funding and to drop funds for livable cities. In return, House conferees dropped a provision in their bill requiring NASA to obtain congressional approval before starting a proposed two-mission space shuttle program. They also agreed to provide an extra $8 million above the amount in the initial House bill for two new NASA projects.

Both chambers approved the conference report by voice vote Oct. 24, completing action on the bill. ▮

District of Columbia Funds

Congress cleared for the president Oct. 22 a fiscal 1980 District of Columbia appropriations bill after agreeing to a compromise on anti-abortion language.

Final action came when the Senate, by a 64-19 vote, adopted the conference report for the bill (HR 4580 — PL 96-93). *(Vote 364, p. 61-S)*

The House had adopted the conference report Oct. 16 by a voice vote (H Rept 96-443).

As cleared by Congress, HR 4580 appropriated $374,200,000 in federal funds and approved a fiscal 1980 city budget for the district of $1,541,634,200. Carter had requested $487,391,700 in federal funds and a budget of $1,657,046,000. Congress must appropriate federal grants to the city and approve the district's total city budget.

Abortion Funds

Conferees had been unable to work out a compromise on House-passed language to prohibit the district from using either its own or federal funds to pay for abortions.

The abortion question was reported in disagreement. Rep. Charles Wilson, D-Texas, chairman of the House District Appropriations Subcommittee, worked out a compromise limiting the use of federal — but not city-generated — funds to pay for Medicaid abortions.

Under the compromise, federal money could not be spent to end a pregnancy unless the mother's life were endangered, or in cases of rape or incest.

The House approved the Wilson compromise by voice vote Oct. 16 and the Senate agreed to the language Oct. 22.

Backers of the compromise argued that the House's restrictive abortion language would violate the principle of home rule by telling Washington, D.C., how to spend money raised from local taxes and fees.

But Rep. Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif., sponsor of the original amendment restricting the use of locally generated revenues for abortions, said that this was inconsistent because Congress had previously involved itself in such local Washington matters as setting taxi rates.

Sen. Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., objected even to the compromise. "What we are doing here is imposing governmentally ordained morality on an indigent woman," he said.

Budget Levels

The conferees agreed on a $1.5 billion district budget, along with $374 million in total federal funds — including $238.2 million in federal payments in lieu of taxes and other aid, a $10.5 million reimbursement for water and sewer services to federal facilities and $125 million in loans for capital outlay. The federal funding also included $500,000 for a commission set up to study the district's much-criticized fiscal management system.

The conferees leaned toward the more generous Senate-passed federal payment of $249.1 million. The House had wanted only $191.5 million. These figures were far below the $317 million requested by the Carter administration.

The $238.2 million federal payment for fiscal 1980 adopted by the conferees was lower than fiscal 1979's $250 million, continuing a downward trend.

The bill imposed a one-half percent reduction in overhead and administrative costs for all city departments except those related to public safety.

Del. Walter E. Fauntroy, D-D.C., the district's non-voting representative, had complained that the lower level of federal funds would not be enough to keep pace with inflation and social services would suffer.

Earlier Action

HR 4580 was reported by the House Appropriations Committee June 21 (H Rept 96-294) and passed by the House 272-147 July 17. *(Vote 313, p. 92-H)*

The House passed two amendments and rejected one during floor consideration of the bill:

- By Dornan, to forbid the use of funds appropriated in the bill — including locally generated taxes and fees — for abortions, adopted by voice vote.
- By Dornan, to allow the use of funds to save the life of a pregnant woman who was eligible for medical benefits, adopted 309-112. *(Vote 311, p. 92-H)*
- By Wilson of Texas, as a substitute to the Dornan amendment, to limit the prohibition on appropriated funds for abortions to federal money alone, rejected 200-217. *(Vote 312, p. 92-H)*

The Senate passed HR 4580 by a 77-12 vote July 27. It had been reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee July 24 (S Rept 96-257). *(Vote 225, p. 38-S)*

Senators rejected 34-55 an amendment by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to add anti-abortion language similar to that passed by House. *(Vote 223, p. 38-S)*

By a 28-60 vote the Senate also turned back a move by William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., to cut back federal assistance to the city by $57.8 million, to the level approved by the House. *(Vote 224, p. 38-S)*

Final Action. President Carter signed HR 4580 into law Oct. 30 (PL 96-93).

FY 1979 Budget Rescissions

Congress gave final approval March 27 to almost 80 percent of the cuts in fiscal 1979 appropriations requested by President Carter.

Members went along with non-controversial parts of the president's thrift package, but the final bill showed a mixed record for the president on programs with strong advocates.

Carter won deletion of $37 million for a child health research facility, but lost his bid to drop a $50 million coal gasification demonstration plant.

On the most heavily lobbied issue, the president won only partial support for his controversial plan to end general-purpose grants for medical, nursing and other health training schools.

By voice votes the House and Senate March 27 cleared the conference agreement (H Rept 96-59) for the bill (HR 2439) cutting spending levels in health manpower, education, and other programs.

President Carter signed the bill into law April 9 (PL 96-7).

The final appropriations cuts, known as rescissions, totaled $723.6 million, the same amount approved by the Senate March 14 and $17.7 more than the bill passed by the House.

The president had requested a package of spending cuts totaling $914.6 million. He later requested that $6 million in disaster aid funds for the Small Business Administration (SBA) be deleted from the original rescission request, but conferees did not consider it since it arrived after House and Senate action on the bill.

The most controversial part of the bill deleted a total of $46.4 million in grants for schools that train doctors, nurses and other health professionals. The administration wanted to tie federal investments in health training programs to student commitments to practice in medically underserved areas, and had proposed a $167.9 million rescission. That would have wiped out "capitation" (general purpose) grants entirely and limited nursing school assistance to programs producing specialized nurse-practitioners.

When health educators protested that the abrupt cutoff would disrupt programs in the middle of the school year, both the House and Senate agreed to restore much of the funding. Conferees adopted the Senate figure and House members briefly protested that change before agreeing to the conference report.

The House agreed, by a 225-117 vote, to a motion to end debate on the Virginia Smith, R-Neb., motion to recommit, which would have killed the bill. The recommittal motion was rejected by voice vote. *(Vote 53, p. 18-H)*

Smith aides said she had wanted conferees to restore more funding for doctors' and nurses' training programs. *(Vote 53, 18-H)*

In other changes, conferees approved an $8 million rescission for claims payments to Vietnam and *U.S.S. Pueblo* prisoners of war, $1 million less than the administration and House figure. They also chose a lower Senate rescission of $6.1 million for the Small Business Administration, compared with $8.9 million approved by the House and $14.7 million requested by the president.

Final Provisions

As cleared for the president, HR 2439 (PL 96-7) rescinded the following amounts for fiscal 1979 (in millions of dollars):

	Rescission Request	Final Rescission
Subsidized housing programs	$600	$600
Community assistance grants	8.2	8.2
Child health research building	37	37
Health professions grants	167.9	46.4
Career education grants	22.4	12.5
POW claims	9	8
Small Business Administration	14.7	6.1
Helium fund	3.1	3.1
Gasification plant	50	
Space administration aircraft	2.4	2.4
Total*	$914.6	$723.6

* Numbers may not add due to rounding; does not include March 15 administration request to reduce the Small Business Administration rescission by $6 million.

Earlier Action

HR 2439 was reported by the House Appropriations Committee March 1 (H Rept 96-25) and passed by the House March 6 by a voice vote.

As passed by the House, the bill rescinded $705.8 million in fiscal 1979 appropriations, $208.8 million less than the president's request.

During floor consideration of the bill, the House adopted 262-139 an amendment by Harley O. Staggers, D-W.Va., to restore $37 million in general purpose grants to schools of medicine, osteopathy and dentistry, and for advanced training, research and fellowships for nursing schools. *(Vote 18, p. 8-H)*

In the Senate, the bill was reported by the Appropriations Committee March 8 (S Rept 96-33) and passed on the floor March 14 by voice vote.

HR 2439, as passed by the Senate, rescinded $723.6 in fiscal 1979 appropriations.

Before endorsing the spending cuts, the Senate rejected, 42-55, an attempt by Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., to fully restore fiscal 1979 appropriations for general purpose grants to schools training health professionals (doctors, veterinarians, nurses and others).

Choosing a middle course, the Senate also rejected 14-83 an amendment by J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., to accept the president's original rescission of $168 million for the health training programs. *(Votes 18, 19, p. 5-S)*

The effect of these two votes was to leave in place the Senate Appropriations Committee figure of $46.4 million for the training funds rescission. The Senate made no changes in the bill the appropriations panel had reported.

The Senate asked for a conference March 14 and the House agreed the next day. H Rept 96-59, the conference report on the bill, was filed in the House March 20. Both houses adopted the conference report March 27, clearing the measure for the president. ▮

Agriculture Funds

A $16.7 billion agriculture appropriations bill (HR 4387 — PL 96-108) for fiscal 1980 was cleared by Congress on Oct. 31.

The House approved the conference report on the relatively non-controversial measure by a 304-25 vote Oct. 26. The Senate adopted the report by voice vote Oct. 31, clearing the legislation for the president, who signed it Nov. 9. *(Vote 546, p. 160-H)*

An administration proposal for a new subsidy program to help very low-income rural residents buy homes was dropped, and several popular conservation and research programs the administration wanted to end were reinstated. The administration also lost in its bid to reduce the school milk program but won a partial victory in getting $50 million for a rural clean water program to help land owners control non-point sources of pollution such as pesticide runoff from farmland.

The final version appropriated $16,697,854,000 for fiscal 1980, $1.6 billion less than the administration request. The compromise reduced the House amount by $3 million and added more than $39 million to the Senate recommendations.

However, it appeared likely that total spending could increase by more than $2 billion because of pending requests for additional funds for the international food aid and domestic food stamp programs.

A cap on food stamp spending limited funds to the $6.2 billion provided in the bill, but the administration estimated that 1980 spending would reach $8.3 billion, or $2.1 billion more than appropriated.

In addition, the administration asked for $96 million more than the original $719 million request for the Food for Peace program (also known as PL 480), largely due to rising commodity costs and a commitment to provide about $25 million in food aid to Cambodia.

The $738 million cut required by the food stamp ceiling and the rejection of the proposed home subsidy program disguised the fact that although the total appropriated was less than the administration requested, the bill actually added roughly $100 million to various programs. Many of those additions were in popular research and conservation programs.

The administration requested about $1 billion to subsidize homebuying by poor families in rural areas where adequate rental housing was not available. But that figure represented estimated costs over 33 years; first-year spending was projected at $30 million. Rejecting the request slashed the administration spending proposal by nearly $1 billion but represented an actual decrease in fiscal 1980 spending.

Longstanding House and Senate differences over the use of research money and the creation of a rural clean water program slowed final agreement on the measure. The department's spending authority lapsed for two weeks in early October until Congress cleared a continuing appropriations bill Oct. 12.

Administration officials voiced disappointment that the bill would require about 3,000 more employees than the 82,700 originally proposed. The biggest increases were in the Soil Conservation Service (SCS), Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) and in the research programs of the Science and Education Administration.

Aside from the dramatic increases in domestic food programs such as food stamps, most of the department's programs grew only modestly, with increases for many of the department's programs well below the rate of inflation in the national economy.

Final Provisions

As signed into law, HR 4387 (PL 96-108) made the following appropriations for fiscal 1980:

	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
Agriculture Programs		
Office of the Secretary	$ 4,534,000	$ 4,470,000
Departmental Administration	20,909,000	19,423,000
Office of the Inspector General	34,151,000	25,527,000
Office of General Counsel	11,305,000	11,000,000
Federal Grain Inspection Service	23,372,000	23,122,000
Science and Education Administration	799,751,000	860,740,000
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service	220,976,000	245,631,000
Food Safety and Quality Service	279,930,000	278,430,000
Economics, Statistics and Cooperatives Service	87,903,000	86,070,000
World Food and Agricultural Outlook and Situation Board	1,045,000	1,045,000
Agricultural Marketing Service	50,707,000	49,243,000

Agriculture Programs	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service	190,986,000	189,876,000
Federal Crop Insurance Corporation	12,000,000	12,000,000
Commodity Credit Corporation	3,056,189,000	3,056,189,000
Subtotal, Agricultural Programs	$ 4,793,758,000	$ 4,862,766,000
Rural Development and Assistance Programs		
Farmers Home Administration	2,332,450,000	1,367,990,000
Rural Electrification Administration	25,970,000	26,045,000
Soil Conservation Service	547,003,000	509,947,000
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service	155,000,000	280,000,000
Subtotal, Rural Development and Assistance Programs	$ 3,060,423,000	$ 2,183,982,000
Domestic Food Programs		
Child Nutrition Programs	$ 1,450,218,000	$ 1,279,215,000
Special Milk Program	32,000,000	142,000,000
Special Supplemental Food Program (WIC)	771,500,000	757,700,000
Food Stamp Program	6,926,520,000	6,188,600,000
Food Donations Program	90,290,000	90,290,000
Food Program Administration	84,422,000	82,000,000
Subtotal, Domestic Food Programs	$ 9,354,950,000	$ 8,539,805,000
International Programs		
Foreign Agricultural Service	54,929,000	56,427,000
International Development Staff	2,964,000	1,864,000
Food for Peace (PL 480)	719,476,000	719,476,000
Subtotal, International Programs	$ 777,369,000	$ 777,767,000
Related Agencies		
Food and Drug Administration	320,668,000	317,168,000
Commodity Futures Trading Commission	16,366,000	16,366,000
Subtotal, Related Agencies	$ 337,034,000	$ 333,534,000
Total, Fiscal Year 1980 new budget authority	$18,323,534,000	$16,697,854,000
Section 32 Transfers	1,711,083,000	1,831,086,000

Loan Authorizations. HR 4387 also provided the following loan and rent supplement authorizations:

- $8,112,600,000 in direct and insured loans (budget request: $7,172,000,000)
- $1,600,000,000 in guaranteed loans (budget request: $1,500,000,000)
- $393,000,000 in rent supplements (budget request: $393,000,000)

House Committee Action

The House Appropriations Committee reported HR 4387 June 7 (H Rept 96-242).

Repeating an exercise that in some cases had gone on for many years, the Subcommittee on Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies, chaired by Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss., reinstated many popular conservation and research programs.

"By and large the budget proposed curtailment of a whole lot of research activities in the field, and a good deal of administrative increase in Washington," Whitten said. "We just kind of reversed it."

For the 25th time the committee restored the Agricultural Conservation Program, a cost-sharing program to help farmers pay for conservation projects. The administration had contended that many projects tended to increase farm production rather than encourage conservation. Noting that Congress had upheld the committee's action each time, Whitten said, "If we hadn't succeeded those 24 times, we'd be a dust bowl."

However, reflecting tight budgetary constraints, many of the fund restorations were simply to fiscal 1979 levels.

In its report the committee described the difficulties faced by U.S. farmers: Squeezed by increased production costs for equipment and fuel, sharply higher indebtedness and relatively low commodity prices, "many of our farmers are on the verge of bankruptcy," it said.

But the administration's 1980 budget proposal offered "no solution" to these problems, the report said. "Instead, it proposes to reduce by about one-half billion dollars the programs of the Department of Agriculture which are of greatest benefit to the farm producer (research, extension and conservation), and to use these funds to expand administrative overhead in Washington and to increase the feeding programs of the USDA."

The gap between the administration request and the committee recommendation was not as great as it might appear, however, because it was distorted by several items.

One concerned the committee's rejection of the proposed new homeownership assistance program. Though actual spending for the program in fiscal 1980 was estimated at $30 million, the administration request of $954 million was intended to show the maximum possible loss that could be incurred by the government over the 30-year life of the program. The committee cut out the entire amount, plus an additional $60 million requested to cover interest subsidies and losses for the new program in 1980.

For the food stamp program the committee recommended $6.19 billion, a cut of $738 million from the administration's $6.93 billion request.

Agricultural Programs

The committee recommended $4.84 billion for agricultural programs, a net increase of $46 million over the budget request.

Agricultural Research. The committee restored all but $6 million of the $27.3 million in research projects the administration had proposed to terminate. There were 167 projects involved, employing 500 workers.

Many of the restored projects were funded at fiscal 1979 levels, however, an indication of the committee's generally conservative approach to the 1980 agriculture budget. Among the restored projects was tobacco production research, which the administration had proposed to drop; the committee continued it at the 1979 level of $1.05 million.

The committee recommended a $2.5 million increase for integrated pest management research and a $2 million boost for studies of non-point source pollution such as runoff from farmlands.

Extension Programs. The committee added $26.6 million to the administration's $259.2 million request. Major additions included a $6 million increase for extension courses in land-grant colleges and $11.5 million for aid to students majoring in agriculture at land-grant universities. The committee also recommended $3 million to continue the urban gardening program in 16 cities.

Pest Control. The administration's attempt to eliminate or reduce funding for a long list of pest control programs, including such esoteric items as the tri-fly in Hawaii, was reversed by the committee. It added $16.6 million to the $221 million budget request for the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service.

Farm Income Stabilization. The committee concurred with the administration request to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) for slightly more than $3 billion in prior year losses for loan and target price programs.

Rural Development Programs

The committee added more than $1 billion to the $8 billion recommended by the administration for FmHA loan and grant programs, including an additional $653 million in rural housing loans, an increase of $253 million in loans for farm ownership and operations and an additional $100 million for rural development loans.

The committee also recommended $300 million for water and waste disposal grants, $35 million more than the budget request, and $6.5 million for an additional 469 permanent positions at FmHA.

Conservation. The committee rejected the administration proposal to provide $75 million to the rural clean water program for assistance and grants for non-point source pollution projects administered through combined federal, state and local organizations.

Instead, the committee restored $65 million to the Agricultural Conservation Program, the popular cost-sharing program that assisted farmers and ranchers with projects to improve soil fertility and reduce erosion. It also restored $10 million to the Great Plains Conservation Program, which provided technical assistance and cost-sharing to farmers.

The administration proposal to terminate the Resource Conservation and Development Program, which helps develop local conservation projects, was also rejected by the committee, which added $29 million to the administration's $3 million request.

Domestic Food Programs

Aside from the mandatory reduction in the budget request for the food stamp program, the committee rejected the administration request to terminate the special milk program in institutions participating in the other child nutrition programs where milk was made available as part of a complete meal. It added $110 million to the $32 million budget request.

The committee said it "recognizes that in addition to the value of increased milk to the nutrition of children, this program helps keep dairymen in business and thus benefits everyone who consumes milk and other dairy products."

International Programs

The committee made no change in the administration's request for $719.5 million for the export of surplus agricultural commodities under the PL 480 program. However, it did recommend that the Agriculture Department use unspent funds from previous years and loan repayments to increase total spending in fiscal 1980 to $1.46 billion, an increase of $58.7 million over administration estimates.

Foreign Agricultural Service. The committee urged further expansion of agricultural trade offices under the provisions of a 1978 bill designed to boost U.S. agricultural exports. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 456)*

It earmarked $500,000 for developing exports to China, including the establishment of trade centers.

Export Credit Sales. Noting that the administration had announced its intention to cut export credits to $800 million in fiscal 1980 from $1.6 billion in fiscal 1979, the committee said testimony "indicated that the department will use up to the $2.2 billion ceiling on export credit sales in the bill should the need arise."

The committee said it "will expect the department to fully utilize the export credit program in the amount needed to maintain and expand our export markets."

Related Agencies. The committee left unchanged the administration's $316.3 million request for related agencies such as the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

The bill included funds for FDA to conduct or promote the testing of drugs that had been in use for several years in foreign countries but not in the United States, or that are "uneconomic" for private industry to develop.

House Floor Action

The House passed the bill June 19 by a 391-30 vote. *(Vote 236, p. 72-H)*

By voice vote the House approved an amendment by George E. Brown Jr., D-Calif., to provide $500,000 in research grants for the development of synthetic rubber from guayule. *(1978 CQ Almanac p. 800)*

The most serious note of controversy occurred when Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio, proposed a general 5 percent cut in the department's budget. The amendment was rejected by voice vote.

The House also rejected by voice vote an amendment by John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, barring the use of any funds to pay the expenses of public participants in rule-making proceedings.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Appropriations Committee reported HR 4387 July 12 (S Rept 96-246). It criticized the Agriculture Department for continuing to use the parity price concept and questioned the role of the FmHA.

The committee said the parity formula, which shows prices in relation to the buying power of farmers in the 1910-1914 period, is an "archaic and misleading" index that has "outlived its usefulness." It urged the Agriculture Committee, which had primary jurisdiction in the area, to consider measures such as requiring the Agriculture Department to publish cost-of-production statistics along with parity price information.

As for FmHA, the Appropriations Committee expressed doubt that the agency's original role as a lender-of-last-resort for low-income farmers and its current role as a major arm of rural development policy were compatible. As an alternative, it suggested a rural development credit system consisting of regional banks and local offices to provide loans in rural areas.

Homeownership Program

After rejecting by a vote of 13-14 a proposal to drop all funds for the proposed homeownership assistance program, the committee agreed to fund a pilot project.

The program, which an Agriculture Department budget official said the administration wanted "very badly," would have subsidized housing costs of persons so poor that even with low-interest federal home loans, those costs were taking more than one-fourth of their adjusted income. The HOAP program would pay the housing costs over that amount. If the house were sold and had appreciated in value, part of the increase would be repaid to the government to offset the subsidy. The program was authorized in the fiscal 1979 housing bill. *(1978 Almanac p. 303)*

The Senate committee's scaled-down version authorized $6 million in 1980 spending and $196 million in borrowing authority for payments to 3,000 families. It specified that the subsidies were to go to the neediest families in sparsely populated areas.

Differences in House, Senate Bills

The Senate committee frequently agreed with the House in boosting funds for popular research and conservation programs that the administration has been trying — in some cases for many years — to reduce or phase out.

Other differences included:

Agricultural Programs. Expressing concern that the administration had sought to cut back on agricultural research, the committee boosted the House recommendation for cooperative research by $20.5 million, to $198.5 million.

Instead of $21.3 million recommended by the House for special research grants on a variety of topics such as animal health and plant sciences, the Senate panel recommended $25 million for competitive grants.

A staff aide said the committee preferred competitive grants because there was a rigorous peer review of the proposals and research and because the grants were open to private research institutions as well as land grant colleges. Under the special grants proposed in the House bill, he said, funds may or may not be awarded on a competitive basis, and virtually the only institutions eligible would be land-grant colleges or other public universities.

The committee recommended $10 million for formula grants for animal health and disease research; the House bill did not contain comparable funding. The Senate panel deleted House-proposed increases for rural development, farm safety and urban gardening, and included $3 million for grants to the states to support higher education in agriculture — $8.5 million less than the House bill.

The committee added $15 million to the House recommendation for a major acceleration in the program to eradicate brucellosis, a disease of beef and dairy cattle.

With high commodity prices likely to reduce the workload in federal loan programs, the committee reduced the House recommendation for salaries and expenses of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service by $8 million.

It agreed with the House in approving the request for $3.1 billion to reimburse the CCC for prior-year spending on price support programs, loans and disaster assistance.

Rural Development. Aside from the committee's approval of the pilot project for low-income homeownership, there were also wide disparities in the recommendations for FmHA-insured loans. While the House added over $600 million in loan funds to the $3.4 billion request, the Senate dropped $293 million from the House figure. The committee recommended deletion of House increases of $213 million for subsidized low-income housing loans and $80 million for subsidized low-income rental housing loans.

In conservation programs, the committee agreed with the House in restoring the popular Agricultural Conservation Program to the existing level of $190 million and the Resource Conservation and Development Program to $32 million. Both programs assisted farmers with local conservation projects.

While unsuccessful in the House, the administration proposal to provide $75 million to the rural clean water program for grants to help control water pollution from non-point sources such as farmland runoff won approval from the Senate committee.

Domestic Food Programs. The committee cut $47 million from the children's summer feeding program. It said the reduction was possible because of some cost-cutting amendments in the Senate-passed child nutrition bill (S 292). The House funded the program at the requested level of $136 million.

Like the House, the Senate committee agreed to the administration request of $771.5 million for the special supplemental food program for women, infants and children, but the appropriation included $22 million in funds the committee estimated would be left unspent from fiscal 1979.

International Programs. For PL 480 programs, the committee agreed with the House recommendation of $719.5 million, but included unspent prior year funds of $58.7 million in its recommendation.

Related Agencies. The committee recommended cutting salaries and expenses for the FDA by $8.5 million below the administration request and House amount of $316.3 million. The biggest cut was $3.5 million for pay raises.

The committee also recommended a $25 million increase over the budget request and House amount for construction of new FDA laboratory facilities at Beltsville, Md.

Senate Floor Action

After completing work on amendments July 18, the Senate passed the bill July 19 by a vote of 90-7. *(Vote 186, p. 33-S)*

The amendment to drop the pilot homeownership program, offered by Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., was adopted 60-36. *(Vote 181, p. 32-S)*

Bellmon's concern was that "a pilot program is almost invariably a way of getting your foot in the door and

holding the door open until you can expand the program into a full-blown operation," a staff aide said.

Debate focused on the projected cost of the program. The administration had estimated it would cost about $1 billion over 33 years. Opponents said the real cost could be much greater, even "astronomical," Bellmon said.

Budget Committee Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, warned that regular and supplemental appropriations bills for fiscal 1980 already exceeded the targets of the first budget resolution by more than $5 billion, a situation he called "very difficult and dangerous."

Special Milk Program

The administration backed a Bellmon amendment to cut funds for the special school milk program.

The administration had proposed to spend $32 million, a cut of $110 million from the existing level, by limiting the program to schools having no other food service. Both the House bill and the Senate committee bill restored the program to its 1979 level of $142 million.

Bellmon proposed to reduce the subsidy for non-needy children to 5 cents a half-pint, from 7.8 cents, thus cutting costs about $40 million.

Dairy-state senators were quick to defend the program and the amendment was rejected by a vote of 32-66. *(Vote 182, p. 32-S)*

One Percent Cut

William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., introduced an unexpected amendment reducing total budget authority by 1 percent, or $170 million, to be achieved through "program efficiency and administrative productivity."

The amendment was attacked as the wrong way to achieve reductions. This kind of cut gives "the administration *carte blanche* to cut wherever they want to, and obviously some of the places they are going to cut will not suit the members of the Senate," said Bellmon.

A motion by Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., to table (kill) Roth's amendment was approved by a vote of 65-26. *(Vote 184, p. 33-S)*

Other Amendments

The Senate also:

- Adopted by voice vote an amendment by John Melcher, D-Mont., to boost spending for the SCS by $18 million, to $272 million. The Senate by a 23-68 vote rejected a Bellmon motion to table the amendment. *(Vote 185, p. 33-S)*
- Adopted by voice vote an amendment by Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., to increase the limit on CCC loan guarantees for gasohol pilot plants to $500 million from $100 million.
- Tabled, by a 52-42 vote, an amendment by Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., to provide $1.5 million for rural development cooperative research. *(Vote 183, p. 32-S)*
- Adopted by voice vote an amendment by George McGovern, D-S.D., adding $1.8 million for human nutrition research.

House-Senate Provisions

As passed by the Senate, HR 4387 made the following appropriations for fiscal 1980 (*in millions of dollars, rounded*):

	House-passed appropriation	Senate-passed appropriation
Agricultural Programs		
Production, Processing and Marketing	$ 1,579	$ 1,605
Farm Income Stabilization	3,262	3,251
Rural Development Programs		
Rural Development Assistance	1,395	1,394
Conservation	747	807
Domestic Food Programs	8,603	8,529
International Programs	779	719
Related Agencies	337	354
Total: Fiscal 1980 New Budget Authority	$16,701	$16,659
Transfers from Sec. 32	1,831	1,831
Other Transfers	—	85
Loan and Program Authorizations	10,563*	10,271

** In the Senate report $378 million was added to the House projection for emergency loans to make it comparable to the Senate estimate.*

Conference Action

Conferees filed their report (H Rept 96-553) Oct. 24. Major differences included the following:

Agricultural Programs. HR 4387 added $61 million to the administration's request for research, including $27 million in research programs and $26 million in extension activities.

The biggest conflict concerned the Senate's preference for competitive research grants versus House support for special research grants earmarked for specific pest-control and plant problems.

Senate conferees won approval for $16 million in competitive research grants, a compromise between the House's flat rejection of the administration's $30 million request and the Senate's $25 million recommendation.

In a concession to House conferees, the money was earmarked for specific research areas, including $13 million for plant research and $3 million for human nutrition research. Conferees dropped two of the biggest House additions for special grants, deleting $5 million for human nutrition research and $10 million for plant sciences.

The conference accepted a Senate limitation of $500 million in CCC guaranteed loans for the production and marketing of gasohol.

Rural Development Programs. Conferees agreed to substantial increases in FmHA loan programs. They agreed to boost funding for FmHA insured housing loans to almost $4 billion, a $573 million increase over the budget request. The figure was $80 million below the House bill and $213 million more than the Senate amount.

The administration had proposed $75 million for the SCS to carry out a mandate of the 1977 Clean Water Act for conservation cost-sharing programs with rural landowners to control non-point source pollution. The Senate bill included funding for the rural clean water program, but the House bill rejected the proposal.

Conferees recommended placing $50 million for the program in the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS).

Domestic Food Programs. A major conflict between the House and Senate concerned the free summer food service program for children in poor areas. The House agreed to the administration request of $35.8 million, while the Senate cut $47 million, citing cost savings from administrative reforms.

Conferees recommended agreeing to the Senate cuts and said they were "extremely concerned over fraud, abuse and waste which are reported to be rampant in the summer feeding program," adding they would not rule out special hearings if the problems continued.

Both chambers agreed to fund the supplemental feeding program for low-income pregnant women, infants and children at the requested level of $771.5 million, but the Senate amount included $22 million estimated to be left unspent from fiscal 1979. Conferees recommended including $13.8 million in prior-year funds.

International Programs. Both the House and Senate agreed to appropriate $719.5 million for PL 480 programs, but the Senate included unspent prior year funds. Conferees accepted the House proposal.

Related Agencies. Conferees also dropped a Senate recommendation for $25 million to build a new facility for the FDA in Beltsville, Md.

Final Action

The House Oct. 26 adopted the conference report, the Senate Oct. 31, both agreeing to amendments as recommended by the conferees, clearing the bill for the president. ∎

Transportation Funds

Leaving a dispute over Panama Canal funding to be settled in the future, the House and Senate approved a transportation funding bill (HR 4440 — PL 96-131) appropriating $9.6 billion for fiscal 1980.

The conference report adopted Nov. 15 by the House and Nov. 19 by the Senate omitted a $40 million appropriation for canal emergency funds that the Senate had wanted, but the Senate made it clear it still believed the fund to be legal and expected the disagreement to be settled at some point by committees.

House members argued that including the funds would violate the implementing legislation for the Panama Canal treaties (HR 111 — PL 96-70). *(Story, p. 142)*

The final legislation (HR 4440) appropriated $9,561,312,439. This was $422 million less than the amount requested by President Carter, $104 million less than approved by the Senate Nov. 1 and $145.3 million more than provided by the House Sept. 18.

The House and Senate debates on their original measures had centered around saving freight rail service on the failing Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Co. and Rock Island railroads and boosting Amtrak passenger rail service. The final legislation included more money for railroads. *(Amtrak, Milwaukee Railroad stories, Transportation chapter)*

The dispute over Panama Canal funding did not surface until the conference committee met. Although there were many technical disagreements, the only true disagreement reported (H Rept 96-610) Nov. 9 by the conferees was on the Canal.

Final Provisions

As cleared by Congress, HR 4440 (PL 96-131) appropriated the following amounts for fiscal 1980:

	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
Transportation Department		
Office of the secretary	$ 47,070,000	$ 43,843,000
Coast Guard	1,611,791,782	1,621,776,782
Federal Aviation Administration	2,530,802,000	2,516,270,000
Federal Highway Administration	43,838,000	147,450,000
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration	87,466,000	105,525,000
Federal Railroad Administration	1,671,110,000	1,548,371,000
Urban Mass Transportation Adminstration	2,826,360,000	2,172,535,000
Research and Special Programs Administration	26,419,000	25,846,000
Office of the Inspector General	—	700,000
Subtotal	8,529,856,782	8,182,316,782
Related Agencies		
National Transportation Safety Board	16,730,000	16,782,500
Civil Aeronautics Board	106,800,000	104,387,000
Interstate Commerce Commission	81,095,000	152,699,000
Panama Canal Commission	—	463,887,000
United States Railway Association	573,900,000	573,900,000
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority	51,587,000	65,774,000
National Alcohol Fuels Commission	—	1,500,000
National Transportation Policy Study Commission	—	66,157
Subtotal	1,453,463,000	1,378,995,657
Grand Total	$9,983,319,782	$9,561,312,439

NOTE: The budget request for the Urban Mass Transportation Administration included a $405 million advance appropriation for fiscal 1981, which was not included in the final appropriation.

House Committee Action

As reported by the House Appropriations Committee (H Rept 96-272) June 13, HR 4440 totalled $9,522,515,782 for fiscal 1980. Of that, $425 million was an advance appropriation for fiscal 1981.

The committee bill was $152,453,000 below the president's budget request of $9,674,968,782, but $720,599,686 more than fiscal 1979.

Transportation Department

Office of the Secretary. There were no major new programs and no change in the level of staffing. The committee recommended $43.8 million for fiscal 1980. This was $3.2 million less than the administration requested and $657,000 less than approved for fiscal 1979.

The recommendation included a $200,000 cut from a program to promote the 55-mile-an-hour speed limit.

The committee recommended spending $9.1 million for planning and research, $2.5 million less than requested.

Coast Guard. The committee recommended more than $1.6 billion, an increase of $5.4 million over the administration's request and about $77.3 million more than fiscal 1979. Funds were included for 446 military positions more than the budget request. The committee said there were not enough military positions to permit the Coast Guard to properly do its job, particularly in outer continental shelf inspections, training and search and rescue operations.

Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). Recommended was $2.1 billion, a decrease of $6.6 million from the administration's request but an increase of $109 million over fiscal 1979. The committee recommended adding 132 new air controller positions and decreasing some non-controller positions. There would be a net reduction of 189 jobs. The additional jobs were recommended because of the risks to air safety when controllers work overtime.

Federal Highway Administration. The committee recommended a limit of $8.5 billion on the spending obligations for federal highway aid out of the Highway Trust Fund. This was the same figure sought by the president.

National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Although the number of staff positions would be the same as in fiscal 1979, the committee recommended $80.3 million, about $1.3 million less than fiscal 1979. The recommendation was $4.9 million less than requested by the president.

The funds were slated for preparing and issuing automobile fuel economy standards and safety and research programs. The committee cut $900,000 for a program to develop a consumer rating system for fuel efficient autos. Recommended was $1.3 million for alcohol fuels research and other safety programs, a reduction of $600,000 from the administration request.

Federal Railroad Administration. Although neither house disapproved the president's plan to slash Amtrak routes by 43 percent, the committee recommended an increase of $12.3 million over the budget request of $760 million. The amount was $112 million more than fiscal 1979.

The committee basically supported Carter's plan but included $12.3 million to continue the Lake Shore Limited, the Broadway Limited, the San Francisco Zephyr and the Southwest Limited on their existing routes.

The committee agreed with the president's request of $481 million to improve the Northeast Corridor.

The committee added $2 million over the administration request of $25.9 million for the railroad safety program.

Urban Mass Transportation Administration. The total recommended for urban mass transit was $3.6 billion, $56.4 million more than the budget request and $61.2 million more than fiscal 1979.

Related Agencies

National Transportation Safety Board. Full funding of $16.7 million was recommended for investigating transportation accidents and evaluating safety programs of other transportation agency programs. The amount was $1.1 million more than fiscal 1979.

Civil Aeronautics Board. The board's rate and route responsibilities will be eliminated by 1983, and the board will go out of existence in 1985 under the provisions of the 1978 Airline Deregulation Act. Because of the board's declining responsibilities, the committee recommended $2.4 million less than the $30.7 million requested by the administration. *(1978 Almanac p. 496)*

Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). The committee recommended $76.1 million, a reduction of almost $5 million in the president's request. No money was included for the Office of Rail Public Counsel which the committee said should be phased out.

Panama Canal Commission. The committee recommended full funding of $254.5 million for six months of operations of the Panama Canal Commission, beginning Oct. 1.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 4440 Sept. 18 by a vote of 335-71, adding $234 million to the Appropriations Committee recommendations for urban mass transit and Amtrak passenger train funding, for a total of $9.8 billion. *(Vote 434, p. 126-H)*

Robert Duncan, D-Ore., chairman of the Appropriations Transportation Subcommittee, said the subcommittee had marked up the bill in mid-May before the gas crisis drove "people off the highways and onto mass transit at a rate that taxed capacity to respond and threatened to overwhelm them."

The subcommittee proposed providing $242.5 million more for urban mass transit, car and van pool programs, enforcement of the 55-mile-an-hour speed limit and some other highway programs, Duncan said.

The amendment was adopted by voice vote.

Silvio O. Conte, R-Mass., offered an amendment to provide an additional $40 million for Amtrak train service that was also adopted by voice vote. The addition was intended to cover the cost of a compromise worked out by the House and Senate to continue some trains scheduled for elimination. The trains were required to meet ridership and financial loss criteria based on updated ridership totals.

Air Bags

John D. Dingell, D-Mich., introduced an amendment to bar the department from using funds to enforce any standard or regulation requiring a motor vehicle to be equipped with an air bag. The amendment did not affect seat belt standards. Funds could still be used for research and development of air bags. The House adopted the amendment on a 228-185 vote. *(Vote 433, p. 126-H)*

A 1977 Transportation Department rule required air bags or involuntary seat belts to be installed by 1982 for large cars and by 1984 for all cars. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 531)*

Although the amendment vote was largely symbolic because the department did not need money to enforce the regulation until the fall of 1981, it was an indication that there would be opposition to the transportation budget next year.

Dingell contended that air bags have not been proven safe and can be hazardous. Advocates of the amendment also claimed that air bags would increase the cost of cars.

Opponents argued that air bags are not expensive when mass produced and noted a National Highway Traffic Safety Administration report that estimated that air bags would save 9,000 lives per year and prevent 65,000 injuries.

Other Amendments

Other amendments:

- By Duncan, provided $36 million to the ICC to pay railroads directed to provide emergency service over the lines of other carriers forced to stop operations. The amendment was intended to maintain rail service if necessary over the tracks of the Milwaukee and Rock Island railroads. Voice vote.
- By Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., barred the use of funds appropriated for the Panama Canal Commission unless in conformance with the 1978 Panama Canal Treaties. Voice vote.
- By a vote of 111-296 rejected an amendment by Glenn M. Anderson, D-Calif., to add $6 million to the $4 million already provided for bicycle programs. *(Vote 432, p. 126-H)*

Senate Committee Action

As reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee on Oct. 25 (S Rept 96-377), HR 4440 appropriated $9,653,446,939 for fiscal 1980 operations and programs.

The committee's bill was $237,431,157 more than the amount approved by the House, not including that chamber's $425 million advance appropriation for fiscal 1981.

It was $332,135,843 less than requested by the president but $295,243,843 more than appropriated for fiscal 1979. The president had requested $405 million in advance for fiscal 1981. *(1978 Almanac p. 61)*

Transportation Department

Office of the Secretary. The committee accepted the House-passed appropriation of $43.8 million. However, it disagreed with the House reduction of $200,000 in the 55 miles per hour media program, contending that lives and gasoline would be saved with better enforcement. The committee said $200,000 can be saved by reducing other programs.

Coast Guard. The recommendation of more than $1.6 billion was more than $22 million more than passed by the House and $21 million more than requested by the president. The committee included $10 million to clean up hazardous materials spills in navigable waters. Expenditures were to be reimbursed by the responsible owner or operator. *(1978 Almanac p. 63)*

Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). Recommended was $2.5 billion, $13 million less than requested by Carter, but over $3 million more than passed by the House. The committee recommended restoring 189 traffic control jobs eliminated by the House. The House had added 132 new air controller jobs and decreased non-controller jobs for a net reduction of 189 jobs. Both Appropriation committees expressed concern about air safety risks because of controllers working overtime.

Federal Highway Administration. The committee recommended a limit of $8.5 billion on the spending obligations that could be incurred for federal highway aid out of the Highway Trust Fund, the same requested by the president.

National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. The committee recommended $108.5 million, including restoring House cuts of $900,000 for the consumer rating system for fuel efficient autos, $125,000 to improve consumer involvement in the agency's rulemaking proceedings and $200,000 for alcoholism programs.

The committee kept the House language barring the department from using fiscal 1980 funds to enforce auto air bag standards but expressed support for air bags as a safety device.

Federal Railroad Administration. Recommended was $1.6 billion, including $899.7 million for Amtrak, $49.7 million more than requested by the president.

The committee cut $100 million from the House provision of $481 million for Northeast Corridor rail improvements, contending that the money was available from last year.

Urban Mass Transportation Administration. The committee included $2.1 billion, $551 million less than the House and $700 million less than requested by the president. The difference was largely due to the cut of $425 million in advance appropriations for fiscal 1981 that had been included by the House and $405 million requested by Carter.

Research and Special Programs Administration. Included was $27.3 million, about $3 million more than the House, for research and special programs. The committee restored cuts to help develop hazardous materials safety programs.

Office of the Inspector General. Not included in the House-passed bill, but provided for by the committee bill, was $700,000 for the office to investigate cases of fraud and abuse in the department.

Related Agencies

National Transportation Safety Board. The committee bill included $16.8 million, $105,000 more than Carter's request.

Civil Aeronautics Board. The committee accepted the House amount of $28,287,000, $2.4 million below Carter's request.

Interstate Commerce Commission. The committee included $100 million for directed service, if necessary, on the bankrupt Rock Island and Milwaukee railroads. The House had provided $50 million.

The committee also agreed with Senate Commerce Committee Chairman Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev., and directed the ICC not to implement any final trucking deregulation rules pending congressional action.

Panama Canal Commission. The committee recommended appropriating $511.4 million to operate the Panama Canal Commission, while the House had provided $279.6 million for six months because of the uncertainty of congressional action on implementing legislation at the time.

United States Railway Association. The committee provided for $573.9 million, the amount requested by the president and approved by the House. The amount includes $550 million to buy Conrail securities to finance operating losses and rail rehabilitation projects.

Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority. The committee provided $65.8 million for interest payments on the bonded indebtedness.

National Alcohol Fuels Commission. The committee provided $1.5 million, the same as appropriated in fiscal 1979. The House and the administration did not seek the funds. The commission investigated the potential of fuels from non-oil sources.

National Transportation Policy Study Commission. Added was $66,157 to pay for work already completed.

Floor Action

As passed Nov. 1 by the Senate by a vote of 71-26, HR 4440 totalled $9,663,446,939. This was $247,431,157 higher than the House bill, $305,243,843 more than the fiscal 1979 appropriation and $322,135,843 under Carter's budget request for fiscal 1980. *(Vote 377, p. 63-S)*

The only floor amendment accepted increasing appropriations over the Appropriations Committee bill was for $10 million to help states preserve freight rail lines slated for termination.

The Senate also accepted the House provision barring the Transportation Department from using funds to enforce the June 1977 air bag requirement. But there was no true debate, and some senators indicated that they support the standard for passive restraints.

Milwaukee Railroad

Of great concern to some senators was the condition of the bankrupt Milwaukee and Rock Island railroads.

Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., offered an amendment to give states $25 million more to rehabilitate and help preserve railroad lines expected to be abandoned by failing railroads. States would have to match grants with their own funds.

The senator modified his amendment to provide only $10 million more after Birch Bayh, D-Ind., chairman of the Appropriations Transportation Subcommittee, asked him to accept the lesser amount because of budgetary problems.

McGovern said the funds were needed to help restructure the railroads and prevent severe economic hardships in the Northwest and Midwest.

Fearing an inability to clear the emergency Milwaukee legislation, the Senate also accepted by voice vote an amendment offered by Max Baucus, D-Mont., to require the Milwaukee to provide directed service itself if such service were deemed necessary by the ICC.

Also, the Senate approved another $50 million for a total of $100 million for directed rail service. The ICC said it would not have enough funds if directed service were necessary on the Milwaukee.

Amtrak

The Senate provided $899.7 million for Amtrak passenger rail service. The appropriation was $49.7 million above the president's budget request because Congress had agreed in earlier legislation (HR 3996 — PL 96-73) to restore service scheduled for elimination by the administration to save money on little-used lines.

The Senate accepted an amendment offered by Richard Stone, D-Fla., appropriating $148.1 million authorized for fiscal 1982 for equipment. The money couldn't be spent until fiscal 1982, but Stone said the appropriation would allow Amtrak to begin contracting for new equipment.

Other Amendments

Other amendments approved:

- By Bayh and Cannon, prohibited the use of federal funds for airport development to buy art. Cannon was upset about funds spent on a statue for the new Atlanta airport terminal. Voice vote.
- By Bayh, clarified language concerning a $40 million emergency fund for Panama Canal operations. The amendment provided that payments from the fund would be repaid by canal tolls. Voice vote.

House-Senate Provisions

As passed by the Senate, HR 4440 appropriated the following amounts for fiscal 1980:

	House-passed Appropriation	Senate-passed Appropriation
Transportation Department		
Office of the secretary	$ 43,843,000	$ 43,843,000
Coast Guard	1,611,026,782	1,633,176,782
Federal Aviation Administration	2,514,070,000	2,517,520,000
Federal Highway Administration	159,300,000	129,950,000
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration	102,583,000	108,467,000
Federal Railroad Administration	1,577,771,000	1,621,671,000
Urban Mass Transportation Administration	2,669,735,000	2,118,335,000
Research and Special Programs Administration	24,396,000	27,296,000
Office of the Inspector General	—	700,000
Subtotal	$8,702,724,782	$8,200,958,782
Related Agencies		
National Transportation Safety Board	16,730,000	16,835,000
Civil Aeronautics Board	104,387,000	104,387,000
Interstate Commerce Commission	112,099,000	178,599,000
Panama Canal Commission	279,588,000	511,427,000
United States Railway Association	573,900,000	573,900,000
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority	51,587,000	65,774,000
National Alcohol Fuels Commission	—	1,500,000
National Transportation Policy Study Commission	—	66,157
Subtotal	$1,138,291,000	$1,452,488,157
Grand Total	$9,841,015,782	$9,663,446,939

NOTE: The House amount included a $425 million advance appropriation for fiscal 1981.

Conference Report

The House adopted the conference report by voice vote Nov. 15 after insisting on its appropriation of $463,887,000 for Canal operations and capital expenses. The chamber by a vote of 366-10 agreed to a motion by Duncan, chairman of the Appropriations Transportation Subcommittee, to insist on its Panama Canal provision. *(Vote 595, p. 176-H)*

The Senate adopted the report on Nov. 19 by a vote of 67-20. *(Vote 415, p. 69-S)*

The House on Sept. 18 had approved $279.6 million for the canal for a six month period because the appropriations bill was taken up before Congress cleared the implementing legislation for the Panama Canal treaties.

The Senate on Nov. 1 included a provision appropriating $40 million for an emergency fund and for payments for expenses incurred before the Oct. 1, 1979, effective date of the treaties.

House members contended that the implementing legislation prevented the appropriation of more money for the canal than was collected by toll revenues, as estimated by the defense secretary and certified by the comptroller general. The estimate for fiscal 1980 was $463,887,000, the figure the House insisted upon.

House members said that during debate on the implementing legislation, the provision was cited as assurance that American taxpayers would not have to pay for the operation of the canal and said the House would not approve a higher appropriation.

Senate conferees had argued, with support from the State and Defense departments, that the implementing legislation did not preclude the one-time appropriation for the emergency fund. Any payments from the emergency fund, they said, would be reimbursed by toll charges.

There were a number of differences other than the Panama Canal but those were solved with less difficulty.

They included:

• **Amtrak**. The final bill appropriated $873.4 million for Amtrak, a compromise between the Senate provision of $899.7 million and the House provision of $812.3 million. Conferees said Congress would consider a supplemental request. The House appropriation was made before the two chambers agreed to retain some trains scheduled for elimination.

• **Directed Rail Service.** The ICC was allocated $76 million for directed rail service. The Senate had appropriated $100 million because of concerns about the bankrupt Milwaukee and Rock Island railroads, while the House had provided $36 million.

• **Advance Appropriations.** Agreed to strike provisions for advance appropriations for fiscal 1981.

• **Airbags.** Conferees compromised on language from the 1978 appropriations legislation which didn't restrict funds for enforcing the future motor vehicle air bag regulation. But they also added language requiring all tests be fairly conducted and evaluated.

• **Trucking Deregulation.** The House agreed to Senate language directing the ICC not to implement any final rules on deregulating the trucking industry until after Congress considered new legislation on the subject. ▮

Public Works, Energy Development Funds

A reluctant President Carter signed into law Sept. 25 a bill (HR 4388 — PL 96-69) that allowed completion of the controversial Tellico Dam in Tennessee. The provision was a rider on the fiscal 1980 public works and energy development appropriations bill.

Nearly a decade had passed since the first concrete was poured for the dam. Opponents of the project had taken their case all the way to the Supreme Court, which had agreed with them. A special board had concurred, deciding that a rare and endangered species of minnow called the snail darter should prevail instead of the dam.

But Congress insisted on finishing the project.

President Carter, who had opposed completion of the Tennessee Valley Authority dam, considered vetoing the $10.8 billion appropriations bill. He ended up signing it only two hours before it would have become law without his signature.

Saying he acted "with regret," Carter explained, "I believe that avoiding a divisive veto battle will help focus congressional efforts on priority concerns."

Also included in the final bill were fiscal 1980 funds for the Hart Senate Office Building, an item that had been tacked onto the bill by the Senate. HR 4388, which appropriated funds for flood control and navigation improvement projects and energy research and development, also included $52.6 million for continuing construction on the multimillion-dollar building. *(Hart office building, p. 227)*

Approval of those funds was a major victory for the Senate, which in 1978 had appropriated money for the building by a comfortable margin. But in a rare violation of the spirit of comity between the two chambers, the House that year rejected the appropriation by a big vote, 133-245. *(1978 Almanac p. 71)*

In addition to Tellico dam, the final version of the legislation differed from Carter's requests in several other areas. The measure included:

• Funding for nine new water projects not requested by the president. Final environmental impact statements had not been completed for seven of the nine.

• Only fiscal 1980 funding for water projects, instead of the full funding that Carter sought in order to show the full costs of projects.

• No funding for an independent review by the Water Resources Council of water projects proposed by the Army Corps of Engineers and the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation, the government's two major construction agencies.

Although the Senate Appropriations Committee had recommended funds for two flood control projects revived from Carter's 1977 water project "hit list," the full Senate deleted the funds. The president had vetoed the fiscal 1979 appropriations bill because it funded several projects that he wanted killed. Carter threatened another veto if funds for the two projects were in the final legislation. *(Hit list, 1977 Almanac p. 650; fiscal 1979 appropriations, 1978 Almanac p. 154)*

The bill did not include any funds for construction of the nuclear breeder reactor at Clinch River, Tenn. Authorization for the controversial facility had not been completed. A majority of the House supported the reactor but the president and a majority of the Senate opposed it.

Veto Considered

Carter's decision not to veto the bill apparently stemmed from both political and policy considerations. The president had been advised by congressional leaders that a

veto of the appropriations bill would cost him votes in other areas, such as establishment of a department of education. House Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, was among those warning the president against a veto.

"I told him that if he did that it would just add fuel to the fire, and he probably wouldn't get anything else out of Congress," Wright said.

Endangered Species Act

Administration officials also were concerned that the veto would strengthen attempts to weaken the Endangered Species Act (PL 93-205), the law that protected the snail darter and thus prevented construction of the dam. The Senate had already voted to reauthorize the endangered species law but the House had not yet acted.

Stuart E. Eizenstat, Carter's domestic policy chief, said the administration was afraid the veto would result in the reauthorization being "chopped to ribbons with amendments exempting a whole variety of projects and species."

"There was real concern that we would win the Tellico battle and lose the Endangered Species Act war," he said.

At least one proponent of the dam, Sen. Jim Sasser, D-Tenn., wrote Carter urging him to sign the funding measure. In a Sept. 11 letter to the president, Sasser reviewed many of the arguments proponents used to win congressional approval of the project, and added, "The Tellico Dam may well be the spearhead for a new economic boom in that area of East Tennessee where new industry and new jobs are desperately needed."

Environmentalists Upset

Environmental organizations that had been strong Carter supporters were so upset by Carter's decision not to veto the bill that they cooled what had been active political support for the president.

Brent Blackwelder of the Environmental Policy Center, who worked for years on water policy issues, said Carter "had a chance to show leadership and he blew it."

Ted Snyder, president of the Sierra Club, sent Carter a critical telegram. "Coming after your environmentally damaging decisions on . . . timber cut increases and the energy mobilization board, it is difficult to imagine a decision more calculated to alienate the environmental community, who have been your strongest supporters until now," Snyder said in the telegram.

In addition to objecting to completion of the Tellico Dam, environmentalists opposed the appropriations bill because it did not comply with water policy reforms proposed by Carter in 1978. *(Water policy reforms, 1978 Almanac p. 759)*

Tellico Background

In 1973, landowners along the Little Tennessee River whose property had been condemned for the TVA project found a new ally. David Etnier, a University of Tennessee zoologist, discovered a rare fish, the snail darter, in the river.

The three-inch fish was later placed on the endangered species list, which meant it was entitled to protection from government actions by the Endangered Species Act.

Opponents of the dam, who had exhausted other legal means of stopping the project, filed a lawsuit in 1976, charging that completion of the dam would violate endangered species laws by destroying the snail darter's habitat.

The Sixth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals agreed in January 1977, and stopped construction of the project, which was almost complete. Proponents of the dam appealed the case to the Supreme Court, and the attorney general, Griffin B. Bell, made a rare appearance to argue for the dam.

But in June 1978 the Supreme Court upheld the lower court decision and said that if Congress wanted the dam built, it would have to exempt the project from the law.

The legislators managed to work out a compromise and amended the endangered species law to allow a special board of high-level federal officials to exempt a project from the law. The board, in its first decision, voted Jan. 23, 1979, against an exemption for Tellico. *(1978 Almanac p. 759)*

However, the Tellico issue was quietly reopened in June during House consideration of the energy and water development appropriations bill. John J. Duncan, R-Tenn., offered an amendment that was adopted when no one objected. With no mention of endangered species, the House had accepted an amendment exempting Tellico dam from any law that might hinder construction.

The Senate voted July 17 against an exemption for Tellico.

Unable to find a compromise, conferees reported the amendment in disagreement, and the House again insisted on completion of the dam. When the conference report was returned to the Senate with the exemption for Tellico intact, senators grew weary of the fight. They voted Sept. 10, 48-44, to allow the dam to be completed, and then accepted the conference report by voice vote. *(Vote 264, p. 45-S)*

By the end of November a 33-mile stretch of the Little Tennessee River started to back up behind the dam, creating a lake that eventually would cover 16,000 acres.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, HR 4388 (PL 96-69) appropriated the following amounts for energy and water development programs for fiscal 1980:

Agency	Budget Request	Final Amount
Title I—Department of Energy		
Operating Expenses:		
Energy research and development		
Solar energy	$ 391,098,000	$ 423,948,000
Geothermal energy	117,152,000	121,552,000
Biomass	55,296,000	54,296,000
Hydroelectric power	18,324,000	18,324,000
Fusion energy	235,605,000	233,105,000
Electric energy systems	26,840,000	36,540,000
Energy storage	64,142,000	64,142,000
Convertor reactors	48,216,000	75,716,000
Commercial waste management	175,765,000	164,015,000
Spent fuel storage	18,482,000	11,482,000
Liquid metal fast breeder reactor	348,900,000	308,900,000
Other advanced reactors	110,386,000	110,386,000
Space nuclear systems	38,106,000	37,506,000
Environmental research	254,358,000	246,758,000
Basic Energy Sciences	220,316,000	203,016,000
Technology Assessment	10,966,000	7,966,000

Agency	Budget Request	Final Amount
University Research Support	4,171,000	4,171,000
Technical Program Policy and Analysis	2,417,000	2,000,000
Carryover from previous years	—	−75,300,000
Total, Energy research	2,140,540,000	2,048,523,000
Uranium supply, enrichment	45,790,000	60,523,000
General science, research	336,900,000	336,900,000
Atomic energy defense	2,392,055,000	2,371,147,000
Policy, management, support	263,872,000	228,279,000
Total, operating expenses	5,179,157,000	5,045,372,000
Plant and capital equipment	1,349,017,000	1,211,742,000
Power marketing	164,392,000	164,392,000
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission	73,937,000	67,187,000
Geothermal Resources Development Fund	6,181,000	6,181,000
Total, Department of Energy	6,772,684,000	6,488,874,000
Title II—Army Corps of Engineers	2,696,342,000	2,795,926,000
Title III—Bureau of Reclamation	601,727,000	607,341,000
Title IV—Independent Offices:		
Appalachian Regional Development	358,600,000	356,500,000
Appalachian Regional Commission	2,990,000	2,990,000
Delaware River Basin Commission	364,000	364,000
Interstate Commission Potomac River	55,000	55,000
Nuclear Regulatory Commission	373,300,000	363,340,000
Susquehanna River Commission	314,000	314,000
Tennessee Valley Authority	121,872,000	148,677,000
Water Resources Council	66,244,000	34,614,000
Total, Independent Offices	923,739,000	906,854,000
Hart Senate Office Building	57,480,700	52,583,400
GRAND TOTAL	$10,994,492,000	$10,851,578,400

The bill also:

- Exempted the Tellico Dam from any federal law that blocked its construction.
- Provided for a resident inspector at each of the nation's operating nuclear power plants.

House Committee Action

The House Appropriations Committee reported HR 4388 (H Rept 96-243) June 7.

The committee recommended an appropriation of $10,679,540,000, which was $332,570,000 less than the budget request and $517,288,100 more than fiscal 1979 appropriations. The major cuts were in funding for the Energy Department.

Energy Department

The committee cut $378 million from the administration's request for the Energy Department, recommending that the agency receive $6,395,074,000. That total was $310 million more than the agency received in fiscal 1979.

The committee sidestepped the tussle between Congress and the administration over the $1.2 billion Clinch River nuclear breeder reactor. Though noting in its report that House Appropriations had been a strong supporter of the project, the panel deferred funding because the authorizing committees of the House and Senate had taken opposite positions on the issue. House Science and Technology recommended continued funding of $184 million (HR 3000 — H Rept 96-196, part 3), but Senate Energy endorsed termination (S 688 — S Rept 96-232) as requested by the Carter administration. The authorization dispute was not resolved before Congress completed action on the appropriations bill.

The committee also refused to fund the administration's request for $40 million to study construction of a new breeder plant, again citing the still pending authorization.

The panel did thrust itself into another nuclear controversy by cutting the request for management of defense-related nuclear wastes from $372 million to $242 million, a reduction of $130 million. Even though there was widespread agreement that the radioactive material should be put into permanent storage, the committee said in its report that "there is no consensus among Congress, the executive branch and the states concerned as to how and where to do this." Until that question was resolved, the panel said, emphasis should be on ongoing development, not on specific projects.

The major item in the reduction was the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP) in southeastern New Mexico. The administration had sought $55 million for the project, but the committee said it was a mistake to commit funds while Congress was still arguing over methods for solidifying the liquid waste, the type of facility that was needed and the timing of construction.

In other action, the committee:

- Reduced funding for atomic weapons activity by $43 million, to $1.614 billion. Included was a $19 million reduction in funding for maintenance and upgrading of equipment at various locations.
- Reduced funding for departmental administration by $49 million, to $266 million.
- Reduced funding for basic research by $26 million, to $244 million. The committee report said some of the department's research was on application of technology already developed, instead of on basic research of emerging technologies, and was duplicating the agency's technology development programs.

Water Development

The committee provided $2,771,466,000 to the Army Corps of Engineers for water projects, such as dams, canals

and flood control efforts. This amount was $57,506,000 more than the administration requested and $135,442,000 more than fiscal 1979 appropriations.

The panel endorsed funding for 22 new and 251 continuing studies, 10 new and 70 continuing planning items and 17 new and 227 continuing construction projects.

For the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation, the committee provided $615,578,000, an increase of $13,851,000 over the administration request. The total was $35,661,000 more than the 1979 appropriation.

The administration had requested full, up-front funding for new projects, a change from the traditional practice of providing limited amounts over a period of several years. But the committee refused to change its system. Full funding would have increased the cost of the bill by $139.74 million. All figures cited for the legislation exclude the full funding request.

No funds were appropriated for the "hit list" projects that President Carter fought in the fiscal 1979 appropriations bill.

House Floor Action

The House quietly gave completion of the Tellico dam the go-ahead before approving the $10.7 billion bill June 18, 159-29. (*Vote 211, p. 70-H*)

Although debate spread over three days, the legislators made few changes in the measure reported by the House Appropriations Committee.

Members, particularly concerned about nuclear safety since the Three Mile Island (Pa.) plant accident in March, did vote $5 million for a resident inspector at each of the nation's operating nuclear plants. Offered by Dan Glickman, D-Kan., the amendment was adopted June 18, 350-10. (*Vote 230, p. 70-H*)

But the House soundly rejected another nuclear-related amendment, refusing, 147-245, to prohibit operation of new reactors in states without emergency evacuation plans. (*Vote 232, p. 70-H*)

Tellico Amendment

The Tellico dam amendment, offered by John J. Duncan, R-Tenn., exempted the project from any law that might hinder construction. It was particularly aimed at laws protecting endangered species, which had stopped the dam because of potential harm to the snail darter.

After endorsements from Tom Bevill, D-Ala., chairman of the Energy and Water Development Subcommittee, and ranking minority member John T. Myers, R-Ind., the amendment was made part of the bill when no objection was heard.

Other Amendments Accepted

Other changes made in the bill during three days of debate June 14, 15 and 18 included amendments by:

- Timothy E. Wirth, D-Colo., to add $2 million to pay for a personnel increase in the Energy Department's office of inspector general, adopted June 14 by voice vote.
- Peter H. Kostmayer, D-Pa., to remove restrictions in the bill that required 100 additional Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) employees to be assigned only to licensing activities. The change gave the commission discretion so duties could include licensing, development of safety standards, inspections and other activities, adopted June 18, 350-12. (*Vote 231, p. 70-H*)
- George Miller, D-Calif., to add $50,000 for a Bureau of Reclamation study of combining wind energy with hydroelectric power, adopted June 14 by voice vote.

Amendments Rejected

The House rejected several amendments by wide margins.

Intervenor Funding. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., sought to remove the prohibition in the bill against paying expenses of intervenors in proceedings before the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC). He wanted to replace the prohibition with a cap of $600,000.

But James P. Johnson, R-Colo., who argued against Dodd's proposal, successfully amended it so that consumer advocates or other intervenors whose side lost would have to repay any federally provided expense money to the winning side. The vote was 257-156. (*Vote 221, p. 68-H*)

The House then rejected Dodd's proposal, as amended by Johnson, by voice vote.

Water Projects. Three amendments were offered to delete funding for water projects. Carter, who had vetoed the fiscal 1979 appropriations bill because it funded projects on his "hit list," stayed out of the dispute.

Robert W. Edgar, D-Pa., wanted to delete $9.835 million for construction of the Stonewall Jackson dam on the Monongahela River in West Virginia. Edgar said the project could cost as much as $250 million and was not justified either for recreational or flood control purposes as claimed by the Corps of Engineers. "This project has no merits," said Edgar, who described himself as "angry at the Congress for its failure to stand up to the politics of pork."

Supporters, including Harley O. Staggers, D-W.Va., and Joseph M. Gaydos, D-Pa., argued that the dam would protect against floods and aid in efforts to improve water quality. Gaydos said he resented Edgar for criticizing a project that affected Gaydos' district.

The amendment was defeated on a 13-97 standing vote.

John J. Cavanaugh, D-Neb., offered an amendment to delete $6 million for construction of the O'Neill Unit, in northern Nebraska, of the Pick-Sloan Missouri Basin project. He argued that the $200 million irrigation project would benefit only 480 farms. He questioned the dam's safety and said its construction would disrupt agricultural production in the region.

But Virginia Smith, R-Neb., argued that the project was needed and that her district deserved it as its share of the Pick-Sloan project. "If this soundly conceived, vital project is jeopardized by unnecessary delay for lack of funding, then no public works project, regardless of its merit, will be safe from similar assaults," she told her colleagues. They voted 106-210 against the Cavanaugh amendment. (*Vote 227, p. 68-H*)

Another proposal to cut funding for a water project was offered by George E. Brown Jr., D-Calif., who sought to delete $5.3 million for construction of a desalinization plant near Yuma, Ariz. Brown said justification for the plant should be re-examined because estimated costs of the project were escalating rapidly. The House disagreed, rejecting the Brown amendment, 34-253. (*Vote 228, p. 70-H*)

Nuclear Licensing. The amendment to prohibit the NRC from issuing operating licenses to nuclear reactors located in states without emergency evacuation plans prompted a lengthy debate. James Weaver, D-Ore., said

House Agrees to Funding for Expensive Senate Building

Reversing the position it took in 1978, the House in 1979 approved funds for completion of a third Senate office building. But the lower chamber insisted that the Senate give up a number of the frills that had prompted some legislators to dub the building a "palace."

The luxuriousness of the building and spiraling cost estimates created the controversy over the building, named for Sen. Philip A. Hart, D-Mich. (1959-76). When authorized for construction in 1972, the office building was expected to cost $47.9 million. In addition to office space, plans for the building included a rooftop restaurant, a third Senate gymnasium and a "multimedia" hearing room equipped with booths for television commentators. Wood paneling, worth $1.5 million, was to cover the walls of senators' offices.

By 1978, the estimated cost of the building had nearly tripled, rising to $135 million. About $85 million had already been made available.

To complete the building, the Senate in 1978 added $54.9 million to the second fiscal 1979 supplemental appropriations bill (HR 13467 — PL 95-355) for the building. But in a rare lapse of comity, the House rejected the funds and the Senate conceded.(Comity is the principle that each chamber should accept the other's decision on its own affairs.) *(1978 Almanac p. 71)*

1979 Action

A year later, the price tag for the building was marked up even further. By July 1979 the cost had risen to $174.5 million, according to an estimate prepared by a consulting firm for the Capitol Architect's office.

Hoping to gain support for the building in 1979 from the House and a growing number of disenchanted senators, the Senate Office Building Commission July 17 cut about $35 million in costs by eliminating many of the fringe items.

Later that day, the plan went to the Senate Appropriations Committee, which added back about $4.9 million for the wood paneling, the rooftop restaurant and the hearing room. That brought the amount needed to complete construction to about $57.5 million and the total estimated cost to $142.6 million.

On July 18, J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., offered the Appropriations Committee recommendation as an amendment to the public works and energy appropriations bill (HR 4388), then under consideration on the floor.

The amendment appropriated $57,480,700 in additional funds for the building and set a ceiling of $142.6 million for the building's total cost.

Opponents called the building unnecessary and extravagant. "Let's draw the line and stop this building now," John H. Chafee, R-R.I., argued during debate.

Johnston, however, contended that the building was needed to alleviate severe overcrowding in Senate offices.

When it came time to vote, the Senate first rejected the amendment on a tie vote of 47-47. *(Vote 176, p. 32-S)*

That vote was then reconsidered — after two more roll-call votes — and the appropriation and ceiling approved 49-46. *(Votes 177-179, p. 32-S)*

Providing the margin of victory were Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, who switched from "no" on the first vote to "yea" on the last, and Mike Gravel, D-Alaska, and Russell B. Long, D-La., who were absent on the first vote but voted "yea" on the last. Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., voted "yea" on the first vote but was absent from the last.

Although House conferees on HR 4388 recommended that the House accept the funding levels set by the Senate for the Hart Office Building, the House refused. By a vote of 173-236, the House Aug. 2 rejected a motion by Rep. Tom Bevill, D-Ala., to accept the Senate appropriation of $57.5 million and the ceiling of $142.6 million. *(Vote 386, p. 112-H)*

Bevill then offered a compromise motion to reduce the appropriation to $52.6 million and to set the ceiling at $137.7 million. That amendment again removed funding for the wood paneling, the rooftop restaurant and the hearing room. That motion was adopted 214-184. *(Vote 387, p. 112-H)*

The Senate Sept. 10 accepted the House position by voice vote and with little debate. *(Details of public works and energy appropriations, p. 223)*

the accident at Three Mile Island pointed up the need to have emergency plans in place and that Congress should require them.

Opponents called the proposal "mischiefmaking" and said the commission was already moving to require emergency plans. John W. Wydler, D-N.Y., said the amendment was "probably the opening salvo in a campaign whose ultimate purpose is nothing more nor less than to bring nuclear energy in our nation to a standstill."

The amendment was defeated June 18, 147-235. *(Vote 232, p. 70-H)*

Senate Committee Action

As reported by the Appropriations Committee July 12, HR 4388 (H Rept 96-242) appropriated $10,841,895,000 for fiscal 1980. The recommendation was $152,597,000 below the administration request and $155,965,000 above the House-approved amount.

Energy Department

For the Energy Department, the committee added $148.5 million to the House amount for a total of $6.55 billion.

The major hike was in atomic energy defense activities, where the committee added a total of $109.6 million to the House amount.

Included was $1.644 billion for weapons activities, restoring $31 million of the $43 million the House cut from the administration request.

Also included in the additional defense funding was $55 million for management of nuclear defense wastes. About $26.5 million of that amount was earmarked for construction of the WIPP storage project in New Mexico. The House had declined to fund the project, noting that authorizing legislation had not yet been completed.

Like the House, the Senate provided no funds for construction of the Clinch River nuclear breeder reactor, which was opposed by President Carter.

The committee also joined the House in refusing to pay the expenses of intervenors appearing before the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. Noting that FERC was charged by law with representing the public interest, the report said, "[I]t would be counterproductive to pay with federal funds the expenses of special interest groups reflecting a particular point of view."

Water Development

The committee approved $2.8 billion for the Army Corps of Engineers, a $29.8 million increase above the House amount. The major increase was in general construction, involving more than 300 water projects.

The committee recommended $6 million for two flood control projects revived from Carter's "hit list" — $4 million for Yatesville Lake, Ky., and $2 million for Bayou Bodcau, La.

The committee's largest cut was made in funding for the Bureau of Reclamation. The committee recommended $597.6 million, $18 million below the House amount. About half of the reduction, $9.5 million, came from funds requested to continue two projects, New Mexico's Brantley Project and Nebraska's O'Neill Unit.

During House consideration of HR 4388, a move to delete $6 million from construction funds for the O'Neill project was rejected by a large margin. The Senate committee noted that the bureau was under court order not to continue construction of the project until studies on dam stability and site geology were completed.

Like the House, the committee turned down an administration request to include in the bill full funding for new water projects. Traditionally, Congress allocated the money over a number of years.

In other action, the committee agreed to a House floor amendment to provide a resident inspector at each of the nation's nuclear power plants. The committee provided no funds for independent water project review or conservation grants to the states, both sought by Carter.

Senate Floor Action

After deleting the House provision to complete the Tellico dam and adding funds for construction of a third Senate office building, the Senate passed HR 4388 July 18 on a 90-6 vote. *(Vote 180, p. 32-S)*

Senators set the stage for a confrontation with the House when they adopted, 53-45, the amendment deleting the House language allowing completion of Tellico. The amendment was offered by John C. Culver, D-Iowa, who argued that the proposed exemption would subvert the review process set up by the 1978 amendments to the Endangered Species Act (PL 95-632). He also said it would "place the consideration of each and every conflict back in the hands of Congress." *(Vote 175, p. 31-S)*

In 1978 Culver successfully cosponsored with Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., legislation that created the seven-member Endangered Species Committee. The panel was set up to review controversial projects, such as Tellico, for possible exemptions. That committee refused to permit work on Tellico to proceed. *(1978 Almanac p. 707)*

Baker, arguing against the amendment, said, "We have spent over $100 million building this project and it is 99 percent complete. We are not confronted now with whether or not we ought to build the dam — it is built."

Dam proponents said the snail darter was not threatened by Tellico because it had other habitats within the state. And Baker said the project would provide electricity and jobs to "an area badly needing such development."

Opponents of the dam cited its projected damage to surrounding farm land and quoted Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus as saying he would urge Carter to veto the bill if the House position prevailed.

Dickey-Lincoln

Another major debate focused on the Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric project in Maine. William S. Cohen, R-Maine, sponsor of an amendment to delete funds for the project, said it would provide little benefit compared to the "unparalleled environmental destruction" it allegedly would cause and the large amounts of energy it would consume.

Proponents — including Maine's other senator, Edmund S. Muskie, D — argued that the interest rate used in computing the project's ratio of benefits to costs was unrealistically high. Muskie also urged completion of the project to meet New England's energy demand during peak periods.

The Cohen amendment was rejected, 46-51. *(Vote 174, p. 31-S)*

Water Projects

In a move to prevent a threatened presidential veto of the bill, the Senate adopted by voice vote an amendment by Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., to delete funding for the two "hit list" projects included by the committee. In a one-paragraph letter, Carter told Congress that funding the projects would "result in a veto." The amendment removed $6 million for the Yatesville Lake, Ky., and Bayou Bodcau, La., projects.

Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky., a member of the Senate subcommittee that considered the bill, said members had "no other recourse" but to endorse the amendment to avoid a veto.

However, he defended the committee's decision to include the two projects. "It was not a frivolous move on our part," Huddleston said. "They are good projects."

Conference Action

As reported by conferees July 25, the bill (H Rept 96-388) provided $10.856 billion, $30 million less than the Senate had approved but $170 million more than the House had provided.

Conferees were unable to reach a compromise on the Tellico dam issue. The amendment was reported in disagreement, a procedure that permitted a separate vote on that issue in each house.

In other action, House conferees agreed to provide $710,000 for the Dickey-Lincoln project in Maine. The House had not included money for the project. And by a small margin, the Senate had defeated a proposal to delete funding for it.

Conferees also agreed to provide $22 million for construction of the nuclear waste WIPP project in New Mexico, $4.5 million less than the Senate-approved amount. The House had included nothing for the project.

Final House Action

The House approved the conference report on HR 4388 by voice vote Aug. 1. It defeated, by a vote of 156-258, an attempt to take the Tellico dam provision out of the bill,

and by voice vote insisted on its position allowing the dam to be completed. *(Vote 385, p. 112-H)*

John B. Breaux, D-La., offered the amendment to remove the Tellico provision from the bill. He criticized the procedure used to attach it to the measure when the House first considered it June 18. The amendment had been approved without advance consideration and without debate.

Breaux also pointed out that keeping the provision would reverse the decision of the review panel created by Congress in 1978 to decide whether certain projects should be exempted from the Endangered Species Act (PL 93-205). The panel had refused to exempt Tellico dam from the act and thereby permit its completion. Breaux urged that Congress abide by that decision.

"We should not say we will go out and play baseball and then when we lose the game, say the answer to that is change the rules," said Breaux.

Tellico supporters claimed the issue that initially caused the halt to construction — the danger it would pose to the snail darter — no longer existed.

"We have taken care of the snail darter. We have moved it . . .," said Tom Bevill, D-Ala. Hundreds of the fish had been transplanted to another Tennessee river, where they were thriving, the proponents argued.

"It is foolish to talk about this issue as if the dam and the other structures do not exist," Bevill said. "The question is whether we are going to complete and use the project so as to confer the valuable project benefits on the people of Tennessee or do we . . . 'waste . . . at least $53 million. . . .' "

Supporters also pointed to projections of the energy the dam would produce, and claimed the support of Tennessee residents and parts of the administration. Duncan, who offered the original amendment, cited letters in support of the project sent to the Tennessee Valley Authority by officials of the Departments of Transportation and Energy.

Final Senate Action

The Senate approved the conference version of HR 4388 Sept. 10 by voice vote.

It then conceded to the House, voting 48-44 to allow completion of the Tellico project. That action cleared the bill for the president. *(Vote 264, p. 45-S)*

J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., the bill's floor manager, urged the Senate to approve the project so that public works appropriations for fiscal 1980 would not be held up.

'No Tellico - No Bill'

"If you want an energy and water resources bill, in my judgment we are going to have to drop the snail darter. We are going to have to build the Tellico Dam," said Johnston. "The House . . . made it perfectly clear that no Tellico — no bill."

Culver, who led the floor fight to scuttle the dam, said he opposed approving the project simply because the House insisted on it. Culver urged members to "do the right thing and reject that kind of ultimatum and threat."

A spokesman for Jim Sasser, D-Tenn., said the Senate's decision to finish the dam was probably based on a number of factors, including the approaching end of the fiscal year on Sept. 30. But, he added, "I think a number of members have been worn down on the Tellico dam-snail darter issue." ▮

$20 Billion Voted for Alternative Fuels

In a dramatic response to shrinking supplies and skyrocketing prices of fuel, Congress in 1979 approved $20 billion in new Energy Department funds to help the nation develop alternative fuels to oil and gas.

The new funds were contained in the Interior-Energy appropriations bill (HR 4930 — PL 96-126) for fiscal 1980.

HR 4930 contained a total of $30.3 billion. In addition to the $22 billion for the Energy Department, it provided $4.2 billion for the Interior Department, $1.5 billion for the Forest Service and $1.9 billion for related agencies. This last amount included $1.35 billion in emergency fuel assistance, intended to help the nation's poor pay their winter heating bills.

The total exceeded the administration's requests for these agencies by $273 million.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, HR 4930 made the following appropriations for fiscal 1980:

Agency	Budget Request	Final Amount
Interior Department		
Bureau of Land Management	$ 500,624,000	$ 506,289,000
Office of Water Research and Technology	30,739,000	30,781,000
Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service	819,954,000	704,545,000
Fish and Wildlife Service	265,829,000	280,598,000
National Park Service	514,647,000	515,176,000
Geological Survey	463,748,000	627,682,000
Bureau of Mines	135,194,000	132,753,000
Office of Surface Mining	195,236,000	179,603,000
Bureau of Indian Affairs	974,120,000	1,004,821,000
Office of Territorial Affairs	145,814,000	200,446,000
Office of the Solicitor	15,860,000	15,741,000
Office of the Secretary	49,761,000	50,344,000
Total, Interior Dept.	$ 4,111,526,000	$ 4,248,779,000
Department of Agriculture		
Forest Service	1,242,807,000	1,494,848,000
Department of Energy		
Alternative fuels production	20,000,000,000	20,000,000,000
Fossil energy research and development	714,092,000	746,627,000
Fossil energy construction	140,050,000	103,250,000
Energy production, demonstration, distribution	146,299,000	111,221,000
Energy Conservation	841,195,000	787,452,000

Agency	Budget Request	Final Amount
Economic Regulatory Administration	183,263,000	152,879,000
Strategic Petroleum Reserve	8,391,000	0
Energy Information Administration	88,657,000	87,273,000
Total, Energy Dept.	$22,121,947,000	$21,988,702,000
Department of Health, Education and Welfare		
Indian Health	585,356,000	613,176,000
Indian Education	76,875,000	75,900,000
Institute of Museum Services	10,900,000	10,900,000
Total, HEW	$ 673,131,000	$ 699,976,000
Related Agencies		
Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Commission	950,000	950,000
Smithsonian Institution	169,215,000	163,933,000
National Foundation on Arts and Humanities	304,500,000	304,500,000
Commission on Fine Arts	271,000	268,000
Advisory Council on Historic Preservation	1,672,000	1,350,000
National Capital Planning Commission	2,193,000	1,975,000
Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Commission	10,000	40,000
Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation	38,966,000	38,966,000
Federal Inspector for Alaska Gas Pipeline	14,850,000	10,600,000
Community Services Administration	1,350,000,000	1,350,000,000
Total, Related Agencies	$ 1,882,627,000	$ 1,872,582,000
Grand Total	$30,032,038,000	$30,304,887,000

Alternative Fuels Production

The bill created a special new fund in the Treasury, an Energy Security Reserve. Into it was placed $19 billion to be spent to spur production of alternative fuels — those derived from coal, shale, tar sands, lignite, peat, biomass, solid waste, unconventional natural gas or any other material not made from crude oil.

Of the $19 billion, $2.2 billion would be available immediately. Of that amount, $1.5 billion was earmarked for purchase commitments or price guarantees — federal assurance to producers of alternative fuels that they would be able to sell their products at a certain price. In addition, $708 million was designated for preliminary commercialization of the processes for producing these alternative fuels — $100 million for feasibility studies of up to $4 million each; $100 million for agreements — of up to $25 million each — between the government and private industry to develop commercial-scale plants for producing these new fuels; $500 million for construction loan default guarantees and $8 million for program management.

HR 4930 also created a similar reserve of $1 billion for solar and conservation programs.

Fuel Assistance

PL 96-126 provided $1.35 billion in emergency aid to help poor people pay their heating bills. Of the total, $400 million was to be distributed to Supplemental Security Income recipients — blind, disabled and elderly persons — as a special one-time energy allowance of up to $250 per household. This total was to be distributed among the states through a specified formula: One-third based on the number of cold days (heating degree days) squared, times the number of households with incomes below 125 percent of the poverty level; one-third based on the difference in home heating expenditures between 1978 and 1979; one-third based on the percentage of SSI recipients in the state.

Of the remaining funds, $800 million was earmarked for block grants to states. States could use the money to set up crisis intervention plans, to aid households with high energy costs, to establish credit with fuel vendors for persons unable to establish credit themselves or to make payments directly to welfare recipients. States were to submit plans to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for the use of this money within 30 days of enactment of HR 4930. HEW would have 15 days to approve or reject them.

The bill earmarked $150 million for the crisis intervention program of the Community Services Administration. The block grant and CSA funds were to be distributed through a two-part formula: half based on the number of cold days (heating degree days) squared, times the number of households with incomes below 125 percent of the poverty level, and half based on the difference in home heating expenditures between 1978 and 1979.

HR 4930 also required that the Treasury be reimbursed for the emergency payments with funds from a windfall profits tax on domestic oil producers, if the tax passed. *(Tax, Energy and Environment Chapter)*

Grazing Land

HR 4930 required the interior and agriculture secretaries to review federal agriculture assistance programs and report to Congress on aid available to ranchers adversely affected by Bureau of Land Management regulations restricting access to overused federal rangelands.

It allowed for appeals by ranchers of BLM-ordered grazing reductions within 30 days of the order, or within 90 days of enactment if the reductions were ordered in 1979. It also allowed grazing allotment reductions over 10 percent to be suspended pending final action on an appeal.

House Committee Action

In its report (H Rept 96-374), filed July 23, the House Appropriations Committee recommended $10.2 billion in new budget authority for fiscal 1980 for the Departments of Interior and Energy and related agencies. That amount was $1.75 billion more than President Carter's budget request.

Even though the committee approved more than the president wanted, the final amount was $1.6 billion less than the amount appropriated for fiscal 1979. *(1978 Almanac p. 115)*

Criticizing the administration's energy budget as "unconscionably underfunded," the committee earmarked more than 40 percent of the money in the bill — $4.2 billion — for energy programs in the Interior and Energy departments. The committee complained that Carter's budget had stressed energy research over production, and earmarked $1.5 billion for production of synthetic fuels.

By including the $1.5 billion in the bill, the Appropriations Interior Subcommittee wanted to "serve notice" to the nation that it was serious about creating a synthetic fuels industry, Joseph M. McDade, R-Pa., ranking minority member, told the House.

Perhaps the most controversial portion of the bill was a $159 million reduction in the Land and Water Conservation Fund of money used for state and local parks and recreation programs. The cut, which would reduce by about 45 percent the amount of federal recreation funds available to states, was needed to help offset the synfuels expenditures and a $243 million increase in the Forest Service budget, said subcommittee Chairman Sidney R. Yates, D-Ill.

The committee rejected the administration's proposal to close down federally financed exploratory oil drilling operations in the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska. The committee added $141 million to the bill to continue the drilling activities.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

The Department of the Interior received $4.134 billion in the committee's bill, $19 million more than the president requested. Much of the increase came in funds for road construction on federal timberlands.

Bureau of Land Management

The committee recommended appropriations for the Bureau of Land Management of $7.4 million more than the president's request. The increase was primarily for continuation of the committee's effort begun in 1978 to upgrade management of the 417 million acres of public lands administered by the bureau. The bureau funds totaled $499.8 million under the committee bill, $37 million less than in fiscal 1979.

Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service

The committee recommended an appropriation of $637.7 million, $170 million below the amount requested. Most of the cuts — $159 million — were in state assistance programs administered by the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

The total included $125 million for the Urban Park and Recreation Fund, a $105 million increase over the amount provided in the fiscal 1979 supplemental appropriations bill (PL 96-38). The program was designed to offset an imbalance that had developed in previous years in which rural towns had received 90 percent of federal recreational planning and development funds. The committee earmarked $122 million of the $125 million for grants to cities. *(Fiscal 1979 supplemental, p. 193)*

Fish and Wildlife Service

The committee recommended $278.6 million for the service, a $13.8 million increase over the administration request.

National Park Service

The committee cut the administration request of $500 million by $575,000.

Alaska Oil Drilling

The committee recommended a total of $594 million for the U.S. Geological Survey. The biggest change from the administration request was a $141 million increase over the $4 million sought for financing exploratory drilling in the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska. The panel said the additional funds would cover drilling five exploratory wells in fiscal 1980 and preparation for new drilling the following year.

The administration request reflected its preference for private, rather than government-financed, drilling in the reserve. But the committee said such a policy would lead to a five- or six-year delay in exploration. Referring to the tight world oil situation, the report said, "Although it is unrealistic to believe that drilling on the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska will lead to any short-term alleviation of this problem, it is obvious that every effort should be made to meet the OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] challenge and to reduce our national dependence on imported oil."

Bureau of Mines

The committee appropriated $134.9 million for the Bureau of Mines.

Office of Surface Mining

The committee recommended $196.9 million for the mining regulation and enforcement office, $1.7 million more than the administration asked for and $81.5 million more than fiscal 1979.

Bureau of Indian Affairs

The committee approved $992.5 million for Indian programs and construction projects, $18 million more than the budgeted amount. The increase was due primarily to a $15.7 million increase in school construction funds.

Territorial Affairs

The committee recommended $84 million for administration of U.S. territories, $37 million more than the administration sought. A large part of the increase was a $10 million grant to cover operating deficits of the Virgin Islands government. The committee said the appropriation was done "reluctantly," and was contingent upon matching funds from the Virgin Islands, generated by increased tax rates.

In addition, the committee complained bitterly that the Office of Territorial Affairs, the Department of the Interior and the administration have been unresponsive to natives' problems in trust territories. Calling for "this performance to improve markedly in the near future," the committee increased by $13.7 million the amount the administration had requested to administer the Pacific Islands Trust Territory.

The total recommendation for the Office of Territorial Affairs was $196.9 million.

FOREST SERVICE

The committee recommended a $243 million increase for the Forest Service of the Agriculture Department, complaining that the administration had "refused" to provide adequate Forest Service funding. The increases included $27.4 million to continue funding for the Youth Conservation Corps, which the administration had deleted.

In addition, about $88 million was added to the administration request to pay for road construction on public timberlands, a move the committee said would allow im-

plementation of the president's June 11, 1979, order to increase timber supplies from public lands.

The committee also recommended a $127 million increase for forest management, protection and utilization, which included an additional $30 million for reforestation and an additional $15 million for rural fire protection and control. The total committee recommendation for the Forest Service was $1.49 billion.

ENERGY DEPARTMENT

The committee recommended $3.36 billion for the Energy Department, about $1.5 billion more than the administration requested. The additional funding was intended to stimulate production of synthetic fuels.

The committee pushed for immediate synfuels production, stressing that it wanted to support projects enhancing energy "capacity," rather than funding more "proliferating pilot processes."

The committee said the additional money would fund HR 3930, a $3 billion House-passed bill that set a national production goal of the equivalent of 500,000 barrels a day in synthetic fuels by 1985, and two million barrels a day by 1990.

Fossil Energy Research

The committee increased by $40 million the appropriation for fossil energy research and development to a total of $699.3 million. A $10 million increase was recommended for research on coal surface mining problems, and $54 million was added for construction of two solvent refined coal demonstration plants. The administration had asked for funding for only one plant.

Energy Conservation

The committee recommended $743 million for energy conservation, a $14.9 million cut from the Carter budget. Programs aimed at improved energy efficiency through research and development were increased by $19 million, while programs providing grants to states and cities were reduced by about $36 million.

Economic Regulatory Administration

The administration's budget request for this office was cut by $33.9 million, from $159 million to $125 million. Most of the cut was in the emergency preparedness budget, which included $28.8 million for carrying out a gasoline rationing plan.

That amount was deleted by the committee, which argued that an emergency appropriation could be passed later if needed.

Additional Views

In additional views filed with the report, 24 committee members said the panel should have gone even further in promoting synfuels, by appropriating $25 billion instead of only $1.5 billion.

"The committee feels that the United States is walking on the knife's edge of disaster regarding our energy supply," the members said. "The committee is concerned about the very economic structure and military security of the country because of dependence upon foreign oil."

In a separate comment, Adam Benjamin Jr., D-Ind., recommended a joint select committee to develop a "rational and credible energy policy for the nation." If a joint committee were not possible, Benjamin said, the House should create its own umbrella authority on energy.

"We can no longer afford the luxury of fragmented congressional jurisdiction on energy," he said.

House Floor Action

The House approved HR 4930 July 30 on a 344-42 vote. *(Vote 364, p. 108-H)*

The bill, which included $10.2 billion for the Departments of the Interior and Energy, provided $36.4 million more than recommended by the Appropriations Committee and $1.79 billion more than the amount sought by President Carter.

Most of the increase over the administration request was the $1.5 billion earmarked for immediate start-up of a synfuels program.

An amendment to strike the funds for synfuels was offered by James Weaver, D-Ore., but it was rejected by voice vote with little debate. Weaver argued that the additional funds would "break the budget" and labeled synfuels "the most inflationary thing we could possibly do."

Alaska Petroleum Reserve

After some debate, members also rejected an amendment by Norman D. Dicks, D-Wash., to strike the $141.5 million earmarked for drilling the five more exploratory wells in the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska. Dicks argued that private industry should take over exploration in the area because core samples were promising enough that companies would bid on the leases.

The administration had deleted funds for drilling. Dicks said the Interior Department, the overseer of the program, believed it had sufficient data and wanted to move ahead rapidly with a program allowing private industry to develop the area.

But Don Young, R-Alaska, was not convinced the administration would move ahead as quickly as Dicks thought.

"This administration wants no development of oil on those 23.5 million acres of land," Young said. "The only way we are going to have it is if exploratory work goes forward, if the pressures become great enough upon this Congress, and we act, because this administration is not going to act."

Other Amendments

In other action, the House:

- Approved an amendment by Eldon Rudd, R-Ariz., that provided an additional $3.9 million for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to pay in settlements to litigants in the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Reservation boundary dispute in Arizona.
- Approved an amendment by James J. Florio, D-N.J., providing $12 million to purchase as a federal reserve portions of the Pinelands area in southern New Jersey.
- Approved an amendment that increased by $20.5 million appropriations for energy conservation. The amendment added $6.5 million for industrial cogeneration, $5 million for urban waste loan guarantees and $9 million for transportation energy research.
- Rejected an amendment by Barry M. Goldwater Jr., R-Calif., that would have added $4 million to the Energy budget for molten salt gasification process research.

• Rejected an amendment by Jim Courter, R-N.J., which would have prohibited use of Economic Regulatory Administration funds to enforce gasoline price and allocation regulations.

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 4930 appropriated the following amounts:

	Budget Request	House Amount
Department of Interior	$ 4,115,425,000	$ 4,150,401,000
Department of Energy	1,891,630,000	3,381,511,000
Forest Service	1,242,807,000	1,486,058,000
Other Agencies	1,190,908,000*	1,214,000,000
Total	$8,440,770,000	$10,231,970,000

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Appropriations Committee reported HR 4930 Oct. 10 (S Rept 96-363) with a $27.36 billion price tag, almost triple the House's $10.2 billion appropriation. The bulk of the increase came in the Energy Department budget which ballooned from $4.7 billion to $21.6 billion.

Although the bill was $17.1 billion higher than the House version, it was still $1.5 billion below the administration request.

The Senate committee made major reductions in funding for programs that had unused funds from previous years. These were primarily land acquisition and construction programs and various state and local grant programs.

The administration's budget request to the Senate was for a total of $28.6 billion, compared to the $8.4 billion it had requested of the House. Most of the increase was due to the $20 billion the president requested for a synthetic fuels program.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

The Senate committee recommended $4.194 billion for the Interior Department.

Bureau of Land Management

The committee recommended $500.2 million for the bureau, $475,000 more than the House bill but $395,000 less than the administration had wanted.

Although the committee increased the bureau's range management funds by $9.5 million, it complained that too much of the bureau's money was going into "expensive environmental paperwork."

The panel said every effort should be made to minimize environmental red tape so long overdue restoration of public range lands could be accelerated.

Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service

The committee recommended $762 million for the service, $112 million more than the House bill.

The panel restored $159.3 million cut by the House for the state recreation grant program funded from the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

The committee also increased by $17.5 million — to $67.5 million — the House amount for historic preservation.

National Park Service

The committee recommended $520 million for the Park Service, $5.8 million less than the administration wanted and $20 million more than the House amount.

The panel denied an administration request for $11.4 million for management of the 17 new national monuments in Alaska created by President Carter on Dec. 1, 1978. The panel questioned whether it had the authority to provide funding for the areas while Congress still was considering legislation that would place millions of acres of federal lands in Alaska into conservation units, such as national parks and wildlife refuges. The committee noted that questions had been raised about the president's authority to create the monuments. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 724)*

National Petroleum Reserve

Energy concerns motivated the committee to refuse to go along with the administration's decision to discontinue publicly financed drilling for oil in the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska.

The committee recommended $626.4 million for the U.S. Geological Survey, increasing the House allotment by $32.2 million, and the administration request by $162.7 million. Of that, $175.6 million was earmarked to continue the exploratory drilling in Alaska.

Bureau of Indian Affairs

Complaining bitterly of mismanagement in the health and education programs administered by the bureau, the committee recommended $944 million in expenditures for Indian programs, $52 million less than the House allowance, and $30 million less than the administration requested.

Citing the bureau's attitude of "paternalism that fosters nearly total dependency," the committee called for administrative reforms, closer supervision and the elimination of waste and redundancy. And complaining of "slipshod management" of facility maintenance and improvements, the committee denied half the amount requested for those functions.

FOREST SERVICE

The committee recommended $1.4 billion for the service, $191 million more than the administration had requested, but $52 million less than the House allowed.

Most of the increase over the administration's budget was a $44 million appropriation to support increased timber harvesting in national forests as a means of reducing lumber prices and home-building costs. Some $68 million was appropriated for road construction to improve access to timber stands inside national forests.

The committee also provided $54 million for continuation of the service's popular Youth Conservation Corps, which the administration had refused to fund.

ENERGY DEPARTMENT

The Senate committee recommended $21.6 billion for the Energy Department, including $20 billion for synthetic fuels production. Of that, $18.5 billion was new funds and $1.5 billion was money appropriated but not spent in previous years for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

Synthetic Fuels

The committee recommended that the $20 billion go into a special fund in the Treasury, called the Energy Security Reserve. Noting that authorizing legislation for synthetic fuels projects had not yet been enacted, the panel specified that all but $2.208 billion remain in the reserve until authorizations for use of the remaining funds were approved. The remainder could be transferred to an Energy Security Corporation or other entity if it were created by Congress, the committee said. President Carter proposed creation of the corporation to oversee synthetic fuels production.

The committee endorsed a synfuel production goal of 1.5 million barrels of oil equivalent a day by 1995. However, the report noted, no funds were provided in the bill for construction of government-owned facilities. "The sole emphasis of this program is on stimulation of private investment for commercial development," the committee said.

Of the $2.2 billion, the committee earmarked $100 million for loans to study possible alternative fuel plant sites, $500 million to cover loan guarantee defaults and $1.5 billion for price supports and purchase agreements for alternative fuels production.

Fossil Energy Research

For fossil energy research and development, the committee recommended $798 million, $98.9 million above the House amount. The biggest increases were $58 million for research on magnetohydrodynamics, a process for increasing the efficiency of electrical generation from coal, and a $44 million increase for coal liquefaction. Included was $101 million for two demonstration plants that would use the solvent refined coal process to convert coal into a solid or liquid synthetic fuel.

Energy Conservation

For conservation programs, the committee recommended $823 million, about $59 million more than the House. That amount included $120 million to help energy boom towns cope with rapid development.

Strategic Petroleum Reserve

The panel recommended no new funding for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, compared to $8.4 million requested by the administration and provided by the House. During energy shortages in 1979, the government did not buy any oil for the reserve, so money was left over from previous years. The committee recommended that $450 million of that be reserved for operating the reserve and that the rest of the money — $1.5 billion — be transferred to synthetic fuels production.

The committee expressed dismay with the slow progress of the reserve program and said, "Any more protracted delays in the facilities schedule will clearly warrant a congressional re-evaluation of the entire strategic petroleum reserve plan."

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed HR 4930 Oct. 18, 86-9, after adding $2.2 billion to the committee bill. *(Vote 362, p. 60-S)*

As passed by the Senate, the bill appropriated a total of $29.6 billion. The additional funds approved as floor amendments included $1.2 billion in emergency aid for poor people unable to pay their winter fuel bills and $1 billion to stimulate development of solar energy and adoption of conservation measures.

Emergency Fuel Assistance

The aid to the poor was provided by Senate adoption of an amendment by Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y.

Javits initially proposed diverting to the Community Services Administration (CSA) fuel assistance program $1.35 billion that had been appropriated for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve in fiscal 1979. The money, which had not been spent, had been earmarked for the synfuels program in 1980 by the Senate Appropriations Committee.

But Budget Committee Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, objected to the amendment on procedural grounds, because the funds were not included in the second concurrent budget resolution.

Muskie, one of the creators of the CSA program, also wanted to put off a vote on the amendment because it would complicate ongoing conference action on the budget.

But Javits complained that "time is of the essence." He said that if the Senate went through the normal budget process, it might be too late to help the poor for the winter of 1979-80. He noted it would take at least two months between the time the bill passed and the time when the assistance checks would be mailed.

"This is the only way that we are going to move before we have people dying and freezing," said John A. Durkin, D-N.H.

But the Javits amendment was rejected, 43-47, after several senators complained it would dilute the synfuels reserve. *(Vote 355, p. 59-S)*

The next day, Oct. 16, Javits came back with a modified amendment that set aside $1.2 billion for fuel assistance, but did not delete it from the synfuels fund.

The amendment was agreed to by voice vote. A motion to reconsider was rejected 11-85. *(Vote 360, p. 60-S)*

Synfuels Debate

Debate over the committee recommendation of $20 billion for synfuels production was marked by heated exchanges between Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., who strongly supported the synfuels program, and William L. Armstrong, R-Colo., and Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, R-N.M.

Armstrong and Schmitt argued that the government had a poor record of energy regulation and should stay out of synfuels production.

They noted that action had not been completed on any of the authorization bills providing for a synthetic fuels program, so it was unclear how the program would be administered or what it would involve.

Without an authorization bill, said Armstrong, the Senate was buying a "$20 billion pig in a poke."

At one point, Schmitt raised a point of order on the synfuels portion of the bill, claiming it was "legislating by appropriation" because there was no authorization bill.

Rather than chance the Senate sending the entire bill back to committee on a point of order, Byrd moved to separate the synfuels portion and make it an amendment. It was approved, 59-38. *(Vote 358, p. 59-S)*

Several senators argued that the vote was only symbolic because only $2.2 billion of the synfuels money would be immediately made available for loans and loan guarantees. The rest would be set aside in an Energy Security Reserve until authorizing legislation was enacted.

The Senate also approved an amendment by Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., which set up a special $1 billion reserve fund to encourage solar energy development and conservation. Tsongas first tried to take the funds from the $20 billion synfuels fund, but changed his amendment to appropriate an additional $1 billion after Byrd, and Jennings Randolph, D-W.Va., opposed taking money from the synfuels fund. The solar fund was to be held in reserve until subsequent appropriations were made.

In other action, the Senate approved amendments by:

- Bill Bradley, D-N.J., to earmark $800,000 of Land and Water Conservation funds as planning money for the Pinelands National Reserve in New Jersey.
- Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to bar the interior secretary from condemning certain lands in North Carolina for the Cape Lookout National Seashore.
- Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky., increasing by $10 million funds for coal utilization programs administered by the Economic Regulatory Administration.
- Larry Pressler, R-S.D., to increase by $15 million funds for rural fire protection programs. Approved by voice vote after a Huddleston motion to table was rejected, 38-55. *(Vote 361, p. 60-S)*

The Senate rejected amendments by:

- William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., to reduce by $103 million the administrative and regulatory budget for the Energy Department. Rejected, 48-49. *(Vote 357, p. 59-S)*
- John Melcher, D-Mont., to restore $10 million to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for Indian education programs.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, HR 4930 appropriated the following amounts:

	Senate-passed Appropriation	House-passed Appropriation
Department of Interior	$ 4,194,908,000	$ 4,150,401,000
Department of Energy	21,564,562,000	3,381,511,000
Forest Service	1,449,444,000	1,486,058,000
Other Agencies	2,362,733,000*	1,214,000,000
Total	$29,571,647,000	$10,231,970,000

** Includes $1.2 billion in fuel assistance for the poor.*

Conference Action

The conference report on the bill was filed Nov. 8 (H Rept 96-604). The House adopted the report Nov. 9 by a vote of 271-46, after approving the emergency fuel aid provisions by a separate vote of 182-103. The Senate adopted the report by voice vote later the same day. *(Votes 575, 576, p. 170-H)*

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT

The conference committee approved a $4.2 billion budget for the Interior Department, $137.3 million more than the administration had requested.

The largest increase was in the amount for the U.S. Geological Survey. Conferees provided $171.2 million more than the administration sought to continue oil and gas exploration in the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska. The administration had wanted to discontinue the program pending a decision in early 1980 on whether to begin leasing the land for private exploration.

The largest cut was in the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service budget, which got $115.4 million less than the administration wanted. Of that, $25 million was cut from the urban parks fund and $25 million was cut from National Park Service and Forest Service land acquisition funds.

Other major provisions in the Interior Department budget were:

- **State Grant Program**. The conferees cut by $59 million the amount the administration requested for state recreation grants administered through the Land and Water Conservation fund of the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service.

This popular state program had been cut $159 million by the House but had been fully funded by the Senate at the $359 million level recommended by the administration. The conferees agreed to provide $300 million.

- **Grazing Limits.** Conferees agreed to an amendment that restricted the interior secretary's authority to limit ranchers' access to overgrazed federal rangeland. Any cutbacks in excess of 10 percent would be suspended pending a court challenge to the validity of the cutback, if a rancher challenged the secretary's withdrawal.

Regional Split

The House was sharply divided over the compromise formula developed by conferees to dole out the $1.35 billion included in the Interior appropriations bill to help the poor pay their heating bills. Members from warmer states opposed the compromise, charging that it was too heavily weighted in favor of colder areas.

The 182-103 vote accepting the compromise reflected the regional differences. *(Vote 576, p. 170-H)*

Members from the East and Midwest overwhelmingly supported it.

In the East, members from Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont and West Virginia voted 74-4 in favor of the formula.

Among Midwestern members from Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, South Dakota and Wisconsin, the vote was 82-2.

But members from the South and West voted heavily the other way.

The vote was 14-67 against the formula among Southern members. All 14 "yes" votes came from Kentucky, Oklahoma and Virginia. The "no" votes included five members from those three states plus all of the members voting from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas.

Members from the West — Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon and Washington — voted 12-30 against the formula. All of the "yes" votes came from California, Colorado, Montana, Oregon and Washington.

One hundred forty-eight members did not vote. There were no votes cast by representatives from Alaska, Hawaii, New Mexico, North Dakota, Utah and Wyoming.

FOREST SERVICE

The bill appropriated $1.5 billion for the U.S. Forest Service, $252 million more than the administration wanted.

Of that $252 million, $54 million was added to continue funding the Youth Conservation Corps, which the administration had deleted as a cost-cutting measure. In addition, Congress approved an $86 million increase in construction and land acquisition funds and a $112 million increase in forest management, protection and utilization funds, primarily to improve road access to national forests for increased timber cutting.

ENERGY DEPARTMENT

The bill appropriated $22 billion for the Department of Energy, $133 million less than the budget request, but $17.3 billion more than fiscal 1979. Most of the increase was $20 billion for alternative fuels production incentives — $19 billion for synthetic fuels and $1 billion for solar and conservation programs.

Only $2.2 billion of that $20 billion would be available immediately, with the rest held in a reserve fund pending future authorizations.

Most of the cuts in the administration's budget requests were in existing solar and conservation programs that had unused funds from previous years.

For instance, $39 million was cut from the schools and hospitals energy conservation program, which had not progressed as quickly as the committees felt was necessary to utilize the full administration request of $202 million. For the same reason, another $12 million was deleted from a program to put solar panels into some federal buildings.

The bill cut $25 million from the budget for assistance to communities that were adversely impacted by energy development.

The bill also cut $8 million that the administration requested for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve program. The program had nearly $1.5 billion in unused fiscal 1979 funds, and conferees said the program would not be able to use another $8 million. House conferees refused to transfer the unused $1.5 billion into the alternative fuels production fund, as the Senate had requested.

Fuel Assistance

The House version of HR 4930 contained no emergency fuel aid funds while the Senate had provided $1.2 billion. The House late in October had instead included $1.35 billion in such aid in H J Res 430, an urgent supplemental appropriations bill for fiscal 1980.

Conferees agreed to use the Interior-Energy appropriations bill as the vehicle for such aid, and adopted a compromise formula for allocating the funds among the states. The new formula allowed more of the money to be distributed to colder states than had the original House-approved version.

FINAL ACTION

Regional bickering over how to allocate the fuel aid for the poor marked the final action of both chambers on HR 4930.

During floor debate on the conference report, Southerners in both the House and Senate raised objections to the compromise formula, arguing that it was too heavily weighted toward colder states.

Rep. Phil Gramm, D-Texas, who complained that the formula overcompensated Northern states, wanted the House to reject it and develop a "reasonable, ordered and just" formula. But conference chairman Sidney R. Yates, D-Ill., explained that the conferees had been at loggerheads over the issue and was close to a deadlock until the compromise formula was worked out by Rep. Silvio O. Conte, R-Mass.

"The question was whether or not we would come out with a bill," Yates explained.

The final House vote on the fuel assistance expenditure, 182-103, was indicative of the regional split. The House subsequently adopted the report by a vote of 271-46. *(Votes 576, 575, p. 170-H; vote analysis, preceding page)*

In the Senate, Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, complained that the formula was "not for all of America's poor . . . [but] for a select few, a program biased in a way that startles even the veterans of many regional confrontations."

The Senate adopted the report by voice vote.

The president signed the bill Nov. 27. ▮

Abortion Issue Halts Labor-HEW Bill

The annual House-Senate deadlock over federal funding of abortions prevented enactment in 1979 of the $72.5 billion fiscal 1980 appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) and related agencies (HR 4389).

However, both houses agreed to the funding levels and all other provisions in the final version of the bill, and those were included in a continuing resolution (H J Res 440 — PL 96-123) cleared Nov. 16. Programs not included in HR 4389 because their authorizations had not yet been passed were funded at fiscal 1979 levels.

The continuing resolution was effective until the end of fiscal 1980, so there appeared to be no pressure on House-Senate conferees on HR 4389 to try to reach agreement on an abortion provision or to clear the bill. *(Continuing resolution, p. 269)*

It was the fourth straight year that the abortion controversy had delayed final congressional approval of Labor-HEW appropriations measures.

Since 1976 the House consistently had taken a very tough anti-abortion position; generally, it did not want to use federal funds to pay for abortions for any reason, although it ended up agreeing to less restrictive provisions as a compromise with more liberal Senate versions.

In 1978, the growing anti-abortion bloc in the House finally went along with a compromise provision worked out in 1977, in order not to delay adjournment of the 95th Congress. But its leaders served notice that they would attempt to cut back in 1979 on abortions that could be paid for by the Medicaid program for the poor — and they did. The only Medicaid abortions allowed by H J Res 440 were those necessary to save the mother's life, or in cases of rape or in-

cest. Abortions that two doctors certified were necessary to prevent severe, long-lasting damage to the physical health of the mother, allowed in previous years, could no longer be paid for with federal funds. *(Summary of abortion legislation, p. 484; background, 1976 Almanac p. 790, 1977 Almanac p. 295, 1978 Almanac p. 105)*

Provisions

Following are the amounts appropriated for the Departments of Labor and HEW and related agencies for fiscal 1980:

Labor Department

	Budget Request	Final Amount
Employment and Training Administration		
Program administration	$ 86,260,000	$ 86,260,000
Employment and training assistance	6,841,754,000	6,500,626,000
Temporary employment assistance	2,190,500,000	1,627,000,000
Community service employment for older Americans	234,800,000	266,900,000
Federal unemployment benefits	950,000,000	950,000,000
Unemployment grants to the states	22,300,000	22,300,000
Advances to unemployment trust funds	300,000,000	300,000,000
Labor-Management Services Administration	53,941,000	53,941,000
Employment Standards Administration	939,732,000	913,732,000
Occupational Safety and Health Administration	179,520,000	183,164,000
Mine Safety and Health Administration	131,710,000	140,747,000
Bureau of Labor Statistics	102,028,000	102,028,000
Departmental Management	86,267,000	101,867,000
Total, Labor Department	$12,118,812,000	$11,248,565,000

Department of HEW

Health

	Budget Request	Final Amount
Health Services Administration	1,331,272,000	1,325,278,000
Center for Disease Control	286,135,000	282,415,000
National Institutes of Health		
Cancer	936,958,000	1,000,000,000
Heart, Lung and Blood	507,344,000	527,544,000
Dental Research	66,118,000	68,318,000
Arthritis, Metabolism and Digestive Diseases	305,746,000	341,246,000
Neurological and Communicative Disorders and Stroke	212,322,000	242,000,000
Allergy and Infectious Diseases	190,202,000	215,402,000
General Medical Sciences	280,378,000	312,478,000
Child Health and Human Development	204,381,000	208,981,000
Aging	56,510,000	70,000,000
Eye	104,528,000	113,000,000
Environmental Health	79,012,000	83,912,000
Research Resources	154,199,000	169,199,000
John E. Fogarty International Center	8,989,000	8,989,000
National Library of Medicine	41,431,000	44,000,000
Office of the Director	21,062,000	21,062,000
Buildings and Facilities	3,250,000	3,250,000
Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration	734,426,000	715,267,000
Health Resources Administration	309,973,000	452,243,000
Assistant Secretary for Health	253,493,000	188,695,000
Retirement Pay	76,925,000	76,925,000
Overseas activities	6,520,000	6,520,000
Health Care Financing Administration	20,718,900,000	20,711,150,000
Subtotal, Health	$26,890,074,000	$27,187,874,000

Education Division

	Budget Request	Final Amount
Elementary and secondary education	3,952,882,000	3,801,956,000
Impact aid	528,000,000	805,000,000
Emergency school aid	354,100,000	315,298,000
Education for the handicapped	1,027,825,000	1,049,025,000
Occupational, vocational and adult education	765,203,000	881,880,000
Student assistance	3,687,035,000	3,056,935,000
Guaranteed student loans	959,621,000	959,621,000
Higher education	346,380,000	399,730,000
Higher education facilities	2,189,000	2,189,000
Library resources	233,837,000	268,488,000
Special projects and training	117,628,000	118,223,000
Educational activities overseas	2,000,000	1,000,000
Salaries and expenses	128,353,000	124,585,000
National Institute of Education	98,285,000	91,172,000
Assistant Secretary for Education	35,930,000	34,484,000
Total, Education	$12,239,268,000	$11,909,586,000

Welfare

	Budget Request	Final Amount
Social Security Administration		
Payment to Social Security trust funds	676,933,000	676,933,000
Black lung payments	1,005,202,000	1,005,202,000
Supplemental Security Income	6,396,436,000	6,323,436,000
Public assistance	7,079,210,000	7,072,210,000
Refugee assistance	75,540,000	75,540,000
Special institutions	191,932,000	191,932,000

	Budget Request	Final Amount
Assistant secretary for human development		
Grants to states	2,632,325,000	2,606,500,000
Human development services	2,408,898,000	2,557,981,000
Work incentives	385,000,000	365,000,000
Research overseas	4,400,000	2,000,000
Subtotal, Welfare	$20,855,876,000	$20,876,734,000
Departmental management	264,735,000	262,460,000
Waste, fraud and abuse reduction	0	—500,000,000
Total, HEW	$60,249,953,000	$59,736,654,000

Related Agencies

ACTION	72,000,000	83,317,000
Community Services Administration	755,000,000	796,100,000
Community economic development credit unions	12,000,000	6,000,000
Corporation for Public Broadcasting	172,000,000	172,000,000
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service	23,075,000	23,075,000
Federal Mine Safety and Health Commission	4,770,000	4,770,000
National Commission on Libraries and Information Science	668,000	668,000
National Labor Relations Board	108,050,000	108,050,000
National Mediation Board	4,393,000	4,393,000
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission	7,550,000	7,550,000
Railroad Retirement Board	313,000,000	313,000,000
Soldiers' and Airmen's Home	18,471,000	18,471,000
Total, Related Agencies	$ 1,490,977,000	$ 1,537,394,000
GRAND TOTAL	$73,859,742,000	$72,522,613,000

Legislative Provisions

Busing. Prohibited the use of funds in the bill to require, directly or indirectly, the busing of any student beyond the school nearest to his or her home; included in the scope of the prohibition busing to implement desegregation plans involving pairing, clustering and other methods of restructuring grade levels among schools, with the exception of magnet schools.

Safety and Health. Prohibited the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) from issuing civil fines for first-time health and safety violations of a non-serious nature, unless the establishment involved was cited for 10 or more serious violations on first inspection.

- Prohibited OSHA from issuing civil penalties for non-serious violations by an employer of 10 or fewer employees if the employer was making a good-faith effort to eliminate a hazard found by a consultant.
- Exempted from OSHA regulation all farms with 10 or fewer employees that did not maintain a labor camp.
- Prohibited OSHA from restricting work in an area because of potential dangers from hunting or recreational shooting in the area.
- Prohibited OSHA from inspecting businesses with 10 or fewer employees if they were in industries with injury rates of less than seven per 100 employees, except to investigate health hazards, or when: employers were deemed to be engaging in activities involving substantial hazards, an employer requested consultation, a worker made a complaint, there was an imminent danger, or there had been an accident leading to death or hospitalization.
- Prohibited OSHA from inspecting any business within six months of the time the establishment had been investigated by a state safety and health agency, with certain exceptions, including cases of fatality or catastrophe.
- Limited OSHA inspections of work activities in the Outer Continental Shelf.
- Prohibited the Mine Safety and Health Administration from enforcing training requirements in the shell dredging industry or in the surface mining of sand, gravel, stone, surface clay, colloidal phosphate or limestone.

Prisoners. Prohibited use of funds to pay public service jobs wages to prisoners, unless they were within one year of their expected release date.

HEW Funding. Required that the total of individual appropriations for HEW be reduced by $500 million, with the reductions to come out of programs identified by the HEW Inspector General as containing waste, fraud and abuse; made clear that the reduction was not to be achieved by cuts in benefits to persons legitimately entitled to them.

- Limited total HEW spending for outside consultants to $170 million; required that spending for consultants in the fourth quarter of 1980 not exceed 30 percent of that total.

House Committee Action

The House Appropriations Committee reported HR 4389 June 7 (H Rept 96-244), recommending a total of $73.6 billion for fiscal 1980 for the Departments of Labor and HEW and related agencies.

The bill did not include $889.8 million for items requested by the president but not yet authorized by Congress, such as health planning, drug and alcohol abuse programs, nurse training, ACTION and Indochinese refugee programs. Nor did it contain some $173.7 billion in automatic annual payments from the unemployment compensation, Social Security, railroad retirement and other trust funds, or $11.2 billion provided under various permanent appropriations. Taking all spending in the aggregate, the committee estimated that total budget authority for labor, health, education and welfare programs would be $237.2 billion in fiscal 1980.

Compared with the administration's $73.8 billion budget request for authorized items, the committee total was $204.4 million lower. However, this saving was achieved because of the carried-over public service employment funds that were not spent in fiscal 1979.

According to the committee, its total also was $2.1 billion lower than the $75.6 billion target set by the budget resolution for functions contained in the bill.

The bill included significant increases over the president's budget for youth employment programs, the Na-

tional Institutes of Health, capitation grants to medical schools, college student loans, vocational education and education of the handicapped. The committee rejected several attempts by Robert H. Michel, R-Ill., to cut funds for public service jobs and impact aid to school districts.

As it had done in previous years, the committee prohibited the use of funds in the bill to pay for abortions unless continued pregnancy would endanger the life of the mother. During markup, the panel twice turned down, by one-vote margins, amendments by David R. Obey, D-Wis., to liberalize the provision.

It adopted previous years' limitations on the use of funds for busing of school children for purposes of desegregation, and on activities of Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) inspectors.

Department of Labor

The committee provided a total of $11.4 billion for the Labor Department, $882.3 million less than the budget request.

Employment and Training Programs. By using new estimates of the number of people enrolled in jobs programs, and throwing in excess money left over from the previous fiscal year, the committee was able to report an employment and training appropriation, $9.9 billion, that was $858.3 million less than the president's request.

While it did not make deep cuts in public service employment, the committee called on the Labor Department to consider a significant change in the objectives of the jobs — away from providing services to people, and toward making permanent additions to the nation's capital assets. The panel said public service workers should spend more time on building visible and popular projects such as roads, bridges and parks.

For both structural and countercyclical public service employment, the committee recommended a total of $3.3 billion. Along with carry-over funds, this amount would finance 500,000 jobs, equally divided between the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act's (CETA) Title II-D programs for the long-term unemployed and Title VI programs for those temporarily out of work.

To test out the jobs component of the administration's welfare reform package, the bill included $175 million for welfare demonstration projects — enough to provide 17,000 jobs to the main wage-earners of welfare families. *(Welfare reform, Health, Education and Welfare chapter)*

The committee added money for two youth employment programs and cut another. It turned down the administration's request to cut costs of the summer jobs program by excluding 14-year-olds. The $608.6 million it approved, together with carry-over funds, would provide about 1 million jobs — 250,000 more than the adminstration had wanted.

Another youth program slated for a cut by the administration, the Young Adult Conservation Corps, also got a reprieve from the committee. Critics of the program had argued that it was not targeted on poor youths. The committee provided $233.7 million, enough to pay for 20,500 jobs; the administration had wanted 14,500.

To make up for increases given to summer and conservation jobs, the committee cut the budget request for the Youth Employment and Training Program. The administration wanted to expand the program by 40 percent; the committee decided to keep it at the existing level of 119,500 jobs, at a cost of $533.3 million.

Health, Education and Welfare

The total HEW budget contained in HR 4389 was $60.9 billion — $4 billion more than the department received in fiscal 1979.

The committee added $677.5 million to the president's budget request. The big winners in the process were health research, health manpower training, and education. The only program that suffered a radical reduction was a small program of assistance to Cuban refugees.

Health

Health Services. Expressing concern about the direction and use of the National Health Service Corps, the committee cut a total of $13 million from the $1.3 billion budget request for the Health Services Administration.

Noting that the administration had moved in the direction of using the corps to staff federally funded health projects, the committee said it preferred its original orientation — encouraging private practitioners to settle in medically underserved areas.

The panel approved the full authorized amount for the corps, $71 million, but refused to allow an additional $10.8 million sought by the administration.

The committee criticized the increasing use of corps members to staff community health centers, and cut the budget request for the centers by $33 million, to $339 million. That was still $80 million more than the 1979 level, enough to provide more services to adolescents, to bail out some centers in financial difficulty and to set up 180 new centers in rural and urban areas.

Family planning projects received the biggest boost from the committee among health services programs. The appropriation was $165 million, $20 million over the budget. Reflecting widespread concern over the "epidemic" of teen-age pregnancy, the increase would go to provide more help to low-income adolescents.

Health Research. The National Institutes of Health continued their traditionally successful budget pleas to Congress, winning a $208.6 million increase over the budget request.

The administration, virtually without exception, had asked for about the same amount for each institute as was appropriated in 1979. The committee added some money for every one of them, and gave particularly large increases to the institutes for arthritis, metabolism and digestive diseases ($35 million), general medical sciences ($32 million) and neurological and communicative disorders and stroke ($28.3 million).

Mental health research fared less well. The appropriation for the National Institute of Mental Health was $145.3 million, $14.9 million less than the budget request. President Carter had called for an increase of nearly $30 million for mental health research, but the committee said approval of the full request would allow funding of some low-priority research projects.

The committee also declined to fully fund a new administration mental health program. Carter May 15 had called for a $99.1 million program to help reform the nation's mental health care delivery system. The committee found that some of the money could be provided under existing authority and some could not. It approved $49.5 million for centers authorized by the Community Mental Health Center Act, but deferred action on an additional $49.6 million, pending an authorizing law. *(Carter mental health proposal, text, p. 31-E)*

Health Resources. The committee refused to go along with the president's desire to eliminate "capitation" (general) grants to medical, nursing and other health professions schools and make other cuts in aid to health professions training programs.

Altogether, Carter wanted to reduce federal support for health training by about $150 million. The committee restored about four-fifths of that amount, reporting an appropriation $129.2 million over the budget. The committee said it agreed with the idea of using training assistance to direct professionals to areas of need, but argued that it could not leave schools and students high and dry, without their accustomed federal help.

Although it turned down the idea of cutting off all capitation grants to schools of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, veterinary medicine, optometry, podiatry and pharmacy, the committee agreed to cut the 1980 appropriation level by 20 percent, bringing it down to $88.4 million.

For direct assistance to health professions students, the committee approved $107 million — $27.5 million more than the budget. About half the increase was for contributions to revolving funds operated by schools to provide loans to students, which the administration did not propose to fund.

As part of another strategy for correcting problems of maldistribution of health professionals, the committee added $15.2 million to the request for area health education centers (AHEC), for a total of $21 million. Under the AHEC program, funds were provided to medical schools to operate student training centers, linked with community hospitals, in rural areas. The program both provided additional health manpower in underserved areas and gave students experience in providing basic health care.

Assistant Secretary for Health. The committee cut $66.5 million from the budget request for programs run by the assistant secretary for health by cutting funds for health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and a new teen-age pregnancy program. The total approved came to $187 million.

Although it said it approved of the goals of HMOs, the committee said the administration was pushing for too rapid growth in the program. The administration wanted to add more than $50 million to it, compared with 1979; the committee approved a $32.2 million increase, for a total appropriation of $55 million.

The panel approved the $10 million requested for a new demonstration program seeking new ways to discourage children from taking up smoking.

While it added funds for teen-age pregnancy prevention in the family planning program, the committee approved only one-fourth of the administration's request for a new program aimed at helping pregnant teen-agers. The committee said $15 million would be enough to get the program started on an orderly basis.

Health Care Financing. As reported, HR 4389 contained more than $20 billion for mandatory federal costs of the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

Airing strong criticism of professional standards review organizations (PSROs), the committee called for a 10 percent reduction in federal funding. It cited studies showing that PSROs were probably not even reducing health costs by an amount equal to the costs of their operation. The peer review organizations were created in 1972 to monitor the cost and quality of health care under Medicare, Medicaid and maternal and child health programs. The committee singled out for criticism certain PSROs that had been in operation for a long time but were not achieving a high level of performance. It said these groups should bear the brunt of the funding cuts.

Education

Elementary and Secondary Education. Following a well-established tradition, the committee rejected presidential attempts to cut funds for the impact aid program of federal assistance to schools educating children whose parents live or work on federal property.

The administration wanted to eliminate one whole category of impact aid — the "B" payments for children whose parents work for the federal government but do not live on government property, or who live in public housing. It requested full funding for "A" payments for students whose parents both live and work on federal property.

The committee shifted the tilt of the budget proposal, cutting the A category slightly while providing almost full funding for B's. The report noted that some 2,000,000 children in 3,900 school districts received an education partly paid for by B category aid.

The panel approved full funding for B children of military parents, and two-thirds funding for other types of B children. The total approved by the panel for impact aid was $777 million, $249 million over the budget.

Although the committee approved the full $3.5 billion request for grants for compensatory education to disadvantaged children under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, it cut $54.2 million from the administration's $400 million request for a new program of supplemental grants to schools with high concentrations of low-income children.

The bill contained a small increase over the budget request for aid to schools educating handicapped children. But the $1 billion in the bill, enough to provide 12 percent of the excess cost of instructing handicapped pupils, was still far short of what educators were hoping for when the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (PL 94-142) ordered them to educate all handicapped children.

Vocational education at and above the secondary level received a substantial increase over the budget request. Noting that the number of students in vocational education had increased by 300 percent in 10 years, the committee recommended a total of $779.9 million, $105.4 million over the budget, for occupational, vocational and adult education.

Student Assistance. Expressing skepticism about the effectiveness of HEW's cost-cutting efforts, the committee nevertheless went along with the budget's estimates for the centerpiece of federal higher education programs, the Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG) to college students.

Counting on carried-over funds from 1979 and the continued success of its computer crackdown on BEOG applications, the administration had estimated that it could fund an expanded BEOG program on a reduced appropriation. Legislation in 1978 permitted more middle-income students to receive BEOG assistance. *(1978 Almanac p. 568)*

The committee approved the $2.4 billion budget request for BEOGs, but said it expected to receive a supplemental request should that prove insufficient. Since announcement of the budget, the administration had added to costs of the program by allowing immediate implementation of a provision of the 1978 law that made an additional 60,000 independent students eligible for grants.

As with the BEOGs, the administration argued that its cost-saving efforts in the National Direct Student Loan program would allow a $90 million reduction in federal contributions to revolving funds operated by colleges and universities. The committee increased the estimate by $66 million, to a total of $286 million.

The other campus-based student assistance program receiving an increase was the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant program. The budget recommended keeping that appropriation at the 1979 level; the committee added $30 million, bringing the total to $370 million.

For interest and default payments under the Guaranteed Student Loan program, the committee approved the budget request of $959.6 million. It estimated the default rate in the federal portion of the program would be 10.2 percent.

The committee took a small step toward helping colleges and universities meet the special requirements of handicapped students when it approved, for the first time, $25 million for removal of architectural barriers. Under Section 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act, institutions of higher education were required to make their educational programs accessible to handicapped students by June 1980. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 483; 1978 Almanac p. 591)*

Welfare

With small exceptions, the committee stuck with the budget requests for federal welfare costs. It cut $73 million from the request for the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program, based on the latest estimates from the Congressional Budget Office.

The committee virtually eliminated a 20-year-old program of assistance to Cuban refugees. Arguing that Cubans were doing well in America and able to survive on their own, the panel cut the $53.3 million budget request to $2 million.

Other than a $25 million reduction in funds for state training of social service workers, the committee approved budget requests for social service and child welfare programs. Among human development programs, the committee showed favor to programs for the very young and old. Head Start received $735 million, $35 million over the budget; nutrition programs for the elderly got $350 million, $72.5 million over the budget.

Related Agencies

The committee recommended $1.3 billion for related agencies, including $546 million for the Community Services Administration. It included $16 million for youth recreation programs the administration had proposed to drop, and added $10 million to the $8 million budget request for community food and nutrition programs. But the committee cut in half the $40 million request for the energy crisis intervention program, saying it wanted the program to be a true crisis intervention program, "and not another program to pay utility bills on a large scale." The program got $200 million in federal funds in fiscal 1979.

House Floor Action

After calling on the Department of HEW to eliminate half a billion dollars in losses from waste, fraud and abuse, the House passed HR 4389 June 27 by a 327-84 vote. *(Vote 276, p. 82-H)*

Other than that reduction, members lined up solidly behind the money totals recommended by the Appropriations Committee. Numerous amendments to add to or subtract from funding for various social programs were rejected.

Only two other amendments, adding a total of $6 million for child abuse programs and for planning to help meet emergency heating needs of the poor in the upcoming winter, affected the final amount in the bill. The total was $73.1 billion.

The House rejected an attempt by Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio, to make a 2 percent across-the-board cut in spending in the bill. In 1978, considering Labor-HEW funding in the wake of California's Proposition 13, the House accepted the 2 percent cut. *(1978 Almanac p. 105)*

The House also turned down moves to cut spending for such controversial programs as public service jobs and OSHA. On the other hand, attempts to add money for handicapped education, community health centers and the National Institutes of Health failed.

Abortion Restrictions

The House rejected two attempts to loosen abortion funding restrictions, thus allowing the committee-approved language to stand — barring Medicaid-funded abortions unless the life of the mother would be endangered by carrying the fetus to term.

Opponents of the abortion funding restrictions had wanted to offer a series of amendments allowing abortions in cases where the mother had a serious disease or a genetic defect in the fetus was feared. However, the rule waiving certain points of order against the bill allowed only two amendments to be offered to the abortion section: one to strike the section entirely and another to substitute the compromise language in existing law, which allowed abortions to save the life of the mother, in cases of rape or incest, or when two doctors certified that carrying the fetus to term would result in severe and long-lasting damage to the physical health of the mother.

Debate on the amendments, rushed by a restrictive time limitation, followed the same lines of arguments laid out during years of struggle over the issue. Supporters said Congress should not deny to poor women what the Supreme Court had allowed to women who could pay. Opponents said taxpayers should not be forced to pay for a procedure that many considered to be morally equivalent to murder.

Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, offered the amendment to strike all abortion restrictions from the bill. It was rejected by voice vote, and Stokes could not muster the 25 votes necessary to demand a roll-call vote.

David R. Obey, D-Wis., did somewhat better when he proposed a return to the compromise language. His amendment was rejected by a 61-vote margin, 180-241. *(Vote 270, p. 82-H)*

The compromise position had lost ground since 1978, however. The same amendment lost then by only 14 votes.

As compromise sponsors had done in 1978, Obey argued for his amendment in terms of "sheer practicality." By adopting the compromise right away, he said, the House could avoid a protracted hassle with the Senate over the provision.

Opponents of the amendment said the question was too important to be settled by considerations of expediency and pragmatism. "We are asked to compromise, but what we have to give up is a human life. How do you compromise a life, especially when it is not your life, it is someone else's

life?" asked Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill., sponsor of the original anti-abortion amendment.

Hyde added that the rape and incest provision in the Obey amendment was unnecessary. Only 61 women had gotten an abortion under the exemption in the past year, he said, noting that prompt medical attention following a rape would prevent pregnancy.

Waste, Fraud and Abuse Reduction

Angry at HEW's response to the $1 billion waste, fraud and abuse reduction amendment he offered in 1978, Robert H. Michel, R-Ill., offered an amendment to reduce the department's budget by $500 million. It was adopted by a 263-152 vote. *(Vote 273, p. 82-H)*

Michel and HEW had disagreed sharply about the effect of his 1978 amendment. Both the 1978 and the 1979 amendments reduced the total HEW appropriation, with the savings to come out of programs identified by the HEW inspector general as containing wasteful spending.

HEW Secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr. had argued that the 1978 amendment set a goal for reduction of waste but did not reduce the amount available to be spent. Michel, backed by the Justice Department, said the amendment meant what it said — fiscal 1979 spending must be reduced by $1 billion.

Bowing to the inevitable, HEW announced June 19 that it was reducing Medicaid and welfare payments to states in order to achieve an $831 million spending reduction. It had already saved $169 million in student grant programs.

The Senate recommended June 26 that HEW make up the shortfall not by cutting funds to states, but by borrowing from the fiscal 1980 appropriation. *(Vote 149, p. 28-S)*

Michel said he was offering his amendment for the second year because HEW had been "devious" in refusing to take action to reduce wasteful spending in accordance with the 1978 amendment. He conceded that HEW had taken some steps to reduce waste, but noted that, for example, it had backed down in applying tough regulations penalizing states for errors in welfare programs.

Speaking against the amendment, Neal Smith, D-Iowa, observed that many of HEW's programs were actually run by states, so there was little HEW could do to directly control waste. Obey noted that fraud and abuse accounted for only a small part of the inspector general's $7 billion estimate, with much of the total attributed to waste caused by Congress' failure to pass hospital cost control and other possible legislative savings.

Work Safety and Health

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) were the targets of several amendments. While the House rejected a move to cut OSHA funding, it approved an amendment that some feared could hamper federal efforts against dangerous chemicals in the workplace.

The most far-reaching amendment, offered by Beverly B. Byron, D-Md., prohibited OSHA inspectors from inspecting a workplace if a state health and safety inspector had visited the same establishment within the preceding six months. The amendment was adopted 236-176. *(Vote 271, p. 82-H)*

The amendment provided exceptions when federal inspectors could continue to make visits. They could accompany the state inspector, and would be allowed to investigate cases where a worker had been fired for complaining about safety conditions or where a fatality or catastrophe had occurred.

Byron said small businesses were frequently caught in the middle of rivalries between state and federal inspectors. Arguing that state inspections were effective and did not require federal monitoring, she said OSHA should concentrate on work sites that had not been inspected at all.

Opponents of the amendment, including organized labor, worried that it could hamper efforts to protect workers' health. Obey argued that while state agencies had inspectors qualified for safety checks, few had qualified industrial hygienists able to spot threats to worker health caused by potentially dangerous chemicals. The federal agency, with its special expertise in industrial health questions, needed to be able to follow up on the state inspectors, he said.

The House rejected an amendment to cut $10.3 million from OSHA's budget. Offered by Steven D. Symms, R-Idaho, it was defeated 177-240. *(Vote 269, p. 82-H)*

In addition, by a standing 58-86 vote, the House rejected a Robin L. Beard Jr., R-Tenn., amendment to apply a limitation of OSHA penalties in existing law to MSHA inspectors. The amendment would have barred civil penalties against mine operators for first-time health and safety violations, unless 10 or more violations were found.

Hospital Reporting

Responding to complaints by hospitals, the House voted against HEW's latest effort to gather information on the costs of hospital care. By a 306-101 vote, the House adopted an amendment, offered by Douglas K. Bereuter, R-Neb., to stop HEW from implementing its System for Hospital Uniform Reporting (SHUR). *(Vote 275, p. 82-H)*

Announced by HEW in January, the reporting system had drawn heavy fire from hospital administrators, who complained that it was costly and unnecessary. Clutching the 600-page SHUR manual, Bereuter said it would result in higher costs to patients.

Congress itself had ordered HEW to institute the reporting system. Opponents of the amendment said a uniform system for determining how much hospitals spent was essential to efforts to restrain health costs. The only data HEW got came from the American Hospital Association.

Emergency Fuel Assistance

The House agreed to add $2 million to help the Community Services Administration (CSA) design a plan for providing emergency fuel help to the poor.

Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., proposed an amendment to add $180 million for emergency fuel aid, bringing the total up to the $200 million appropriated in the previous two fiscal years. The House had rejected a similar Dodd amendment to the first budget resolution.

But Dodd argued that the escalating energy crisis had radically altered the situation in a matter of weeks. With the country facing a possible fuel shortage in the winter, supporters said, the government could not avoid the need for additional help to keep poor people from freezing. But opponents of the amendment said the emergency fuel program had been plagued with problems of administration; they said it lacked monitoring and auditing to see if the money was being spent properly.

Obey proposed the amendment to give CSA just $2 million, to work on planning a well-run program. His amendment to the Dodd amendment was adopted on a 91-68 standing vote. The Dodd amendment was then adopted 300-112. *(Vote 274, p. 82-H)*

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Appropriations Committee reported HR 4389 July 13 (S Rept 96-247). It approved fiscal 1980 appropriations of $72.7 billion — $250.7 million less than the House-approved total.

The difference between the two bills would have been even greater if the committee had approved the House's $500 million reduction in HEW spending for waste, fraud and abuse. The total of line items in the House-passed bill was actually $716.7 million more than the Senate committee total.

Unlike recent previous years, the committee declined to put liberalized abortion language into the bill, deciding to let the House language allowing abortion funding only to save the life of the mother remain in the bill.

Department of Labor

The committee achieved a $53.3 million reduction in the Labor Department appropriation approved by the House by using different assumptions about the status of public service employment programs. It approved basically the same program level as the House for countercyclical public service employment under Title VI of CETA. But it cut $188 million from the House appropriation by using a lower estimate of the number of workers on board by the beginning of the fiscal year.

Similarly, the committee saved $200 million from the House amount for the administration's new private sector initiative jobs program by assuming that it would get started more slowly than the House had thought, and thus spend less money in its first year. The committee's recommendation was $125 million.

The committee shifted much of the money it "saved" to youth employment programs. At an increased cost of $297.8 million, the panel restored cuts made by the House in the administration's budget request for youth employment and training programs and the Young Adult Conservation Corps.

Department of HEW

Total spending for HEW was set at $60 billion — $447.9 million below the House level.

The committee achieved a $34 million reduction in spending by limiting total department payments for consultants to $160 million. HEW had estimated it would spend $194 million on consultant contracts. The committee made clear that it did not like the way HEW had been making increasing use of outside consultants to analyze and evaluate programs. It said it was "unaware of any program improvements that have been brought about by the department's large annual investment in evaluation contracts."

Health

Taking all the HEW health programs together, the committee added a total of $58.7 million to the spending in the House bill. The biggest winner was the preventive health programs of the Center for Disease Control, for which the committee added $33.5 million.

The National Institutes of Health fared less well, losing $13.3 million from the House-passed amount. While the committee added $38.8 million for the National Cancer Institute, it made large cuts in research on arthritis, metabolism and digestive diseases, allergy and infectious diseases.

Like the House, the Senate committee turned down the administration's request for an immediate end to capitation grants to health professions graduate schools. But it funded them at a level, $72 million, that was $16.4 million below the House appropriation.

Education

The committee reduced the House appropriation for federal assistance to public elementary and secondary education by a total of $228.4 million. Only handicapped education, among the major aid programs for local public schools, escaped a cut.

The committee approved the House amount for the basic Title I program for assistance to schools providing compensatory education to children from low-income backgrounds. But it cut $145.8 million from the amount for a new program of extra aid to schools with large concentrations of poor children.

Noting "the apparent lack of progress being made by the bilingual education program," the committee cut $14.3 million from the House amount for schools educating children from non-English-speaking backgrounds.

A $52 million reduction in the impact aid program was achieved by sharply cutting "B" payments for children whose parents either lived or worked on federal property. Some of the savings were shifted to "A" payments for children whose parents both lived and worked on federal property.

Federal assistance to school districts undertaking racial desegregation also was cut. Noting that many schools receiving the aid had been desegregated years before, the panel cut $37.6 million from grants to schools under the program, known as emergency school aid.

However, the committee provided increased funds for handicapped education — $1.05 billion — by adding to a program encouraging schools to help pre-school handicapped children.

Funds for a number of higher education programs were reduced. However, an apparent $726 million cut in BEOG funding was a bookkeeping difference with the House, rather than a change in the real spending level. The House said the large leftover funds from the program in previous years had to be reappropriated, while the Senate committee said a new appropriation was not necessary.

Welfare

The biggest change made by the committee in the welfare area was the restoration of a program for Cuban refugees that the House had wanted to end.

The bill did not contain $149 million sought by the administration for Indochinese refugees, because of the lack of authorizing legislation. The committee, noting that potential costs of refugee assistance could go as high as $1 billion in five years, said the United States should "resist efforts to admit larger quotas of refugees until other countries have demonstrated their willingness to do their fair share."

The committee provided $250 million for emergency funds to help poor people heat their homes in the upcoming winter, the CSA program the House had refused to fund. The committee said the help should be concentrated on the elderly poor.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed HR 4389 July 20 by a vote of 67-20 after two days of debate. *(Vote 199, p. 35-S)*

The biggest news was the Senate's dramatic shift of position on federally funded abortions. On July 19 it approved an abortion provision significantly more restrictive than its position in previous years. The vote represented a major victory for the anti-abortion movement, which had vowed to expand its efforts to defeat abortion-funding supporters at the polls in the 1980 elections.

Instead of approving all "medically necessary" abortions, as it had in past years, the Senate voted for the compromise language in existing law, allowing payment for abortions to save the life of the mother or prevent severe and long-lasting damage to her physical health, and in cases of rape or incest.

The Senate's strong pro-abortion-funding position in the past had served as a counterweight to the House's tough stand against all abortions not needed to save the life of the mother. But this time senators were unwilling to take such a controversial position just to give their conferees more bargaining room.

Pro-life forces predicted the vote would lead to further tightening of the abortion limitation in existing law. "With the House standing firm and a different set of circumstances in the Senate, we will move ahead on the Hyde amendment," said Jesse Helms, R-N.C.

"Pro-choice" supporters of abortion funding placed their hopes on the Senate sticking with the existing compromise language in conference negotiations.

In other action on HR 4389, the Senate rejected attempts to make major cuts in the funding levels reported by the Appropriations Committee. It approved floor amendments adding $258.6 million to the committee bill. The total appropriation was $73 billion.

Unlike the House, the Senate refused to order a $500 million cut in HEW spending to come out of spending for waste, fraud and abuse. An amendment offered by William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., was tabled, 53-41. *(Vote 193, p. 34-S)*

In 1978 the Senate had approved a $2 billion waste, fraud and abuse reduction. *(1978 Almanac p. 105)*

Abortion

As observers had predicted, the 1978 election loss of Sen. Edward W. Brooke, R-Mass. (1967-79), proved to be a crucial factor in the Senate's change of position on abortion.

Without Brooke, the Senate Appropriations Committee did not write a strong pro-choice provision into the bill that went to the floor. In the past, Brooke, who was ranking minority member of the Labor-HEW Subcommittee, had been able to win committee approval of a liberalized abortion provision allowing "medically necessary" abortions.

In 1979 Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., an abortion opponent, was the ranking member, and both the subcommittee and the full committee were unable to agree on an abortion provision. So they brought the House's tough anti-abortion limitation to the floor.

That meant pro-choice senators had to ask their colleagues to vote directly in favor of liberal abortion policies, rather than just voting against tighter abortion restrictions. This proved a serious weakness.

Bob Packwood, R-Ore., probably the most outspoken defender of abortion funding in the Senate, moved first July 19 to remove all abortion restrictions.

Then Appropriations Committee Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash., proposed an amendment to insert the Senate-approved language of 1978, allowing medically necessary abortions.

Helms then proposed an amendment to delete the "medically necessary" exemption from the Magnuson amendment, leaving only abortions to save the life of the mother and in cases of rape or incest.

"Pro-life" forces appeared to be on the way to an even more significant victory when the Senate rejected an attempt to kill the Helms amendment. Packwood's motion to table it was rejected 46-53. *(Vote 187, p. 33-S)*

However, it soon became clear that a sizable group of senators wanted neither the Magnuson nor the Helms approach, but the compromise position reached in previous years, allowing abortions when two doctors found that continued pregnancy would permanently damage the mother's physical health as well as when the mother's life was endangered and in cases of rape or incest.

After Birch Bayh, D-Ind., promised to offer that position as an amendment, the Senate rejected the Helms amendment 46-53, and then adopted the Bayh compromise amendment 57-42. *(Votes 188, 189, p. 33-S)*

Interviews after the vote showed that the reluctance of senators to take a controversial position for tactical reasons (to give the Senate more bargaining power in conference with the House) and the growing strength of the "right-to-life" movement contributed to the Senate's changed position.

Busing

The Senate also continued to favor tight restrictions on HEW efforts to desegregate schools. The reaffirmation of its position came when it tabled an amendment by Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., that would have continued the existing ban on busing for purposes of desegregation but allowed HEW to order restructuring of school grade systems to achieve racial balance. The vote to table was 58-35. *(Vote 191, p. 34-S)*

Tsongas' amendment was actually the same as the first anti-busing amendment adopted by the Senate, in 1975. That amendment, offered by Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., prohibited HEW from ordering busing to achieve racial balance. But HEW interpreted the provision as allowing it to order school districts to restructure their grade systems in such a way as to bring students from different racial neighborhoods into the same schools. Congress didn't like that idea, and in 1977 prohibited use of the restructuring techniques.

Tsongas argued that HEW needed to have some tools to achieve the equal opportunity goals of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Unable to use busing, HEW was helpless without the ability to force restructuring, he said.

Opponents warned that HEW would use the restructuring authority to renew its busing orders, further aggravating the "white flight" that was making big-city schools overwhelmingly black.

Worker Safety

The Senate approved three amendments to restrict the activities of federal job safety and health inspectors.

One, by Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., freed shell dredging and the surface mining of sand and gravel, limestone, surface clay, colloidal phosphate and stone from the worker training requirements of the Mine Safety and Health Act. Bumpers said the requirement for 24 hours of safety training for each worker was unnecessary and expensive.

The amendment was adopted by voice vote after the Senate rejected a substitute by Harrison A. Williams Jr., D-N.J., to spread the training over six months instead of

the existing two-month period. His amendment was tabled 59-35. *(Vote 190, p. 33-S)*

The Senate adopted a modified version of a Frank Church, D-Idaho, amendment to limit OSHA inspection of small businesses. Church's amendment would have exempted from OSHA regulation businesses with 10 or fewer employees, if they were in industries with low overall injury rates (seven or fewer occupational injuries for every 100 employees each year).

Church said exempting firms in relatively safe industries would take a heavy burden off of small business and allow OSHA to concentrate on dangerous occupations. But opponents pointed out that the industry classifications used in the amendment would lump safe and hazardous businesses together, thus leaving workers in some very dangerous jobs unprotected.

Schweiker offered a substitute that retained the basic substance of the Church amendment but added another qualification and gave OSHA authority to continue inspections in certain situations. It required that each small business seeking an exemption submit evidence that its workers had not lost more than six workdays in the preceding year because of occupational injuries. It also authorized OSHA to inspect small businesses to advise the employer, or when a worker had complained about conditions, or when a serious accident had occurred. Church's move to table the Schweiker amendment was rejected 31-61, and the amendment was adopted by voice vote. *(Vote 196, p. 34-S)*

The Senate also approved, without opposition, the House-passed amendment to prohibit OSHA from inspecting businesses within six months of the time they had been inspected by a state occupational safety and health agency.

Public Service Jobs

Responding to growing fears of a recession, the Senate rejected an amendment by Lawton Chiles, D-Fla., that would have eliminated 100,000 countercyclical public service jobs by cutting $505 million from CETA Title VI funding. The effect of the amendment would have been to accelerate the process of reducing the number of jobs, already under way, so that by the end of fiscal 1980 there would have been only 100,000 jobs, instead of the 200,000 recommended by the Appropriations Committee.

The amendment was supported by Budget Committee Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, who warned that the appropriations bills were in danger of exceeding the spending levels set by the budget resolution.

Opponents said the amendment would cut back on a major anti-recession program right before an expected increase in the unemployment rate. But supporters said the worst of the recession would be over before the additional job cutbacks began to take effect.

The amendment was tabled on a 50-43 vote. *(Vote 194, p. 34-S)*

The Senate approved a Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to prohibit Title VI jobs in areas with unemployment rates below 4 percent.

Quotas

As it did in 1978, the Senate approved an amendment to prohibit HEW from enforcing racial or sexual quotas in admissions to educational institutions.

S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, R-Calif., first proposed a broader amendment, which would have banned enforcement of racial or sexual timetables, goals, ratios or other numerical requirements as well as quotas.

Hayakawa argued that the ratios and goals ordered by HEW were really the same thing as quotas. "What it boils down to is treating some people more favorably and others less so because of their skin color," he said.

But the majority of the Senate, while willing to go along with the Supreme Court ban on racial quotas in admissions, was unwilling to negate ratios and goals used in affirmative action strategies. So Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., proposed a substitute amendment to prohibit only the admissions quotas, leaving the other affirmative action policies alone.

The Hayakawa amendment was rejected easily, 18-70. The Javits amendment then was adopted on a 72-17 vote. *(Votes 197, 198, p. 34-S)*

Bills Compared

Following is a comparison of the amounts approved by the House and Senate for the Departments of Labor and HEW and related agencies:

Agency	House-passed Amount	Senate-passed Amount
Department of Labor	$11,358,695,000	$11,183,225,000
Department of Health, Education and Welfare		
Health Services Administration	1,318,343,000	1,342,642,000
Center for Disease Control	264,915,000	298,415,000
National Institutes of Health	3,381,030,000	3,367,757,000
Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration	715,267,000	715,267,000
Health Resources Administration	440,017,000	645,648,000
Assistant Secretary for Health	270,431,000	281,948,000
Health Care Financing Administration	20,704,900,000	20,721,400,000
Education Division	12,787,965,000	11,669,303,000
Social Security Administration	15,101,281,000	15,169,281,000
Special Institutions	191,932,000	191,932,000
Assistant Secretary for Human Development	5,492,936,000	5,595,573,000
Departmental Management	262,460,000	262,460,000
Less waste, fraud and abuse	— 500,000,000	0
Less consultant reduction	0	—34,000
Total, HEW	$60,431,477,000	$60,227,626,000
Related Agencies	1,283,294,000	1,548,394,000
Grand Total	$73,073,466,000	$72,959,245,000

Conference Action

Conferees July 30 reached agreement on all items in the bill except the limitation on federal funding for abortions. They filed their report the next day (H Rept 96-400).

The total appropriation approved by conferees was $72.5 billion, less than the amount in either the House or

Senate bills. The conferees accepted the House's $500 million "waste, fraud and abuse" reduction in funding.

The House approved the conference report by voice vote Aug. 2, but continued to insist on its tough anti-abortion stand.

The Senate reaffirmed its relatively liberal stance on abortion funding by a 57-31 vote Sept. 24, after rejecting the House provision on a 33-54 vote. *(Votes 303, 304, p. 51-S)*

During debate on the issue, Senate abortion opponents signaled their intention to press for the House's provision allowing abortion only to save the mother's life, even if it resulted in another drawn-out fight requiring dozens of roll-call votes. "Even if there were 26,000 votes on this issue, it still would be worthwhile, because what we are talking about is innocent human life," said Helms.

The House voted again Oct. 30 to insist on its disagreement with the Senate on the abortion issue. In an attempt to get the Labor-HEW funding bill cleared, Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, moved that the House go along with the compromise abortion provision agreed to in the continuing resolution, allowing abortions to save the life of the mother or in cases of rape or incest. But the House rejected his amendment, 187-219. *(Vote 550, p. 160-H)*

Since the continuing resolution would continue funding for the agencies in the bill through fiscal 1980, no further attempts were made to reach agreement on HR 4389. ▮

Military Construction Funds

Congress Nov. 19 cleared for the president a $3.77 billion fiscal 1980 military construction appropriations bill (HR 4391 — PL 96-130). Although moderating somewhat the position originally taken by the House, Congress in the final version of the bill insisted that European members of NATO start paying a bigger share of the cost of keeping U.S. troops in Western Europe.

As enacted, the bill appropriated $102 million less than the administration requested, $119 million less than the amount approved by the Senate and $288 million more than that recommended by the House.

The bill included $58 million — which was requested after the House acted on the bill — for construction related to development of a new intercontinental missile, the M-X. HR 4391 also incorporated a Senate provision stipulating that none of the M-X money could be used to commit the United States to any one plan for launching and housing the new missile. President Carter backed the controversial "racetrack" version of M-X, but other launching systems — or basing modes — were favored by many defense hardliners in Congress.

House Action

COMMITTEE

As reported by the House Appropriations Committee June 7 (H Rept 96-246), HR 4391 appropriated $3,481,991,000 for military construction projects in fiscal 1980.

NATO Projects

In 1977 and 1978 House Appropriations had demanded that NATO's common construction fund (known as the Infrastructure program) begin paying for certain U.S. construction projects that were designed to beef up the defense of Western Europe. The panel insisted that the United States should not have to bear the entire cost of improvements to the common defense of the alliance. *(See box, p. 250)*

In presenting its fiscal 1980 request, the administration pointed out that NATO had expanded the Infrastructure program to include funding of a U.S. project called POMCUS. This was a program to store tanks and other heavy equipment for three additional U.S. divisions in Europe. The divisions would remain in the United States, but would be flown to NATO countries to pick up their equipment in the event of a crisis in Europe.

But the administration also warned Congress that it was to America's advantage not to include barracks construction in NATO's Infrastructure program. U.S. forces were only 10 percent of the NATO contingent in peacetime, and the administration pointed out that it was cheaper to pay the full cost of building barracks for the U.S. troops than to pay the U.S. share of building barracks for troops of the entire alliance.

In its report on the fiscal 1981 construction appropriations bill, the House committee commended the administration for relying more on the Infrastructure program. But it cut $28.8 million from the administration's request for new barracks to house additional U.S. troops intended for West Germany to strengthen American artillery batteries. Instead of taking unilateral action to strengthen the alliance, the administration should seek agreement on an alliance-wide buildup, the committee argued. It insisted that German assistance should be sought for the cost of housing the new U.S. forces.

To underscore its view that the Pentagon should negotiate for increased host-nation support of U.S. forces abroad, the committee also cut $5.7 million earmarked for payment of property taxes in West Germany and Britain and $18.3 million for pollution control projects around the world.

NATO Construction. The committee approved the administration's request for $150 million to pay the U.S. share of NATO Infrastructure construction in fiscal 1980.

Fiscal 1980 Construction Funding

	Carter Request	Final Action
Army	$ 792,634,000	$ 725,649,000
Navy	552,953,000	567,000,000
Air Force	547,267,000	565,456,000
Defense Agencies	253,677,000	192,350,000
Reserve and National Guard	100,000,000	120,000,000
Foreign currency fluctuation fund	0	100,000,000
Family housing	1,743,955,000*	1,622,122,000*
Homeowners' assistance fund	5,000,000	1,000,000
Total, new budget authority	$3,872,061,000	$3,770,152,000

** Includes $123,425,000 for debt reduction that is not counted in the total for new budget authority.*

But it warned that the request would be inadequate for the proposed programs, given the current inflation rates.

The panel insisted it would not appropriate additional funds beyond the amount requested. The Pentagon should make up any shortfall by collecting from the Infrastructure fund money that was owed the United States for projects that Washington had unilaterally paid for, it said.

Dollar Devaluation. The committee appropriated $100 million, and transferred an additional $25 million previously appropriated but not yet spent, to create a fund to protect overseas construction projects from the decline in the value of the dollar against local currencies. The fund would be used to offset any shortfall between the time money was appropriated for a project and the time the it actually was spent.

Dependents Abroad

The committee sought to reduce NATO costs by suggesting that the U.S. Army avoid the added cost of supporting military dependents residing in Europe. It recommended that troops be transferred to Europe for only 12- to 18-month tours without their families. Normal tours of duty were three years and troops were permitted to bring their families with them.

The panel said facilities to support dependents were too expensive and that there was too great a risk that families would be trapped in Europe in case war broke out.

To make its point, the committee denied $19.7 million requested for dependents' schools in Europe and Japan. It also cut $20 million from $104.9 million requested to lease dependents' housing overseas. And it cut $50 million from $114.6 million requested to buy furnishings for dependents' housing.

Base Closings and Realignments

The committee complained that the Pentagon had presented inadequate and inconsistent data to justify several proposed base closings and civilian personnel cutbacks at certain military facilities. It ordered that data justifying future base realignments incorporate the kind of cost-benefit analysis used by the administration in proposing public works projects to Congress. And it ordered the Pentagon to include in its calculations estimated social costs to other government agencies as a result of a base realignment, such as unemployment payments, mortgage foreclosures and revenue losses. *(Military construction authorization, National Security chapter)*

Space Shuttle

The panel deleted the entire amount requested — $78.2 million — for construction connected with the space shuttle program at Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif., from which all military-related shuttle missions were to be flown.

The committee insisted this would not affect the launch date of the first shuttle trip since it had already been delayed by design and construction problems.

FLOOR

The House passed HR 4391 June 18 by a a 366-21 vote, sustaining the committee's cuts without debate. *(Vote 234, p. 70-H)*

The only debate on the floor involved $29.9 million in the committee bill for projects in Panama to relocate and consolidate U.S. troops in the Canal Zone as required under the 1978 Panama Canal treaties.

Appropriations Committee leaders took pains to emphasize that the construction was for the benefit of U.S. forces that would remain in Panama until the year 2000. Opponents of the treaties, who were gathering their forces for an effort to modify the canal treaty implementing legislation, agreed not to oppose the funding recommendation in HR 4391, and no amendments were offered. *(Panama Canal legislation, Foreign Policy chapter)*

Senate Action

COMMITTEE

The Senate Appropriations Committee reported HR 4391 Nov. 8 (S Rept 96-407). It recommended fiscal 1980 appropriations totaling $3,889,143,000. That amount was $17 million more than the administration request and $407 more than the House approved.

The Senate panel repealed a House-passed provision that would have barred U.S. participation in any NATO construction project unless the contract for the production of structural steel for the project was separated from the rest of the construction contract. This was intended to give U.S. steel producers a realistic chance of bidding for these steel contracts.

The Senate panel substituted a provision allowing the U.S. government to contribute to NATO projects without separate steel contracts if the U.S. government made an effort to obtain a separate contract and certified to Congress that it was in the national interest to accept a combined contract.

The Senate panel also dropped the House committee amendment to establish a $100-million fund to protect overseas construction projects against price increases caused by a decline in the international value of the dollar. The committee rejected the House plan in favor of paying for devaluation costs as usual through congressionally monitored reprogramming of funds appropriated for other purposes.

FLOOR

The Senate passed the $3.9 billion bill Nov. 13 after reaffirming its insistence that the Carter administration defer a final decision on the launching system for the M-X mobile missile. The vote on passage was 91-2. *(Vote 397, p. 66-S)*

By voice vote, the Senate adopted an amendment by Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, stipulating that none of the $57 million in the bill for M-X missile-related construction could be channeled solely to promote the Carter-backed launching system. (Another $1 million had been added for impact aid to communities that would be affected by M-X construction.)

On Nov. 8 the Senate had approved similar restrictive language involving $670 million in M-X development funds contained in the fiscal 1980 Defense Department appropriations bill (HR 5359). That bill, with the Senate provision, was cleared by Congress Dec. 13. *(Defense appropriations bill, p. 248)*

Conference Report

The conference report on HR 4391 (H Rept 96-626) was filed Nov. 15.

NATO Cost-sharing. Conferees agreed with the House position that the other NATO countries should pay

more of the overhead costs of housing U.S. troops on their territory.

While urging the Defense Department to make greater efforts toward that end, they approved $15.2 million for the United States to build new barracks to house the artillery units being sent to West Germany. But Bonn should pay for housing any more U.S. reinforcements, conferees said.

Countries deriving greater military security from the presence of U.S. forces should pay for the cost of pollution abatement at facilities housing those forces, they added. And under no circumstances should the U.S. government pay property taxes to foreign governments, conferees insisted. *(See military construction and procurement stories, National Security chapter)*

Dependents Overseas. In hopes of cutting down the number of dependents accompanying military personnel assigned overseas, the House had reduced substantially the budget request for overseas school construction. The conferees restored $7.8 million for various school projects needed to relieve special hardships among dependents.

Currency Devaluation. Despite the reluctance of Senate conferees, the conference committee retained a House-passed plan setting up a $100 million fund to be used to pay the extra cost incurred by U.S. overseas military construction programs because of the decline of the value of the dollar.

The Senate had warned that such a fund would not be subject to regular congressional oversight and would remove the incentive for the Pentagon to accurately forecast cost increases.

Space Shuttle. Overriding the House, which had provided no funds, conferees approved $74.7 million, nearly the entire request, for facilities connected with the space shuttle. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration-built shuttle is planned to launch all military satellites, including reconnaissance satellites.

The funds appropriated in the bill were for launching and landing facilities at Vandenberg Air Force Base and for a control center at the the Johnson Space Flight Center in Houston, Texas. The control center would direct shuttle missions carrying out secret military missions.

Other funds for space shuttle development were provided in the fiscal 1980 NASA appropriation contained in the HUD-independent agencies appropriations bill (HR 4394). *(Details, p. 207)*

M-X Impact. House conferees accepted the Senate provision that prevented any funds from being used to commit the United States to a particular launching mode for the M-X missile.

House conferees also endorsed a Senate provision allocating $1 million to the state and local governments that were potential sites for basing the M-X. The money was to be used for studies and plans assessing the environmental and socio-economic impacts of constructing the missile system.

Final Action

The House adopted the conference report Nov. 16 by a 318-33 vote, and the Senate concurred Nov. 19 by voice vote, completing congressional action. *(Vote 597, p. 178-H)* ▮

Defense Funding

Congress Dec. 13 completed action on the fiscal 1980 Defense Department appropriations bill. The bill was signed into law Dec. 21 (HR 5359 — PL 96-154).

The final version provided $130.98 billion in new budget authority. This was just $1.34 billion less than the administration requested for 1980, the smallest congressional cut in a Defense Department budget request in more than a decade. Counting reallocated funds appropriated in earlier years, total funding made available to the military was $131.4 billion, $988.8 million less than the amount sought by President Carter.

Although Congress' overall cut was modest, it made substantial changes in how the appropriations were allocated. In most of these instances, money was added to buy more weapons that the Pentagon requested, in some cases to produce types of weapons that were not included in the administration's budget request. The Navy and the reserve forces were the major beneficiaries of these additions, which included:

- $332.3 million for a second nuclear attack submarine. The fiscal 1980 budget had requested $364.1 million for one ship. These ships were designed to hunt Soviet submarines.
- $465 million for 16 additional carrier-based fighter planes. The budget had requested funds for 39 fighters.
- $201 million for 20 light bombers and transport planes for the Air National Guard.
- $477 million, which was added to the budget request of $1.62 billion for an aircraft carrier. The addition was for the purchase of another *Nimitz*-class nuclear-powered carrier, as authorized in 1980, instead of the oil-powered version. The larger nuclear ship carried 90 planes instead of the 60 carried on the smaller ship favored by Carter.

The selected increases for weaponry were offset by cuts, totaling nearly $1 billion, in funds allocated for day-to-day operating and maintenance costs. However, many of these cuts affected routine administrative activities rather than combat-readiness of forces in the field. For example, $150 million was cut from the $300 million requested for studies and analyses performed by outside contractors.

Another $50 million was cut from the amount requested to pay overtime wages to civilian Pentagon employees. And Congress cut $58 million from a bonus retirement account. Under federal regulations, civilian employees who were about to retire were allowed to take a portion of their accumulated sick leave in the form of cash payouts.

The reductions for overtime and sick leave pay were intended to reinforce the demand of the House and Senate Appropriations committees that the Pentagon exercise tighter managerial control over such payments.

The House adopted the conference report on Dec. 12 by voice vote. On a point of order claiming that it had not been authorized, the House rejected one item in the bill providing $5 million for improvements to a missile warning radar system in North Dakota. The Senate completed action on the bill Dec. 13 when it adopted the amended conference report by voice vote.

End of Post-Vietnam Era

The relatively small spending cut in the fiscal 1980 request appeared to mark the end of the post-Vietnam War era in Congress' treatment of the defense budget. As the

Vietnam War began to abate in the early 1970s, Congress began to make sizable cuts — reaching $7.4 billion in fiscal 1976 — in the annual defense funding bill. *(1975 Almanac p. 873)*

But by the end of 1979, there no longer was serious talk of cutting the Pentagon budget. The only question was how fast it should grow.

Concern about Soviet global intentions had been growing on Capitol Hill ever since the 1973 Middle East War and Moscow's involvement in Angola and other African countries in the mid-1970s. During the 1979 Senate hearings on the SALT II treaty, that suspicion was magnified by growing alarm over the Soviet buildup in nuclear and conventional armaments.

Defense Spending Trend

On the day Congress cleared the fiscal 1980 defense bill, Defense Secretary Harold Brown briefed the Senate Armed Services Committee on a proposed $158 billion military budget for fiscal 1981. That amount, if it ultimately is approved, would be 5.5 percent higher than the amount requested for fiscal 1980 after allowing for inflation. And it was pointed out that this sum could go up substantially if the 1980 inflation rate were higher than the administration projected.

Provisions

As signed into law, PL 96-154 appropriated the following amounts for fiscal 1980:

	Administration Request	Final Appropriation
Military Personnel	$ 29,096,400,000	$ 28,768,901,000
Military Pensions	11,451,500,000	11,451,500,000
Operations and Maintainance	42,710,571,000	41,713,497,000
Procurement	35,420,200,000	35,528,139,000
Proceeds from foreign sales	(—)	(106,000,000)
Transfers from prior appropriations	(—)	(202,760,000)
Research and Development	13,571,000,000	13,449,459,000
Transfers from prior appropriations	(20,100,000)	(61,886,000)
Special Foreign Currency Program	6,667,000	6,667,000
Related Agencies	64,227,000	63,127,000
Total, new budget authority	$132,320,565,000	$130,981,290,000
Total funding available	$132,340,665,000	$131,351,876,000

House Committee Action

The House Appropriations Committee cut $2.3 billion from President Carter's request of $132.3 billion before reporting the bill (H Rept 96-450) on Sept. 20. The request did not include military construction costs, which were funded in a separate bill (HR 4391), or $2.9 billion for routine pay raises, which was expected to be added to a future supplemental fiscal 1980 appropriations bill.

Of the $2.3 billion cut, the committee said it had "no doubt that the funds provided are adequate in amount to finance the military capabilities required by the United States."

The hundreds of adjustments made by the panel in the budget request were justifiable on grounds of prudent management, the committee said. "To pay more than a weapon is worth does not improve the performance of that weapon," the committee added. "To add layer upon layer of headquarters personnel does not improve and may reduce the effectiveness of field forces. To spend hundreds of millions of dollars to develop similar weapons for more than one service does not always add a commensurate improvement in the performance of those weapons."

Defense Subcommittee Chairman Joseph P. Addabbo, D-N.Y., said Aug. 2 that the panel had not cut deeply enough. "We could have cut at least $2 billion more or utilized unobligated funds [money appropriated in earlier years but not yet committed] without harming any of the weapons systems vital to national defense," he said.

But in additional views contained in the committee report the Defense Subcommittee's four GOP members along with Bill Chappell Jr., D-Fla., challenged the committee's claim that the bill was adequate. The bill would not eliminate serious shortages in warships, Navy aircraft and communications equipment, they said. Repeated deferral of essential procurement would only compound the problem.

"There is always the promise of 'getting well' in the outyears," they said. "But history tells us that will not happen because there is only so much money available for defense. . . . Future essential programs fall by the wayside in order to procure a few years from now what should have been procured this year."

Operations and Maintenance

The committee's approval of $41 billion for operations and maintenance (O&M) was the result of dozens of changes in the $42.7 billion request. Reductions of $2 billion were partially offset by additions of $300 million.

The O&M account, responsible for financing U.S. forces in the field, was the portion of the Pentagon's budget most directly related to "combat-readiness." But the account also encompassed the countless overhead costs that accompanied a bureaucracy having a labor force of three million persons.

Nearly $900 million of the Appropriations Committee's largest cuts were directed at the administrative expenses, which appeared to be far-removed from having any direct effect on combat-readiness. Reductions included:

- $116.4 million in overtime pay for civilian Pentagon employees;
- $98 million to limit the use of accumulated sick leave just before retirement for civilian Pentagon employees;
- $90 million for travel costs not related to duty reassignments;
- $65 million for administrative costs associated with foreign military sales that the committee insisted should be paid by the overseas purchasers;
- $300 million for studies and analyses performed under contract by private firms.

Only $65.4 million of the committee reductions were for high priority projects directly related to U.S. combat strength in Europe. And these reflected the committee's long-held position that the European members of the NATO alliance should pay a larger share of the cost of keeping U.S. forces in Europe for mutual defense.

Another $40.6 million was cut from estimated expenses associated with the proposed withdrawal of U.S. troops

from South Korea. Those funds became unnecessary when President Carter announced July 20 he was suspending the withdrawal.

In additional views accompanying the report, Jack F. Kemp, R-N.Y., warned that the committee's cuts in the O&M items "would undermine the ability of the armed forces to respond to a major military contingency for years to come." Kemp conceded that many of the panel's reductions were justified. The problem, he said, was that the budget request had been too low to maintain combat readiness in the first place, and "no serious attempt was made [by the committee] to provide adequate funding for a host of areas inadequately funded in the O&M account."

Combat Readiness. The services regarded an adequate operating regimen — flying the planes and steaming the ships to keep their crews in trim — as a key element of combat readiness. The committee recommended $4.4 billion to pay for the amount of flying and sailing time requested.

These two functions were expected to account for the lion's share — about 80 percent — of the Defense Department's $5.3 billion petroleum costs in fiscal 1980. Nearly 60 percent would be allocated for aircraft fuel and 20 percent for naval ship fuel. The defense establishment consumed about 2.5 percent of all petroleum products used in the United States annually.

The committee approved the $5.3 billion budgeted for petroleum costs. Included in this amount was $888.5 million requested in Carter's Sept. 18 supplemental budget request to pay for unforeseen increases in petroleum costs.

Equipment Overhauls. The committee also approved essentially unchanged $7.2 billion requested for major overhauls of tanks, ships and aircraft. That amount was expected to reduce further a backlog dating from the mid-1970s of major equipment overdue for routine maintenance. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 135)*

The committee added $136 million to cope with problems besetting the jet engine that powered the Air Force's two newest fighters, the F-15 and F-16. Included was $30 million for maintenance and $106 million for spare parts.

The committee told the Air Force and Navy to study several possible efficiencies in their maintenance procedures, including several that were used by civilian ship and aircraft operators. Scheduling major overhauls less frequently and relying on centralized maintenance facilities rather than on combat personnel for certain kinds of repair work were two options to explore, the panel said.

Blue-Collar Pay Cap. The committee approved a provision to hold to 7 percent wage increases for the 400,000 federal blue-collar workers. The Pentagon employed about 70 percent of these workers.

For several years the executive branch had sought legislation to revise the federal Wage Board's pay formula, which was intended to give blue-collar workers the locally prevailing hourly wage for their craft. The Ford and Carter administrations maintained, and the Armed Services and Appropriations committees generally agreed, that the formula actually overpaid these workers. But each year proposed changes were buried in congressional committees sensitive to the concerns of federal workers.

The committee justified its proposed pay cap by noting that the president had already imposed a similar cap on Civil Service employees and military personnel. The president had no authority to change the Wage Board's pay recommendations. The wage cap would save about $200 million in fiscal 1980, the committee said.

Sharing NATO Defense Costs

The House Appropriations Committee often voiced its suspicion that the European members of NATO wanted Washington to underwrite an unfair share of the joint defense burden. Committee recommendations on certain NATO-related projects in the defense appropriations bill reflected that belief.

Air Transport. The panel approved $73.6 million requested for a program called CRAF that would reimburse commercial airlines that modified their wide-body passenger jets for speedy conversion in time of war. The panel had previously endorsed the idea, but had denied funding for specific CRAF programs. The committee also asked the Pentagon to press the West European members to initiate similar plans.

Overhead Costs. The committee for several years had insisted that the alliance as a whole pay more of the cost of combat-related facilities needed by U.S. forces stationed in Europe. That policy clashed with the administration's desire to expand equipment stockpiles in Europe more quickly than it could be accomplished by the cumbersome NATO funding procedure.

The committee cut $10 million of the $99.4 million requested for airlifting to Europe tanks and other equipment needed for an entire Army division. In case of war, the division's troops would be flown to Europe to pick up the equipment. Enough stored equipment already was in Europe to equip two divisions, and the administration planned to add equipment for three more divisions by fiscal 1982. The House panel, however, told the Pentagon to deploy equipment only for the first of the three proposed divisions. It suggested the other two would become unnecessary if some of the European members modernized their own army units.

The committee deleted the $23.6 million requested to pay a corporation — owned in part by the government of Luxembourg — to stockpile military equipment. It condemned the plan as a ploy to skirt the normal military construction appropriations process. The storage facilities were typical of the kind that should be acquired through NATO's common construction fund, the panel said.

Pershing Missile. The Army's request for $144.8 million to develop a new version of the Pershing nuclear missile was cut by $28.8 million. These funds were intended to pay for modifying the missile to increase its range from 400 miles to about 1,000 miles. The extended range would allow the missile (called Pershing II) to hit Moscow from launch sites in West Germany.

The administration maintained that the NATO allies wanted the long-range missile to offset Soviet nuclear missiles that could hit Western Europe. And it predicted — accurately — that the allies would agree in December to deploy the long-range missile if the United States decided to develop it.

But the appropriations panel was unwilling to fund the long-range version until NATO formally decided to deploy the weapon.

Personnel Issues

Dependents Living Abroad. The committee tried to defer a showdown on the controversial issue of how many military dependents should be allowed to accompany their

spouses on overseas assignments. The panel set the ceiling at 375,000, slightly below the number of dependents currently at overseas posts.

In considering the fiscal 1980 defense authorization bill (S 428 — PL 96-107), Senate Armed Services wanted to stick to the existing, considerably lower ceiling, and thus force the Pentagon to call some dependents home. *(Defense authorization bill, National Security chapter)*

The House Appropriations Committee agreed with the Senate panel that there should be some reduction in the number of overseas dependents, particularly among the 44,000 whose presence abroad was not officially authorized. It added a provision barring unauthorized dependents from using overseas post exchanges, schools and other facilities, except emergency medical care, after Dec. 1.

The Army argued that dependents were vital to troop morale and discipline in Europe, where assignments usually lasted two or three years. The Army claimed such relatively long assignments were essential if it was expected to keep nearly a quarter of its personnel in Europe.

However, an Army study recommended that first-term enlistees joining up for a three-year hitch be assigned to Europe for 18 months instead of 31. That was expected to cost an additional $50 million annually in travel expenses. But the study claimed that shorter tours would improve morale and re-enlistment rates and reduce discipline problems among younger enlistees.

The committee endorsed the 18-month policy. However, it was not expected to affect the dependents question. Although dependents would not accompany enlistees on short assignments, families of junior enlistees comprised only a small fraction of overseas dependents.

Medical Services. For operating costs of the Pentagon's medical care programs, the committee recommended $4.05 billion, $58 million less than the budget request. But it warned that there would be serious shortages in medical services in Europe during an emergency, including inadequate transport for evacuating casualties; not enough hospital beds and operating rooms; and inadequate planning for maximum use of the facilities that were available.

To offset some of the problems, the panel added to the bill $6.7 million to ship to Europe four prefabricated, 1,000-bed hospitals that could be erected quickly in wartime.

To increase the number of doctors in the services, the committee approved the Defense Department's request for a change in the military's medical school scholarship program. It agreed to increase the monthly stipend to keep pace with the cost-of-living, and it authorized graduates of the scholarship program to receive an annual bonus of $9,000. Formerly, the bonus was available only to certain other military doctors. Together these two provisions would cost $16 million.

The committee also ordered the Pentagon to reassign some doctors from administrative duties to medical duties. And the panel ordered the Army to concentrate more of its doctors in areas where they would serve a higher proportion of active duty personnel rather than retirees. It cut $10 million (about 11 percent) from the Army's hospital operations budget and recommended that two or three stateside Army hospitals in areas with the fewest active duty soldiers be shut down.

Flying Careers. The committee ordered the Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps to train some pilots who would not be assigned to any non-flying duty. These services had warned in recent years that too many jet pilots — whose training cost to the government was about $800,000 per person — were leaving the service as soon as their legal obligation ended. That boosted the cost of training new pilots and lowered the average level of experience in the force.

The committee felt that the services' personnel policies might be alienating pilots whose career goal was simply to fly airplanes. Almost all officers deliberately were assigned a wide variety of jobs so that, theoretically, each officer was groomed as a potential chief of staff, the panel said. Only the Army, which has full-time pilots with the rank of warrant officer, offered an attractive career for persons who just wanted to fly, according to the committee. The panel ordered the other services to experiment with the Army's system.

In a related move, the committee recommended a one-year moratorium on the Pentagon's policy of requiring an officer to leave the service if he were not promoted within a certain period of time. "During a time of critical pilot shortages, 280 pilots had been forced out in the last two years due solely to the up-or-out policy," the panel noted.

Recruiting and Advertising. To recruit 292,000 males needed in fiscal 1980, the committee recommended $563.7 million, $9 million less than the request.

Panel Fights Cannibalization

The Air Force committed 15,474 acts of cannibalization in 1978, according to the House Appropriations Committee.

The victims were the $16 million F-15 jet fighters, widely regarded as the world's finest airplane. The dastardly deeds consisted of removing parts from some F-15s and, because of a chronic shortage of spare parts, using them on other F-15s. Besides rendering the cannibalized plane inoperable, the procedure was time-consuming and slowed down maintenance operations.

A large part of the problem was the plane's twin engines (called F-100s), which needed more frequent maintenance than had been expected.

In hopes of reducing the incidence of F-15 cannibalization, the House Appropriations Committee added to the fiscal 1980 defense appropriations bill $106 million to boost the inventory of spare parts for the engines and another $30 million to speed up engine repairs.

Reserves and National Guard

Some $5.35 billion was recommended for the reserves, $137 million more than requested. Much of the increase was from the committee's addition of $193.8 million (offset in part by other reductions) for the Navy Reserve.

For the fourth consecutive year, the committee rejected a proposal to cut that force to about 50,000; the existing level was 87,000. And it ordered the Navy to continue operating 15 older destroyers manned partly by reservists. The Pentagon wanted to decommission 20 of the reserve destroyers, claiming they were militarily useless. But the House panel insisted that with some relatively inexpensive modifications, the ships would be on a par with the escort frigates currently being built. It noted that the Navy had far fewer anti-submarine ships than were needed.

To continue operating and maintaining 15 of the destroyers, the committee added $98.8 million to the bill. But it made various cuts in the active duty force budgets to pay for the $95 million needed to maintain the Navy Reserve at

to lawmakers strongly. "The committee hopes the method of financing for the Navy Reserve will convince the secretary of defense . . . that Congress intends the strength of the Navy Reserve to exceed at the 37,000 level."

The Appropriations panel was somewhat less generous with the reserves than was the Armed Services Committee in overall programs, recommending only six of the 12 A-7E bomber bodies and none of the eight C-130 transports recommended by Armed Services for the reserve units. This amounted to a $120 million cut in the reserve overall program recommended by the authorizing committee.

The committee endorsed the Army's plan to assign an additional 7,000 active duty soldiers to Army Reserve and National Guard units to augment their combat readiness, but it approved only half the $12.8 million requested, telling the Army to draw half the added personnel out of the "continuing state of reduction and realignment organizations" that was supposed to increase the combat readiness of the reserve units.

Weapons Procurement and Research

The committee recommended a $30.2 billion arms procurement budget for the Pentagon in fiscal 1980. This was about $300.2 million less than the administration requested. The committee figure included $282.6 million appropriated in previous years but never spent, and $106 million in proceeds from foreign arms sales.

On nearly all major weapons issues — including the substitution of a $2.1 billion nuclear carrier for the smaller $1.6 billion conventionally powered ship requested by President Carter — the panel concurred with the recommendations of the House Armed Services Committee in the joint defense authorization bill.

'Fly Before You Buy.' "The Department of Defense has begun to move away from its basic tenets and principles of weapons system acquisition and has virtually ignored the 'fly-before-buy' concept," the committee complained. Former Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird used the "fly before you buy" slogan in the early 1970s to dramatize his commitment to ensuring that a new weapon would be fully tested before production began.

The panel conceded that crash programs sometimes were necessary to meet grave military threats. But it apparently held that only in the area of strategic weapons could such an emergency arise. "There is no justification for applying these unique and urgent practices to the development and production of aircraft, tanks, helicopters, missiles and other military equipment. The exception is not the rule," it concluded.

"Congress should be presented with certain minimum basic data on which a reasoned judgment can be made," including test program results and overall cost estimates, the committee said. But it made exceptions for two high priority weapons the Army wanted to produce despite technical difficulties: the panel approved $577 million for 352 XM-1 tanks and $225.4 million for about 90 XM-2 troop carriers.

The panel also added $31.8 million for more testing of the tank and for a diesel engine to power it should the vehicle's gas turbine engine prove unworkable.

For several other high priority weapons, however, the committee refused to appropriate procurement money, insisting that more development work was needed. Among the cuts made were:

- $61.9 million requested to begin production of an artillery rocket designed to blunt massed, Soviet attacks. But $60.2 million requested to continue development of the rocket was approved, however.
- $56.8 million requested for a new air-launched missile that was intended to destroy ground-based radar stations. The committee added $10 million to the $44.6 million requested for continued research.
- $[illegible] million requested for five ocean-going tugboats that could tow a huge underwater listening device to detect submarines hundreds of miles away. There still were problems with the listening device, and the committee was skeptical of plans to employ civilian crews on the ships.

The committee's other weapons-related decisions included the following:

Strategic Warfare. The committee approved most of the strategic war-related weapons requests. And it concurred in a $[illegible] million authorization House Armed Services had approved for a sophisticated radar-jammer for the B-52 bomber.

Some $[illegible] million requested for Project ELF — an underground radio antenna for communicating with submerged missile submarines — was deleted. And the committee cut another $15 million from the Navy's research budget, directing the Navy instead to use the $15 million appropriated but not spent for this project in fiscal 1979.

Arguing that there was little need to keep anti-bomber interceptor planes on alert in the southern United States, the panel cut $3.4 million from the air defense budget.

The radar station in North Dakota built for the now dismantled anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system added little to U.S. defenses, the committee argued, and it cut $12.6 million needed to continue to operate the facility.

Satellites. Four programs to manufacture or develop various space satellites were cut by a total of $124.6 million. The committee said two more navigation satellites and two new communications satellites were unnecessary given the number already in orbit. Reiterating its long-held position that the Pentagon should investigate the possible savings that could be realized by leasing commercial satellites rather than buying them, the panel canceled a program to develop a new communications satellite.

Ships, Planes. Although it agreed with the Armed Services Committee's decision to build another nuclear aircraft carrier rather than an oil-powered ship, the Appropriations Committee funded only one of the two nuclear attack submarines authorized. One had been requested.

The committee approved $180 million that had been added by the defense authorization bill to continue development of an improved version of the Harrier vertical-take-off bomber for the Marines. But it reiterated its opposition to forcing the Navy to use helicopter carriers equipped with these planes as mini-aircraft carriers.

Warning that far too few combat planes were being budgeted for Navy aircraft carriers, the committee added to the bill $550 million, as authorized by House Armed Services, for an additional 27 fighter planes. And it added $88 million recommended by Senate Armed Services for another six A-6E all-weather bombers.

Intelligence Activities

Intelligence programs were discussed in a classified annex to the committee report.

For national intelligence programs — those used by national policy-makers — the committee disclosed that it recommended 38 separate increases and decreases, for a net reduction of $105.6 million. The panel reported that witnesses had testified that the intelligence budget was ade-

quate to verify the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II). "Indeed, if there was any problem noted by the committee in regard to SALT verification, it was that SALT verification was being used to justify intelligence activities which were only tangentially related to SALT verification," the panel wrote.

For programs used by military commanders to gain detailed tactical intelligence, the committee recommended a net reduction of $351.5 million. Nearly half of that cut was through cancellation of the five submarine detection ships mentioned above.

The committee approved $11.5 million for the 245-member staff that helped the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) allocate budgets and tasks among the U.S. intelligence agencies. A $1.1 million reduction was made in the request for contract research.

The staff was set up to provide the DCI with an impartial cadre to assist in decisions affecting the bureaucratic interests of the various intelligence agencies. But the committee complained that, until recently, the staff had consisted predominantly of personnel on short-term loan from the agencies affected.

The panel expressed satisfaction that finally there was a majority of permanent staff members preparing the intelligence community budget. But it warned that there still were too many people "on loan" in the group that allocated jobs among intelligence agencies.

Other Provisions

Legislative restrictions in the bill included the following:

- A ban on the use of any funds to perform abortions, except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. This was the same provision incorporated in the House version of the fiscal 1980 Labor-HEW appropriations bill.
- A prohibition on the announced plan to end Army basic training at Ft. Dix, N.J.

House Floor Action

HR 5359 was passed Sept. 28 after three days of debate by a vote of 305-49. *(Vote 474, p. 138-H)*

The House-approved bill was about $2.4 billion below the president's revised request of $132.3 billion. (In September Carter had asked for an extra $2.7 billion to pay for unanticipated price increases.)

During three days of debate on the bill (Sept. 26-28), the House considered eight amendments:

- By Henry B. Gonzales, D-Texas, to delete the 7 percent pay-cap on federal blue-collar workers that was added to the bill by the Appropriations Committee. Adopted by voice vote.
- By Joseph P. Addabbo, D-N.Y., to repeal the so-called Maybank amendment — a provision in defense appropriations bills since 1954 that prohibited the Pentagon from paying more than the lowest possible price for an item — in order to permit the channelling of defense contracts into areas of the country with high unemployment. Rejected 174-187. *(Vote 473, p. 138-H)*
- By Richard C. White, D-Texas, to restore $10 million cut by the committee from the Army hospitals' operating budget. Adopted, 217-147. *(Vote 471, p. 136-H)*

The appropriations panel had argued that a disproportionate number of Army doctors were assigned to hospitals that served far more military dependents and retirees than active duty soldiers. It proposed the $10 million cut to lend weight to its recommendations that the least "soldier-used" hospitals be phased out.

But White warned that these hospitals, including Brooke Army Medical Center in San Antonio, provided Army doctors with highly specialized medical training. The availability of such training was an important incentive for physicians to stay in the Army, he said.

- By William L. Dickinson, R-Ala., to merge the Navy's basic helicopter pilot training program with basic training for all other military pilots under Army control. Rejected, 131-244. *(Vote 470, p. 136-H)*
- By Bill Nichols, D-Ala., to delete a committee-imposed ban on special pay for military veterinarians. Adopted by voice vote.
- By Ken Kramer, R-Colo., to provide that the military capability of the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, not be reduced below the existing level. Adopted by voice vote after another Kramer amendment to prohibit any reduction in personnel or equipment at Guantanamo was rejected by voice vote.
- By Bruce F. Vento, D-Minn., to prohibit the use of funds to pay for elective cosmetic surgery for military dependents or retirees. Adopted by voice vote.

Sprechen Zie Deutsch?

The House Appropriations Committee complained that the Pentagon was spending too much money training future officers to speak the wrong language.

"United States military personnel stationed overseas and acting as official representatives of the United States government are not able to reflect most favorably on the United States due to a general weakness in communication skills," it warned.

In spite of this situation, the committee said that "at the [West Point] Military Academy, where 54 percent of the graduates can expect to be stationed in Germany during their first tour [of duty] and 100 percent can expect at least one tour during a 20-year career, 47 percent of language training is devoted to French and Spanish and only 25 percent devoted to German."

The committee ordered the service academies to place more emphasis on "relevant languages and to decrease the offerings in those languages which are perhaps more popular, but less useful to a career military officer."

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Appropriations Committee reported HR 5359 (S. Rept. 96-[illegible]) on Nov. 1. The report did not discuss the general issue of how large the Pentagon budget should be. But when Defense Subcommittee Chairman John C. Stennis, D-Miss., explained the panel's recommendations to the Senate during debate on the bill Nov. 8, he assured his colleagues that the subcommittee had not abandoned its insistence on budgetary frugality. "To support military readiness, a senator does not have to be a spender," he said.

Stennis insisted that the committee's recommendations of $132.1 billion for fiscal 1981 — which he said was the largest appropriations bill, in personnel or material, — reflected a critical assessment of each budget item on the ma[illegible]

its rather than a decision to increase the budget by some arbitrary percentage.

Operations and Maintenance

For operations and maintenance costs, the committee recommended $42 billion, which was $1 billion more than the House-passed figure, but $674 million less than the administration requested.

The House reduced the operations and maintenance budget by about $1.7 billion, with much of that cut coming from overhead items not directly related to combat readiness. The Senate panel restored about half of the House cuts, including:

- $300 million for studies and analyses performed under contract by private firms;
- $63.1 million for overtime pay for civilian Pentagon employees;
- $78 million that was expected to be taken in the form of cash payouts in lieu of accumulated sick leave by Pentagon civilian employees just before they retired;
- $33 million for administrative costs of foreign arms sales.

The Senate panel also restored funds cut by the House for certain U.S. support forces stationed in Western Europe. This included $11.9 million to pay a corporation — owned in part by the government of Luxembourg — to store military stockpiles. Since such facilities in Europe normally were built and operated by the United States, the House panel objected that the Luxembourg plan was a ploy to skirt the normal congressional appropriations process for military construction projects.

But the Senate committee argued that there was ample precedent for such leasing arrangements. And it observed that the appropriate congressional committees had been informed of the plan and had not objected.

Inflation Buffer Cut. The panel agreed with the House that the Pentagon should absorb a larger proportion of the expected increases in operations and maintenance costs than allocated in the fiscal 1980 budget. The committee estimated that the cost of various goods and services purchased through the O&M account would increase by nearly $3.8 billion between late 1978, when the budget was drawn up, and the period when the money actually was spent.

The administration proposed to make the Pentagon absorb $413 million of that amount as an incentive to improve its productivity and management efficiency. But Senate Appropriations backed the House decision to cut another $410 million from the Pentagon's inflation insurance. Most of this additional reduction was intended to make the Defense Department drive harder bargains in its purchases from private industry.

Personnel Issues

The Senate panel challenged the House plan to keep down the number of family members accompanying servicemen and women on overseas assignments. About 334,000 military dependents were abroad with the Pentagon's approval, but another 44,000 were residing abroad without official sanction.

The House had set an overall limit of 375,000 on the number of overseas dependents and had barred access of non-approved dependents to any U.S. military facility abroad except for emergency medical care.

But the Senate panel deleted these House provisions, recommending instead a limitation on the number of officially approved dependents that could reside overseas. Non-approved dependents would be prohibited from accompanying members of the armed services overseas. This was the approach taken in the conference report on the defense authorization bill.

Pilots. Because the services were losing a high proportion of their trained pilots to higher-paying civilian flying jobs, the House Appropriations Committee suggested that some pilots not be assigned other duties.

But the Senate panel argued that the House proposal might result in even more pilots leaving the services after their initial obligation was over because such a plan would greatly limit opportunities for promotion. The panel deleted the House language.

Reserve and National Guard Forces

Naval Reserve. The Senate panel agreed with the House that the Naval Reserve should be kept at 87,000 members instead of reduced to about 50,000 as requested by the administration.

But the committee differed sharply with the House over the military utility of 20 older destroyers. The Defense Department wanted to scrap the ships, which the Navy said did not meet current military demands.

The House had added $98 million to the budget and ordered the Navy to begin overhauling the ships, which it insisted were adequate for certain kinds of missions. Agreeing with the Defense Department, the Senate committee deleted the $98 million and recommended rescission of another $30 million that had been appropriated in fiscal 1979, but never spent, to overhaul three of the ships.

The Senate panel added $113.45 million for planes intended for reserve and national guard units. These included 12 A-7K bomber-trainers and eight C-130 transports. The House approved funding only for six of the bomber trainers.

Weapons Procurement and Research

The committee recommended $49.3 billion for weapons procurement and military research. This was more than $300 million above the budget request and more than $1 billion higher than the amount approved by the House.

Warships. Warships accounted for about half of the committee's increase over the House amount. It added $348 million for a second nuclear submarine designed to hunt Soviet subs. The House had approved $440 million for the one submarine requested.

Also added was $104 million for three ships to tow listening devices designed to detect submarines hundreds of miles away. Five vessels, costing $166 million, were requested, and the entire amount had been denied by the House. The Senate panel added $45 million to develop a destroyer-sized submarine hunter (called a surface-effects ship) that would skim over the ocean at 100 mph on a cushion of trapped air.

Like the House, the Senate committee approved the $2.1 billion authorized in fiscal 1980 for another *Nimitz*-class nuclear aircraft carrier. The panel also approved key parts of a plan intended to persuade the Navy to develop smaller carriers that would carry vertical takeoff jets (V/STOLs).

Other committee additions included:

- $49.5 million to convert one of the Navy's 12 helicopter carriers (called LPH) to a vessel that could carry planes capable of taking off vertically (called V/STOLs). As originally constructed, the ship carried 1,000 Marines and their troop helicopters. The committee also recommended a $41

million downpayment on the first of a new class of amphibious landing ships designed to carry the Marine force displaced by the LPH conversion.

- $10 million to begin designing a new class of V/STOL carriers.
- $5 million to equip an improved version of the Harrier V/STOL bomber to operate from light carriers.

NATO Combat Projects. The committee recommended both additions and cuts in various ground and air weapons that were planned to offset the numerical superiority of Soviet forces over those at the disposal of NATO forces.

It restored $62.3 million that had been deleted by the House to begin production of an artillery rocket. And it recommended $55 million to continue producing the newest version of the Army's main tank — the M-60. The administration wanted to continue M-60 production until it was sure all the bugs were out of the Army's most advanced tank, the XM-1. But the House had deleted all funds for continued M-60 production.

To continue development of the 1,000-mile-range Pershing II missile, which could hit Moscow from launch sites in Western Europe, the panel recommended the $144.8 million requested rather than the $116 million approved by the House.

It also approved the $55 million requested to convert one F-111 fighter into a plane that could jam enemy radar. The House had added $87 million to modify five planes.

But the Senate committee deleted the entire $73.6 million request for a program called CRAF that would reimburse commercial airlines that modified their new wide-body jets to permit the aircraft to carry military cargoes in wartime.

Strategic Warfare. The committee made two significant changes in strategic weaponry.

It cut $75 million from the $228.5 million requested for research on defenses against ICBMs. Beginning in fiscal 1976, more than $200 million had been spent annually on this work, and the panel questioned the need for continued spending at that level in the absence of any plan to deploy an anti-missile defense.

The committee also added $10 million to the budget to accelerate modification of existing Minuteman ICBMs so they could be retargeted and fired by remote control from airborne command centers.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate rejected decisively efforts to kill the M-X missile and the proposed nuclear aircraft carrier before approving the defense appropriations bill Nov. 9. The vote on passage was 72-3. *(Vote 396, p. 66-S)*

In two days of debate Nov. 6 and 9, the Senate approved several minor amendments that reduced the $132 billion appropriation recommended by the Appropriations Committee by $82.2 million. This left the Senate-passed appropriation more than $300 million below the administration request, but more than $2 billion above the House-passed amount. *(Fiscal 1979 authorization, 1978 Almanac p. 321; 1980 bill, National Security chapter)*

M-X Debate

Despite the wide margin of support for the missile, the debate preceding the vote on M-X reflected concern among supporters that the system might never be built because of domestic political opposition. The total cost of M-X was estimated at $30 billion to $50 billion. Moreover, the missile would have a tremendous economic and environmental impact on the southwestern desert areas where it was likely to be based.

The debate also demonstrated that there was intense opposition among some M-X supporters in the Senate to the specific system of housing and protecting the new missiles that the president had selected.

Carter's fiscal 1980 budget contained $670 million to begin work on an M-X system that could survive a Soviet surprise attack and be able to respond by destroying protected Soviet military targets. Under Carter's plan, 10 warheads would be placed on each of 200 mobile missiles, with each of the warheads capable of destroying separate targets.

The Air Force and the administration studied many launching systems (called basing modes) for the M-X, including the possibility of hauling them around in jet transport planes and launching them in midair. But on Sept. 7 the administration selected a basing mode that it said could be verified in case the Soviet Union demanded it as part of a future arms control treaty.

Hatfield Alternative. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., proposed an amendment that would have deleted from the bill the $670 million for M-X development, and replaced it with a $20 million appropriation to begin modifying existing Minuteman III missiles so they could be carried by small submarines.

Hatfield insisted his system should have appealed to those members who were most worried about the vulnerability of existing U.S. ICBMs to Soviet attack because it could have been deployed four years earlier than the administration's M-X. And he estimated its cost — about $15 billion — was less than half as much as the M-X and would not risk prolonged litigation over environmental impact issues that might delay the Carter system.

But Hatfield was one of the Senate's most uncompromising critics of limited nuclear war theories, and from his standpoint the most important aspect of his alternative was that it would pose much less of a threat to Soviet ICBMs.

Carter's proposed system "will give the United States a unilateral first-strike capability against Soviet ICBM sites," said Hatfield. "This will unnecessarily endanger the strategic balance and force the Soviets into decisions which could put a hair-trigger on nuclear war," he warned.

But Hatfield's lengthy presentation of his proposal's technical merits was virtually ignored during the debate.

Most senators participating in the debate argued that the Soviet threat to U.S. missiles left no choice but to press on with a mobile missile. But most of them also voiced strong opposition to the racetrack basing model, which several senators characterized as a Rube Goldberg contraption.

"We cannot accept any basing mode. . . so expensive it will soon be abandoned, so complex and untested that it will never work, so prone to delay that it will come into service years after it is needed," said Minority Whip Ted Stevens, R-Alaska.

Some critics of Carter's defense policy suggested the administration deliberately chose the racetrack system in hopes that its cost and environmental impact problems would kill M-X outright. They said the administration and some Senate liberals shared Hatfield's antipathy toward developing a U.S. capability to fight a limited nuclear war and were going through a charade of supporting M-X to woo support for SALT II from Senate conservatives and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Most of these hard-line critics preferred the vertical shelter system to the racetrack plan since it would cost nearly $10 billion less. They argued that the administration plan to move the M-X among different shelters was merely a rationalization, dreamed up after Carter had selected the horizontal basing mode for arms control — rather than military — reasons.

After rejecting the Hatfield amendment, 11-77, the Senate then adopted, 89-0, a Stevens amendment stipulating that none of the funds in the bill could be used to commit M-X to any specific basing mode. Defense Secretary Harold Brown had told Defense Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman John C. Stennis, D-Miss., that of the $670 million M-X request, $230 million was earmarked for development of the basing mode. But he said that only $55 million of that amount was for projects that would be useful only in the racetrack version. *(Votes 392, 393, p. 66-S)*

Nuclear Carrier

The Senate decision to fund the $2.1 billion nuclear carrier ended a two-year fight with the administration. President Carter preferred a smaller and less expensive oil-powered carrier. In 1978 he vetoed that year's defense bill because it contained the nuclear-powered version, and the House sustained that veto. But Congress continued to insist on the carrier, authorizing the funds anew in the fiscal 1980 defense authorization bill. This time President Carter gave in and accepted the carrier.

William Proxmire, D-Wis., who offered the amendment, conceded at the outset that he did not expect his carrier amendment to prevail. But he insisted the Senate should go on record on the issue because a commitment to buy another big carrier would tie up such a large chunk of Pentagon resources. Proxmire estimated the expense at $42 billion over its 30-year lifetime, including the cost of airplanes, escort ships and operating expenses.

He admitted that the carrier was powerful and filled a useful role in certain kinds of diplomatic crises and in combat situations where it would not confront the full strength of Soviet defenses. But in these other roles, less expensive ships would suffice, he said.

The huge Soviet arsenal of anti-ship cruise missiles could swamp even a carrier's defenses, he said. So the United States would be better off spending an equivalent amount to build a larger number of cheaper ships that could perform many tasks now assigned to the big carriers.

Opponents argued that only its carrier fleet gave the U.S. Navy any margin of advantage over the Russian Navy. They claimed that only with carriers could the United States project military power on short notice into areas far from U.S. land bases, such as the Indian Ocean or the Persian Gulf.

The vote on Proxmire's amendment was 20-72. *(Vote 382, p. 64-S)*

Military Pay Raise

The Senate, on a 44-40 procedural vote, killed an amendment by William L. Armstrong, R-Colo., that would have given military personnel a 10.41 percent pay hike instead of the 7 percent raise Carter had approved for federal civil service and military employees. Armstrong said his amendment would have cost the government about $473 million. But opponents charged that its real cost would have been $1 billion in fiscal 1980 since there would be irresistible political pressure for equal treatment of civilian government employees. *(Vote 394, p. 66-S)*

Other Amendments

In other action, the Senate approved by voice votes the following amendments:

- By Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., to restore $12 million deleted by the committee for operating military air passenger terminals.
- By Jake Garn, R-Utah, to restore $1.6 billion the committee had cut from an Air Force navigation equipment project.
- By David Pryor, D-Ark., to provide for the installation at each Titan missile site of a warning system that would alert nearby civilians in case any of the missile's highly toxic fuel leaked.
- By Pryor, to reduce by $100 million the Pentagon's budget for hiring outside consultants.
- By John Tower, R-Texas, to add $4.2 million for a new production line at an ammunition plant in Texas.

The Senate rejected amendments:

- By Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., to allow the Pentagon to allocate a certain proportion of its funds for military purchases to firms in areas with high unemployment. Recorded vote, 29-59. *(Vote 383, p. 64-S)*
- By Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to bar the use of any funds appropriated by the bill to perform abortions, except where the life of the mother was endangered. Recorded vote, 38-47. *(Vote 384, p. 64-S)*
- By Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., to delete $104 million for three tugboats designed to tow huge, underwater listening devices for detecting Soviet submarines hundreds of miles away. Recorded vote, 11-65. *(Vote 395, p. 66-S)*

Conference Report

The conference report on HR 5359 was filed Dec. 11 (H Rept 96-696). The overall amount recommended was about $1.38 billion more than the House had approved and $674 million less than the amount agreed to originally by the Senate.

Naval Warfare

New and Old Carriers. The conferees turned down the most dramatic element of a Senate-backed shipbuilding package that was intended to pressure the Navy to quickly increase its aircraft carrier fleet. This was a proposal to equip existing helicopter carriers with new vertical-takeoff (V/STOL) light bombers. But the conference committee approved other parts of the Senate's package, including $10 million to continue designing a small V/STOL carrier. Navy witnesses had testified that the new ship could be ready for inclusion in the fiscal 1982 budget.

Armed Services Committee member Gary Hart, D-Colo., had been pushing the V/STOL plan for three years. He insisted the Navy needed to disperse its aircraft among a much larger number of ships than the dozen or so carriers now in the fleet. The vulnerability of any one ship — however powerful — to the large Soviet arsenal of cruise missiles, and the global dimensions of U.S. interests that could require a naval presence, argued for a larger carrier fleet, according to Hart.

V/STOL carriers would be much smaller and less expensive than the 1,000-foot-long ships needed by conventional combat jets and, therefore, many more could be built, Hart contended.

But critics pointed out that V/STOL planes would be slower and less heavily armed than conventional combat jets because of their special design. Hart conceded the

point, but insisted the planes would be adequate for some naval missions.

Both the House and Senate versions of the appropriations bill included $180 million to develop the Harrier B — an improved version of the Harrier V/STOL bomber flown by the Marines from land bases. And conferees agreed to provide an additional $5 million for a modified type (the Harrier B plus) that could operate from warships.

In the most expensive single change made in Carter's fiscal 1980 defense budget, both houses had appropriated $2.1 billion for another nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. This would replace an older carrier that was to be taken out of service in the 1980s.

The conference report on HR 5359 reflected concern that the Navy might not have enough fighter planes to equip its carrier fleet. Conferees added $113.9 million for six more F-14 fighters (24 had been requested), and $351.5 million for 10 more F-18s (15 had been requested).

Submarine Hunters. Although they added another attack submarine, conferees cut back two other programs intended to counter the Soviet's submarine threat. The final version funded only one of three T-Agos tugboats for towing huge underwater listening devices that could locate Soviet submarines at great distances. And conferees dropped the $45 million added by the Senate to continue construction of an experimental destroyer (called SES) that would skim over the water at nearly 100 mph on a bubble of air.

But conferees did order the Navy to continue operating 12 of 20 old anti-submarine destroyers (a $49.3 million add-on), which were operated in part by Navy reservists.

Also approved was $41 million to buy components for the first of a new type of amphibious landing ship for the Marines.

NATO Defenses

To give the new Pershing II ballistic missile the 1,000-mile range needed to strike Soviet territory from launchers in Western Europe, conferees restored $28.8 million that the House had deleted from the $144.8 million requested to develop the new weapon.

Conferees insisted it was cheaper to modify older tanks than to build new ones, so they provided $215 million for 751 new models of the M-60 tank (64 new M-60s and 687 modernized early models). The budget had requested $334 million to build 251 new M-60s and to modernize 500 older ones.

Both houses had agreed to the request for $576.9 million to buy 352 of the new XM-1 tanks that were planned to replace the M-60s as the Army's main tank. But the conferees agreed to a House proposal to earmark $14.2 million of the amount to develop a diesel engine for the tank in case problems with a gas turbine engine were not resolved.

Reinforcements. Conferees agreed to appropriate some funds for two controversial programs designed to speed up the arrival of U.S. reinforcements in Europe during an international emergency.

Conferees settled on a $38.6 million appropriation for the CRAF program promoting the quick conversion of commercial passenger airlines to military cargo planes in time of war. Since the modified planes would be heavier than regular passenger jets, and thus consume more fuel, the payments would reimburse the airlines for the additional fuel costs. And the lines would be allowed to seek additional payments to offset large fuel price increases.

Also funded was the program under which the Army would pay the Luxembourg government to operate a storage facility housing the tanks, trucks and radios assigned to some U.S. forces that would be flown to Europe under certain contingencies. Conferees approved $9.8 million of the $23.6 million requested for the first annual payment, but ordered that none of the money was to be used to amortize the $60 million cost of building the storage facility (the administration had earmarked about 30 percent of its request for this purpose).

Overseas Dependents. Two House proposals intended to reduce the number of dependents accompanying military personnel on overseas assignments were rejected. One would have barred dependents of servicemen and women living overseas, who were not specifically authorized to do so by the Pentagon, from all fringe benefits except emergency medical care. The other would have required the Army and Air Force to experiment with assigning organized combat units to overseas posts for relatively short periods without accompanying dependents. The Pentagon insisted that overseas dependents were essential to morale because armed service personnel were assigned to overseas units for two or three years at a time.

Strategic Warfare

Language similar to a provision added by the Senate was adopted to ensure that the M-X missile development program not be committed to any specific launching system.

The conference committee also increased to $241.6 million money for research on anti-ballistic missile defenses. Conferees dropped a House provision cutting back on the number of U.S. bases at which anti-bomber interceptors would be stationed.

To develop improvements in the missile detection radar facility built in North Dakota as part of the since-dismantled ABM defense, conferees added $5 million. But they deleted $9 million for modernizing another missile radar system (called BMEWS), insisting that the Pentagon first consider various alternatives, including a new type of radar.

Operations and Maintenance Costs

Because many of the Air Force's prized F-15 fighters had been grounded for lack of spare parts, the final version of the bill contained a $75.4 million add-on for engine parts.

As recommended by the Senate, conferees approved $470 million to offset cost increases abroad brought on by declines in the value of the dollar. The House had approved $370 million.

A House provision was dropped that would have banned annual pay raises of more than 7 percent for local citizens working at U.S. bases overseas. The Senate had insisted that the United States could not unilaterally alter wage agreements with other governments. But conferees nevertheless approved only enough money to pay for raises up to 7 percent. This was intended to motivate the Pentagon to renegotiate wage agreements calling for raises above 7 percent since such wage hikes would have to be paid for out of other defense programs.

Satellites, Intelligence Costs

The more parsimonious attitude of the House toward communications satellites prevailed in conference, resulting in reductions of over $104 million.

None of the $51.4 million requested for a new satellite system to carry messages to U.S. forces during a nuclear

war was approved. The House committee had argued that there already were many channels for those messages. And, despite the panel's insistence, the Pentagon had not considered the possibility of saving money by leasing the new satellites from commercial companies rather than buying its own.

Also dropped was $52.8 million for two spare communications satellites (called DSCS II). The House panel had insisted that a much improved DSCS III satellite would be in orbit soon enough to render the older ones unnecessary.

Congressional action on specific intelligence projects — and on the overall intelligence budget — was secret. But according to the conference report, a reduction of $58.8 million was made in the request for intelligence activities, although the cut was smaller than the amount cut by either the House ($105.6 million) or the Senate ($113.3 million).

Conferees cut $239.5 million from the overall request for so-called intelligence-related activities — programs designed to provide tactical intelligence for combat commanders, but which also provided information of interest to government decision-makers. The corresponding House cut had been $356.8 million; the Senate cut, $134 million.

Officer Personnel System

The services had complained about their inability to retain experienced officers in certain highly trained specialties. So the conferees approved a more narrowly drawn version of a House-passed ban on the present policy of dismissing officers not promoted to the next higher rank within a certain period of time.

The conference version of the ban on the "up-or-out" policy was applied only to captains and majors in specialties where the service was experiencing a shortage. Conferees rejected a House proposal to require the services to begin training some pilots who would hold the rank of warrant officer and would be assigned flying duty only.

Other Provisions

The conferees also agreed to provisions that would:

- Ban abortions with appropriated funds except where the life of the mother would otherwise be endangered or in cases of rape or incest that were reported to a law enforcement agency or public health service.
- Require the Air Force to establish warning devices to alert nearby civilians in case toxic fuel fumes began to leak from the 54 aging Titan II intercontinental missiles. ▮

Foreign Aid Appropriations

The fiscal 1980 foreign aid appropriations bill (HR 4473) was stalled in a House-Senate conference committee at the end of the 1979 congressional session.

Meeting in late October, conferees were able to resolve several differences, including a major dispute over restrictions on U.S. contributions to the World Bank. But negotiations broke down Nov. 1 because of sharp disagreements on several other provisions in the unpopular bill.

Sen. Daniel K. Inouye, D-Hawaii, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee, and Rep. Clarence D. Long, D-Md., chairman of the corresponding House subcommittee, met privately Dec. 3, but were unable to reach agreement on when or how negotiations on the bill could be resumed.

"Everything about this bill is up in the air," said an aide to the House Appropriations Committee.

Conferees were unable to reach agreement on 1) a $600 million difference between the two chambers on the U.S contribution for the World Bank, 2) a $1.8 billion difference in spending limits for the Export-Import Bank, and 3) a dispute over whether to fund the newly created Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation that was part of the Carter administration's 1979 foreign aid reorganization plan. The bill contained appropriations for direct foreign economic and military aid and for U.S. contributions to multilateral lending institutions such as the World Bank.

Before reaching the impasse, conferees were successful in resolving a dispute over the World Bank, made possible when the bank's president, Robert S. McNamara, on Nov. 1 agreed not to make any new loans to Vietnam during fiscal 1980. In return, congressional conservatives agreed to drop House-passed restrictions on U.S. funding for the World Bank, other international development banks and the United Nations.

The Carter administration had claimed that restrictions on aid to Vietnam and several other countries would prohibit the multilateral lending institutions from accepting any U.S. contributions at all.

Appropriations Bill Status

The House bill, approved Sept. 6, appropriated $7.7 billion, and the Senate version, passed Oct. 12, contained $8.1 billion.

In lieu of final action on the bill, existing foreign aid programs were continued under an emergency funding resolution (H J Res 440 — PL 96-123) enacted Nov. 20. Because the resolution was effective for the entire fiscal year, congressional observers said it was doubtful action would be resumed on the foreign aid appropriations bill in the second session of the 96th Congress. *(Continuing appropriations resolution, p. 275)*

Fiscal 1980 Funding

The continuing resolution funded all aid programs at the fiscal 1979 level, or at the House-passed level in the fiscal 1980 appropriations bill, whichever was lower, through fiscal 1980. But no new programs recommended in HR 4473 could be funded under the continuing resolution:

	Fiscal 1979 Appropriations	House-passed Appropriations — HR 4473
Multilateral Economic Assistance	$4,606,492,748	$2,812,704,377
Bilateral Economic Assistance	5,115,336,200	4,334,119,000
Military Assistance	1,292,280,000	780,000,000
4% reduction in amount actually to be spent		—180,202,655
Total	$11,014,108,948	$7,746,620,722

House Committee Action

President Carter's effort to substantially boost U.S. foreign aid during a year of budget austerity predictably ran into heavy opposition in the House Appropriations Committee.

The committee cut $1.2 billion from Carter's $9 billion request for foreign aid programs for fiscal 1980. Two-thirds of the cutback was made in the contributions to the international banks that are used to lend money to developing nations.

The Appropriations Committee reported the foreign aid bill (HR 4473 — H Rept 96-273) June 14.

As reported, the bill appropriated $7,888,552,251 for foreign assistance programs in fiscal 1980 — a 15 percent cut from the president's request.

The committee slashed $903 million, or 25 percent of the amount requested, from the six international banks. The World Bank suffered the largest cut. Other cuts included $218 million, or 5 percent, from the request for bilateral economic assistance, channeled primarily through the Agency for International Development (AID), and $90 million, or 10 percent, from direct military aid to friendly nations.

The 5 percent cut in economic aid was in keeping with an across-the-board cut made by the full House in the fiscal 1980 economic aid authorization bill (HR 3324). *(Economic aid authorization, p. 117)*

The full committee made additional cuts in the amounts already sliced by the usually more conservative Foreign Operations Subcommittee. The subcommittee had cut the administration request by $954 million. The full committee pared an additional $267 million from the budgets of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

Aid Directions

In general comments issued with its report, the committee said U.S. foreign aid programs should move in the following, seemingly contradictory, directions:

- On the one hand, aid should be cut off to nations "as soon as it is determined no further U.S. aid is required," the committee said. "Very few countries have actually been eliminated entirely from the U.S. assistance rolls during the recent past," the committee said.

- On the other hand, the committee criticized the practice of reducing aid to nations, especially those in Latin America and the Caribbean, once they reached certain per capita income levels.

"We cannot abandon the large numbers of poor who remain untouched by development programs simply because their countries have been relatively successful," the committee said.

As in past years, much of the committee report repeatedly emphasized the importance of "capital saving technology," the pet project of Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chairman Clarence D. Long, D-Md.

The committee described capital saving technology as that used in simple, non-sophisticated programs not requiring large capital investments. Such programs should be more successful in developing countries than large-scale, high-technology projects, the committee wrote in its report.

Massive projects involving sophisticated equipment "have often been expensive to buy and maintain and difficult for unskilled and illiterate workers to repair and have displaced workers from the farms and villages and dumped them into the slums and onto the streets of already overcrowded cities," the committee said.

Human Rights

The committee took action to cut aid to some countries because of alleged poor human rights records. The committee said it had received "testimony, information and expressions of concern from members and public witnesses about alleged human rights violations" in 26 countries. Major U.S. aid recipients cited included Panama, the Philippines, South Korea, Sudan, Thailand and Yemen.

However, with few exceptions, the committee did not specifically ban aid to nations on the human rights violations list. Instead, it merely reduced aid to these countries by a certain percentage.

The committee did continue a ban on direct aid to Angola, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and Cuba. The committee also banned any aid to Mozambique unless the president determined that such aid would be in the interest of U.S. foreign policy. As a result of the April overthrow of dictator Idi Amin, Uganda was taken off the list of countries ineligible for U.S. aid.

On a motion by Charles Wilson, D-Texas, the committee also banned military aid to Panama. Wilson and other congressional supporters of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza charged that Panama aided the Sandinista rebels who eventually overthrew Somoza in July.

The committee also banned direct aid to the Central African Empire. The regime of Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa was overthrown in September, and the administration moved to aid the new government in that country, renamed the Central African Republic.

International Banks

The full committee slashed 25 percent from Carter's $3.6 billion request for the six major international banks.

Although the committee moved to fulfill $990 million in U.S. pledges to those banks extending as far back as 1974, the cuts meant that several hundred million dollars in more recent commitments would not be kept in fiscal 1980.

Committee action on the banks came just two months after the release of a committee-sponsored report that was sharply critical of the banks' internal operations.

Funds for the major international lending banks were divided into two categories: "hard" loans and "soft" loans. Hard loans carried commercial interest rates and generally were made to nations with relatively highly developed economies; soft loans carried low interest rates, or none at all in some cases, and were made to the poorest nations.

In addition, U.S. funding was divided into two types: paid-in capital, which was paid directly to the banks and used for loans; and callable capital, which was appropriated for loan guarantees, but had never been spent.

The amounts recommended for the banks by the committee were:

Inter-American Development Bank. The committee recommended $887.3 million for the bank. The committee approved most of the administration's request, but slashed the portion for the Fund for Special Operations — which makes the "soft" loans — from $325.8 million to $200 million. The committee gave no reason for the cut. Almost half the request was to fulfill U.S. obligations over the past five years.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The committee recommended $308 million for this bank, the "hard" loan agency of the World Bank. That amount represented a $717.8 million, or 70 percent, cut in the administration's request. Most of the cut made by the

committee — $646 million — was in callable capital that would have been appropriated, but probably never spent.

The committee did not explain its cuts, but instead criticized "the dismal record of minority hiring at the World Bank" and directed the Treasury Department to prepare a report on the problem within six months after enactment of the bill.

Other World Bank Agencies. The committee made no cuts in funds for two other arms of the World Bank: the International Finance Corporation ($33.4 million requested) and the International Development Association ($1.1 billion requested). The finance corporation provided commercial-rate loans, while the development association was the low-interest, soft-loan window of the World Bank.

The appropriation for the development association included $292 million the United States owed since 1974. The agency was a favorite target of congressional critics of the World Bank because of its controversial loans to unpopular Third World nations.

Asian Development Bank. The committee provided $111.3 million for the Asian Development Fund, the soft-loan arm of the Asian Development Bank. This was a cut of $60 million from the request. But the committee approved the full $248.3 million requested, only 10 percent of which was for paid-in capital that actually would be spent, for the hard-loan arm of the bank.

African Development Fund. The committee approved the full $41.7 million requested for the bank, which made loans without interest to the poorest nations in Africa.

International Organizations. The committee recommended $267.3 million for U.S. voluntary contributions to the United Nations and the Organization of American States. That was a net cut of $9.9 million, or 4 percent.

The biggest change was a cut from $140 million to $130 million in contributions to the controversial United Nations Development Program. The committee did not explain the cut. Conservatives had complained about loans the development program made to several communist or leftist nations, including Cuba, Libya and Vietnam.

At the request of the administration, the committee also eliminated $600,000 that was previously requested for the defunct Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

Bilateral Economic Aid

The committee cut appropriations for direct bilateral assistance to foreign nations by $218.1 million, from $4.3 billion to $4.1 billion.

Nearly half the cut — $102.9 million — came from programs administered by AID. Percentage cuts made in specific programs were: agriculture, rural development and nutrition — 7.9 percent; population planning — 7.1 percent; health — 3.8 percent; education and human resources — 12.1 percent; and technical assistance, energy, research, reconstruction and selected development — 8.2 percent.

The committee did not explain its cuts.

The panel approved the full $264 million requested for worldwide refugee assistance and added $25 million for refugees from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe who settled in Israel.

Economic Support Fund. The committee approved $1.9 billion for the economic support fund, also called security supporting assistance. The fund was intended to supply economic aid to friendly nations with large military burdens, such as Israel and Egypt. That amount was a reduction of $90 million from the $2 billion requested by the administration.

Cuts made by the committee were: Lesotho — $17.5 million; Malawi — $5.5 million; Swaziland — $9 million; Syria — $15 million; Jordan — $38 million; Middle East regional cooperation — $5 million, and a 5 percent across-the-board cut — $18 million.

The committee increased funding for refugee assistance on Cyprus to $15 million from the $2 million requested.

The two biggest economic support programs were the administration-requested aid for Israel ($785 million) and Egypt ($750 million). The committee was critical of U.S. development programs in Egypt.

The $45 million earmarked for Syria (after the $15 million cut) was conditioned on that nation's "acting in good faith in furthering the process of peace" in the Middle East.

The committee earmarked $5 million for Jamaica, which had not received economic support funds since fiscal 1978.

Technological Cooperation. The Appropriations Committee endorsed the establishment of an Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. Carter proposed establishment of the institute to improve sharing of technical programs with poor nations. Creation of the institute, approved by the House, but subsequently rejected by the Senate, was authorized in the final version of the foreign economic aid bill.

For fiscal 1980, the institute was budgeted at $25 million, plus $66.6 million that was to be transferred from various AID research and development projects. The committee cut the new appropriation to $23.8 million, and said it would consider each of 29 projects to be transferred from AID.

The committee also inserted language banning the use of $5 million in AID administrative funds for the new institute. The new institute should pay its administrative costs out of the $23.8 million, the committee said.

And the panel said it expected the institute to adhere to an administration promise that 75 percent of its funds would be spent in developing countries. The committee said the institute should not become a "gravy train" for research grants to American universities.

Military Aid

The committee sliced money from all three military aid programs, citing human rights violations in recipient nations as the reason for cutting two of those programs.

Military Assistance. The committee recommended $110 million for the grant military aid program — a $50.2 million reduction in the amount requested. The committee did not specify where the money should be cut. A staff aide said the cut was an attempt "to put pressure on the administration to phase out this program." Carter and Congress had agreed to end the program by fiscal 1981.

The amount of the cut was nearly equal to Carter's special request for a military grant to Turkey. That request generated significant controversy in Congress, and the House went on record in opposition to it. But the committee aide said the cut was not directed at Turkey.

Military Education and Training. The committee approved $25 million for education and training of foreign military officers, a $7.9 million reduction from the $32.9 million requested.

The committee did not recommend specific cuts, but did refer to the list of nations with alleged human rights violations. In addition, the committee said it did not want

cuts to "imperil the delicate Middle East balance and peace agreement."

Foreign Military Sales Credits. The committee cut $13.8 million from the program of loans for arms purchases by foreign nations. Carter had requested $658.8 million in grants and loans to enable other nations to purchase $2.1 billion worth of arms from the United States. Instead, the committee appropriated $546 million in grants and loans, which would permit $1.950 billion in purchases.

Congress must appropriate only 10 percent of the total amount for arms sales loans. For example, a $50 million appropriation would support $500 million worth of arms sales loans.

Israel was to receive $1 billion, half in grants and half in loans, in keeping with past practices. Twenty-six other nations split the remaining $950 million in loans.

The committee again did not state where specific cuts should be made, but referred only to the "doubtful human rights record of many of the proposed recipients."

The $1 billion for Israel was in addition to $2.2 billion in arms sales credits granted under the special Middle East aid resulting from the peace treaty. Egypt received $1.5 billion in arms credits under the special aid.

House Floor Action

The House passed a $7.75 billion, fiscal 1980 foreign aid appropriations bill (HR 4473) Sept. 6 by a 224-183 vote. *(Vote 406, p. 118-H)*

A coalition of foreign aid critics, with conservative Republicans leading the charge, won two victories during the four days of debate on the bill.

A 4 percent across-the-board cut in the appropriation was approved, 254-144. And an amendment putting restrictions on U.S. contributions to multilateral development banks survived a challenge by a 153-244 vote. The amendment, which the administration feared would bar the international banks from accepting any U.S. funds, prohibited U.S. contributions from being used to aid certain countries, including Cuba and Vietnam. *(Votes 404 and 399, pp. 118-H, 116-H)*

The Senate as well as the Carter administration had consistently opposed conditional U.S. contributions to the development banks.

The 4 percent cut amounted to about $180 million. In 1978 the administration had been able to stave off an across-the-board cut on the House floor. Its failure to do so in 1979, and the size of the House cut in President Carter's $9.1 billion request, suggested that there was broad agreement with a recurring theme of foreign aid critics: That in a period of economic stringency, when all government spending was suspect back home, foreign aid was especially vulnerable to budget cutting.

The House Appropriations Committee had already chopped $1.2 billion from Carter's request. An additional net cut of $140.6 million was made on the House floor, and that took into account a $207 million add-on for the politically attractive Southeast Asian refugee assistance program. The House had completed action on the portion of HR 4473 appropriating funds for the multilateral banks on July 19.

Action on the bill resumed Sept. 5 and passed Sept. 6. Proponents of several amendments to cut or restrict the foreign aid program observed that members' visits to their districts during the August recess should have reminded them of the public's opposition to the program. Several cited programs in their own districts — ranging from public works projects to disaster relief loans — that had been turned down or delayed while similar programs in foreign countries were funded by HR 4473.

Just before the final vote on the bill, David R. Obey, D-Wis., condemned the House's handling of the bill, charging that members would have cut the foreign aid appropriation for political reasons regardless of the amount recommended by the Appropriations Committee and regardless of the merits of the program.

"It makes it more and more likely that the Appropriations subcommittees and the Budget Committee will simply add a little money to each of their bills in the form of 'cut insurance,'" he said, "taking for granted that the House will be irrational in the way it approaches any appropriations bill."

And Obey said that some members had voted dishonestly, telling him privately they hoped that certain amendments they had voted for would be killed by the Senate-House conference committee on the bill.

C. W. Bill Young, R-Fla., a quarterback of the foreign aid critics, challenged Obey's assertion. "I would never question the motivation of another member's vote," he said.

Funding Cuts

The across-the-board cut emerged from a series of votes as foreign aid supporters maneuvered unsuccessfully to head off a deep cut in the program with a more modest one of their own.

Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio, an opponent of some of the foreign aid programs, first proposed an across-the-board cut of 5 percent in the bill, but exempting Israel and Egypt. This would have resulted in a cut of about $265 million.

Obey then proposed a substitute amendment reducing the overall cut to 2 percent, but deleting the exemptions for Egypt and Israel.

But before voting on Obey, the House rejected, 178-228, an amendment by Miller to the Obey substitute restoring the 5 percent cut in the original Miller amendment, but leaving out the exemptions. *(Vote 402, p. 118-H)*

It then restored the exemptions (a Silvio O. Conte, R-Mass., amendment to the Obey amendment) for Egypt and Israel, plus certain other humanitarian aid programs. The vote was 395-12. *(Vote 403, p. 118-H)*

But the showdown vote came on a second Miller amendment to the Obey substitute. The Miller proposal retained the exemptions in the Conte amendment, but made the across-the-board cut 4 percent (about $180 million) instead of 2 percent.

"If you want to tell your voters that you made an across-the-board cut in foreign aid, do it with the 4 percent cut," Young exhorted. The Miller amendment was adopted, 254-144, and the Obey substitute, as amended, and then the original Miller amendment, were adopted routinely by voice votes. *(Vote 404, p. 118-H)*

As approved, the amendment permitted the administration to decide where to make the 4 percent across-the-board cut, subject to two conditions:

- Funds could not be cut that had been designated for Israel, Egypt or projects relating to nutrition assistance, disaster relief or refugee assistance.
- No one line item in the bill could be reduced by more than 8 percent.

Indirect Aid Ban

The House first agreed to an amendment barring indirect aid to Vietnam through the International Development Association (IDA), an arm of the World Bank. It later accepted an amendment barring the channeling of indirect aid to Vietnam and several other countries through any of the international banks.

IDA Ban. The move to prohibit IDA from using U.S. funds to make loans to Vietnam tied up the House for several hours. The amendment was sponsored by Young (Fla.). On a 291-122 vote, the House eventually adopted a hybrid amendment that banned the Vietnam funds, but sought to continue IDA aid to other nations. *(Vote 324, p. 96-H)*

The House had approved bans on indirect aid to Vietnam in 1977 and 1978, only to have them dropped during conference committee negotiations. Since October 1978, however, it had been U.S. policy to oppose all multilateral bank loans to Vietnam. *(1977 Almanac p. 286, 1978 Almanac p. 129)*

Current law prohibited direct U.S. aid to Vietnam and to several other nations. HR 4473 extended the ban.

Young said his amendment "was a chance for us to go on record as being opposed to the use of any American tax dollars to Vietnam" through IDA. "Here is a chance for Congress to look good."

Condemning Vietnam, Young cited that nation's refusal to account for Americans missing in action after the Vietnam War, that country's invasion of Cambodia and its actions forcing several hundred thousand Chinese and Vietnamese to flee the country.

"When we put it altogether, I don't see how there really can be any strong opposition to this amendment, at least until Vietnam shows some indication that it intends to become a civilized part of the world community," Young said.

Most of the dispute centered not on aid to Vietnam, but on whether the United States could place conditions on its contributions to the international banks. Foreign aid advocates maintained that the banks legally were forbidden from accepting money with conditions attached.

In a letter to the House, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance insisted that the banks "cannot accept U.S. funds" under conditions such as the Vietnam ban.

But Young and Long said the banks could accept funds with strings attached. "If they really wanted to, they could accept this money," Long said. "I see nothing in these [bank] charters that prevents them from doing it, and if there were they could change the charter."

Opposing the amendment, Obey said the ban "will not cut off one dime for Vietnam. The only effect of this amendment is simply to allow us to go home and pretend that we have done something to stop Vietnam from getting any money."

Matthew F. McHugh, D-N.Y., offered the language that confused the issue. His amendment stated that the Vietnamese ban was not intended to prevent use of funds by the IDA to finance assistance to Egypt and Sudan.

McHugh said the amendment was a legal device to protect against a cutoff of all U.S. contributions to IDA.

Young admitted that he did not understand the McHugh amendment. "I am not sure that it is all that bad, but I am, quite frankly, rather suspicious of the purpose of this amendment," he said. Nonetheless, after McHugh's amendment was approved on a 25-20 standing vote, Young did not request a recorded vote. Young's amendment, as amended by McHugh, then was adopted, 291-122. *(Vote 324, p. 96-H)*

Ban Extended. Young subsequently offered an amendment to ban the use of U.S. funds by all multilateral banks to aid Vietnam, Angola, the Central African Empire, Laos or Cambodia.

A ploy by supporters of the development banks to vitiate the Young amendment was rejected, 153-244. The amendment by McHugh provided that the ban on indirect aid should not interfere with the flow of U.S. funds through the international banks to certain nations, including Israel and Egypt. *(Vote 399, p. 116-H)*

The amendment was similar to one the House had approved earlier in the debate. But Young protested Sept. 5 that the House had not then understood its significance.

The House then approved Young's amendment by a 281-117 vote. Subsequently, an amendment by John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, banning indirect aid to Cuba, was approved by voice vote. *(Vote 400, p. 116-H)*

IDA Funding

The House July 18 debated five amendments, including four decided by recorded votes, in settling on an amount by which to cut the request for the International Development Association. Probably the most unpopular of the international banks among members of Congress, the IDA made 50-year loans, without interest charges, to the poorest nations, including a number of communist countries.

The administration had requested and the committee approved $1.1 billion for IDA. That amount included $292 million the United States had promised to contribute in 1974.

Young moved to delete the entire $292 million. "We can save a lot of money if we let [it] go by the boards. It won't hurt anybody."

Charles H. Wilson, D-Calif., echoed sentiments expressed by a number of members. "Let us give more consideration to the poor in our own country," he said.

But bank supporters said the issue was whether Congress would keep the commitment it made in 1974. "This was a commitment made by the 93rd Congress and two past presidents," said Conte. "We must keep our word, or our word will be meaningless in the world."

When Obey and McHugh moved to cut the $292 million by only 2 percent, Young and Virginia Smith, R-Neb., countered with substitute amendments making the full cut. That prompted a series of votes in which the House, at one point or another, supported nearly all sides of the issue.

By voice vote, the House first defeated the 2 percent cut proposal. Then the House passed by a 242-177 vote a Young amendment making the full cut. But the House immediately reversed itself and defeated a virtually identical Smith amendment, 207-210. The 2 percent cut amendment was then approved, 402-13, and the original Young amendment cutting all $292 million was defeated, 194-219. *(Votes 320-323, p. 94-H)*

The net effect of the votes was to approve the Obey-McHugh amendment cutting the $292 million by 2 percent, to $286.2 million.

World Bank Cuts

Hardest hit by cuts in the committee and on the floor was the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The committee had cut the request for that bank by 70 percent, to $308 million. Most of the money cut was for loan guarantees that would probably never be spent.

Trent Lott, R-Miss., moved to cut the bank's funding even further, to $163.1 million — the same amount appropriated for fiscal 1979. "It is very difficult to find out what they are doing with these funds," Lott said of the bank.

Despite objections that the bank had already been cut enough, the House approved the Lott amendment, 219-196. *(Vote 319, p. 94-H)*

Other Bank Amendments

The House also acted on other banks:

• Inter-American Development Bank. The House adopted an amendment by McHugh and Obey slicing $17.7 million, or 2 percent, from the $887.3 million recommended for the bank.

Young had wanted to cut the bank's funding to $150 million, arguing that the bill authorizing the remaining funds had not yet been approved by Congress. Obey called the Young proposal a "Draconian cut." the McHugh-Obey amendment, setting bank funding at $869.6 million was adopted 413-4. *(Vote 318, p. 94-H)*

• Asian Development Bank. The House adopted an amendment by Gerald B. Solomon, R-N.Y., prohibiting further U.S. funds to the ADB unless Taiwan was permitted to remain a member of the bank. Solomon said that measure would prevent the bank from expelling Taiwan in favor of the People's Republic of China.

But opponents said the amendment was unnecessary because Taiwan had not borrowed from the bank since 1971, and there were no plans to expel that nation from the bank. Opponents also said the amendment would place a condition on U.S. funding that the bank could not accept. The amendment was adopted on a 244-164 vote. *(Vote 325, p. 96-H)*

• African Development Fund. In a surprise move, the House overwhelmingly rejected a $16.7 million cut in the African Development Fund, which made no-interest loans to developing African nations. The vote against the cut was 148-262. *(Vote 332, p. 98-H)*

Smith sponsored the amendment to reduce the U.S. contribution to the fund to $25 million, from the $41.7 million requested by the administration and approved by the committee. She said she had been struggling to prevent the administration from closing a weather station in Valentine, Neb., in order to save $9,000 a year.

Ronald V. Dellums, D-Calif., attacked the amendment as an attempt to cut "a paltry amount of money" for poor African nations. "Where is the incredible generosity of America, when we sit here and nickle and dime poor people to death?" he asked. "Historically, we have cut black Africa out for a long time."

Aid to Panama

On Latin American policy, the administration won one and lost one. By a 247-128 vote, the House approved an amendment by Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., dropping from the bill aid for Panama, some $12.6 million. Bauman, a leading opponent of the 1978 Panama Canal treaties, argued that regular foreign aid for Panama no longer was appropriate since that country would assume control of the Panama Canal Oct. 1, from which it would derive annual revenues of $75 million to $100 million. *(Vote 397, p. 116-H)*

Aid to Nicaragua

But a Bauman amendment barring any aid to the new regime in Nicaragua without prior congressional approval was rejected 189-221. *(Vote 405, p. 118-H)*

In July the Somoza family's 40-year rule of Nicaragua ended when President Anastasio Somoza resigned in the face of an escalating civil war and strong U.S. pressure. Bauman cited press reports of Castro-oriented policies being pursued by the ruling junta that succeeded Somoza and which had communists in key positions, he said.

Bauman's argument was seconded by Wilson of Texas and John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., longtime supporters of the Somoza regime as a reliable U.S. ally.

Bauman insisted that he did not necessarily intend to bar all aid to the new regime, but meant only to ensure that Congress would play a role in deciding U.S. policy. Already, he warned, there were indications that the administration wanted to move prematurely to provide aid. "We should reserve that fundamental decision about a nation that is a new beachhead for communism in the Americas," Bauman argued.

But Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, countered that the political complexion of the Nicaraguan junta was by no means clear, and that by taking such a slap at the people of Nicaragua "we might be driving them into the arms of world communism." Obey put the case more forcefully: "The best friends the communists and Marxists in Nicaragua have are the people in this country who are trying systematically to dismantle the president's authority to deal with that issue in a rational way."

Other Amendments

The House also considered the following amendments to HR 4473:

• By Young, to cut $3.95 million from the appropriation for the United Nations Development Program, reducing the amount to the fiscal 1979 level of $126 million. Adopted 234-139. *(Vote 396, p. 116-H)*

• By Benjamin S. Rosenthal, D-N.Y., to add $10 million to assist Colombia in cutting off the flow of narcotics from that country to the United States. Adopted by voice vote.

• By Lott, to eliminate all funds ($23.75 million) for creation of an Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. Rejected 166-234. *(Vote 398, p. 116-H)*

• By Long, to add $207.3 million to the $249 million already in the bill for refugee assistance. Adopted by voice vote.

• By Ron Paul, R-Texas, to ban direct or indirect aid to the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China. Rejected by standing vote of 30-78.

• By Long, to ban aid to any government that gave sanctuary to anyone sought by another state for prosecution for a war crime. Adopted by voice vote.

• By Joseph G. Minish, D-N.J., to bar any bilateral U.S aid to any member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The bill contained $259 million for four OPEC members, $241 million of it for Indonesia. Rejected by standing vote of 28-53.

Also rejected by a standing vote of 17-53 was an amendment to the Minish amendment by F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., R-Wis., to bar indirect aid as well as bilateral aid to any OPEC member.

• By Thomas B. Evans Jr., R-Del., to add $10 million for aid to Sudan to offset Arab economic sanctions against that country for its support of the Egyptian-Israeli peace talks sponsored by the United States. Adopted by voice vote.

Points of order were sustained against a number of minor provisions in the bill and against a floor amendment by Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla., to add $25 million for disaster relief in the Caribbean in the wake of Hurricane David.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Appropriations Committee reported HR 4473 (S Rept 96-358) Oct. 4. As reported, the bill contained $8.4 billion for foreign aid in fiscal 1980. That figure was $977 million less than requested by President Carter, but $618 million more than the House had approved.

During markup of the bill Oct. 3, the committee cut about $275 million from the amount recommended by its Foreign Operations Subcommittee. The subcommittee already had sliced nearly $700 million from the administration's request.

The full committee made the following major changes: eliminated the $45 million economic aid loan to Syria; cut in half the $12 million request for the civilian peacekeeping force set up to monitor the transfer of the Sinai Peninsula from Israeli to Egyptian control under the Middle East peace treaty; eliminated the entire $23.75 million for the newly established Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation; reduced World Bank funding by $200 million and Inter-American Development Bank funding by $200.3 million; reduced Asian Development Bank funding by $48.4 million; and eliminated all House-imposed prohibitions on aid to communist countries such as Vietnam and Cuba.

Syria

At the insistence of William Proxmire, D-Wis., the committee wiped out a $45 million, long-term economic aid loan to Syria.

Carter had requested $60 million for Syria, including $15 million in grants. The House had eliminated the grants, and the Senate subcommittee concurred, partly as a sign of unhappiness with Syria's opposition to the Middle East peace treaty and partly because of the slow pace of previous U.S. aid programs for Syria.

Sinai Peacekeeping Unit

In eliminating $6.1 million of the $12.1 million requested for the peacekeeping unit monitoring the transfer of the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt, the panel said the money could be restored later in a supplemental appropriation.

Under an agreement between the United States, Egypt and Israel, 200 U.S. technicians were to continue to monitor troop movements in the Egyptian territory west of the Sinai buffer zone between Egypt and Israel. The peacekeeping unit had been established in 1975. It was hoped that the U.S. force eventually would be replaced by a multinational peacekeeping operation.

International Banks

The committee generally praised the operations of the four multilateral development banks, but then cut $448.6 million from the amount requested for three of the banks. Carter sought $3.6 billion for the four banks, and the House had cut that to $2.5 billion. The Senate committee approved $3.2 billion.

The committee said the banks had taken steps to resolve longstanding criticisms leveled by Congress such as excessive travel costs and salaries and too much secrecy in their operations. But the committee complained that the banks continued to make loans to nations with poor human rights records, even though the United States opposed such loans. In setting funding levels, the committee said it considered each bank's record in making loans to nations that violated human rights.

The committee approved the full administration requests for the International Development Association; the International Finance Corp. (an affiliate of the World Bank that deals with private investment); and the African Development Fund.

But the committee sliced $200 million from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. But $180 million of the cut was in "callable capital," a loan guarantee that must be appropriated by Congress, but has never been spent by the bank.

The committee also cut funding of the Inter-American Development Bank from $1.012 billion to $812 million. It criticized the bank's practice of making low-interest loans to nations that could afford to pay higher interest rates.

The committee heaped lavish praise on the Asian Development Bank as the "most cost-conscious and best-managed" of the international institutions. But the bank's funding was cut from $419 million to $371 million, with no explanation.

Aid Prohibitions

For the third year in a row, the committee voted to eliminate all House-passed prohibitions on aid to Vietnam, Cuba, Cambodia, Laos and other nations unpopular in Congress. The House bill prohibited both direct aid, through U.S. government programs, and indirect aid, through the United Nations, the multilateral banks and other organizations that received U.S. money.

The committee said it accepted the administration's argument that such prohibitions would cut off U.S. contributions to the international banks because of their policy of not accepting money with conditions attached.

However, the committee complained that the banks ignored U.S. pleas to take human rights conditions into consideration when making loans. The U.S. vote in each of the banks "apparently does not count on human rights matters," the committee said.

The aid bans eliminated by the committee were on direct aid to Mozambique; on all direct and indirect aid to Angola, the Central African Empire, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and Cuba; and on all direct aid to Panama, except for food and medical programs.

The committee eliminated a House provision that would have prohibited U.S. funding of the Asian Development Bank unless Taiwan was allowed to remain a member. Opponents of the provision said there was no indication that Taiwan's membership was in jeopardy.

Technological Institute

With a curt swing of the ax, the committee eliminated all spending for the new Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. The Senate originally had opposed creation of the agency at the time it considered the fiscal 1980 economic aid bill (HR 3324 — PL 96-53), but relented when conferees agreed to reduce the agency's funding levels. The agency was set up to coordinate all research on aid programs in developing countries. *(Story, p. 117)*

The administration had budgeted $91 million for the institute, including $66 million in programs transferred from the Agency for International Development and $25 million in new spending. The House had cut the latter figure to $23.75 million.

The committee printed the administration's eight-paragraph justification for the new institute. That proposal, the committee said, consisted only of "vague categories of activities."

With no other comment, the committee wiped out the $23.75 million, and attached a prohibition against any money being spent on the institute.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed HR 4473 on Oct. 12 by a 53-38 vote after deleting House-imposed prohibitions on all aid to eight nations run by communist or other totalitarian regimes. That meant that for the third year in a row conferees would have to wrestle with the issue of banning U.S. aid to Vietnam, Cuba and other nations. *(Vote 347, p. 58-S)*

But in an expression of anger at the presence of Soviet combat troops in Cuba, the Senate voted to deny aid to any nation in the Western Hemisphere that permitted Soviet or other hostile troops on its soil. And the Senate adopted two restrictions on the use of U.S. voluntary contributions to the United Nations.

In a break with its past record, the Senate imposed a 3 percent across-the-board cut on all foreign aid, reducing appropriations in the bill to about $8.1 billion from the $8.4 billion figure recommended by the Appropriations Committee. The cut was approved by voice vote just minutes after the Senate rejected a 5 percent cut by a 48-50 vote. Both cuts were sponsored by Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va. *(Vote 343, p. 57-S)*

However, because the bill made $2 billion in aid for Egypt and Israel mandatory, the cut of $252 million would have to come from the other programs funded in the bill, resulting in an average cut for those programs of 4 percent.

Even with the cut, however, the Senate bill contained nearly $500 million more than the House had approved.

In other major action, the Senate approved $12.1 million for the Sinai monitoring unit, and overwhelmingly rejected a move to make a token cut in military aid to Israel as a protest against that nation's use of U.S.-supplied jets in its attacks on southern Lebanon.

Aid Prohibitions

In a series of close votes Oct. 9, the first of three days of debate on HR 4473, the Senate eliminated or softened eight House provisions that placed restrictions on U.S. aid, especially the contributions to international development banks such as the World Bank. The House restrictions banned all U.S. multilateral (indirect) aid to Vietnam and certain other nations.

Daniel K. Inouye, D-Hawaii, floor manager of the bill, told senators they should vote for the aid restrictions only if they wanted to "gut the World Bank and do away with the multilateral development banks."

"If the United States, as one of the leading contributors, insists upon placing a restriction upon its contribution, then what will stop other countries from doing the same thing?" he asked. "Once that happens, the multilateral nature of the bank will disappear."

Inouye noted, for example, that Saudi Arabia had not prohibited its contributions from being used to make loans to Israel, and Pakistan had not prohibited its contributions from being used to aid India.

Jake Garn, R-Utah, a leading proponent of the aid restrictions, said it was "not a fact" that the banks cannot accept money with strings attached. "I think the Senate and the House have a right to restrict our taxpayers' money," he said.

Criticism Leveled at Israel, Egypt

In its report, the Appropriations Committee expressed concern about developments in Israel and Egypt.

It said it was "deeply troubled" by Israel's continued raids on civilian areas in Lebanon, by Israel's continued establishment of settlements in occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and by restrictions Israel placed on aid programs for Palestinian refugee camps in the occupied territories.

The bill as reported contained $1.75 billion for Israel, including $1 billion in arms sales grants and loans and $785 million in economic aid.

The committee also expressed frustration at the "exceedingly slow pace" of Egyptian implementation of U.S. economic aid programs. "Vast amounts of United States assistance remain locked in a bureaucratic maze, to which only the Egyptian government has the key," the committee said. The bill included $750 million in economic aid to Egypt.

Garn noted that senators were lobbied on the issue by bank officials, including World Bank President McNamara. "I am always reminded that he was producer of the Edsel when he was at Ford Motor and president of that company," Garn said of McNamara. "I get a little angry, I get upset, I get a little tired of the baloney from Mr. McNamara."

The key Senate votes came on the question of banning both direct and indirect aid to Cuba and Vietnam, probably the two most unpopular nations among members of Congress.

Although the United States and the development banks did not aid Cuba, the issue gave senators a chance to voice anger at the presence of the Soviet combat brigade in Cuba.

Byrd (Va.) said the bill presented "an opportunity for the Senate to send a message to Castro and a message to the Soviet Union that the Senate is not at all enthusiastic — indeed is less than enthusiastic — about what Cuba and Russia are doing throughout the world."

That urge to punish Cuba proved so powerful that an initial motion to remove the House ban on all aid to Cuba failed on a 20-76 vote. Several prominent liberals — who opposed other aid bans — voted to keep the ban on Cuba. Among them were Alan Cranston, D-Calif., Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., Gary Hart, D-Colo., Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, and Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine. *(Vote 338, p. 56-S)*

After the vote, Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., offered an amendment to restore language permitting the international banks to grant aid to Cuba. "In the process of sending a message, we should not shoot ourselves in the foot at the same time" by cutting off contributions to the international banks, Tsongas said.

The Tsongas amendment was adopted on a 50-44 vote, with the support of most of the moderates and liberals who had voted previously for the total aid ban on Cuba. *(Vote 340, p. 56-S)*

The Vietnam issue also took two votes to resolve. The United States provided no direct aid to Vietnam, but the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank loaned Vietnam a total of $82 million in 1978. The United States was a major contributor to both banks.

The Senate first rejected, on a 54-41 vote, a House provision banning aid to Vietnam by the International Development Association (IDA), an arm of the World Bank. *(Vote 333, p. 55-S)*

That provision also contained a clause stating that the aid ban could not prevent the use of IDA funds to help Egypt and Sudan. Bank supporters in the House had attached that clause in order to cast a legal question over the ban on Vietnam aid.

Later, on a more clear-cut issue, the Senate rejected a sweeping ban on aid to Vietnam and four other nations by only a three-vote margin, 49-46. The other nations were Angola, the Central African Republic, Cambodia and Laos. This was the closest Senate vote on the aid bans.

Twenty-four conservative-to-moderate Democrats joined 22 conservative Republicans in support of that aid ban. But 19 Republicans, from the most conservative to the most liberal, joined 30 Democrats to reject the ban. *(Vote 337, p. 55-S)*

Aside from the prohibition on direct aid to Cuba, the Senate defeated, by a 39-58 vote, an attempt to delete a House-passed restriction — a ban on direct aid to Mozambique. However, that provision allowed the president to supply such aid if he determined it would be in the national interest to do so. *(Vote 336, p. 55-S)*

In other action, the Senate rejected the following House-imposed aid restrictions:

- A prohibition on most direct U.S. aid to Panama. The major effect of the House prohibition was to stop $5 million in arms sales credits and a $500,000 military training grant. The Senate reversed the House provision by a 56-39 vote. *(Vote 339, p. 56-S)*
- A prohibition on contributions to the Asian Development Bank unless Taiwan retained its membership in the bank. Opponents insisted the bank had no plans to end Taiwan's membership, while a ban would bring up the question of attaching qualifications to U.S. aid. The Senate vote was 58-39. *(Vote 335, p. 55-S)*
- A prohibition on direct aid to any government that sheltered a person or group sought by any other government for prosecution of a war crime. That provision apparently was aimed at punishing Paraguay because it reportedly harbored the Nazi Josef Mengele, the "angel of death" of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The Senate rejected the House provision by voice vote.
- A prohibition on use of funds by the Export-Import Bank or the Overseas Private Investment Corp. for commodity production programs that caused "substantial injury" to U.S. producers. The Senate rejected the House ban by voice vote.

On Oct. 11 the Senate voted to impose a prohibition, proposed by Garn, on direct U.S. aid to Angola, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. That action came on a voice vote with no debate.

Dole Amendment

The symbolic action denying aid to any Western Hemisphere country that permitted troops hostile to the United States on its soil would have had no immediate effect on U.S. foreign assistance. But it showed that senators were anxious to demonstrate that the United States would not allow the Soviet Union or Cuba to foment revolution in Latin America.

Robert Dole, R-Kan., introduced the aid cutoff amendment Oct. 12. The amendment included two provisions:

- A sense of the Senate resolution that the United States should work with the Organization of American States "to ensure that no further military encroachments are made in the Western Hemisphere by foreign countries;" and
- A prohibition on U.S. aid to any country in the Western Hemisphere that "does not oppose the stationing within its territory of hostile combat forces from a country outside the Western Hemisphere or Soviet or Soviet-sponsored combat forces located within the Western Hemisphere."

Dole defined "hostile combat forces" as those hostile to the interests of the United States.

Dole admitted his amendment "cannot affect the Russian troops now in Cuba." But he said it would "send a clear signal to the Soviet Union and others, including radical groups in Latin America itself, that future outside incursions will not be tolerated."

The Senate adopted the amendment by voice vote without debate, with only a handful of senators present.

Bank Funds

On another controversial issue, the Senate took a middle course, setting funding for the international banks well below the administration requests in some cases, but far higher than the House allowances.

The Senate action restored $663 million for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. President Carter had requested $1.025 billion for that bank, but the House approved only $163 million.

Inouye argued that the United States received benefits from the banks far in excess of its contributions. The banks were responsible for economic development projects that allowed poor nations to trade with the United States, he said. And most of the U.S. aid was only "on paper," since the banks used U.S. loan guarantees to obtain money on commercial markets. By cutting appropriations to the banks "you are not slashing anything," Inouye said. "We are actually slashing our own economic throat."

By a 53-41 vote, the Senate upheld its Appropriations Committee's decision to provide $825.8 million for the bank. Only $83 million of that amount actually would be spent by the U.S. Treasury, however. The remainder was in loan guarantees. *(Vote 332, p. 55-S)*

By a 52-45 vote, the Senate also boosted funding for the Asian Development Bank by $15.6 million over the House amount. *(Vote 334, p. 55-S)*

And on a voice vote, the Senate agreed to pay the full $292 million the United States had owed the IDA since 1974.

Israeli Arms

On a 78-7 vote, the Senate Oct. 11 tabled an amendment by Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., to delete $100 million from the $1 billion requested for arms sales credits for Israel. Since 1977 the United States had given Israel $1 billion annually in military aid, half in grants and half in long-term loans. Hatfield's amendment would have cut the grant portion to $400 million. *(Vote 345, p. 57-S)*

The amendment forced the Senate into a rare debate on the extent of U.S. support for Israel.

Hatfield offered the amendment as a "symbolic gesture" to protest Israel's bombing of civilian areas in southern Lebanon with U.S.-supplied planes. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance had admitted that Israel probably violated an agreement that it would use U.S. weapons only for its defense.

Hatfield said the United States should tell Israel that the bombings would not accomplish the intended purpose of wiping out Palestinian terrorists.

"Airpower alone is not going to destroy the enemy," he said. "What they are destroying in such attacks are civilians, innocent bystanders, victims of this struggle. I suggest that the more bombs Israel drops in south Lebanon, the more Palestinian terrorists will be created out of that kind of action."

And Adlai E. Stevenson, D-Ill., said the U.S. "moral commitment" to Israel "was never a commitment to a government of Israel, right or wrong, at the expense of our own interests. Israel was established to right ancient injustices, not to create new ones."

The amendment was denounced by nine senators, including several of the Senate's most vocal supporters of Israel.

Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., said adoption of the amendment would represent "a vote of no confidence" in Israel that "could be very devastating. . . in terms of her ability to even persist as a nation."

Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said a rebuke of Israel would upset the Mideast peace process at "a delicate stage. "This is the time when the United States should be reassuring Israel and all those forces that are trying to move the process forward to a genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East," Kennedy said.

And Richard Stone, D-Fla., said a vote on the Hatfield amendment would test U.S. support for Israel.

"I welcome this vote because it has been said more and more recently that there is an erosion of support in Congress for the survival of the state of Israel," he said. "This vote which we will take will put that rumor to rest."

U.N. Aid Bans

The Senate adopted by voice votes two amendments restricting the use of U.S. voluntary contributions to the United Nations. Those amendments were:

- By Garn, to prohibit such contributions from being used for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), or the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU).
- By Byrd, Ind-Va., to prohibit voluntary contributions to the United Nations from being used to assist Cuba.

The Byrd amendment broadened a provision of existing law that directed the president "to seek to assure" that U.S. contributions to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) would not be used to assist Cuba "so long as Cuba is governed by the Castro regime." Congress added that restriction to the foreign aid act in 1966. *(1966 Almanac p. 400)*

An aide to Byrd said the bill had included $500,000 for Cuba through the UNDP.

However, C. William Maynes, assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, told a House subcommittee in March that U.N. officials repeatedly had assured the United States that its contributions were not combined with funds used for Cuba.

Because the Garn and Byrd amendments restricted voluntary, rather than mandatory, contributions to the United Nations, they would not automatically force the United States to hold up its other U.N. contributions, a State Department official said.

Congress earlier in 1979 lifted a prohibition on use of U.S. mandatory contributions for U.N. technical assistance programs. That restriction, adopted by the Senate in 1978, held up all U.S. mandatory contributions for nearly a year. President Carter said he could not ensure that U.S.-assessed contributions would not be used for technical assistance programs. *(Mandatory contributions, State Department authorization bill, p. 131)*

The Senate, however, rejected another attempt to restrict U.S. contributions to the United Nations.

On a 42-50 vote, the Senate turned down an amendment by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to cut $500,000 from the U.S. voluntary contribution that would be used for the United Nations Institute for Namibia. The amendment also would have prohibited any U.S. funds from being used for the institute. The institute trained members of the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), a guerrilla group that was fighting South Africa for control of Namibia, formerly South-West Africa. *(Vote 346, p. 58-S)*

Export-Import Bank

With little debate, the Senate boosted the spending limit for the Export-Import Bank by $1.8 billion. Garn offered the amendment, which increased the bank's spending authority to $7.4 billion. President Carter had requested $5.6 billion for the bank, which subsidized trade by U.S. businesses. Although that figure represented a limit on spending by the bank, rather than on actual outlays by the U.S. Treasury, it was counted in both the new budget authority and outlay columns of the congressional budget resolution.

Other Amendments

In other action, the Senate adopted the following amendments:

- By Lawton Chiles, D-Fla., increasing from $7.2 million to $16 million the amount available for narcotics control programs in Colombia. Voice vote.
- By Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., to prohibit the Agency for International Development or any other U.S. agency from spending money to assist in the establishment of the newly authorized Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. Recorded vote, 76-22. *(Vote 344, p. 57-S)*
- By Kennedy, declaring it the sense of Congress that the United States should "generously support" international relief efforts to provide food for starving people in Cambodia. Voice vote.
- By Javits, to allow the president to waive repayment on debts owed the United States by 14 nations in the following amounts: Bangladesh ($4 million); Benin ($434,000); Botswana ($436,000); Guinea ($295,000); Haiti ($636,000); Malawi ($849,000); Mali ($156,000); Nepal ($4,000); Niger ($100,000); Somalia ($2,523,000); Sudan ($235,000); Tanzania ($2,093,000); Uganda ($465,000); and North Yemen ($26,000). Voice vote.
- By Hatfield, to allow up to $20 million in foreign economic aid appropriations to be used to assist Uganda. Voice vote.
- By Stone, to add $6 million for peacekeeping operations in order to provide the full $12.1 million requested for the Sinai peacekeeping unit monitoring the transfer of the Sinai Peninsula to Egyptian control. Voice vote.
- By Javits, to earmark $1.7 million for Sudan under the military assistance grant program. Voice vote.
- By John Glenn, D-Ohio, to provide an additional $12.3 million in arms sales credits, thus permitting total sales of $123 million. The amendment permitted additional arms

sales to Greece, Turkey, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Morocco, Oman and Sudan. Voice vote.

• By Garn, to continue a previously enacted prohibition on use of Peace Corps funds to pay for abortions. Voice vote.

• By Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., to place the following limits on the U.S. share of contributions to the international development banks: Asian Development Bank paid-in capital — 16.3 percent, callable capital — 16.3 percent; Asian Development Fund — 22.2 percent; Inter-American Development Bank paid-in capital — 34.5 percent, callable capital — 34.5 percent; Fund for Special Operations — 40 percent; African Development Bank Special Fund — 18 percent; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development paid-in capital — 24 percent, callable capital — 24 percent; International Development Association — 25 percent; and International Finance Corp. — 23 percent.

Conference Action

The House-Senate conference was marked by bitter arguments and accusations. The chairmen of the House and Senate foreign aid appropriations subcommittees accused each other of not trying to reach compromises on the outstanding issues. However, conferees were able to resolve some differences before breaking off their meetings.

Aid to Vietnam

One of the key issues before the conference involved provisions of the House bill banning direct or indirect U.S. aid to Vietnam, Cuba and several other nations under authoritarian rule.

Conservatives, particularly in the House, were angered by loans made to Vietnam by the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the United Nations Development Program. The House amendment would have prohibited those agencies from using contributions from the United States to aid Vietnam and the other proscribed nations. The Senate had voted to eliminate the House provisions.

Conference discussion of the issue quickly dissolved into an emotional debate about Vietnam that appeared likely to stall resolution of the issue. However, Rep. David R. Obey, D-Wis., was able to promise that the administration would ask World Bank President McNamara to pledge to halt loans to Vietnam if the House dropped the restrictions on bank contributions.

Obey and Matthew F. McHugh, D-N.Y., drafted a letter promising a freeze on World Bank loans to Vietnam, and McNamara signed it. House conferees then agreed to drop the restrictions. McNamara was later criticized by World Bank board members for signing the letter.

As part of the compromise, conferees sliced $20 million from the $292 million U.S. allocation to the World Bank's International Development Association. Conferees said that amount was the U.S. share of a $60 million loan the bank made to Vietnam in 1978.

Other Issues Resolved

Conferees split the difference between the House and Senate figures for arms sales loans to friendly nations. The final figure for arms sales credits was $659.25 million, compared to $645 million voted by the House and $673.5 million voted by the Senate.

That figure permitted total arms sales of $2.1 billion, including a $500 million grant to Israel, a $500 million loan to Israel, and the rest in loans for 26 other nations. Although not earmarked in the bill, the final amount allowed loans for $250 million to Turkey and $200 million to Greece. Those were the compromise figures approved by Congress in September, reached after a dispute over Carter's request for additional aid to Turkey stalled the fiscal 1980 military aid bill for three months.

Conferees also approved $110.2 million in military assistance grants. The only grant earmarked in the bill was $1.7 million for Sudan, but other countries expected to receive large grants were Jordan, Portugal, the Philippines, Spain and Turkey.

Conferees settled on $1.9 billion for the economic support fund program — $102 million less than requested by the administration. As in previous years, Israel and Egypt received the bulk of the support funds.

The bill also earmarked $5 million for international relief efforts for refugees in Rhodesia, and $53.5 million for southern African nations that suffered from the war in Rhodesia.

Scientific Institute

The conference committee could not decide whether to fund Carter's proposed Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

Congress authorized the institute in the fiscal 1980 foreign economic aid bill (HR 3324 — PL 96-53), and the House approved a $23.75 million appropriation for the new agency. But the Senate deleted the funds, and Senate conferees insisted that no money for the institute be included in the bill.

Sen. Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., an opponent of the institute, called it "a new bureaucracy created just to satisfy the universities that get millions of dollars for research projects." DeConcini cited heavy lobbying on the issue by universities, education groups and the State Department. Proponents even enlisted former teachers of members of Congress to lobby for the institute.

Only two conferees, Reps. Long and Conte, argued for the institute. Conte suggested a compromise appropriation of $11.5 million, instead of the $23.75 million approved by the House. But DeConcini rejected the compromise.

World Bank

The conference committee was also unable to resolve the issue of funding for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Carter had asked for slightly more than $1 billion for the bank, 90 percent of which was to be in loan guarantees. The House sliced that request to $163.1 million, the same amount appropriated in fiscal 1979. And the Senate approved $825.5 million.

In negotiations during conference, Rep. Long proposed $308 million, the amount originally approved by the House Appropriations Committee.

Sen. Inouye countered with a proposal of $750 million. He suggested that Long explain to the House that most of the money was in loan guarantees that would never be spent.

Long responded: "I have no intention of explaining that, because they won't believe me." Long said the Senate figure was "totally unrealistic, and was put in there for bargaining purposes."

Inouye lowered his offer to $650 million, but Long still refused, and conferees decided to report the bill in disagreement on that issue. ▮

Pay, Abortion Issues Delay Hill Funding Bills

The political volatility of congressional pay increases was vividly demonstrated once again in 1979 when the issue became a key factor in a Senate-House feud. That dispute caused the government to start its new fiscal year Oct. 1 without spending authority for most agencies.

Before the issue was settled, Congress had managed to involve the equally explosive abortion issue, one regular appropriations bill and six continuing appropriations resolutions into a legislative tangle that took months to unravel.

Details on the individual bills are carried in stories following this summary: Legislative appropriations, p. 271; Continuing appropriations, p. 280.

SUMMARY

Here, in summary, is what had happened once the dust had settled on Capitol Hill:

Congressional Pay

Members of Congress received a 5.5 percent pay increase. This raised their annual salaries from the existing $57,500 to a new level of $60,662.50.

Top-Level Executive Pay

Top-level executive branch officials also received a 5.5 percent increase. This figure applied to workers making more than $47,500 a year.

Regular Government Pay

Other government workers received a 7 percent pay increase. This increase came about through operation of an automatic salary review process in the federal government that sought to keep federal pay comparable to private sector pay. But the increase often was referred to as an annual cost-of-living pay hike. The 7 percent hike for regular bureaucrats was never in serious doubt, and no effort was made to block it.

The annual review covered Congress also. But instead of the 7 percent increase, many legislators sought a smaller hike because they decided there would be less political risk from voters if they shaved the size of their own increase. Only after a protracted battle, did both houses agree to accept a 5.5 percent increase. In the process, Congress cut the increase for top-level executive branch workers because members always have applied to these highly paid officials the same restraints they impose on themselves.

Federal Judicial Pay

Federal judges received a 12.9 percent pay increase. This larger increase came about when Congress did not act by Oct. 1, 1979 — the beginning of fiscal 1980 and the effective date for all of the pay hikes — to restrict the size of the increases for itself, top-level officials or judges. *(New judicial pay rates, box, next page)*

The larger percentage increase resulted from a combination of the 7 percent hike that all government workers received plus a separate cost-of-living increase from a year earlier that Congress had voted to deny to itself, top-level officials and judges. The two together totaled 12.9 percent. Each of these groups received that amount on Oct. 1, 1979, but Congress a few weeks later rolled back the hike to 5.5 percent — a power the legislators clearly had over their own pay and the pay of executive branch workers.

However, the Constitution stipulates that a judge's pay may not be reduced during his term of office. Consequently, once the 12.9 percent hike went into effect on Oct. 1, it appeared that Congress was constitutionally precluded from reducing the amount.

In its final action on the pay hike, Congress did say that judges couldn't get more than a 5.5 percent hike. The effect of that provision, however, was doubtful; it was thought — even by some of its congressional backers — to force judges to go to court to get their money. It was widely believed that they would win.

However, at the end of the year the issue remained unsettled. A lawsuit had been filed on behalf of federal judges asking that the 12.9 percent increase be paid. But while that suit was pending, judges continued to receive their old rate of pay that included neither the 1978 nor the 1979 cost-of-living increases.

Abortion

The Senate retreated from a long-standing opposition to strict anti-abortion language insisted upon by the House. At issue was federal funding of abortions for the poor. The House wanted funding only to save the life of the mother; the Senate argued for other exceptions. In 1979, the House won the war. The principal anti-abortion language voted by Congress allowed federal money for abortions only to save the life of the mother or in cases of "promptly reported" rape or incest.

Legislative Funds

Funding for Congress was approved in a way that the Senate never voted directly on its own money. The original legislative appropriations bill was defeated in the House and never voted on in the Senate. Later, congressional funding for all of fiscal 1980 was wrapped into a continuing resolution that was passed by both chambers; but the specific funds for the Senate were referred to only tangentially in the resolution and never were put to a direct vote in either chamber.

Comity

One casualty of this dispute was the principle of comity, whereby the House and Senate refrain from publicly criticizing each other's actions. That tradition fell by the wayside when the Senate and House got into one of the sharpest name-calling episodes in years over the responsibility for continual delays in funding much of the federal government after the new fiscal year began in October. *(Comity box, p. 277)*

All of these events came about through congressional action — or non-action — on the regular legislative appropriations bill and a series of continuing resolutions that were intended to keep money flowing to federal agencies after the new fiscal year began Oct. 1, 1979, even though Congress still hadn't acted on all the normal funding legislation.

Central to the convoluted maneuvering was, first, the pay issue and, second, the abortion issue.

New Judicial Salaries

Shown below are the old and new salaries for federal judges resulting from a 12.9 percent pay increase that judges claim they should have received beginning Oct. 1 as a result of automatic pay hikes made available to most government workers. Congress in October sought to limit judges' increases to 7 percent, but a section of the Constitution appeared to prohibit that. By the end of the year, the federal judges had not received any pay increase as the issue was fought out in a court suit.

	Old	New
Chief Justice	$75,000	$84,700
Associate Justices	$72,000	$81,300
Judges, Circuit Courts of Appeals, Court of Claims, Court of Military Appeals, Court of Customs and Patent Appeals	$57,500	$65,000
Judges, U.S. District Courts, Customs Court, Tax Court	$54,500	$61,500

BACKGROUND ON PAY

Members of Congress received salaries that were vastly larger than those earned by all but a handful of other Americans; as 1979 began, senators and representatives were paid $57,500 a year.

The last time members of Congress had a pay raise was in February 1977, when their salaries were increased to that level from $44,600 a year. *(1977 Almanac p. 751)*

Basic federal pay raises for Congress and other top-level federal officials came through a quadrennial commission that reviewed salaries and recommended increases. The procedure was established in 1967 and worked as expected in 1969. The second commission was established late and didn't report until 1974, and the Senate killed its recommendations. By that time, Congress hadn't had a pay hike since 1969.

In 1975, members of Congress made themselves and other top-level officials eligible to receive annual pay raises already provided lower-level federal white collar workers each fall. The annual raises occurred under the "comparability" or cost-of-living pay procedures used by the government to keep the earnings of federal workers in line with private sector employees. The 1975 increase from that action took congressional salaries to $44,600 from $42,500. *(1975 Almanac p. 703)*

The increase to $57,500 came in 1977 on the recommendation of the third quadrennial commission. *(1977 Almanac p. 754)*

But Congress that year and in 1978 exempted itself, judges and all other federal officials at or over the $47,500 pay level from the annual comparability hike. Mindful that 1978 was an election year, members feared the voters would not take kindly to a raise for high-paid legislators in a period of booming inflation that was shrinking the incomes of most Americans. Some 16,000 persons were affected. Other federal workers got the raise, which was 5.5 percent. *(1978 Almanac p. 93)*

In exempting itself from the 1978 cost-of-living pay increase, however, Congress did not block the salary increase from being recorded on the books. Instead, it merely blocked the additional money from being paid out in fiscal 1979 by the Treasury.

On Sept. 30, 1979, when fiscal 1979 ended and the prohibition in PL 95-391 expired, Congress technically was entitled to the 5.5 percent increase it didn't pay itself in the fall of 1978.

1979 Comparability Hike. But that wasn't the end of it. In October 1979, members were also due for an automatic 7 percent pay hike under the comparability procedure.

If nothing were done, members would get both pay hikes, plus some interest on the 5.5 percent amount, for a total increase of 12.9 percent, or more than $7,400.

With the election just a year in the future, a move was launched to limit or even deny any increase for Congress.

The House Appropriations Committee recommended that the raise be limited to 7 percent, but in June, the House knocked that limit down to 5.5 percent and then rejected its own appropriations bill because it thought that increase too high.

Then, in late September, both chambers bogged down in controversy over a continuing resolution that was being used to approve the pay hike. The continuing resolution was needed to fund agencies for which regular appropriations bills had not been passed by Oct. 1 — which meant most of the government. By Oct. 1, Congress had passed only three of the 13 regular appropriations bills.

CONTINUING RESOLUTION IMBROGLIO

First Continuing Resolution. The House, which under the Constitution must consider all appropriations bills before the Senate, rejected the first continuing resolution (H J Res 399) because it contained a pay raise. A second continuing resolution (H J Res 404) was introduced, and the House relented, accepting on a non-recorded vote, a 5.5 percent hike.

For the first time the Senate got to voice its opinion on the subject, and it said no raise. At the same time the Senate added to the resolution language on federal payments for abortions. That action added another dimension to the dispute because the Senate and House had argued over abortion language for years and were already embroiled in a dispute over an abortion rider to the Labor-Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill. *(Story, p. 236)*

The House language would have permitted federal funding only for abortions performed to save the mother's life. The Senate language also permitted federally funded abortions for pregnancies that resulted from rape or incest that had been promptly reported to authorities or where continued pregnancy would result in severe and long-lasting physical injury to the mother.

The Senate bill, with no pay raise but with its more liberal abortion language, then went to a conference committee. Conferees agreed to the 5.5 percent pay hike but could not resolve the stalemate on the abortion issue.

The House Sept. 28 — just two days before the new fiscal year was to begin — adopted the conference language on the pay raise and backed its conferees' refusal to yield on abortion. It then recessed for 10 days, leaving the Senate either to accept both the pay raise and the House abortion language or kill the funding resolution. The latter meant that most of the government would have no power to spend money as of Oct. 1 and that the 12.9 percent pay hike would take effect. An angry Senate responded quickly by rejecting

the conference report and attaching its language to another pending resolution (H J Res 402).

Second Continuing Resolution. When the House returned from its recess Oct. 9 it approved two new continuing resolutions. One (H J Res 412) continued funding for all federal agencies without regular appropriations bills except Labor and HEW. It also allowed a 5.5 percent pay increase. The second (H J Res 413) continued funding for Labor and HEW and contained the House language on abortion. House leaders hoped isolation of the abortion dispute in a separate bill would permit Congress to approve quickly continuing appropriations for most of the government.

But that strategy failed when the Senate combined both measures into one resolution, again deleted the pay raise and insisted on its abortion language.

Once again the issues were turned over to House-Senate conferees, who reached a shaky truce Oct. 12 that both chambers agreed to accept. The resolution (H J Res 412 — PL 96-86), which was signed Oct. 12, came just in time. An official at the Office of Management and Budget said that some 2.3 million federal paychecks would have been reduced or not issued at all if the dispute hadn't been resolved by Oct. 17.

On pay, the Senate backed down on its earlier action, agreeing to a 5.5 percent pay hike. That meant members of Congress would earn $60,662.50 a year. The 5.5 percent increase also applied to executive officials and congressional staffers making $47,500 or more.

Although Congress gave judges the 5.5 percent raise, it appeared likely that they would actually receive the full 12.9 percent pay hike. That increase technically went into effect Oct. 1 when Congress failed to act by the beginning of the new fiscal year. Any reduction in that increase was likely to violate the constitutional stricture against reducing a judge's salary during his term of office.

On abortion, the House agreed to the Senate language which would permit federal funding of abortion in cases of promptly reported rape and incest as well as to save the life of the mother. But the Senate gave up its demand that federal funding also be permitted in instances where continued pregnancy would result in severe physical harm to the mother.

Legislative Funds

Lost in the furor over the pay and abortion issues was the disposition of the regular appropriations for the legislative branch, the bill which had been the original vehicle for the pay dispute. The continuing resolution enacted into law continued funding for affected federal departments and agencies only through Nov. 20. Another resolution would then be required to continue funding for those agencies for which regular appropriations still had not been enacted. Such a resolution (H J Res 440 — PL 96-123) was cleared routinely Nov. 16 and signed Nov. 20. *(Details, second continuing resolution, p. 280)*

But in the first resolution, Congress made one exception, continuing appropriations for itself through the end of fiscal 1980. Spending levels were set generally at the amounts contained in the rejected House bill for the House and joint items together with the Senate budget estimates.

This approach, which was adopted with no debate and minimal discussion in both committee reports and on the floor, meant that the House had not approved nor the Senate even considered fiscal 1980 legislative spending on its own merits.

Legislative Appropriations

In a highly unusual procedure, Congress slipped through fiscal 1980 funding for itself as part of a stopgap continuing resolution.

As a result, Congress never enacted a separate fiscal 1980 legislative appropriations bill. Moreover, the House never approved and the Senate never even debated fiscal 1980 legislative funding on its own merits.

The dispute over the congressional pay raise was the catalyst for the exceptional treatment of the fiscal 1980 legislative appropriations.

The House voted 186-232 June 13 to reject the regular legislative appropriations bill (HR 4390) after controversial language allowing a 5.5 percent pay raise was put into the bill on a complex series of parliamentary maneuvers.

HR 4390 was returned to the House Appropriations Committee, which was slow to reconsider it. The bill thus became one of 10 regular appropriations bills that Congress had not cleared before Oct. 1, the beginning of the 1980 fiscal year.

Funds for the legislative branch — as well as for the other federal departments and agencies that had not received their regular funding — were therefore routinely included in a continuing appropriations resolution (H J Res 399). That bill and another continuing resolution (H J Res 404) both fell victim to a revived dispute over a congressional pay raise and abortion language.

When the House committee took up a third continuing resolution (H J Res 412), it added provisions to fund the legislative branch through fiscal 1980; funding for other departments and agencies covered in the bill was made available only to Nov. 20.

H J Res 412 (PL 96-86) was cleared Oct. 12, providing $1,157,985,400 for the operations of the legislative branch in fiscal 1980, about 10 percent less than the budget request.

Rep. Adam Benjamin Jr., D-Ind., chairman of the House Legislative Appropriations Subcommittee, said this was done because legislative funding wasn't controversial and because the amount of money was small compared to most of the other 12 regular appropriations bills.

He acknowledged that the regular legislative funding bill (HR 4390) was never passed by the House or formally considered in the Senate. But he said members on both sides largely agreed on the necessary funding levels. Benjamin added that funding in the continuing resolution was $97 million below the budget estimates at the beginning of the year.

H J Res 412 used the figures that were in the rejected House bill, plus the budget estimates for the Senate that had been prepared earlier in the year. In addition, the resolution made a few revisions in the House bill figures.

Final Provisions

	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
Congressional Operations		
Senate	$ 205,871,000	$ 206,884,000
House	326,415,100	312,903,900
Joint Items	80,237,500	60,152,500
Office of Technology Assessment	12,500,000	11,000,000
Congressional Budget Office	13,586,000	12,117,000

	Budget Request	Final Appropriation
Architect of the Capitol	62,732,000	58,346,000
Congressional Research Service	30,335,000	27,090,000
Government Printing Office (congressional printing)	76,212,000	74,500,000
Total	807,888,600	762,993,400
Related Agencies		
Botanic Gardens	1,473,000	1,464,000
Library of Congress	162,565,000	150,401,000
Architect of the Capitol (library buildings and grounds)	8,785,000	4,410,000
Copyright Royalty Tribunal	631,000	471,000
Government Printing Office (other than congressional printing)	42,578,000	36,646,000
General Accounting Office	206,763,000	200,300,000
Cost Accounting Standards Board	1,800,000	1,300,000
Total	424,595,000	394,992,000
GRAND TOTAL	$1,232,483,600	$1,157,985,400

ACTION ON HR 4390, LEGISLATIVE FUNDS

Concern over a congressional pay raise caused the House to reject a bill funding legislative branch operations for fiscal 1980. It was the first fiscal 1980 appropriations bill to come before the House.

The House voted 186-232 June 13 to reject the fiscal 1980 legislative appropriations measuure (HR 4390) after language allowing a 5.5 percent pay raise was put into the bill. *(Vote 209, p. 64-H)*

The bill made fiscal 1980 appropriations of $952,878,400 for the House and joint items shared by the House and Senate. Traditionally, the Senate added funds for its own operations to the legislative branch appropriations bill.

Committee Action

The House Appropriations Committee reported HR 4390 (H Rept 96-245) June 7 by voice vote. As reported, the bill provided legislative branch funds of $952,878,400 for fiscal 1980, a reduction of $82,096,200 from the legislative agencies' budget requests for the year but an increase of about 3 percent over the amount appropriated in fiscal 1979.

Of the total appropriation, $562,886,400 was for the actual operation of Congress and $389,992,000 was for related legislative branch agencies.

The 3 percent increase in fiscal 1980 over the fiscal 1979 appropriation did not reflect the effect of a 5 percent reduction in funding that had been imposed on 1979 legislative spending by a floor amendment to the 1979 appropriations bill offered by Rep. Silvio O. Conte, R-Mass. The reduction was to be applied to all fiscal 1979 spending not required by law. *(1978 Almanac p. 96)*

According to the Appropriations Committee report, legislative agencies responded to the amendment by cutting a total of $22 million, or about 2.4 percent of the total funds appropriated, from their fiscal 1979 spending.

Salary Increase Issue. The committee voted June 5 by voice vote to include in HR 4390 a 7 percent ceiling on the salary increase that members of Congress and other top federal workers could receive as a result of the annual cost-of-living increase that was expected to be proposed for all federal workers in October.

The amendment to provide the 7 percent cap was offered by John P. Murtha, D-Pa. Murtha explained the cap was needed to prevent top federal officials from receiving a 12.9 percent raise at the time the salary freeze for fiscal 1979 was to expire. *(Pay issue background, p. 270)*

Two days later, however, Rep. George M. O'Brien, R-Ill., a member of the panel, told reporters he had not realized at the time that the amendment would permit a pay increase of up to 7 percent to take place without a floor vote. He announced he would fight the measure on the floor.

Travel Funds. During its June 5 markup of the legislative funding bill, the committee also dealt with a controversy over discretionary travel funds.

A 1977 General Accounting Office study had concluded that 15 percent of federal travel records did not meet government travel criteria. As a result, the Legislative Appropriations Subcommittee cut by 16.5 percent its estimate of the total funds to be spent during fiscal 1980 on legislative travel by congressional employees other than members.

Such travel, along with many other House expenses, was paid for from the House contingent fund, which was replenished through supplemental appropriations if it ran short of money.

To give teeth to its estimate, the subcommittee put in its draft report on HR 4390 a statement that its "budget requests for discretionary travel funds have been lowered [by] $2,812,992," or 16.5 percent.

The draft statement prompted letters of protest from House Administration Committee Chairman Frank Thompson Jr., D-N.J., Public Works Chairman Harold T. Johnson, D-Calif., and Veterans' Affairs Chairman Ray Roberts, D-Texas. The three were joined in their protest by Appropriations Chairman Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss., who urged subcommittee Chairman Benjamin to delete the cut from the bill.

"You're playing with dynamite when you start playing with their travel funds," Whitten told Benjamin. "We've got to get our bills through Congress. . . . We've got to live and get along here."

"We have not taken any money out of this bill for travel," Benjamin angrily responded. "Nobody is in jeopardy. The letters are completely erroneous and not fact."

Nonetheless, Benjamin bowed to the pressure and deleted the language from the report. The change in report language resulted in no change in the bill, however.

Duplicative Studies. In its report, the committee said it was concerned over duplication of effort in studies conducted by the General Accounting Office, Office of Technology Assessment, the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service and the Congressional Budget Office. It asked these entities to work together more closely in order to avoid repetitive work and unnecessary studies.

Chauffeurs. The committee also noted in its report that employees paid under the legislative appropriations bill who were assigned the use of official vehicles were not entitled to the private use of chauffeurs or of the vehicles themselves.

The issue arose when Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., learned that Architect of the Capitol George M. White used his chauffeured car to go to and from his private residence. Hamilton wrote subcommittee Chairman Benjamin demanding that the chauffeuring of legislative branch officials be eliminated altogether.

House of Representatives Items

The committee recommended a total of $312,903,900 for fiscal 1980 for the operation of the House, an increase of $6,887,500 over the 1979 level.

Members' Compensation. The bill provided $27.9 million for members' compensation and mileage. Of this, $27,690,000 was for salaries, retirement benefits, life insurance and health insurance for House members.

An additional $210,000 was to cover members' travel from their home districts to Washington at the beginning of the session, and back home at the end of the session. This sum did not cover additional transportation for the members, which was provided in the contingent fund.

House Leadership Offices. The committee recommended $2,222,300 for the operation of the offices of the Speaker, the majority leader, the majority whip, the minority leader and the minority whip.

House Employees. The bill provided a total of $29,613,300 for the salaries of House officers and employees, reflecting a cut of seven positions in the House barbershop. The committee criticized the Capitol Police for excessive overtime payments.

Committee Employees. For the salaries of professional and clerical employees of the 22 House standing committees, the committee recommended $24,705,000.

Committee Studies. The committee provided $2,950,000 for studies and investigations to be carried out by the Appropriations Committee. For Budget Committee studies, the committee provided $277,000.

Members' Clerk Hire. Because every member was allowed $288,156 each year for office staff salaries, the total clerk hire fund should total $126,500,484. But because many members habitually turned back unused funds at the end of the year, the committee recommended that only $118,307,600 be provided for the fiscal year.

Contingent Fund. For the allowances and expenses of members, the budgets of the special and select committees and for the expenses of investigations of the standing committees, the committee recommended a total of $104,476,700 for fiscal 1980.

The sum included $42.1 million for committee expenses and $62,376,700 for members' allowances and expenses, including official expenses, supplies, materials, administrative costs, furniture and other costs.

Joint Items

The committee recommended a total of $79,723,500 for the House share of expenses of services and committees shared with the Senate. The Joint Economic Committee was provided $2,468,000, the Joint Committee on Printing $719,000 and the Joint Committee on Taxation $2,455,000.

Physician. The committee approved $459,000 for the Office of the Attending Physician.

Capitol Police. The committee provided a total of $22,157,027 to fund police operations and 1,181 police personnel. The Capitol Police Board was urged to end its reliance on Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Police for additional manpower and to become autonomous as soon as possible.

Education of Pages. The committee provided $220,000 for the salaries and expenses of the Capitol Page School, which was operated by the District of Columbia Board of Education.

Official Mail Costs. A total of $70,707,000 was recommended as payment to the U.S. Postal Service to cover the cost of franked mail that was projected to be sent out during fiscal 1980. The committee said the money would be made available to the Postal Service as soon as possible, to cover any shortages that might occur in 1979 funds.

The report said that comparable 1978 expenditures were $47,236,000 and that the 1979 appropriation for this category was $64,944,000.

Capitol Guide Service. The sum of $610,000 was recommended for the Capitol Guide Service. The hiring of an additional 10 employees was permitted for periods of up to six months to help out during the peak tourist season.

Technology, Budget Offices

The committee criticized the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) for inflated budget requests, excessively technical language in its reports, the use of expensive printing techniques, the unauthorized leasing of additional office space, a request for too many parking spaces, and too much money being spent on consultant fees and staff salaries and benefits.

The committee recommended a budget of $9,385,000 for OTA for fiscal 1980, a cut of more than $3 million from OTA's budget estimate, and more than $300,000 below its fiscal 1979 appropriation.

The committee recommended an appropriation of $12,117,000, a cut of about $1.5 million below the budget request, for the Congressional Budget Office (CBO). Most of the cuts were ordered to be made in CBO services.

Architect, Buildings, Grounds

The committee recommended $47,167,00 for operational and maintenance activities of the Capitol architect, except for Senate and Library of Congress housekeeping, which were covered in separate line items in the bill.

The number of elevator operators in House office buildings was to be reduced to 14, and the number in the House side of the Capitol building to 22, by the end of the fiscal year.

The committee noted that $25,500,000 already had been appropriated for renovations to the House Office Building Annex II, formerly an FBI office building. The panel asked the architect to finish the job with the available funds.

CRS, GPO

For the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service, the committee recommended a total of $27,090,000, about $3 million less than the service requested but $1.5 million more than it received in fiscal 1979. The committee denied a request for the funding of television and radio production equipment, ordering the research service to use other available facilities.

Congressional printing and binding was funded at $74,500,000 by the committee, a cut from the $76,212,000 requested. The committee congratulated the Government Printing Office (GPO) for its automation program, which resulted in the elimination of almost 1,000 jobs since 1972.

Related Agencies

Botanic Garden. The committee recommended $1,464,000 for the expenses of the Botanic Garden. Purchase of a new delivery truck was not permitted.

Library of Congress. For the services of the Library other than the Congressional Research Service, the committee recommended a total of $150,401,000. Most personnel increases were refused, except for those needed to begin occupying the new James Madison Memorial Building, expected in the beginning of fiscal 1980.

Architect of the Capitol. The committee recommended that $4,410,000 be given the architect's office for maintenance and operation of the Library of Congress buildings.

Copyright Royalty Tribunal. This office, created as a part of the Copyright Revision Act of 1976 to set copyright royalty rates, was provided $471,000 for its fiscal 1980 operations. The tribunal was denied a requested move to larger quarters.

Government Printing Office. A total of $36,646,000 was recommended for the GPO's non-congressional printing and binding and for the salaries and expenses of the Office of Superintendent of Documents.

General Accounting Office. The General Accounting Office (GAO) was provided $195,300,000 for fiscal 1980, a cut of more than $11 million below its $206,763,000 budget request. The committee noted that, while many of the office's activities were conducted at the request of Congress, the majority were self-initiated. The committee asked GAO to trim back its self-initiated activities and stated that it hoped the office would not have to request any additional funds for the fiscal year at a later date.

The committee report noted that government savings of over $2.5 billion had been attributable to GAO work in 1978, most of it in "measurable savings" resulting from the adoption of GAO recommendations.

Cost Accounting Standards Board. The committee recommended that this board, which drafted cost accounting standards for defense contractors, be phased out after fiscal 1980 and its functions transferred to another agency. The committee said board representatives had testified that they were not interested in the board becoming a permanent body and had almost completed all of the standards it originally had proposed to develop.

Floor Action

HR 4390 was brought to the House floor and rejected June 13 after heated debate on allowing a cost-of-living pay increase for members of Congress. However, the House also took votes on several other issues. The vote on passage was 186-232. *(Vote 209, p. 64-H)*

Rules Committee Action on Pay. The Rules Committee took up HR 4390 on June 12. Although it saw no problem with permitting amendments to every other section of the bill, the committee limited changes in the pay section of the bill.

The committee recommended that only one amendment to that provision be allowed on the floor. That was an amendment to lower the ceiling on a cost-of-living pay raise to 5.5 percent from 7 percent. It also recommended prohibiting any motion to recommit the bill to the Appropriations Committee with instructions to alter the pay raise provision.

An attempt by Rules member Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., to open the pay raise provision to other floor amendments failed by a vote of 4-9. The recommended rule was then approved by voice vote.

Floor Action on Pay. The House took up HR 4390 June 13. Debate on the rule centered on the pay increase provision.

The House, by a whopping margin of 126-292, rejected the floor procedure the Rules Committee had recommended. In its place, the House adopted a rule permitting a continued salary freeze to be considered. *(Vote 205, p. 64-H)*

The new rule, fashioned by Rep. Delbert L. Latta, R-Ohio, was approved on a voice vote.

Appropriations Committee member Murtha then offered an amendment to make the pay increase ceiling 5.5 percent instead of 7 percent, but Appropriations Committee member O'Brien immediately offered a substitute amendment that continued the freeze on the salaries of all federal officials earning $47,500 or more a year.

O'Brien's proposal was defeated by voice vote. O'Brien then sought a quorum call to try to assemble the 25 members needed to ask for a recorded vote. Under the parliamentary rules being used at the time, 100 members constituted a quorum and 25 of them had to stand for a recorded vote to be ordered.

The presiding officer, Rep. John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., told O'Brien he counted 105 members already present on the floor. Because a quorum already was present, he ruled, he didn't need to issue a quorum call. He then asked those supporting a recorded vote to stand, and fewer than 25 did so. A recorded vote was not ordered.

Once O'Brien's amendment was defeated, Murtha's amendment limiting a pay hike to 5.5 percent carried easily, 396-15. *(Vote 207, p. 64-H)*

Members were at first reluctant to stand in support of Murtha's request for a recorded vote on his amendment. Murtha, however, coaxed a sufficient number into standing with repeated cries of, "Come on, fellas, stand."

Once a roll call on continuing the pay freeze was denied, opponents of the pay raise told their colleagues the bill should be defeated.

"The defeat was due to the gimmickry that took place on the floor to prevent a recorded vote on a zero raise," Rep. Gerald B. Solomon, R-N.Y., later told a reporter. "There were only 60 people on the floor when Murphy said there were 105. I know there were only 60 because I counted them."

Opponents of a pay freeze argued that it would harm approximately 14,000 executive branch and judicial employees who should not be victimized by a congressional dispute.

Legislative Subcommittee Chairman Benjamin said a continued freeze invited lawsuits from disgruntled executive branch employees and added that lawyers had told him there was a good chance such a suit would be decided in their favor. In this case, he predicted, the government would have to pay out back salaries plus interest.

Benjamin estimated the 5.5 percent pay increase would cost the government from $40 million to $50 million.

Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, stated the case for supporters of a pay raise. The job, he said, was "important enough to deserve the same cost of living increase that all the other jobs in government get."

Members opposed to the pay increase fell into three categories. Some opposed any increase at all because they

said it would fuel inflation and set a bad example for the public. Others said pay increases should not become effective until the next congressional term. Others argued that a recorded vote should be required on any raise.

Other Floor Action

In other floor action, the House turned back all attempts to make cuts in privileges and allowances offered members and staffs.

Allowances. Defeated on a standing vote of 22-115 was an amendment by Rep. Lawrence Coughlin, R-Pa., to cut members' allowances by an average of about 17 percent. "It is no secret that much of the allowance money is used for re-election purposes," Coughlin explained, referring to the use of allowances for frequent trips home and the mailing of newsletters. "Anything that helps a member of Congress become more well-known promotes incumbency."

However, other members protested that allowances served only to keep their constituents informed of important Washington activities.

An amendment by Rep. John N. Erlenborn, R-Ill., to cut the members' personal "official expenses" allowance by 5 percent was defeated, 204-213. *(Vote 208, p. 64-H)*

Two other budget cuts proposed by Rep. Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio, were defeated on voice votes.

Travel Reimbursement. One Miller amendment proposed deleting from the bill the special fund of $210,000 intended to cover a member's travel expenses to Washington at the beginning of the session and back home at the end of the session. The fund was established by statute in 1866.

Miller claimed the payment was "a freebie" because a member could claim it even though he did not make the trip. Further, he noted, if a member made the trip by airplane or train, he could be reimbursed for his mileage from the $210,000 and then turn in the plane or train ticket to be reimbursed from the regular travel fund.

Though the House required that a signed voucher be submitted before a member could be reimbursed from this fund, the voucher did not require the member to certify that he actually made the trip. In filing the voucher, the member merely certified the number of miles between Washington and his district.

"All you have to do to get your money is send it [the voucher] in," commented Berkley Bedell, D-Iowa. "You don't have to make the trip."

House Administration Chairman Thompson said Miller's amendment was "purely cosmetic." He said members followed House rules and were aware that to collect twice for the same trip was a violation of the rules. "There can be no duplication. There will be no duplication," Thompson declared.

Across-the-Board Cut. The second Miller amendment proposed cutting each appropriation in the bill not required to be spent by law by between 5 and 10 percent. Though a number of such across-the-board cuts had been approved for fiscal 1979 appropriations measures, Miller's amendment was defeated on a standing vote of 14-71 with minimal debate. *(1978 across-the-board cuts, 1978 Almanac p. 162)*

Car Washing. An amendment by Tom Tauke, R-Iowa, to eliminate car washing in the House garages was defeated by voice vote. He said the House charged $3 for a wash and wax while a private garage charged about $16 for the same work. Benjamin, however, argued that the car-washing operation was profitable.

ACTION ON H J RES 412, CONTINUING RESOLUTION

HR 4390 was returned to the House Appropriations Committee for further consideration. The legislative appropriations subcommittee reported the bill to the full committee Sept. 11 after recommending an increase in congressional pay, the issue that killed the bill the first time round.

The full committee did not act on the legislative appropriations bill. Instead it added a provision to a continuing appropriations resolution (H J Res 412 — H Rept 96-500) that would fund the legislative branch for all of fiscal 1980 at the levels set in HR 4390, plus the budget estimates for the Senate. The resolution made a few changes in the House bill figures.

The House passed H J Res 412 Oct. 9 by voice vote. The Senate passed its version Oct. 10 by an 81-15 vote. There was no debate in either chamber about funding for the legislative branch. *(Vote 341, p. 56-S)*

Conferees finally managed to reach a compromise on the pay raise and abortion issues that had held up passage of a continuing resolution, filing their report (H Rept 96-513) on the bill Oct. 12. Both the House and Senate approved the conference report that day and the president signed it into law immediately. *(Details of action on continuing resolutions, below)*

Continuing Appropriations

After the House killed the congressional pay raise by rejecting its own appropriations bill June 13, most members thought the issue had been laid to rest for the year. But like the proverbial phoenix, the issue seemingly arose from its own ashes, once again engulfing Congress in bitter controversy and nearly stopping most government paychecks.

The vehicle for the pay minuet was a series of joint resolutions providing continued funding into fiscal 1980 for the many government departments and agencies whose regular appropriations bills had not yet been enacted by Congress. Without enactment of a continuing resolution, funding for these agencies would have stopped as of Oct. 1, 1979, the beginning of fiscal 1980.

The first continuing resolution (H J Res 399) was killed when the House rejected it because it contained a 7 percent pay hike.

A second resolution (H J Res 404) met a similar fate when the Senate, angered at the House's inflexibility on both the pay raise and anti-abortion language, rejected the conference report on the resolution.

A truce between the two houses led to acceptance of the third resolution (H J Res 412), approved only days before many federal workers would have faced payless paydays. As signed into law, H J Res 412 continued funding through Nov. 20 for most federal departments and agencies for which regular appropriations bills had not been enacted. However, funding for Congress and related agencies was continued through the end of fiscal 1980. When the resolution was signed into law Oct. 12 (PL 96-86), only three fiscal 1980 appropriations bills had been cleared.

H J Res 412 also gave members of Congress, executive branch officers and congressional staffers earning more than $47,500 a year, and federal judges a 5.5 percent pay hike. That raised congressional salaries to $60,662.50, from $57,500.

Although the resolution restricted the pay raise for federal judges to 5.5 percent, it was likely that they would actually receive a 12.9 percent hike. That was the level of the pay increase that technically went into effect when Congress was unable to resolve its differences and enact a continuing resolution by Oct. 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year.

The House and Senate also agreed to new language banning most federal funding for abortions. Such funding would be prohibited for all abortions except those needed to save the life of the mother and where pregnancy resulted from incest or rape.

ACTION ON H J RES 399

Unable to resolve the pay dispute, the House Sept. 20 rejected the first continuing resolution it considered.

At issue in the pay fight was whether members should receive a) a 12.9 percent pay increase, b) a 7 percent increase, c) a 5.5 percent increase or d) no increase at all.

If no action had been taken, members of Congress and top-level federal officials would have been entitled to a 12.9 percent pay raise as of Oct. 1, 1979, the beginning of fiscal 1980. That raise included a 5.5 percent cost-of-living increase that Congress deferred in 1978, a 7 percent automatic annual increase beginning Oct. 1 and interest on the deferred pay hike.

Wanting to get the issue out of the way early in the year, the House Appropriations Committee attached a provision to the fiscal 1980 legislative appropriations bill (HR 4390) limiting the raise to 7 percent. That was lowered to 5.5 percent in a series of complicated parliamentary moves on the floor, but the House June 13 then rejected the whole bill. Most members thought that ended the debate on pay for the year, and many of them were happy that they wouldn't have to deal with the issue again; voting for a pay raise during a period of peak inflation was not considered politically astute. *(Legislative appropriations, p. 271)*

But the issue would not go away. As introduced, the continuing resolution (H J Res 399) permitted a 5.5 percent pay increase. Before reporting the bill (H Rept 96-436) Sept. 17, the House Appropriations Committee changed that figure to 7 percent. That would have hiked congressional salaries $4,025 to $61,525.

And that was where the parliamentary maneuvering began in earnest.

Pay hike proponents wanted to avoid recorded votes on congressional pay on the theory that most members would have insufficient political courage to vote for higher salaries if they knew that voters — and their election opponents — could tell how they cast their ballots.

In an attempt to avoid roll calls, House leaders decided to consider H J Res 399 in the full House rather than under the usual "Committee of the Whole House" parliamentary procedure. In practical terms, this meant 44 members had to support any demand for a roll call, rather than 25 required in the Committee of the Whole.

The ploy worked. On the pay raise matter, the House had to vote first on the committee's proposed 7 percent increase. Only if that were defeated could there be a vote on an amendment to "freeze" salaries at their current level or to provide a smaller increase.

An effort by pay increase opponents to get a roll call on the committee amendment failed Sept. 19 when only 34 members supported it. The House then by an unrecorded 156-64 standing vote adopted the committee amendment giving members a 7 percent hike.

But that also was the beginning of the end for the continuing resolution.

Charles E. Grassley, R-Iowa, an increase opponent, said: "The most legitimate question . . . is whether or not there should be a pay raise at all. We ought to have the right to vote on that issue without a roundabout procedure."

The House then voted, 191-219, to kill the resolution. It didn't quite.

Opponents failed to make the usually routine motion to reconsider the vote, thus making it final. As a result, on Sept. 20, a second vote occurred, but it also lost, 196-212. *(Vote 439, p. 128-H; vote 448, p. 130-H)*

Millicent Fenwick, R-N.J., voted against the resolution Sept. 19, but said she might have backed an "honest" raise. She added, "We have avoided the issue by refusing a recorded vote. This is a pickpocket's way. We have justified the contempt the people have for this Congress."

ACTION ON H J RES 404

House Action

Undaunted, House leaders Sept. 21 trotted out a second continuing resolution (H J Res 404). It was essentially the same as H J Res 399 except that it provided for a 5.5 percent pay hike, rather than a 7 percent increase. A 5.5 percent increase would raise congressional salaries to $60,662.50. Support for a pay hike came from President Carter, AFL-CIO President George Meany and Common Cause.

The ground rules for consideration of the measure set no restrictions on amendments dealing with pay, thus allowing opponents a better opportunity to offer a proposal to deny members of Congress any pay raise. "This appears to be the first time we will squarely face the issue of a pay raise on its merits," said George M. O'Brien, R-Ill.

He was wrong.

House members were still loath to have their votes recorded on the issue. As in the previous week, the bill was considered in the full House, thereby requiring 44 members to demand a roll call on any amendment. Thus, when O'Brien offered an amendment Sept. 25 to delete the pay hike, he was able to muster only 41 requests for an on-the-record vote. The amendment was then defeated on an unrecorded vote, 72-155, with members standing to register support or opposition.

The House by voice vote also rejected an attempt to separate a pay raise for members of Congress from increases for other top-level federal employees. An amendment to let top-level government workers have a 7 percent hike while denying any increase to Congress was offered by Joseph L. Fisher, D-Va., and Michael D. Barnes, D-Md., who represented suburban Washington districts in which many of these employees lived.

The amendment was an effort to break a traditional link between congressional and other top government salaries. Members had always been reluctant to let other salaries rise while theirs remained frozen.

The House also rejected by voice vote an amendment by Peter A. Peyser, D-N.Y., to deny a pay raise, if approved, to those congressmen voting against it.

Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill., called the Peyser amendment "both a threat and an inducement" and said that if passed it would be "highly illegal" because it bordered on bribery.

George Miller, D-Calif., was more straightforward: "This is the dumbest amendment I've ever seen proposed,"

he said. "This . . . is just stupid, and ought to be rejected for that reason."

The House then passed H J Res 404 by a five-vote margin, 208-203, after members voted 209-200 to end debate. *(Votes 460, 461, p. 132-H)*

Senate Action

Just two days after the House narrowly approved the pay raise, the Senate voted to deny members of Congress any increase for fiscal 1980.

The Senate by a 76-11 vote Sept. 27 passed H J Res 404, making only one change in pay raise provisions approved by the Appropriations Committee (S Rept 96-332). The committee had voted 23-0 Sept. 26 to freeze pay for members of Congress, while allowing a 5.5 percent raise for federal judges and top-level executive branch employees. An effort on the floor to kill these raises was rejected on a 67-30 tabling motion. *(Vote 311, p. 52-S)*

The one change approved was an amendment by Richard Stone, D-Fla., to delay any increase that members might vote for themselves until after a general election had occurred. It was adopted by voice vote after Appropriations Committee Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash., gave it his blessing.

An amendment tying federal pay hikes to a balanced budget also was tabled, 63-32. *(Vote 310, p. 52-S)*

Abortions. In another key change, the Senate committee by a 14-13 vote added the language on federal payment for abortions that it had attached to the regular Labor-Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) appropriations bill. That language would have prohibited federal funding for abortions unless they were performed to save the life of the mother, or in cases of promptly reported rape or incest or if two doctors certified that continued pregnancy would cause the mother severe and longlasting physical harm.

Addition of this language to the continuing resolution created another direct confrontation with the House, which for years had supported federally funded abortions only to save the life of the mother.

The full chamber rejected, on a 55-36 tabling motion, an effort to substitute the stricter House language on abortions. *(Vote 313, p. 52-S)*

Other Action. In other action on H J Res 404, the Senate limited the continuing funding authority to one month, the end of October. The House had provided authority until Dec. 31, 1979. The Senate also added continuing funds for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and related agencies.

FTC. The Senate bill also included language, added by the committee, providing continuing funds for the Federal Trade Commission while a controversy over the agency's powers was thrashed out in other committees. *(Story, Transportation/Commerce/Consumers chapter)*

Conference Report Killed

House insistence on a pay raise and its abortion language coupled with a decision to recess for 10 days so irritated the Senate that it rejected the conference report on H J Res 404 Sept. 28. The action killed the bill that would have provided emergency funding beginning Oct. 1 for almost all federal departments and agencies. The funding was necessary because Congress had not enacted 10 of the 13 regular fiscal 1980 appropriations bills by the beginning of the fiscal year.

Comity

Comity: courteous behavior; politeness; civility.

In Congress, the principle of comity is usually observed fairly well, at least in public statements by members about the conduct of the other house.

It wasn't the day the House did a quick two-step on the continuing resolution (H J Res 404) to win both a pay raise and its own strict abortion provision, and then left town for a 10-day recess. With the House gone, the Senate couldn't argue further and was left with only two unwelcome alternatives: either accept the unwanted pay raise and abortion language or kill the resolution and jeopardize continued funding for most of the federal government.

It chose the second alternative.

And then senators let the House members know what they thought of their conduct.

Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W. Va., said Sept. 29 that the Senate "simply was faced with a *fait accompli*." H J Res 404 "was sent back [to the Senate] on the terms of the other body and the other body simply went out. It was a take-it-or-leave-it proposition."

House members "left their post of duty," said Jennings Randolph, D-W. Va. "The House of Representatives failed in its opportunity and responsibility to be a part of the legislative process, which means they must be on the job. . . . The integrity of the legislative process has been violated."

Referring to a parliamentary device the House used to take a recess without the Senate's approval as required by the Constitution, J. James Exon, D-Neb., said, "When the leadership of our bodies, regardless of who they are, play those kinds of games with the rules and the Constitution, then I think that that is even more serious than the complaints" of senators about the way the House handled H J Res 404.

Barry Goldwater, R- Ariz., was the most direct:

"The real scoundrel in this act, the dog in the manger, is the House of Representatives. . . . Never at any time in our history that I can remember has this country been so bereft of leadership in every part of the government, and now we have to add Congress. We have to add the House of Representatives who, in my opinion, are becoming more and more the responsible body in taking that position away from us.

"Where are they [House members]? They are out playing golf in Arizona. They are out swimming in California. They are out making a few bucks here and there making a speech. They are enjoying life. And here we are on a Saturday sitting on our duffs doing nothing because the House of Representatives has taken it onto themselves to quit, to put their tail between their legs, shirk their responsibility to our people, our government, and our world and wander off home.

"If my remarks make anyone mad over there, happy day. I think it is time someone stirred them up."

A conference committee Sept. 28 struggled almost five hours to work out House-Senate differences in H J Res 404.

Conferees accepted a 5.5 percent pay hike approved by the House but rejected by the Senate, but couldn't agree on abortion language. House conferees refused to budge from

their stance permitting government financing only when required to save the mother's life.

That night, the House backed the conferees' refusal to yield on abortion. Then it adopted the conference report (H Rept 96-493) and recessed for 10 days — thereby accepting both the congressional pay hike and its own abortion provision.

This left the Senate with two unpleasant alternatives. The first was to let the pay hike go through and swallow the House abortion funding limits, neither of which it wanted to do. The second was to kill H J Res 404, an action that would let the government begin its new fiscal year two days later with most agencies lacking funds. The second choice also meant that members of Congress and other top-level officials would begin the new fiscal year with the full pay increase of 12.9 percent. For congressmen, that was an additional $7,400. An angry Senate chose the second alternative, 9-55. *(Vote 320, p. 53-S)*

The Senate's rejection of H J Res 404 came after it learned that the House had reneged on a trade tentatively worked out in conference. Senate conferees had agreed to accept a 5.5 percent pay raise for members of Congress expecting in return that the House would allow less strict language on abortions.

House leaders were counting on two key political and financial pressures to force the Senate to swallow both the pay raise and the House anti-abortion provision. One was the government's need within days for funds to continue operation; the other was members' fear of accepting a 12.9 percent pay hike — more than $7,400 — in tough economic times just a year before an election. The plan backfired.

New Bill Passed

Two days later, the Senate set the stage for the House to consider another resolution when it came back from its recess. Even then, the same disputes had to be worked out.

The Senate Appropriations Committee Oct. 1 approved a revised version of a separate continuing resolution (H J Res 402 — S Rept 96-334), which, as passed by the House, included funding only for the Federal Trade Commission (FTC).

The House had passed continued funding for FTC apart from other agencies' funds to speed consideration of the larger continuing appropriations measure. FTC legislation had been embroiled in controversy over efforts to curb the commission's activities.

The Senate committee, in a brief meeting Oct. 1, inserted in the FTC measure most — but not all — agreements from the conference on H J Res 404. Among the agreements not contained in the new resolution was the one permitting the 5.5 percent pay raise. Instead, the Senate committee adopted the original Senate provision which prohibited any fiscal 1980 pay increase for Congress and limited to 5.5 percent the pay increase for other top-level federal officials. The Senate committee also insisted on its more liberal abortion language.

The Senate version of H J Res 402 was passed by that chamber Oct. 1. It was sent back to the House, where no further action occurred. The House, instead drafted a new resolution (H J Res 412) that was to become the final vehicle to resolve the impasse. *(See below)*

ACTION ON H J RES 412

The Senate and House declared a shaky truce on pay and abortion late Oct. 12 just as thousands of government workers were preparing for shrunken paychecks or payless paydays.

The compromise on a resolution funding most of the government came after conferees worked out an agreement that preserved much of the existing limit on federally funded abortions, and gave members of Congress and top-level executive bureaucrats a 5.5 percent pay hike. That brought salaries for members of Congress to $60,662.50.

The resolution (H J Res 412) was adopted by both chambers late Oct. 12 and sent to the president. Because Congress had not cleared 10 regular fiscal 1980 appropriations bill, most of the government had technically been without funds since Oct. 1, the beginning of fiscal 1980.

The deadlock, which had continued for weeks, was over the Senate's reluctance to let Congress have a pay hike, and the House insistence on prohibiting federally funded abortions except to save the life of the mother.

Under existing law, federal funds could be used to pay for abortions necessary to save the life of the mother, in case of reported rape or incest, or when two physicians certified that continued pregnancy may cause severe and lasting damage to the mother's health. The final compromise — which represented a large concession by the Senate —included the first two qualifications and dropped the third.

The Senate also backed down on its earlier action knocking out any pay increase for Congress. But H J Res 412 applied the 5.5 percent hike to judges as well as Congress and executive officials and congressional staffers making above $47,500. There was doubt that this limit would stand up for judges because a pay increase of 12.9 percent technically went into effect Oct. 1 when Congress deadlocked over the continuing resolution. The Constitution states that a judge's pay can not be reduced while he is in office. Many in Congress agreed that judges' pay could not be reduced, but said the judges would have to go to court to get their money.

H J Res 412 was almost defeated Oct. 12 when the Senate at first rejected the conference, 26-62. Later the Senate reversed itself and on a number of close votes accepted the compromise agreements and rejected further attempts to block a congressional pay raise. *(Vote 348, p. 58-S)*

A key to the agreement was acceptance by key anti-abortionists in the House of the compromise language. When that occurred, the House approved the H J Res 412 compromise by voice vote.

Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill., the principal anti-abortion member of the House, said that opponents of federally funded abortions "do not accept this language" in the conference report. "However, we are in an impossible situation," he added. Only one member spoke against the compromise — Rep. Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif. He said, "I don't care about two million paychecks being held up if it means two million babies are killed" by abortions.

Out of the Thicket

Congress began to wend its way out of the legislative thicket it had caught itself in when the House returned from its recess Oct. 9. Instead of taking up the continuing resolution approved by the Senate (H J Res 402), the House Appropriations Committee, meeting for less than an hour Oct. 9, approved two new bills (H J Res 412 and H J Res 413). The House continued to insist on its abortion and pay provisions.

H J Res 412 (H Rept 96-500) provided continuing appropriations for all of the government without regular appropriations bills except for the Departments of Labor and

Health, Education and Welfare. That agency was dealt with in H J Res 413.

The committee recommended continuing funds through Nov. 20, 1979, in H J Res 412. In addition, it allowed a 5.5 percent pay increase for members of Congress, top-level executive branch officials and congressional staffers making more than $47,500 and federal judges.

H J Res 413 (H Rept 96-501) covered only Labor and HEW funds and contained the House language limiting federal funding of abortions to those necessary to save the life of the mother. Funds for the two departments were continued only through Sept. 30. This resolution was written to isolate the abortion issue, which, House members hoped, would permit continuing appropriations for most of the government to be approved quickly in H J Res 412.

The House approved both continuing resolutions later in the day by voice votes. There was little debate, and no changes were made in either bill.

On the floor, an amendment by Norman D. Dicks, D-Wash., to substitute the more liberal Senate abortion language was defeated by a large margin, 162-234. *(Vote 487, p. 142-H)*

The Senate rejected the House's approach and merged the abortion, pay and funding issues into a single vehicle, H J Res 412. This was done by the Appropriations Committee Oct. 10, which also amended the House's text to conform with that of H J Res 402 as passed by the Senate Oct. 1. The Senate the same day passed the measure by an 81-15 roll call without change. *(Vote 341, p. 56-S)*

The effect of this was to insist on the Senate's abortion language and its refusal to approve a congressional pay hike, the two central controversies. It appeared that the deadlock might continue despite warnings that the government was fast running out of money to pay its bills.

However, the conference committee on H J Res 412 came close to resolving both the pay and abortion issues on Oct. 11. A tentative agreement hinged on the Senate giving in on the 5.5 percent pay raise in exchange for House conferees' agreement on softened abortion language.

The deal fell through when Senate pay-hike opponents strongly resisted any concession on the issue.

However, when the committee met again Oct. 12 it quickly approved essentially the same compromise.

And — just in case the compromise fell through on the floor of either chamber — the conferees armed themselves with a makeshift continuing resolution to provide continuing funds for all the affected agencies through Nov. 1, 1979.

This so-called "fallback" resolution made no mention of abortion or pay, thus leaving intact existing law on abortions as well as the 12.9 percent pay raise.

The compromise nearly fell apart late Friday Oct. 12 when the Senate first rejected the conference agreement 26-62. But less than an hour later the Senate reversed its position and voted 44-42 to accept the compromise.

The Senate still had to dispose of a last effort, led by Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., to kill the pay increase. His move was tabled by one vote, 43-42, when John A. Durkin, D-N.H., switched his vote. Finally, the Senate voted 43-41 to accept the compromise abortion language. *(Votes 348-351, p. 58-S)*

After clearing the continuing resolution, the Senate passed a resolution to eliminate the pay raise for members of Congress.

The vote ws 72-12, but had no real significance because the House was certain to ignore the bill (S J Res 113). *(Vote 352, p. 58-S)*

Provisions of H J Res 412

President Carter received H J Res 412 shortly after the Senate cleared it Oct. 12 and he immediately signed it into law (PL 96-86). H J Res 412 contained the following major provisions:

- Provided continuing appropriations, from Oct. 1 through Nov. 20, 1979, or until regular appropriations were passed, for programs and agencies funded by the following appropriations bills not enacted as of the beginning of fiscal 1980: agriculture (HR 4387), District of Columbia (HR 4580), foreign assistance (HR 4473), interior (HR 4930) and military construction (HR 4391).
- Spelled out a formula for the level of spending authorized by the continuing resolution for agencies whose appropriations were provided in the bills listed above:

1) If the Senate and House had approved different levels of spending in their respective versions of these bills, the permitted level was the lower of the two spending figures;

2) If only one chamber had passed a bill, or approved a specific figure within a bill, the permitted level of spending was the existing fiscal 1979 rate or the rate approved by one chamber, whichever was lower.

Prohibited use of continuing funds for new projects unless they had been approved in identical form by the House and Senate in regular fiscal 1980 appropriations legislation.

- Provided specific guidelines to determine continued funding levels and spending authority for other programs:

Defense. Provided the Defense Department continuing funds based on the fiscal 1979 level or the fiscal 1980 budget request, whichever was lowest.

Congress. Permitted spending for Congress and related agencies through fiscal 1980 at the level provided in HR 4390, legislative branch appropriations, as reported by the House Appropriations Committee June 7 with the following changes: Official mail costs, $50,707,000 (from $70,707,000 in HR 4390); Office of Technology Assessment, $11 million (from $9,385,000 in HR 4390); and General Accounting Office, $200,300,000 (from $195,300,000 in HR 4390). The House had rejected HR 4390 June 13 because of the pay raise dispute.

Federal Pay Increase. Permitted a 5.5 percent fiscal 1980 pay raise for members of Congress, federal judges and federal executives who made more than $47,500; specified that the increase would be in lieu of a 12.9 percent increase due for fiscal 1980 that went into effect Oct. 1. (It was doubtful that Congress had the power to limit the pay of federal judges after an increase took effect because of a constitutional provision which did not permit reductions in a judge's salary during his term of office. The issue was in litigation at the end of 1979.)

Mikva Lawsuit. Permitted any member of Congress to sue to challenge an appointment to a circuit court judgeship. (This provision, which originated in Senate versions of the continuing resolution, was aimed primarily at providing legal standing for a lawsuit filed by Sen. James A. McClure, R-Idaho, to declare constitutionally invalid the appointment of former Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Mikva was confirmed by the Senate Sept. 25.

Statuary Hall. Prohibited the use of funds for remodeling the Capitol's Statuary Hall to provide members small work areas to use when away from their offices.

Clinch River. Provided continued funding at the fiscal 1979 level for the Clinch River breeder reactor project until the issue was resolved by final action on Energy Depart-

ment authorization legislation (HR 3000) which had not yet been voted on by the Senate.

Unauthorized Programs. Provided continued funding at fiscal 1979 levels for several programs that were left out of the regular Labor-HEW appropriations because authorizing legislation was not yet enacted.

Civilian Marksmanship. Permitted continued funding of the Pentagon's controversial program that sold surplus guns and ammunition to non-military persons, principally members of the National Rifle Association.

Transportation. Provided continued Transportation Department funding at fiscal 1979 levels or the fiscal 1980 budget request, whichever was lower, and provided for continuation of federal railroad aid to the bankrupt Milwaukee Road through Nov. 30, and for continued service along routes served by the bankrupt Rock Island Road.

HUD-Independent Agencies. Provided continuing appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and 20 related agencies at the fiscal 1980 level, as recommended in a conference report on HR 4394, filed Aug. 2. Specified that items reported in disagreement were funded at the lower of the amounts passed by the House and Senate.

HEW Funds, Abortion. Permitted spending for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare at the level provided in the July 31 conference report on the fiscal 1980 Labor-HEW bill (HR 4389).

Limited federally funded abortions to cases where carrying the fetus to term would endanger the life of the mother or to cases of rape or incest that were "reported promptly" to a law enforcement agency or public health service. These provisions were in existing law. Not included was language in existing law permitting federally funded abortions in cases where two physicians certified that continued pregnancy would cause severe and lasting damage to the mother.

The compromise restrictions on abortion were to expire on Nov. 20, 1979, and also were applied to these continuing appropriations: District of Columbia, foreign aid and defense. Abortion provisions had been added to each of the regular appropriations bills for these federal agencies.

Executive Travel Funds. Ordered a $500 million reduction in executive branch spending for travel and transportation during fiscal 1980.

Senate Items. Provided the following for Senate offices and expenditures:

1) Provided senators from Minnesota and Texas an increased clerk-hire allowance to reflect population growth in those states.

2) Increased the travel expense authorization for the sergeant at arms and doorkeeper and staff to $92,000. This represented a $67,000 hike to pay for travel by computer staffers in support of expanded services authorized by the Rules Committee for senators' home state offices.

3) Established 13 statutory positions in the sergeant-at-arms office as follows: two to staff copy centers (as an alternative to providing copying machines for each senatorial office), six to begin a pre-sort mail process for newsletters and other large-volume mail (which, the committee report on the bill said, would save the Senate more than $6 million per year in mailing costs) and five to accommodate the transfer from the General Services Administration to the sergeant at arms of equipment located in state offices.

Second 1980 Continuing Resolution

Congress cleared emergency government funding legislation Nov. 16, four days before continuing appropriations for five major departments were scheduled to run out.

Final action on H J Res 440 came within hours after House and Senate conferees agreed to prohibit the use of federal funds for abortion except when required to save the mother's life or in cases of rape or incest — the same provision as in the first fiscal 1980 continuing funding resolution (H J Res 412 — PL 96-86).

Passage of that bill was delayed for weeks when the House and Senate were unable to agree on abortion language or on whether Congress and top government officials should receive a pay raise. *(Details, p. 269)*

The House approved the conference report on H J Res 440 by a 155-63 standing vote. The Senate then cleared the bill for the president by a 51-23 roll call vote. *(Vote 412, p. 69-S)*.

H J Res 440 provided continuing appropriations through Sept. 30, 1980, for the Departments of Interior, Defense, Transportation, and for foreign assistance and military construction programs.

However, three of those regular appropriations bills cleared Congress even before President Carter signed H J Res 440 into law (PL 96-123) Nov. 20 — Interior appropriations (HR 4930) on Nov. 9, Transportation appropriations (HR 4440) on Nov. 19 and military construction (HR 4391) on Nov. 19. Defense appropriations (HR 5359) cleared Congress Dec. 13. The foreign assistance appropriations bill (HR 4473) was deadlocked in a House-Senate conference. *(For details see stories in this chapter)*

Funding for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare at the level of the conference agreement on regular fiscal 1980 Labor-HEW appropriations (HR 4389), was adopted by the House Aug. 2. The Senate also adopted the conference report, but the two houses were unable to reach agreement on the abortion funding issue and so the bill was not cleared.

Abortion Agreement. The conference compromise on abortion was made necessary when first the House and then the Senate each attached its preferred language to H J Res 440. The House insisted on permitting federally funded abortions only to save the life of the mother. The Senate language would have permitted funding for those abortions as well as those performed in cases of promptly reported rape or incest and when continued pregnancy would result in severe and longlasting physical harm to the mother. Conferees settled on the once-approved compromise language as the easiest way out of a continuing dilemma.

During Senate floor debate on the conference report, Bob Packwood, R-Ore., noted, "The difference between the so-called liberal Senate language and the so-called conservative House language borders on Tweedledee and Tweedledum, if you realize that at one time, we were . . . funding 250,000 to 300,000 abortions under Medicaid." Now, he said, federal funds would pay for between 600 and 4,000 abortions under House and Senate versions.

H J Res 440 continued funding for the Federal Trade Commission through March 15, 1980. But it prohibited the FTC from issuing any new final rules, initiating any new investigations or from implementing any new regulations made final after Aug. 30. The latter provision was aimed at blocking a rule designed to protect consumers in home insulation transactions. The regulation, made final Aug. 31, would have taken effect Dec. 31.

Provisions of H J Res 440

As cleared by Congress Nov. 16, H J Res 440 (PL 96-123):

- Provided continuing appropriations through Sept. 30, 1980, at fiscal 1979 levels or the House-passed level, whichever was lower, and with fiscal 1979 spending authority or other authority if approved by both the House and Senate for fiscal 1980, for federal departments and agencies included in these regular fiscal 1980 appropriations bills: foreign aid, Interior-Energy, military construction.
- Provided continuing appropriations through Sept. 30, 1980, at fiscal 1979 levels or the administration request for fiscal 1980, whichever was lower, and with the more restrictive authority, for the Departments of Defense and Transportation.
- Provided continuing appropriations at fiscal 1979 levels for several programs not yet authorized by Congress for fiscal 1980.
- Prohibited the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) from using its continuing funds to implement any new regulations made final after Aug. 30, 1979, or to make any new final rules, or to initiate any new investigations.
- Provided continuing appropriations at a rate of up to 35 percent of the fiscal 1980 budget request for activities of the federal inspector for the Alaska gas pipeline.
- Provided continuing appropriations for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare at the level provided in the conference agreement on regular fiscal 1980 Labor-HEW appropriations, as adopted by the House Aug. 2.
- Provided an $18 million appropriation for fiscal 1980 to aid local school systems in the education of Indochinese refugees in the United States.
- Provided that (except for the FTC) continuing appropriations would expire upon enactment of each department's or agency's regular fiscal 1980 appropriation, or on Sept. 30, 1980 — whichever came first.
- Provided that continuing appropriations for the FTC would expire on March 15, 1980, if no regular appropriation had been enacted by that date.
- Prohibited use of continuing appropriations for any new projects or activities for which funds were not provided in fiscal 1979.
- Prohibited use of any continuing appropriations to restructure the Alaska Railroad offices of chief counsel, real estate or financial planning, or to merge any of those offices with the general manager's office.
- Permitted federal funding of abortions only when required to save the mother's life or in cases of rape or incest, when promptly reported to authorities.
- Prohibited use of any continuing appropriations for military or economic aid to Iran.
- Provided $3,800,000 in supplemental appropriations for the newly restructured office of the special trade representative, in the president's office.
- Appropriated $50 million, through a funds transfer, for the "Food for Peace" program to aid starving nations.

House Action

The House passed H J Res 440 by voice vote Nov. 13. It had been reported Nov. 9 by the House Appropriations Committee (H Rept 96-609).

As passed, the bill provided funding for federal departments and agencies whose regular appropriations were in six bills not yet cleared by Congress. The funding would be provided for most departments at fiscal 1979 levels, or at amounts in House-passed fiscal 1980 funding bills, through Sept. 30, 1980 — the end of the fiscal year.

Funding for the Defense and Transportation departments would be provided at either fiscal 1979 levels or at the administration's budget request, whichever was lower.

H J Res 440 contained the House's strict anti-abortion language, permitting federal financing only when required to save the mother's life. The provision would apply to all departments and agencies whose funds were in the bill.

As reported, the bill prohibited the FTC from putting into effect after Oct. 1 any rules it had proposed but not implemented before that date.

In one change, the House adopted an amendment by Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., to halt continuing funds for the FTC on March 15, 1980, if no regular appropriation measure had been passed by that date. The Appropriations Committee had recommended a March 31 expiration date.

The FTC was the subject of efforts in Congress to restrict its activities.

Showing support for Americans held hostage by militant Iranian students in the American Embassy in Tehran, the House also adopted an amendment by Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., to prohibit any military or economic aid to Iran from funding included in the resolution. The vote was unanimous, 379-0. *(Vote 582, p. 172-H)*

The House by voice vote rejected an amendment by John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, to prohibit the use of federal funds to benefit illegal aliens. Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss., the Appropriations Committee chairman, said the proposal needed to be studied more closely.

Senate Action

H J Res 440 was passed 80-10 by the Senate on Nov. 15. It had been approved Nov. 14 by the Senate Appropriations Committee, which did not submit a written report. *(Vote 407, p. 68-S)*

The committee voted to retain the House-passed March 15 expiration date for FTC funds, but struck the provision to stop the FTC from implementing new rules.

The committee also voted 15-13 to exempt continuing resolution funds from any abortion restrictions, reversing an earlier action. The panel also recommended adding $18 million to aid in the education of Indochinese refugees.

During floor debate, the Senate narrowly rejected 44-49 compromise abortion language by J. James Exon, D-Neb., identical to that used in the previous continuing resolution. That amendment would have permitted federally funded abortions to save a mother's life or in cases of rape or incest. *(Vote 404, p. 68-S)*

The Senate then voted 57-36 to adopt an amendment by Appropriations Committee Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash., to approve the same language Congress had adopted in 1979. This permitted government financing of abortions when required to save the mother's life, in cases of rape or incest, or when two physicians certified that the continued pregnancy would cause "severe and lasting damage" to the mother's physical health. *(Vote 405, p. 68-S)*

The Senate also voted 71-19 to accept a committee recommendation to add nearly $4.5 million in supplemental funds for an expanded Office of Special Trade Representative. *(Vote 406, p. 68-S)*

In other action on the continuing resolution, the Senate:

- Rejected by standing vote an amendment by William L. Armstrong, R-Colo., to change the expiration date for the entire bill to Feb. 28, 1980.
- Accepted by voice vote an amendment by John W. Warner, R-Va., to require that congressional paychecks be delayed whenever Congress caused federal workers' paychecks to be delayed.

Conference Action

House-Senate conferees filed their report on H J Res 440 (H Rept 96-646) Nov. 16. In addition to reaching agreement on abortion language, conferees agreed to:

- Drop a Senate provision to delay congressional paychecks whenever Congress failed to pass appropriations in a timely manner, thereby causing federal workers' paychecks to be delayed.
- Reduce education aid for Indochinese refugees from $18 million, as provided by the Senate, to $12 million.
- Reduce additional funding for the Office of Special Trade Representative from $4.5 million, as provided by the Senate, to $3.8 million.
- Approve a Senate provision to transfer $50 million to provide food for Cambodia and other nations under the "Food for Peace" program.

The House and Senate adopted the conference report Nov. 16 — the House by a 155-63 standing vote; the Senate by a 51-23 roll-call vote. *(Vote 412, p. 69-S)* ▮

Economic Policy

"The year in which recession refused to arrive" was how one administration economist characterized 1979. And others also fretted that the year had seemed bent upon confounding the predictions and plans of economic policy makers.

The final year of the decade was to have been the year that the economy cooled to no-growth, boosting the jobless rolls and easing consumer demand. Instead, Americans continued spending at impressive rates, fueling the economy and holding down the unemployment rate.

It was to have been the year that President Carter brought inflation under control, through restrained federal spending and a successful wage-price program. Instead, energy prices doubled and home mortgage interest rates skyrocketed — helping to push the inflation rate into the double-digit range for 12 straight months.

And it was to have been the year that the dollar improved on foreign currency markets after the Federal Reserve cracked down on credit. Instead, international uncertainty kept the dollar low.

"We thought we knew a lot more about the economy than we really did," concluded one top financial official as the year of mixed economic signals drew to a close.

Carter Policies

Carter began the year by sending Congress a "lean and austere" fiscal 1980 budget which he said would help bring inflation under control and slow the growth of government.

In that annual budget, his third as president, Carter proposed sharp cuts in such popular programs as housing and jobs, arguing that "the policy of restraint . . . is an imperative if we are to overcome the threat of accelerating inflation."

He also warned that the Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS) would monitor his 7 percent pay raise guideline and refuse government contracts to companies that violated the limit.

He proposed that workers who abided by the standards be rewarded with tax credits that he termed "real wage insurance." Such credits would make up the difference between the rate of inflation and pay raises that were within the 7 percent limit.

And Carter supported the Federal Reserve's Oct. 6 decision to tighten credit and increase interest rates, even though such actions made the prospect of recession more likely. He argued that move was necessary to cut "inflationary expectations" and buoy the dollar overseas.

By year's end, however, Congress had rejected a number of administration measures for trimming the costs of programs such as Medicare-Medicaid or veterans' health care.

The lawmakers also approved a fiscal 1980 spending ceiling that was $16 billion higher than the president's original budget proposal. And in the revised spending plan he recommended in January 1980, Carter added another $15 billion to Congress' budget limit.

In addition, Carter's wage-price guidelines fizzled as it became clear that he would not impose sanctions against violators of the pay standards.

The final evidence that the administration's anti-inflation program had failed arrived in January 1980: The rate of inflation was 13.3 percent in 1979, the Labor Department reported — the highest rate since President Truman lifted wage-price controls after World War II. A year earlier, Carter had predicted consumer prices would rise 7.4 percent.

The administration blamed the painfully high rate of inflation mostly on external factors — such as the doubling of energy costs and international crises. It also argued that Americans seemed to have accepted inflation as a fact of economic life — which led them to buy ahead to beat further price hikes.

But critics maintained that Carter's economic policy had not been tough enough — with some opponents even suggesting that he should have imposed mandatory controls. Still others noted that while Carter talked a hard line against inflation, he often supported price-raising actions by the government, such as restrictions on imports.

Such critics became even more vocal at year's end, when administration aides previewed the fiscal 1981 budget. That new fiscal plan was designed to limit spending growth to the rate of inflation, while providing large increases in a few areas such as defense and energy.

Carter foes charged that he was abandoning his pledge to balance the budget by 1981 in order to win support during the presidential election year.

Economy

Economists began — and ended — the year predicting a recession. But they qualified their year-end forecasts by noting that the economy had proved stronger than anticipated, and perhaps would resist a downturn again.

"This economy remains quite strong," said Federal Reserve Board member Frederick H. Schultz. "Everytime we think things are going to turn over and roll downward, they don't."

At midyear, signals had pointed towards a recession. The gross national product (GNP) declined during the second quarter at a 2.3 percent annual rate. While unemployment remained relatively stable, economists predicted that it would rise.

During the third and fourth quarters, however, Americans dipped into their savings and sharply increased consumer debt. That allowed them to continue spending at high levels, despite a decline in after-tax personal income, adjusted for inflation.

This surprising strength in spending helped the GNP blossom into a 3.1 percent rate of growth in the third quarter. In the fourth quarter, it increased again, by 2.1 percent — bringing the growth for the year to 2.3 percent.

And even housing starts, considered by most experts to be the most vulnerable to the Fed's credit tightening, declined less than many forecasters had expected.

"What we are seeing is an economy that is slow, but, so far, showing remarkable stability in that slowness," concluded Janet Norwood, commissioner of Labor Statistics.

Federal Reserve Action

By early autumn, it had become apparent that inflation would not abate in 1979 — a major factor depressing the dollar on foreign exchange markets. So the Federal Reserve took dramatic action to curb the dogged growth in the cost of living and support the U.S. currency overseas.

On Oct. 6, the Fed's new chairman, Paul A. Volcker, announced that the board had voted unanimously to adopt new methods to regulate growth of the money supply more effectively: It would shift its emphasis from controlling interest rates to controlling the amount of bank reserves.

As part of the new plan, the central bank also voted to hike the discount rate — the interest rate charged to member banks — from 11 percent to 12 percent. The Fed's actions sent the prime rate, the interest rate banks charge their best customers, to a record high of 15.75 percent.

The Fed's move, Volcker told the Joint Economic Committee Oct. 17, was designed to "forestall . . . a new inflationary outburst." He said it would lead to a "more prosperous and productive America, a strong dollar, and a sense of stability and coherence in the world economy."

Volcker took over the post of Fed chief when his predecessor, G. William Miller, was appointed Treasury secretary in July.

Washington reaction to the Fed's move was positive, with administration and congressional officials alike maintaining that the central bank had little choice but to tighten credit.

By year's end, however, experts could not agree on just how the action had affected the economy. Some argued it had squeezed the money supply and slowed economic growth — which would translate into a lower inflation rate down the line.

But others maintained that shocks from the outside would weaken the dollar and keep inflation going rapidly, overwhelming the Fed's attempts to fight inflation through conventional tight money policies.

Wage Restraint

Almost as soon as President Carter in October 1978 announced his plans to help control inflation through voluntary wage-price guidelines, key labor leaders came out against the idea.

AFL-CIO President George Meany gave members of his huge, 14-million member labor federation a virtual go-ahead to ignore the guidelines. And he called instead for mandatory wage-price controls.

Later in the year, Meany's labor organization took the administration to court over the program. It charged that the use of sanctions against companies that violated the guidelines made the standards mandatory. That was illegal, the labor group said, because the president had no authority from Congress to enact mandatory guidelines.

Carter won the case, though he never invoked the pay sanctions. But he argued that his voluntary policy had succeeded in keeping wages down in 1979: Union-negotiated raises averaged 7.4 percent; average weekly earnings were up 8 percent.

And later, in what was described as an "historic accord," Carter won the cooperation of the AFL-CIO and other unions for the second year of the guidelines program in October.

To do that, he persuaded Lane Kirkland, Meany's successor as AFL-CIO chief, and other labor leaders to sit on a special, 18-member Pay Advisory Committee that would design the pay standards for 1980. He also appointed a Price Advisory Committee to review alleged price increase violations.

When the year ended, however, the old 7 percent guideline still was in effect, and pay committee members had not yet decided on a replacement.

Carter failed to win support for his "real wage insurance" program, designed to soften the effect of inflation on workers who stayed within the guidelines. The House Ways and Means Committee never voted on the proposal, and the House Budget Committee recommended against funding it in the budget. The Senate Budget Committee never even considered the program.

Had the program passed Congress, it would have cost the government much more than the $2.5 billion Carter originally anticipated. Administration economists had based the program on a projected rate of inflation of 7.5 percent — 5.8 points under the actual rate.

Spending Limit Plans

Congress became increasingly frustrated in 1979 with its five-year-old budget process and attempts to limit government spending.

During debate on the second fiscal 1980 budget resolution, House Budget Committee member James R. Jones, D-Okla., proposed legislation to limit government spending to a percentage of the GNP.

And Budget Chairman Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., followed Jones' proposal with his own plan to limit both outlays and "tax expenditures" — special exceptions to the tax laws designed to encourage certain activities, such as tax deductions for home mortgage interest or tax credits for industries that invest in new machinery.

Although Giaimo maintained that the aim of his bill was not to "scrap" the budget process, but "to give it the backstop it needs to be effective," he acknowledged that he had lost confidence in his colleagues' ability to divide limited government funds among a variety of programs.

Giaimo and Jones were not alone in recommending that some sort of legislative or constitutional limit be placed on the growth of government.

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution cleared by a 5-2 margin a proposed amendment to the Constitution requiring that the federal budget be balanced and placing a limit on government spending.

Dozens of other such proposals had been introduced by year's end, and House leadership promised a vote early in 1980 on the Giaimo bill or a similar measure.

—By Gail Gregg

Chrysler Aid Cleared in Final Day's Session

In the early hours of Dec. 21, Congress cleared for President Carter's signature a $3.5 billion aid package for the ailing Chrysler Corp., the largest-ever government bailout of a private company.

Final action on the legislation (HR 5860 — PL 96-185) came at the end of three days of marathon sessions on the question of providing federal loan guarantees to Chrysler, the nation's 10th largest corporation and third largest auto maker.

Following approval of the aid plan, the first session of the 96th Congress came to a close. President Carter signed the bill into law Jan. 7.

Chrysler proponents had pressed Congress to complete consideration before the Christmas holiday on grounds the company would go bankrupt early in 1980 if it did not get government backing.

Their request was helped by market reports showing the firm would run out of cash in January 1980 — news that prompted Vice President Walter F. Mondale to urge quick action "so that we can provide security for thousands and thousands of jobs."

In preparation for debate on the controversial plan, Congress cleared its calendar of all other major business, and leaders orchestrated action on the bill like a three-act play.

In the first act, the House voted Dec. 18 by a two-to-one margin in favor of a $3.4 billion aid package, while Chrysler proponents in the Senate held an informal filibuster.

They hoped House passage of a weaker bill might help them dilute the stiff worker sacrifices required in the Senate Banking Committee version.

That chamber took up the plan in earnest the next day, voting 54-43 in favor of a much-modified $3.6 billion bill designed to give the Senate some bargaining leeway in conference.

For the final act, conferees huddled for six hours Dec. 20 to reconcile their two plans. They ultimately split the difference, approving a $3.5 billion measure which they immediately sent to the House floor.

Finale of the marathon effort was approval of the compromise bill in the House late that evening and Senate approval just before 1 a.m. the next day.

Action in the Senate was delayed by a short filibuster by William L. Armstrong, R-Colo., who protested that the compromise bill had been rushed to the floor before members could study it.

"It's almost traditional that the most important legislation to be considered in this chamber comes before us in the dark of the night," Armstrong complained.

Summary

The bill approved by Congress authorized $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees to Chrysler, provided the company came up with a matching $2 billion in help from such parties as workers, dealers and creditors.

Key among those concessions was a requirement that employees represented by the United Auto Workers (UAW) union give up $462.5 million in raises over the next three years, and that non-union management workers make a similar $125 million wage contribution.

The auto union employees still would receive $600 million in raises over that period. And, along with management workers, they would share $162.5 million in new common stock issued by the company as compensation for the lost wages.

The legislation made it necessary for the union to renegotiate its recently concluded three-year contract with Chrysler, which contained a $203 million concession, to accommodate the new requirement. Union members ratified the contract changes in early 1980.

Administration of the guarantees was assigned to a three-person board composed of the secretary of the Treasury, the comptroller general and the Federal Reserve chairman. The secretaries of labor and transportation were to sit on the panel as non-voting members.

Under the legislation, the board could begin providing government backing for loans to the company once it had "adequate assurance" of commitments by all parties under the private financing plan.

The original Senate bill had required legally binding commitments from all parties before the board could go ahead with the guarantee program, but the Treasury argued such commitments might take so long to secure that the company would be doomed.

The compromise also allowed the government to take equal status with some new creditors of the ailing company in case of default. The original House bill required that the government have first claim to assets if the company failed.

Carter originally sent Congress a $3 billion bill that required the company to raise $1.5 billion in matching aid in exchange for $1.5 billion in federal guarantees.

Provisions

As signed into law Jan. 7, 1980, the Chrysler Corporation Loan Guarantee Act of 1979 (HR 5860 — PL 96-185):

Loan Guarantee Board. Established a loan guarantee board consisting of the secretary of the Treasury, the comptroller general and the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, plus two ex-officio, non-voting members — the secretaries of labor and transportation.

Guarantee Authority. Authorized $1,500,000,000 in government loan guarantees for the Chrysler Corp.

- Terminated the board's authority to make such guarantees on Dec. 31, 1983.
- Stipulated that loans guaranteed under the act be paid in full by Dec. 31, 1990.
- Required that the board require security for the guaranteed loans at the time a commitment to guarantee was made.

Appropriations. Authorized appropriation of such sums as necessary to carry out the act.

- Limited the board's authority to make any guarantee to the amount provided in advance in a congressional appropriation act.

Fees. Directed the board to set and collect guarantee fees on an annual basis, with a minimum fee of .5 percent per year of all loans outstanding, computed daily.

Conditions. Authorized the board to make commitments to guarantee the payment of principal and interest on loans to Chrysler if:

Chrysler's Plight: The Anatomy of Decline

Chrysler's financial problems often were pinned to Lynn A. Townsend, corporation chairman during the 1960s. Critics said he expanded the firm's overseas operations — building plants in South America, South Africa, Australia, Europe — at the expense of U.S. factories.

John Riccardo succeeded Townsend during the 1974 recession, stripping the engineering, style and sales staff to cut costs — a move some auto experts believed postponed development of new, smaller cars.

But Riccardo generally was praised for hiring as Chrysler's president Lee A. Iacocca, a former Ford president admired for his organizational skills.

At the insistence of the Carter administration, Iacocca succeeded Riccardo as chairman in mid-September.

Chrysler Operations

Headquartered in central Detroit, Chrysler Corporation claimed assets of $6.9 billion. It employed 130,000 workers in its nine U.S. divisions and another 35,000 in its foreign plants in Canada and Mexico. The foreign operations turned a $24.1 million profit in 1978.

By far the majority of employees on the company's $4.1 billion payroll were based in the Michigan auto capital — or just across the Canadian border in Windsor. But Chrysler operations were scattered across the country — as far as New York and Texas. And its 4,733 dealerships were located in nearly every state.

Although Chrysler currently operated electronics, tank and boat plants, car production had been the company's profits mainstay since Kansas railway machinist Walter P. Chrysler bought out the ailing Maxwell-Chambers Motor Co. in 1921. In 1979, Chrysler produced 2,211,535 cars — compared to 2,328,302 in 1978.

Company Losses

That step-down in production had been matched by sales and revenue losses. Chrysler finished 1978 with a net loss of $204.6 million and went $53.8 million further in the red during the first quarter of 1979. Added to the record second-quarter losses, that made $465.5 million.

The company attributed these losses — and its declining share of the domestic auto market — to gas scares and government regulation: In 1946, Chrysler had earned 25.7 percent of the domestic market. By 1979, it had been whittled to 9.1 percent.

Small Car Demand

"The heaviest cost to U.S. manufacturers has been the cost of re-sizing," a company spokesman said. "We have argued long and loudly against the [regulatory] timetable."

But a company source admitted, "If we were given more time to meet the standards and other companies were not, it could very well make our product less competitive."

And Chrysler critics agreed that the marketplace, not government regulation, was responsible for the drop in big car sales.

Misread Consumers

They said the company simply misread American consumers when it decided in 1976 against building its own four-cylinder engine plant for the Dodge Omni and Plymouth Horizon.

Instead, it opted to save factory start-up costs by contracting with Volkswagen and Mitsubishi for the smaller engines — a plan that backfired when demand for the new gas-efficient cars increased beyond the contract level.

A company spokesman explained in 1979 that Chrysler postponed a major investment in small cars until recently because it thought Americans would go back to larger automobiles when gas pressures eased.

He noted that Chrysler had the highest fleet fuel economy of the Big Three: 67 percent of its sales were for compact and subcompact cars: the Aspen, Volare, Omni, Horizon and the imported Mitsubishi Colt and Arrow.

That fuel economy rate would drop in 1980 when, by law, the company would have to exclude its eight small import models from the fleet average.

By mid-1979, Chrysler had the largest unsold inventory in the industry — about 80,000 vehicles. Most were big cars.

The company also was having difficulty selling its formerly popular and profitable vans: Sales plummeted from 28,500 vans in 1978 to 2,345 vans during the first half of 1979.

Energy Efficiency

Chrysler's reluctant entry into the small car market figured prominently in the 1979 debate over federal aid.

"The laws with respect to clean air and fuel efficiency are sensible laws," said House Banking Committee Chairman Henry S. Reuss, D-Wis. "Since the other manufacturers are able to maintain them — and foreign manufacturers are splendidly able to maintain them — I don't see why Chrysler can't."

And an aide to Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., stressed that "we don't want to just give this loan to Chrysler so they can go on doing what they've been doing.

"The purpose of it is to make the transition to the energy efficient car they're going to have to sell in the '80s in order to survive."

Riccardo maintained that Chrysler saw the small car revolution "long ago," but didn't have the money for retooling.

"Remember — we pioneered the front-wheel drive revolution in Europe in 1967 and with our Omni and Horizon," he said.

"If we had GM's resources we'd have been out there with small front-wheel drive now, rather than a year from now. We did it as early as we possibly could, and it's costing us $1 billion."

An administration aide disputed that assessment. "Even if we waived every regulation, they'd still be in the same financial pickle they're in right now," the aide said.

1) There existed an energy-savings plan that was satisfactory to the board and could be carried out by the company.

2) The borrowed funds were needed to enable the company to continue production, and the failure to secure such funds would adversely affect the economy or employment in any region of the country.

3) The corporation had submitted a satisfactory operating plan for fiscal 1980 and the next three fiscal years demonstrating its ability to continue operations.

4) The corporation had submitted a satisfactory financing plan to meet its operating needs that included at least $1,430,000,000 of non-federally guaranteed assistance from: parties with an existing economic stake in the company; the merger or the sale of assets or securities; and the issuance of $100,000,000 in common stock for sale to Chrysler employees.

5) The board had received adequate assurances that all components of the financing plan would be available and that such financing was adequate.

6) The corporation's creditors waived their rights to recover under any prior credit commitment which might be in default unless the board determined that the exercise of those rights would not adversely affect the operating plan.

7) No credit issued before Oct. 17, 1979, was being converted to a guaranteed loan.

Loan Guarantee Requirements. Provided that loans would qualify for government guarantees only if:

1) Credit was not otherwise available to Chrysler under reasonable terms.

2) The company maintained its earning power or the value of its security for a loan.

3) The loan to be guaranteed bore a reasonable interest rate.

4) The company complied with its operating and financing plans, and those plans continued to meet the requirements of the act.

5) The company submitted each fiscal year a revised four-year operating and financial plan.

6) The company annually submitted an analysis of its performance compared with its operating and financial plans.

7) There was no "substantial likelihood" that any foreign entity would buy or merge with the company.

Other Requirements. Stipulated that Chrysler pay no dividends on common or preferred stock as long as any guaranteed loans were outstanding.

- Prohibited the sale of any guaranteed loan to Chrysler to the Federal Financing Bank or any other federal agency.

Private Contributions. Provided that the $1,430,000,000 in non-federally guaranteed assistance should include:

1) At least $500,000,000 from domestic banks, financial institutions and other creditors, of which at least $400,000,000 should be new loans or credits and $100,000,000 should be concessions on outstanding debt.

2) At least $150,000,000 from foreign banks, financial institutions and other creditors in the form of new loans or credits.

3) At least $300,000,000 from the sale of corporate assets.

4) At least $250,000,000 from state, local and other governments.

5) At least $180,000,000 from suppliers and dealers, of which $50,000,000 must be in the form of capital.

6) At least $50,000,000 from the sale of additional issues of stock.

- Empowered the board to modify this plan as long as the non-federal share of aid totaled $1,430,000,000.

Employee Contributions. Provided that unionized employees of Chrysler reduce by $462,500,000 their wage contract with the company beginning Sept. 14, 1979, and ending Sept. 14, 1982, including $203,000,000 already forgone under the contract.

- Provided that non-union employees make at least $125,000,000 in wage concessions during that same period.
- Stipulated that wage and benefit increases gained by reclassifying an employee be considered indirect pay raises.
- Stipulated that the wage cost reduction by employees could not be recouped.
- Provided that cash contributions from labor organizations or employees be counted against the required wage concessions.

Employee Stock Ownership Plan. Required Chrysler, as a condition of aid, to issue $162,500,000 in new common stock to a trust for distribution under a board-approved employee stock ownership plan.

- Stipulated that the full amount of shares be issued before the close of the four-year period beginning not later than 180 days after enactment.

Protection of Government Interest. Required that the board certify that any sale of assets over $5,000,000 did not impair Chrysler's financial situation, and empowered the board to halt the loan guarantee program if such a sale jeopardized the company.

- Required that the board certify that any contract over $10,000,000 did not impair Chrysler's financial situation, and empowered the board to halt the loan guarantee program if such a contract jeopardized the company.
- Provided that the board might recover from the company the amount of any payments made on a guaranteed loan.
- Empowered the board to bring action in any federal district court or other appropriate court to enforce compliance with the act.
- Provided that the government have first priority to assets in case of default, except:

1) If the board determined that waiving such priority was necessary to obtain financing for the company, and there was reasonable prospect of repayment of the guaranteed loans.

2) In the case of any state or local government or suppliers with claims of less than $100,000.

3) In the case of up to $400 million in loans made after Oct. 17, 1979.

Oversight. Authorized the board to inspect and copy all accounting, books, records, memoranda, correspondence and other documents and transactions of Chrysler or any other borrower requesting a guarantee under the act.

- Authorized the General Accounting Office (GAO) to audit such documemts, and required the GAO to report the results of such audits to Congress.
- Required the board to investigate any allegations of fraud, dishonesty, incompetence, misconduct or irregularity in Chrysler management that could affect the company's ability to repay its guaranteed loans.

Long-Term Planning Study. Required the transportation secretary, in conjunction with the departments of Labor and Energy, to submit to Congress within six months of enactment an assesment of Chrysler's long-term viability as an automobile manufacturer.

Chrysler Not the First U.S. Corporation . . .

Although Chrysler was the largest American corporation to ask the federal government for financial help, it was not the first.

Washington long has played a financier role to troubled private enterprise — a role enlarged after the Civil War when the huge costs of railroading prompted millions of dollars of government land grants and loans.

"Each period of emergency — each war, each depression — expands the activity of government," economist Paul A. Samuelson noted in his text *Economics*.

During World War I, Congress established the War Finance Corporation to keep companies afloat throughout the war and later reconvert to peacetime industry.

Before it closed shop in 1929, the corporation loaned $85 million to aid post-war exports and provided $361 million in agricultural credit.

In 1932, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, was set up to help banks, businesses and cities fight bankruptcy. *(Background, Congress and the Nation Vol. I, pp. 350, 362, 1709)*

The aid operation proved so popular, however, that it long outlived the Depression: By the time its lending authority finally expired in 1953, the increasingly scandal-ridden agency had doled out nearly $40.6 billion in financial assistance.

Descendents of the two finance corporations include the Small Business Administration, the Farmers Home Administration, the Export-Import Bank, the Federal National Mortgage Association, the Commodity Credit Corporation and manifold housing, community development, agriculture and maritime subsidy programs.

The Treasury's involvement in private business waned during the prosperous 1960s. But in 1971, the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation approached Washington for financial aid. It won a $250 million loan guarantee from Congress.

Next, Congress sank $558.5 million — plus $1.5 billion in loan guarantees — into a corporation designed to save seven bankrupt railroads in the Northeast and Midwest.

And in 1975, New York City convinced the government to provide short-term annual loans of $2.3 billion for three years to keep it from bankruptcy.

Precedents also exist for the refusal of government aid to private companies.

President Gerald R. Ford did not oblige Pan American World Airways when it approached him in 1974 for monthly $10.2 million emergency subsidies. Instead, Congress approved an alternative plan to help Pan American and Trans World Airlines compete with foreign air carriers in overseas service. *(1974 Almanac p. 708)*

And the Penn Central was allowed to go bankrupt in 1970 before the government committed funds to saving the rail network.

Federal aid measures undertaken during the 1970s included:

Penn Central. In 1970, the Penn Central Railroad asked Washington for a $200 million loan under the Defense Production Act of 1950, a Korean War measure that authorized private borrowing from the Treasury for defense purposes. *(1970 Almanac p. 810)*

Its request triggered debate about the effect of regulation on the rail industry and the possibility of nationalization, but Congress declined to make the loan. Pennsy then filed for bankruptcy.

After the default, Capitol Hill stepped in with $125 million in loan guarantees to allow the failed company to continue operation.

Lockheed. By narrow votes in both houses of Congress, lawmakers authorized the Treasury in August 1971 to guarantee $250 million in bank loans for the ailing Lockheed Aircraft Corp.

- Required the transportation secretary to submit to Congress annual reports on the automobile industry.
- Empowered the transportation secretary to make additional recommendations to address the long-term national and regional impact of reduced activity by Chrysler or the automobile industry.

Reports to Congress. Required the board to report to Congress semi-annually on the long-term economic implications of the Chrysler act and recommendations about future loan guarantee programs.

- Required the board to report to Congress on the details of each guarantee at least 15 days before it was granted.
- Empowered the board to require a report from the transportation secretary on the economic impact of federal regulations on the automobile industry.

Aid to Automobile Dealers. Instructed the Small Business Administration (SBA) to investigate the financial problems of automobile dealers and determine what loan assistance might be needed and was available to correct such problems.

- Required that the SBA report such findings to Congress within 60 days of enactment.

Electric Automobile Research. Authorized the Transportation Department and the Environmental Protection Agency to conduct a seven-year study of electric vehicles.

Administration Proposal

After rejecting two earlier proposals, the White House Nov. 1 agreed on a Chrysler aid bill that doubled the amount of loan guarantees President Carter initially said he could support.

Treasury Secretary G. William Miller said at a news conference the administration increased its original plans for a $750 million loan guarantee bill to $1.5 billion because of a "change in outlook" for the auto industry and the economy. "It is apparent to us that any financial assistance plan should be adequate and sufficient to accomplish the purpose," Miller said.

He told reporters that providing backing for the ailing auto company would help the country avoid the "adverse impact" of a Chrysler failure.

"Should Chrysler be unable to continue, there could be serious impact on localities around the country — not only where Chrysler has plants but in places where automotive suppliers and dealers operate along with others who have an interest in this business," Miller said.

Loan guarantees for Chrysler also would help the nation avoid such shutdown costs as unemployment benefits, welfare payments and tax loss, Miller said.

. . . To Seek Federal Aid, Just the Largest

Lockheed applied for the financial help after Britain's Rolls Royce company, its supplier of airplane engines for the new Tristar jet, went bankrupt. London pledged to finance a successor company, but would not agree to continue building the engines unless Lockheed obtained an additional $250 million of credit.

The aircraft company, a major Defense Department supplier, also was in financial trouble because of cost overruns on its contracts for the C-5A military transport plane and the heavy costs of developing the Tristar.

Lockheed's huge contracts with the government sparked both opposition and support for Treasury aid. Proponents said the nation's security depended on a financially sound Lockheed.

Opponents argued the government could not contract independently with Lockheed if it had an investment at stake.

Other debate centered on the loss of jobs — the California-based company employed 17,000 workers — and the role of government investment in private enterprise.

Originally, both Senate and House Banking committees reported aid bills authorizing a broad, $2 billion loan guarantee program for major failing businesses.

But on the House floor, the bill was pared down to the size of Lockheed's request. The Senate then substituted that legislation for the banking panel's product. *(1971 Almanac p. 152)*

The Lockheed bill established a two-year Emergency Loan Guarantee Board — made up of the Treasury secretary and the chairmen of the Federal Reserve Board and Securities and Exchange Commission — to administer the aid.

Lockheed subsequently righted its finances. And Treasury Secretary G. William Miller disclosed in 1979 that the government collected $26.6 million in guarantee fees for aiding the company.

Rail Reorganization Act of 1974. President Nixon signed legislation Jan. 2, 1974, authorizing an unprecedented $558.5 million for design and operation costs plus $1.5 billion in loan guarantees to consolidate seven bankrupt railroads in the Northeast and Midwest into one profit-making corporation.

The bill established the United States Railway Commission to administer the aid program and designated the Consolidated Rail Corporation, the independent company to run the system. *(1973 Almanac p. 465)*

In 1976, Congress provided $2.1 billion in start-up funds for the new corporation. *(1976 Almanac p. 704)*

New York City. When the nation's largest city threatened bankruptcy in 1975, Congress authorized the Treasury to make $2.3 billion in annual loans — at near-market interest rates — through mid-1978. *(1975 Almanac p. 441)*

President Ford initially opposed aiding the city because it would "encourage the continuation of 'politics as usual' in New York, which is not the way to solve the problem." But when the city hiked taxes, cut back its payroll and clamped a wage freeze on municipal employees, Ford agreed to send an aid bill to Congress.

New York City's plight garnered more sympathizers in Congress than Lockheed — but many opponents argued that, like aid to a private company, loans to the city would only perpetuate bad management and big spending.

Lawmakers finally agreed on a short-term loan plan — which provided $2.3 billion in annual operating capital to the city. The short-term loans were repaid every June, when municipal tax revenues were collected.

And, impressed by the improvement in New York City finances, Congress voted in 1978 to guarantee up to $1.65 billion of private sector loans to the city. *(1978 Almanac p. 258)*

And aid would ensure strong competition in the automotive industry, "with consequent benefits for the American people."

In letters to House and Senate leaders, Miller said the administration plan was contingent upon Chrysler's ability to raise a matching $1.5 billion by selling assets and winning pledges of aid from creditors, workers and localities. The administration had hoped to have those commitments in hand when it recommended its bill, an aide said, but finally decided to proceed without them because the company's situation was deteriorating so rapidly.

The administration announcement came almost three months after Chrysler submitted its first request for aid.

Chrysler made its first plea Aug. 9, when it asked for a $1 billion advance from the Treasury to be applied against tax credits it would earn in future years. Miller responded that the administration would consider loan guarantees — not tax credits — of an amount "considerably less" than $1 billion, provided the company came up with a suitable financial plan.

Miller subsequently rejected the company's Sept. 15 proposal for $1.2 billion in loan guarantees, which he called "way out of line."

Carter's decision to sponsor aid legislation for Chrysler came as the company reported a record third quarter loss of $460 million. That meant the auto maker had lost a total $721.5 million in 1979 — the largest loss in U.S. corporate history.

The company also announced its third-quarter sales dropped from $2.9 billion in 1978 to $2.48 billion. For the first nine months of 1979, total sales were down to $8.9 billion from $9.6 billion in 1978.

Miller said Treasury studies of the company's records indicated it could need as much as $3 billion over the next few years to return to profitability.

House Committee Action

The House Banking Committee approved the administration's loan guarantee plan Nov. 15 by a 25-17 vote, but it postponed reporting the legislation until Dec. 6.

As reported, the bill (HR 5860 — H Rept 96-690) provided $1.5 billion in loan guarantees to Chrysler over a 10-year period.

In exchange for the Treasury backing, the bill required the company to raise another $1.5 billion in concessions or credit from its suppliers, creditors, dealers, employees and localities.

And it authorized the Treasury secretary to administer the guarantees, which would assure private creditors that

the government would cover their losses should Chrysler default.

The committee rejected most attempts to alter the administration bill — winning pledges from several members to introduce amendments on the floor.

Among the changes it did approve were:

- A requirement that Chrysler issue 10 million new shares of stock for an employee stock ownership trust fund.

Under this plan, sponsored by Stanley N. Lundine, D-N.Y., workers would be required to pay $50 million for the new shares, which was a discount of about one-third at current market prices.

- A requirement that Chrysler develop an "energy-saving plan" to produce more fuel-efficient cars.

This amendment by committee Chairman Henry S. Reuss, D-Wis., also gave the Treasury secretary authority to divert part of the $1.5 billion in guarantees to other firms that bought Chrysler plants for the production of mass transit or small vehicles.

- A ban on purchases of guaranteed Chrysler loans by the Federal Financing Bank or other federal agencies.

The administration bill previously was altered slightly by the Economic Stabilization Subcommittee. That version (HR 5805) added requirements that Chrysler raise $100 million of the $1.5 billion in matching funds by selling corporate stock, and that the company make $100 million in shares available for purchase by its workers. The subcommittee approved the bill Nov. 8, 12-6.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Banking Committee Nov. 29 approved a compromise plan to inject $4 billion in fresh capital into Chrysler — but only if its workers accepted a three-year, $1.32 billion wage freeze. The measure, approved by a 10-4 vote, was reported Dec. 6 (S 2094 — S Rept 96-643).

The Senate bill also required $1.43 billion in stiff new sacrifices from Chrysler creditors, suppliers, dealers and localities. It cut the government's share of the rescue plan to $1.25 billion in loan guarantees.

Authors of the new plan, Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., and Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., maintained the tough concessions were necessary both to ensure Chrysler's survival and to discourage other companies from asking for financial help.

"The administration plan is a pure bailout," Lugar said. "It asks for no sacrifices from Chrysler. In fact, it simply pays for a massive wage increase."

And Tsongas argued that the company would need the extra $1.32 billion gained from a wage freeze because it had based its financing plan on auto sales estimates that were too optimistic.

However, United Auto Workers President Douglas A. Fraser indicated his union would not agree to reopen the contract it had just negotiated with the nation's No. 3 auto maker. Fraser told the committee Nov. 19 the $203 million in savings contained in that new wage pact was a "sufficient sacrifice" by workers.

The first test of Senate sentiment on the administration's aid bill came on a motion to substitute that plan (S 1965) for the Lugar-Tsongas measure Proxmire had introduced for markup.

Banking Committee members voted 10-5 to stick with the stricter compromise legislation, and allowed the administration to make only minor changes in that plan during the day-long markup session.

To qualify for the $1.25 billion in federal loan guarantees provided under the bill, Chrysler would have to:

- Win $400 million in new credit from its banks, plus a $100 million break on currently outstanding loans.
- Obtain another $150 million in new credit from foreign banks.
- Raise at least $300 million from the sale of company assets.
- Issue at least $50 million of new corporate stock.
- Win a pledge of $180 million from suppliers and dealers — of which $100 million should be in capital.
- Receive $250 million in special tax breaks or property financing from state and local governments.

The firm's workers, both union and non-union, also would have to agree to a three-year wage freeze, which the committee estimated would save the company $1.32 billion.

However, the panel adopted an amendment by Tsongas that would allow the loan guarantee board to review, and possibly waive, the freeze during the final year.

Tsongas said such a review provision was necessary to prevent Congress from building a "disincentive" into the bill.

Lugar also amended the wage freeze measure by including an "equitability" provision allowing workers to keep their scheduled wage gains if they could make another kind of cash contribution to the company worth $1.32 billion.

The plan also required the company to issue $250 million worth of shares of new common stock to its employees, in lieu of wage increases. That would increase the number of company shares from the current 60 million to 100 million.

Administering the plan under the committee bill would be a three-member board composed of the Treasury secretary, the Federal Reserve chairman and the comptroller general.

The bill differed from the administration-House Banking plan on several key points.

Carter's plan accepted as a sufficient concession the UAW's new contract with Chrysler, which was $203 million less than the union's pacts with Ford and General Motors.

His bill placed all authority for administering the program in the hands of the Treasury secretary.

And although it required Chrysler to raise $1.5 billion in matching funds from other interested parties, it gave the company the freedom to do this on its own.

Although the final vote on the bill was a lopsided 10-4, several members voting "aye" noted they were not committed to helping Chrysler but thought the measure should be reported from committee.

Voting against the bill were Proxmire, a longtime opponent of aid; Harrison A. Williams Jr., D-N.J., a supporter of organized labor; Adlai E. Stevenson, D-Ill., who had introduced his own bill (S 2033) to improve industrial productivity; and William L. Armstrong, R-Colo.

Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., voted "present."

House Floor Action

By the time the House began work on its Chrysler aid plan Dec. 18, most members were convinced that the government should help save the hundreds of thousands of jobs that would be lost if the giant company failed.

They also had agreed on a $1.5 billion federal contribution to the effort. That meant that the final issue to resolve was how high to set worker wage concessions.

"We have never hit on the precedent we're establishing here," complained J. William Stanton, R-Ohio, as the session concluded with little debate on whether the government should aid a private business.

Stanton was one of only a few members who fought the bill. Longtime opponents Ron Paul, R-Texas, and Richard Kelly, R-Fla., made final stands against the plan, and several lawmakers opposed certain provisions.

But the anti-aid argument proved unpopular with most members.

Democrat Leon E. Panetta, Calif., made a quick speech against the bill just before passage, arguing that "the fact is Chrysler is not going to survive — and we're going to have to face these issues sooner or later."

He then hurried from the floor, ushered out of the chamber by hisses from his Democratic colleagues.

The bill the House used to write its Chrysler package was a compromise drafted by Banking Committee aid proponents after their Senate counterparts approved a much harsher version requiring a three-year worker wage freeze. In the new plan, the UAW employee pay concession was hiked from $203 million to $400 million. And the employee stock ownership plan (ESOP) was increased to $150 million.

That measure was amended on the floor by Majority Whip John Brademas, D-Ind., to require an additional $100 million in raise concessions from non-union workers.

Dan Quayle, R-Ind., sponsored a substitute bill containing an $800 million concession from union employees — but it failed badly, 107-296. *(Vote 659, p. 194-H)*

"I believe this amendment pushes the union to the brink and possibly over it," argued William S. Moorhead, D-Pa., author of the compromise bill. "These workers are not millionaires. They have to pay the mortgage and the grocer."

Stanton's motion to send the bill back to committee with instructions to require a three-year wage freeze also failed, 114-295. *(Vote 660, p. 196-H)*

During the long House session, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, and Brademas worked the chamber, chatting with members and listening to debate.

And just before the final vote of 271-136, O'Neill took the floor to plead for passage. *(Vote 661, p. 196-H)*

"I don't think we can afford not to take the chance. Laying off 700,000 people, you'll start a chain reaction. And we won't be able to dig ourselves out for 10 years," O'Neill concluded to long applause.

Also keeping an eye on proceedings were UAW and Chrysler lobbyists. For much of the session, leaders of the union relaxed in the comfortable Speaker's chambers just off the House floor.

But for the final few hours of debate, UAW president Fraser watched the proceedings from the gallery. Under the union's new contract with Chrysler, Fraser was to be a member of the company's board of directors.

After the vote, the union chiefs applauded James J. Blanchard, D-Mich., credited with steering the legislation through committee and the House.

Proponents of aid said they were surprised by the lopsided vote in favor of the package.

Many sources credited the victory to the varied contingent of lobbying interests pushing for government guarantees: the administration, the UAW, Chrysler, small-business men and the nation's major mayor-governor organizations.

And Dave Stockman, R-Mich., who cast the lone Michigan vote against the aid bill, noted that there was no organized opposition. "This is a zero-sum game," he said. "The losers who are going to get squeezed — the taxpayers, the borrowers — are dispersed out there."

Senate Floor Action

"We've gotten a strong package here, and I think it will help a lot in the Senate," noted a Treasury aide after the resounding House victory.

The next day, his assessment was borne out. Proponents of a plan similar to the House-passed bill forced an early vote on a $3.2 billion substitute drafted by Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., and William V. Roth Jr., R-Del.

The plan by the three senators, each having large Chrysler interests in their constituencies, would have required a $400 million pay concession from union workers.

Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., co-author of the Banking aid bill, maintained that "the only argument that can be made in favor of the $400 million is that it is the only figure the UAW will accept."

He pressed the Senate to accept a compromise that would require $800 million from union workers — a plan he said would provide Chrysler with badly needed capital and give it a better chance for survival.

But the Eagleton-Biden-Roth amendment was approved by a vote of 54-43 — only to be met with the threat of a filibuster by several lawmakers. *(Vote 485, p. 81-S)*

"I can see no possibility in the present circumstances of a Chrysler vote in this body," warned Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn.

That stand forced the victors into an unusual situation: They could have the bill they wanted, but not by the Dec. 21 deadline. They withdrew the amendment and agreed to negotiate a new compromise with Republicans.

"It's a rare day when sombody wins the vote by 54-43 and then everybody retires to the backroom to undo the agreement," Lugar told reporters after the decision.

Explained Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., "We got the message very quickly that we were facing a filibuster that could go on a very long time."

Riegle then joined Banking Chairman Proxmire, Lugar, Tsongas, Eagleton, Biden and Roth in the office of Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., to undo the agreement.

In its place they devised a $3.6 billion compromise that would require a union concession of $525 million. That would allow Senate proponents of a stiff worker contribution some bargaining room in conference.

As final details were worked out, Weicker was lobbied not to filibuster. And Biden huddled with UAW leaders in the vice president's chambers off the Senate floor. Biden told the group the wage concession they likely would have to accept would be $460 million — about halfway between the House and Senate figures.

Other parts of the compromise included a $150 million wage contribution by non-union employees and an ESOP of $175 million. And the federal portion of the plan was hiked to $1.5 billion from $1.25 billion.

The Senate agreed to substitute the compromise for the bill under consideration by a vote of 69-28, but proponents were not yet home free:

A second filibuster was threatened on an amendment by Carl Levin, D-Mich., to provide $500 million in loan

guarantees for short-term "bridge" loans to Chrysler. *(Vote 487, p. 81-S)*

Michigan's junior senator called the bridge financing plan "the common sense thing to do" to keep Chrysler from running out of cash before it could get commitments for its financing plan.

But Proxmire argued, "The House did not want this bridge financing. Nor did the administration. It would tie their hands in trying to negotiate an overall Chrysler plan."

A Treasury aide later confirmed, "We not only opposed the plan, but we actively lobbied against it on the floor."

However, the most persuasive argument against the short-term loan plan proved to be Weicker's threat to filibuster what he called "the wickedest part of the [aid] proposal."

The Senate defeated Levin's amendment by a vote of 33-64. *(Vote 488, p. 81-S)*

The Senate did approve, by a tight 50-45 vote, an amendment by John Heinz, R-Pa., requiring the company to dilute the value of its common stock by issuing more than 66 million new shares — double the number of shares currently outstanding. *(Vote 489, p. 81-S)*

Heinz argued his amendment would provide interest-free capital to the company and ensure that current stockholders did not make windfall profits from the bailout.

Final Senate passage of the compromise plan came late Dec. 19, by a 53-44 vote. *(Vote 490, p. 81-S)*

Conference, Final Action

Although conferees predicted they quickly would resolve differences between the two bills, the conference lasted a grueling six hours as lawmakers and staff waded through complicated legislative language.

In the end, the issues were resolved by "dividing by two," as Tsongas predicted. On most provisions in conflict, the conferees simply split the difference.

Elbow to elbow with conferees during the long session were Chrysler and union representatives who sometimes lobbied lawmakers right at the conference table.

UAW officials, for instance, urged the conferees to defer the deadline for all union pay concessions from Sept. 30, 1982, until Dec. 31 that same year. That would allow the workers to give up several holidays, saving $40 million.

Conferees stood firm on the deadline, but deleted the Heinz equity amendment in compensation.

Compromise Cleared

The conference compromise (H Rept 96-730), approved by a 241-124 vote in the House and a 43-34 vote in the Senate, attached certain strings to the $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees. *(House vote 672, p. 198-H; Senate vote 495, p. 82-S)*

To win the aid, the bill required Chrysler to:

- Win concessions from the company's workers, plus $500 million in new credit from U.S. banks; $125 million in new loans from foreign banks and other creditors; $250 million in aid from state and local governments; $180 million in aid or credit from dealers and suppliers.
- Sell off $350 million of company assets or other equity.
- Develop an energy-saving plan.
- Issue $162.5 million of new common stock to its employees.
- Make another $100 million of new common stock available for sale to its employees. Any worker purchase of such stock would count against the required wage concessions.

The bill also authorized the loan guarantee board to guarantee interest on new loans — a provision that could add another $225 million to the cost of the package should the company fail, according to Banking and Treasury aides.

And it allowed the board to give the government equal creditor status to attract up to $400 million in new credit for the company.

The House and Senate Dec. 20 and 21 approved an appropriations measure (H J Res 467 — PL 96-183) providing for the loan and interest guarantees and allowing $1.5 million in fiscal 1980 to administer the program. *House vote 667, p. 198-H; Senate vote 496, p. 82-S)* ▮

Trade Reorganization

President Carter's proposed reorganization of government trade functions went into effect Jan. 2, 1980, following the failure of Senate and House resolutions to disapprove the plan. *(Carter reorganization text, p. 59-E)*

The proposal was the third reorganization plan submitted by the Carter administration in 1979. Such plans go into effect automatically unless either the Senate or House adopts a resolution of disapproval within 60 days after they are submitted. Carter had submitted the plan Sept. 25. *(Reorganization authority, 1977 Almanac p. 749; 1979 plans, Congress and Government chapter)*

Trade reorganization was crucial to congressional approval of the multilateral trade bill, which the president signed July 26. *(Trade bill, next page)*

Like the trade legislation, the reorganization plan was the product of numerous compromises between the administration and congressional trade leaders. The final plan was close to the proposals made in the House but fell short of Senate proposals for a new department of trade.

Provisions. The president's reorganization plan:

- Assigned overall responsibility for developing and coordinating U.S. trade policy to the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (formerly the Office of the Special Trade Representative).
- Shifted administrative responsibility for most trade programs to the Commerce Department.
- Transferred responsibility for administering the countervailing duty and anti-dumping laws from the Treasury Department to Commerce.

House Action. By voice vote the House Nov. 8 rejected a resolution (H Res 428) to block the plan.

The House disapproval resolution had been reported unfavorably by the Government Operations Committee Nov. 2 (H Rept 96-585). The vote was 1-30.

The committee described the plan as a "worthwhile endeavor to help this government and this country move our international trade activities to a position of high priority."

Senate Action. The full Senate took no action on a disapproval resolution that its Governmental Affairs Committee adversely reported Nov. 7.

In its report on the resolution (S Res 245 — S Rept 96-402), the committee suggested that "this reorganization may well have to be followed by additional steps later to consolidate further the trade functions of the government." ▮

Massive Trade Bill Sails Through Congress

President Carter July 26 signed into law a new trade liberalization bill that he said would create jobs, spur exports and enhance prospects for peace.

The bill (HR 4537 — PL 96-39) was sent to him by Congress July 23 when the Senate passed it by a vote of 90-4.

Because the rules of the 1974 Trade Act barred any amendments to the legislation, the Senate action cleared the measure for the president's signature. The House had approved the bill July 11 by a 395-7 vote.

HR 4537 made the changes in U.S. law that were "necessary and appropriate" to carry out agreements reached in the Tokyo Round of multilateral trade negotiations (MTN), the seventh in a series of post-World War II negotiations designed to liberalize world trade. Unlike the previous negotiations, which emphasized tariff cuts, the Tokyo Round concentrated on developing new international rules to deal with non-tariff barriers to trade, such as government subsidies that affect exports. These non-tariff aspects of the MTN agreements required congressional approval.

Unique Process

Working under a unique legislative process laid out in the 1974 Trade Act, members of the two congressional tax-writing committees wrote the bill in consultation with administration trade officials. President Carter's special trade representative, Robert S. Strauss, and the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means committees tailored some provisions to head off threatened opposition from key industries such as textiles and steel.

"In a regular process you might never have had a bill," remarked Rep. James R. Jones, D-Okla., of the Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee. "If everybody had had an open crack at it, you could have had that thing amended forever. Anybody that felt left out had access to some group or individual to get their case acted upon, and in most cases there was a response. I didn't hear of any groups that were left out of the process."

Strauss won high praise for his political skills and willingness to listen to grievances and respond.

"It's an enormous tribute to the colossal skills of Bob Strauss," Rep. Bill Frenzel, R-Minn., said. "Without Bob we'd have had all kinds of difficulties putting this thing together."

Bill Highlights

Major provisions of the bill:

- Overhauled the U.S. countervailing duty law, which was designed to protect domestic industry against foreign government subsidies on imported goods. Domestic industries for the first time would be required to show they had been seriously injured by subsidized imports before an offsetting duty would be imposed. The bill extended sanctions to domestic subsidies that indirectly affect exports — such as government-backed loans to export industries — as well as to direct government export subsidies.

- Speeded investigations and imposition of penalties under both the countervailing duty law and anti-dumping statutes, which barred imports at prices below home market prices.

- Established a new system of customs valuation that would use the price actually paid for merchandise when it was sold for exportation to the United States as the primary method of assessing customs value.

- Discouraged discrimination against foreign suppliers in bidding for government purchases.

- Curbed the use of product standards as disguised trade barriers.

Trade Reorganization

The last obstacle to the bill's passage was removed July 19 when Strauss announced the administration's trade reorganization proposal. Senate Finance Committee members had delayed floor action on the bill until the Carter plan was sent to Congress.

The plan consolidated trade functions in the Commerce Department while strengthening the policy role of the special trade representative.

The administration proposed to give Commerce the responsibility for administering the anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws that were currently held by the Treasury Department. Business interests had criticized Treasury officials for what they considered lax enforcement of the import trade laws.

The reorganization plan was not formally submitted to Congress until Sept. 25. Like the trade bill, the plan was the product of numerous compromises between the administration and congressional trade leaders. The final plan was close to the proposals made in the House but fell short of Senate demands for a separate trade department. A House resolution to disapprove the plan failed Nov. 8, and a Senate disapproval resolution never came to a floor vote. The plan took effect Jan. 2, 1980. *(Reorganization action, p. 292)*

Provisions

As signed into law, HR 4537 (PL 96-39):

- Approved the MTN codes and the statements of administrative action summarizing changes in U.S. law that were submitted with the legislation.

- Provided that the trade agreements would have legal standing in the United States primarily as they were implemented in the trade bill, and that no provision of any agreement would take precedence over domestic laws in the event of a conflict.

- Stipulated that the agreements would not become effective until Europe, Japan and Canada also completed their domestic implementing procedures. Under an exception to this rule, the president could accept a particular agreement if only one industrial country had not accepted the agreement and acceptance by that country was not considered essential.

- Provided that if any future change in U.S. law was necessary to conform to a code requirement, the president must consult with congressional committees at least a month before submitting a draft bill. Any legislation would be considered under the fast-track procedures of the 1974 Trade Act.

Title I - Countervailing and Anti-dumping Duties

• **Countervailing Duties.** Allowed countervailing duties to offset foreign governments' export subsidies if the administering agency (currently the Treasury Department) determined that an import was either directly or indirectly subsidized, and the International Trade Commission (ITC) determined that a domestic industry had been materially injured or threatened with injury.

• Defined material injury as "a harm which is not inconsequential, immaterial or unimportant."

• Allowed investigations to be initiated by the agency itself or by a domestic manufacturer, labor union or trade association.

• Set new procedures to shorten investigations, which currently took about one year, to about seven months. Importers would be forced to deposit a bond or cash in less than three months (compared to a year or more under existing law) if a preliminary investigation found the imports were subsidized.

• Allowed the agency to drop the investigation if the foreign government or exporters agreed to eliminate the subsidy or cease exports within six months, or if the foreign government agreed to negotiate an agreement that would offset the effect of the subsidy or reduce the volume of exports.

• Required the agency to verify the accuracy of any information submitted to it before making a final determination. If it was unable to verify the information, it must rely on the best information available, which could include the information submitted by the domestic industry.

• Allowed confidential information to be made available to lawyers for the other parties in the investigation under an administrative or court order; if a party failed to provide information, determinations would be made on the basis of the best available evidence.

• **Anti-dumping Duties.** Provided for an anti-dumping duty if the U.S. administering agency (currently the Treasury Department) found that merchandise was being or was likely to be sold in the United States at less than fair value, and if the ITC determined that a domestic industry was materially injured or threatened with material injury. The duty would be the amount by which the home market price exceeded the U.S. price for the merchandise. (Dumping is the practice of selling exports below the price charged in the domestic market; anti-dumping duties are intended to make up the difference between the home market price and the export price.)

• Established new procedures that shortened normal cases to about nine months (under existing law cases normally took from nine to 15 months, but some cases had taken many years).

• Allowed the Customs Service six months to determine the amount of dumping and assess the duty (delays in assessments had averaged three years). During the assessment period importers of dumped products would have to pay estimated anti-dumping duties.

• Provided that investigations could be initiated by the agency or upon petition by a manufacturer, union or trade association.

• Allowed the agency to drop an investigation if exporters stopped shipping the merchandise within six months or agreed to stop dumping the merchandise by increasing the price to about the home market value.

Title II — Customs Valuation

• Established five methods of determining the value of imports to simplify the process of assessing duties (replacing the nine methods under existing law).

• Established as the primary method the transaction value, defined as "the price actually paid or payable for the merchandise when sold for exportation to the United States," with additions for extra costs such as packing costs, selling commissions and "assists" (certain free or reduced cost products and services — such as materials, tools or design and development work — supplied by the buyer for the production or sale of the mechandise).

• Listed four alternative methods to transaction value in order of preference: 1) transaction value of identical merchandise; 2) transaction value of similar merchandise; 3) deductive value, which takes the price of similar merchandise and subtracts additional costs for insurance, transportation, taxes and commissions; and 4) computed value, which is the sum of production and materials costs, profit and general expenses, packing costs and assists.

• Allowed "reasonable adjustments" to be made to one of the previous methods to arrive at a value if none of these methods could be used.

• Repealed the American Selling Price (ASP) system of valuation, which based duties for some chemicals and rubber footwear on the price of comparable domestic products.

• Converted ASP rates of duty into tariffs estimated to provide the same protection currently provided under ASP.

Title III — Government Procurement

• Gave the president the authority, beginning Jan. 1, 1981, to waive the application of discriminatory government procurement laws such as the Buy American Act for purchases covered by the agreement. (Existing law gave domestic bidders on government contracts a 6 percent price preference over foreign bidders, 12 percent for small business or labor surplus areas, and 50 percent for Defense Department procurement.)

Long: Battling 'Phony' Figures

Among the miscellaneous provisions of the 1979 Trade Act was a change that Sen. Russell B. Long, D-La., chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, had tried to include in the 1974 Trade Act.

The provision required that, beginning in 1980, monthly U.S. import statistics include the cost of insurance and freight and other costs of bringing goods from the port of exportation to the U.S. port of entry. The method is frequently referred to as CIF (cost-insurance-freight).

Long had argued for years that this was a more realistic way to estimate the value of imports and that, with the exception of the United States, Canada and Australia, it was the method most other countries were using.

Including the value of freight and insurance would increase the customs value of imports into the United States, and have the effect of increasing the amount of import duties. The higher value of imports would also worsen the U.S. balance of trade statistics.

The trade bill provision required the release of CIF trade statistics 48 hours before the release of any other statistics on U.S. imports and the balance of trade. As a Long committee aide put it, "the phony numbers won't come until 48 hours later."

• Excluded from the waiver provision several U.S. agencies, including the departments of Transportation and Energy, the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Army Corps of Engineers. Also excluded were: purchases under $190,000; state and local government purchases; existing preferences for small and minority businesses; strategic goods; and purchases for farm support or human feeding programs such as the U.S. school lunch program.

• Directed the president to designate major industrial countries as eligible for non-discriminatory bidding under the agreement only if they had signed the Geneva procurement code. Non-industrial countries could be given a waiver if they allowed reciprocal government procurement opportunities for U.S. products; the least-developed countries would be eligible without providing reciprocity.

• Authorized the president to bar purchases from ineligible countries, but allowed him to give non-industrial countries two years to provide reciprocal opportunities before invoking the prohibition.

• Directed the president to seek new opportunities for U.S. exports in future negotiations. If negotiations with specific countries did not result in expanded procurement opportunities, the president could recommend legislation to prohibit purchases from those countries by federal agencies not currently covered by the agreement.

• Directed the president to submit a report to Congress before Jan. 1, 1981, that assessed the effect of the procurement provisions in areas of high unemployment.

Title IV — Product Standards

• Recognized that federal and state agencies had a legitimate need to develop new product standards if they did not create unnecessary obstacles to foreign trade and if the purpose of the standard was to achieve a "legitimate domestic objective" such as the protection of health or safety, essential security, environmental or consumer interests.

• Directed federal agencies to use standards in a way that treated imported products "no less favorably" than similar domestic products, including the use of tests and any fees charged for tests, and to adopt international standards unless factors such as national security requirements or the prevention of deceptive practices made adoption of the international standard inappropriate.

• Expressed the sense of Congress that no state agency or private organization should use standards that created obstacles to foreign trade.

• Gave the office of the special trade representative (STR) responsibility for coordinating international trade policy issues connected with the standards code and for monitoring foreign implementation of the agreement; established offices in the Commerce and Agriculture departments to gather and publish information on standards.

• Allowed other nations that had signed the code or observed its provisions to file a complaint with STR alleging that specific domestic practices violated U.S. obligations under the standards code. STR was directed to resolve the complaint "on a mutually satisfactory basis" through consultations, or submit the complaint for international arbitration if both parties consented.

Title V — Tariff Negotiations

• Implemented tariff concessions that exceeded the authority granted the president in the 1974 Trade Act.

• Allowed the president to give the least-developed countries full tariff reductions (instead of phased reductions stretching over eight years) on products that were not import-sensitive.

Tariff Cuts Also Planned

The Carter administration June 21 released a summary of tariff reductions negotiated during the Tokyo Round trade talks.

Tariffs for U.S. industrial goods would be cut by an average 31 percent — from 8.2 percent to 5.7 percent — over an eight-year period beginning Jan. 1, 1980, according to the summary, though cuts on some import-sensitive products such as textiles and steel would not begin until Jan. 1, 1982.

Tariff reductions included the following:

Textiles. Average U.S. tariffs for textiles from the Common Market would be reduced to 13.7 percent from 19.5 percent; tariffs on Japanese textiles would be cut to an average 16.8 percent from the existing 23.2 percent. Nearly all of the $637 million in U.S. imports with tariffs that still exceeded 30 percent were in the textile and apparel category.

Iron and Steel. Average U.S. tariffs for Common Market imports would be lowered to 4.3 percent from 6.1 percent; for imports from Japan, tariffs would be reduced to 4.6 percent from the existing 6.2 percent.

Leather and Leather Products. Because import-sensitive footwear was left out of the negotiations, cuts would be relatively small. U.S. tariffs for Common Market imports would be reduced to an average 8.8 percent from 9.2 percent; Japanese imports would drop to an average tariff of 11.7 percent from 13 percent.

Drugs and Soaps. The average U.S. tariff would drop to 5.1 percent from 9.1 percent for Common Market imports.

Industrial Chemicals. U.S. tariffs for chemicals from the Common Market countries would be cut to an average 7.3 percent from 11.2 percent.

Aerospace, Automotive Equipment. U.S. tariffs on imports of automobiles and aircraft would be completely eliminated.

Title VI — Civil Aircraft Agreement

• Eliminated all duties on civil aircraft, engines and parts intended for use in civil aircraft.

Title VII — Agricultural Agreements

• Implemented bilateral agreements on cheese, other dairy products and meat.

• Allowed the president to proclaim import quotas, up to an annual level of 111,000 metric tons, on about 85 percent of cheeses currently imported. Provided a "fast-track" complaint procedure to protect domestic producers against subsidies on foreign cheeses, and directed the president to impose fees or quantitative restrictions if foreign governments did not eliminate subsidies.

• Set a minimum annual level of meat imports at 1.2 billion pounds.

Title VIII — Liquor Duties

• Repealed the wine gallon method of assessing duties on imported liquor, under which liquor was taxed on the basis of quantity rather than alcoholic content.

• Provided that liquor would be taxed solely on the basis of alcohol content, with the tax based on the finished product after it had been diluted and bottled.

• Allowed a 15-day deferral period for payment on spirits bottled in the United States (phased in over a three-year period).

Title IX — Enforcement

• Authorized the president to take action against unreasonable foreign trade practices under the current agreements.

• Introduced specific time limits for investigating and taking action on complaints.

• Allowed any interested person to file a petition alleging unfair trade practices with the special trade representative's office, which would have 45 days to determine if an investigation was necessary.

• Directed STR to request consultation with the foreign country involved in the dispute as part of its investigation. If the dispute could not be resolved through consultations, then the trade representative could request proceedings under the international dispute settlement procedures of the agreement.

• Directed the trade representative also to make recommendations to the president within seven to 12 months after initiating an investigation.

Title X — Judicial Review

• Provided increased opportunities for judicial review of some provisional and all final rulings by the Treasury Department and ITC in anti-dumping and countervailing duty cases.

• Expanded opportunities for judicial review of determinations by the Customs Service concerning the appraised value or rate of duty of imported goods.

• Allowed any interested party involved in the proceeding to take legal action, and allowed any party to challenge the amount of a countervailing or anti-dumping duty as well as the failure to assess a duty.

• Provided expedited review procedures for anti-dumping and countervailing duty cases, including a requirement that any party could challenge a court decision within 30 days after the decision, and that these cases would be given priority in Customs Court.

Title XI — Miscellaneous Provisions

• Extended for an additional eight years, until Jan. 3, 1988, the president's authority to negotiate trade agreements with foreign countries to reduce or eliminate nontariff barriers. Trade agreements submitted to Congress would be handled under the expedited procedures of the 1974 Trade Act.

• Clarified existing law by authorizing the president to sell import licenses at public auction (under existing programs import licenses were allocated by the U.S. government on a first-come, first-served basis.

• Continued the private sector advisory committee structure established in the 1974 Trade Act, with a broadened mandate to include advice on the implementation of the trade agreements.

• Authorized the president to study the desirability of negotiating trade agreements with North American countries.

• Required monthly statistics on imports and the balance of trade to include the cost of freight charges, insurance charges and other expenses of bringing goods from the port of exportation to the U.S. port of entry, commonly known as the cost-insurance-freight (CIF) value. The bill required release of CIF trade statistics 48 hours before the release of any other statistics on U.S. imports and the balance of trade.

• Directed the president to submit a trade reorganization proposal to Congress by July 10, 1979. Congressional committees were instructed to make their "best efforts" to take final action on a reorganization bill by Nov. 10, 1979.

• Prohibited the president from giving a developing country duty-free treatment for certain products provided under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) if that country was a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and "interrupts or terminates" petroleum deliveries to the United States.

• Authorized no new budget authority before fiscal 1981 (beginning Oct. 1, 1980); any funding in fiscal 1980 must be from funds already appropriated.

Background

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), signed in 1947 by 23 countries, formed the cornerstone of post-World War II trade policy.

GATT established tariff-cutting schedules for each participating country and provided some basic rules of trade. The rules:

• Required each participating nation to accord equal, or most-favored-nation, treatment to the products of all other participating nations.

• Limited anti-dumping actions, designed to stop imports sold at less than fair value, to imports that threatened injury to domestic industries. The same rule applied to countervailing duty actions, which imposed penalty duties to offset foreign government subsidies.

• Barred use of internal taxes and other regulations as substitutes for tariffs.

• Prohibited import quotas with certain exceptions, including agricultural quotas imposed to enforce domestic marketing or production-control programs, or quotas imposed to protect currency reserves during a balance of payments emergency.

• Permitted tariff concessions to be suspended, withdrawn or modified if increased imports caused or threatened serious injury to a domestic industry producing similar products. This "escape clause," inserted at the insistence of the United States, also required consultation with affected countries and permitted them to retaliate if no compensatory action was taken.

Though GATT contained many loopholes allowing nations to impose restrictions on imports, it also set up a framework for periodic negotiations to reduce tariffs. A series of tariff-cutting rounds — at Annecy, France, in 1949, Torquay, England, in 1950-51, and Geneva in 1955-56 — culminated in the Dillon Round in 1961-62 and the Kennedy Round in 1964-67 (both held in Geneva) that led to substantial reductions in tariffs. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 188)*

The Dillon Round negotiations resulted in tariff cuts averaging 20 percent on industrial goods.

Even deeper cuts occurred in the Kennedy Round, which lowered tariffs an average of about 35 percent on some 60,000 items representing $40 billion in world trade. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. II, p. 94)*

The administration's authority to negotiate further trade concessions expired at the end of the Kennedy Round

in 1967. Legislation to restore the expired presidential authority failed in 1967 and 1970. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. III, p. 123)*

Responding to a deteriorating U.S. trade position, President Nixon in 1973 asked Congress for broad new negotiating powers for U.S. representatives at trade talks scheduled to begin in Tokyo later that year.

The Trade Act (PL 93-618), which finally cleared Congress in December 1974, gave the president negotiating authority for five years to enter into trade agreements to reduce tariffs by up to 60 percent. The president was also authorized to reduce or eliminate non-tariff barriers. *(Trade Act, 1974 Almanac p. 553)*

The 1974 act required congressional approval of all non-tariff barrier trade agreements, and it established a complicated timetable and procedure for legislative action.

Rising Protectionism

Over the 30-year period 1945-1975 U.S. tariffs on dutiable products declined from 32 percent to 8 percent, while tariffs in the industrial countries as a whole dropped to an average 11 percent.

Spurred in part by GATT trade liberalization, foreign trade in the postwar period grew rapidly. From 1950 to 1975, merchandise trade among the industrial countries grew almost twice as fast as their domestic economies.

But protectionist pressure rose significantly following the 1974 Arab oil price increase and the subsequent world recession. Three factors played an important role in the protectionist surge:

- Sharply higher exports from developed countries such as Japan, which was trying to stimulate a sluggish domestic economy by boosting sales overseas. The Japanese effort was so successful it caused a massive and politically sensitive trade surplus.
- The emergence of a group of advanced developing countries (Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Brazil, Mexico and Malaysia) as increasingly dominant exporters of light manufactures.
- Greater government intervention in trade — through measures such as export subsidization, price support arrangements, nationalization of major industries and support for research and development — prompting retaliatory action by other governments.

In the late 1970s, the advanced developing countries captured an increasingly large share of the U.S. market for products such as clothing, televisions and radios, and footwear, while the European Common Market and Japan increasingly concentrated on exports of chemicals, steel and automobiles.

As a result, the U.S. balance of merchandise trade swung sharply into deficit. The first deficit since 1888 occurred in 1971, when the nation's imports exceeded its exports by $2.3 billion. The deficit subsequently mushroomed, reaching $26.5 billion in 1977 and $28.5 billion in 1978. Calculated on a balance of payments basis, which deducts Defense Department foreign military sales and adds oil imports from the Virgin Islands, the deficit was $31.1 billion in 1977 and $34.1 billion in 1978.

The surge of imports caused a substantial buildup of protectionist pressures in both the United States and in the Common Market nations. The United States negotiated voluntary quotas on specialty steel imports, on color televisions from Japan and Korea, on footwear from Korea and Taiwan, and in late 1977 imposed a system of trigger prices for steel designed to stop steel from being "dumped," or sold below the cost of steel from Japan, which was considered to be the most efficient producer.

The Common Market imposed similarly restrictive measures on imports of textiles and clothing, electronics, chemicals and steel.

The European Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was a particularly controversial example of large-scale government intervention in trade. U.S. farm groups contended that sales of the Common Market's heavily subsidized surplus commodities in third country markets lost business for U.S. agricultural exports.

Other forms of assistance, such as government-supported research and development in areas such as electronics and aircraft, or support to aid the growth of infant industries, amounted to indirect subsidies.

The Tokyo Round Agreement

These and other non-tariff barriers to trade were the focus of the Tokyo Round trade negotiations, which began in the Japanese capital in September 1973 and culminated five and a half years later in an agreement signed by major trading nations in Geneva on April 12, 1979.

The multilateral trade package consisted of a series of non-tariff barrier codes, or agreements, a package of agricultural agreements and a framework for GATT reform. It also included phased tariff cuts averaging about 33 percent. *(Tariff cuts, box, p. 295)*

Negotiators failed to reach agreement on several difficult issues, including a wheat trade convention and a code on commercial counterfeiting, as well as a controversial safeguards code — proposed new rules under which nations could temporarily restrict imports of a particular product if the product caused or threatened serious injury to domestic producers.

Even before the Geneva negotiations were completed, the Carter administration began meeting behind closed doors with the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance committees to shape legislation dealing with the non-tariff aspects of the trade agreements. Because lawmakers were to consider the bill under rules that prohibited any amendments, the drafting sessions took place before the trade legislation was formally sent to Congress. As finally submitted June 19, the bill included a number of concessions designed to head off potential opposition.

The business community was particularly concerned by U.S. negotiators' acceptance of an injury test which businessmen feared could make it much harder for domestic industries to get relief from subsidized imports.

Strauss and the congressional committees responded by rewriting both the countervailing duty and anti-dumping laws to expedite investigations, impose penalties earlier in the process, and provide more opportunities for judicial review.

"It's probably as good as we could have expected," said Charles Carlisle, a vice president of St. Joe Minerals Corp. and leader of a coalition of 33 industries and unions supporting reform of the countervailing duty law. "The injury test won't be the easiest test in the world, but other improvements will on balance offset that."

Lobbyists for importers criticized the reforms as potentially protectionist. They argued that shorter deadlines to make preliminary decisions would tend to produce arbitrary decisions that often would favor domestic industries.

"I deplore the fact that as the product of an international effort to liberalize trade, we now see these two statutes turned into protectionist measures," said John

Rehm, a former general counsel in the special trade representative's office, who represented the Automobile Importers of America. "I think it's appalling, a testament to the excessive price Strauss paid to get the bill through."

Richard Self, director of the Office of Tariff Affairs in the Treasury Department, agreed that the new rules could help domestic industry.

"There's a distinct possibility that the preliminary determination will favor domestic complainants more often," Self said.

Importers — and reportedly several Common Market countries — were also unhappy with the bill's definition of material injury as "not inconsequential, immaterial or unimportant," rather than the commonly accepted international meaning of "important, substantial and significant."

"Critics of the definition as set out in the law are pessimistic regarding its future application, because of their feeling that protectionist sentiments are strong in the Congress, and because of their feeling that the ITC is sensitive to congressional attitudes in making injury determinations," wrote former deputy trade representative Harald B. Malmgren.

House Committee Action

The Ways and Means Committee approved HR 4537 June 21 by a 35-0 vote.

The committee acted on the bill just two days after it was received from the White House and one day after it was unanimously approved by the Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee. *(Carter message to Congress, p. 37-E)*

With protests from potentially major adversaries such as the textile and steel industries already satisfied by Strauss and congressional trade leaders, the Ways and Means meeting amounted to little more than a *pro forma* approval of the bill.

"The potential opinion-setters who were likely to lead the alarm against the bill have been de-fanged," said Barber B. Conable Jr., R-N.Y. "The bill has fallen into a benign environment of disinterest."

In its July 3 report on the bill (H Rept 96-317), the Ways and Means Committee described the immediate impact of the trade negotiations on the U.S. economy as "small but generally positive."

The agreements could have "enormous" long-term potential, the committee said, by providing improved discipline over unfair trade practices, helping to dismantle some existing trade barriers and stop the spread of others, and establishing a better system for settling trade disputes.

The report cautioned that studies of the economic impact of the agreements, while generally showing positive benefits for the U.S. economy, "must be viewed with considerable skepticism."

Quantitative estimates were difficult because the most significant results of the negotiations dealt with "new rules of the game" rather than tariff cuts, the committee said, and because many of the economic assumptions underlying the estimates were of "questionable validity." Any forecasts, the committee concluded, were therefore "of highly questionable reliability."

Future Issues

The committee said there was a great need for viewing the end of the negotiations "as only the beginning of efforts to further strengthen the international system of rules and dispute settlement."

The agenda for the future included:

- Completing negotiations for a safeguards code.
- Further discussions in the area of international fair labor standards.
- Convening an international conference on tax practices and their impact on trade.
- Encouraging as many nations as possible to sign the codes. "Unless the number of signatories for these agreements can be expanded there is a danger that trade relations between countries can return to the bilateral myopia of the 1930s, particularly if a serious world recession were to occur," the committee said.

Trade Reorganization

The report paid particular attention to the "critical need" to reorganize the trade bureaucracy.

"Bits and pieces of trade responsibility are scattered among a dozen agencies, making it impossible to make the most efficient use of the government's resources," the committee said, adding that there was a "clear need for consolidation, rationalization and strengthening of foreign trade responsibilities within the U.S. government."

A "centralized trade agency" was needed, the report said, to carry out the MTN results and monitor foreign compliance with the agreements, coordinate U.S. trade policy, and process trade complaints.

The report recommended the consolidation of U.S. commercial responsibilities abroad, restructuring the current administration of anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws, and strengthening U.S. representation in GATT.

It advocated creation of a foreign commercial service that would promote U.S. business abroad as well as monitor and enforce the trade agreements. Foreign commercial responsibilities were currently scattered among the State, Commerce and Agriculture departments.

The committee said it "has serious doubts that the present system and personnel can handle all of these functions, and the success of the MTN for the United States largely depends on adequate foreign representation of U.S. interests."

The committee "has long been dissatisfied" with the Treasury Department's handling of anti-dumping and countervailing duty cases, it added.

"Investigations and determinations are often too lengthy, and assessment and collection of duties are often unreasonably delayed," the report said.

While the trade bill accelerated timetables and made other administrative reforms, it did not, the committee said, come to grips with the organization issue.

"Given Treasury's performance over the past 10 years, many have questioned whether the dumping and countervailing investigations and policy functions should remain in the Treasury Department," the committee said.

In order to strengthen U.S. representation in GATT, the committee recommended upgrading the resources of the special trade representative's office and appointing a high-level U.S. trade official from that office as a full-time representative to the GATT.

House Floor Action

Following two days of desultory debate, the House July 11 passed HR 4537 by a 395-7 vote. *(Vote 286, p. 86-H)*

Conable, the ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee, summed up the anti-climactic mood of the House during debate on the bill July 10.

"There is not much fascination in a finally achieved consensus," Conable told his audience of a few dozen members. "There is very little drama in this moment, which has been a long time coming to the floor of the House."

At stake, he said, was "the very momentum of over 30 years of gradual, but consistent trade liberalization" as well as "the ability of this country to continue to receive fair and equitable treatment for its goods involved in international trade and our ability to secure effective redress for unfair international trading practices."

During the course of the debate there was little criticism of the bill. Several members emphasized the importance of monitoring both international compliance with the agreements and domestic trade laws, as well as the need to reshape U.S. export policy with tax incentives and more aggressive marketing of U.S. products.

The strongest cautionary note was sounded by Joseph M. Gaydos, D-Pa., chairman of the Congressional Steel Caucus. While the caucus supported the bill, Gaydos warned that an impending recession coupled with the energy crisis could mean a slowdown in steel demand in the second half of 1979.

"If a worldwide recession develops, many nations, including the developing countries, with excess steel-producing capacity, will need to find foreign markets when demand in their home market subsides," Gaydos said. "The U.S. market may become the prime target for this foreign steel."

"In concept, this legislation should improve our international trade position by curbing the advantages occurring from unfair trade practices and eliminating non-tariff barriers to trade," he concluded. "However, the effectiveness of this legislation requires a firm commitment from the administration to administer and enforce our trade laws fairly."

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Finance Committee unanimously approved the bill July 12, but agreed to delay floor action until the administration submitted its promised trade reorganization proposal.

Strauss told the Subcommittee on International Trade July 10 that the reorganization proposal had been delayed beyond its planned July 10 date because of the president's preoccupation with energy and other urgent issues. With the announcement of Carter's trade reorganization proposal July 19, the way was cleared for floor action on the bill.

The Finance Committee report (S Rept 96-249) on the trade bill, filed July 17, called the "experiment in coordination" between the administration and Congress in developing the trade agreements bill a "success," and said "it expects this coordination to continue."

The report substantially agreed with the conclusions of the Ways and Means Committee that the domestic economic impact of the trade pact was hard to estimate.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed HR 4537 July 23 by a 90-4 vote, completing congressional action on the legislation. *(Vote 207, p. 36-S)*

Praise for the bill and for Strauss was nearly unanimous, though many members said the legislation would be of little use if the new international rules weren't enforced.

"With this bill as their legal foundation in the United States, the MTN agreements should promote increased trade and higher standards of living throughout the world," said Finance Trade Subcommittee Chairman Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn. "I say 'should' because the MTN agreements and this bill merely establish rules. Rules mean nothing unless they are enforced."

In his role as chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee, Ribicoff said he intended to act within two or three months on trade reorganization. But he called the president's plan "inadequate," and predicted his committee would do better.

"If we do not, the benefits of the MTN for the United States will be minimal," he said.

Senators who had pushed hard for reform and tougher enforcement of the anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws, such as John Heinz, R-Pa., and John C. Danforth, R-Mo., also voiced satisfaction with the bill.

The toughest criticism came from Wisconsin Democrats Gaylord Nelson and William Proxmire, who said the bill's increase in cheese quotas would do serious harm to the dairy industry. Both voted against the bill.

"The dairy industry and the dairy farmers of Wisconsin and the nation are the big losers in this legislation," Proxmire said.

In addition to Nelson and Proxmire, Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, and John Melcher, D-Mont., were the only other members to vote against the bill. ▮

Duty Waiver Extension

President Carter signed into law April 3 legislation (HR 1147 — PL 96-6) temporarily extending the president's authority to waive countervailing duties designed to offset foreign government subsidies on imported goods.

Congress had completed action on HR 1147 March 28 when the Senate passed the bill by an 82-15 vote. The House had passed HR 1147 by voice vote March 1. *(Senate vote 30, p. 7-S)*

Trade Bill Link

The administration had argued that quick passage of the bill was essential to successful completion of the multilateral trade negotiations. About half of the approximately $600 million in affected imports were European agricultural products such as Danish canned hams and butter cookies, and European negotiators said they would not initial any trade agreement without a waiver extension.

"I have been persuaded by Ambassador [special trade representative Robert S.] Strauss that it is crucial that we pass this legislation very quickly, that we do not encumber it with a number of amendments," said Robert Dole, R-Kan., who earlier had threatened to offer amendments to the bill.

As signed into law, HR 1147 waived duties retroactively to Jan. 3, when the president's authority expired, and extended the waiver through Sept. 30, 1979, or until a final vote occurred on the implementing legislation for the multilateral trade pact. *(Multilateral trade bill, preceding story)*

A countervailing duty waiver extension passed both the House and Senate in the final days of the 95th Congress, but the measure became the vehicle for a variety of non-germane amendments and died when Congress adjourned Oct. 15, 1978. *(1978 Almanac p. 279)* ▮

Export Control Extension

Congress in 1979 approved a four-year extension of federal export control programs. The bill (S 737 — PL 96-72) refined, with few major changes, existing government authority to restrict exports of U.S. goods to other nations for national security or foreign policy reasons, or because of inadequate domestic supplies.

"I think we have a bill that is workable and that will provide both the export industry with more practical and streamlined procedures, and at the same time provide tighter security in terms of exports of importance for the national security," summed up Rep. Jonathan B. Bingham, D-N.Y., House sponsor of the legislation.

Business lobbyists said the measure responded to many of their complaints about the current system.

"The bill makes fundamental reforms throughout," said Raymond Garcia, vice president of a business coalition called the Emergency Committee for American Trade. "It, for the first time, puts significant constraints on the president's use of controls for foreign policy reasons, sets timetables for action on license applications, and it opens up the entire process to public participation."

Congress completed action on the bill Sept. 28, when the House by a 321-19 vote approved a compromise version of measures passed by the House Sept. 25 and the Senate July 21. The Senate had approved the compromise by voice vote Sept. 27. *(House vote 475, p. 138-H)*

President Carter signed the bill Sept. 29, just one day before the existing authority of the 1969 Export Administration Act was due to expire.

Policy debate on the bill centered on the Commerce Department's role as administrator of national security export controls and the completion of a list of critical military technologies aimed at reducing the number of exports barred for national security reasons, while pinpointing the items that had the most vital significance.

Senate-House conferees rejected a House proposal to grant the Defense Department exclusive control over the list, but they did agree to increase the Pentagon's role, while retaining the existing division of responsibility between the Commerce and Defense departments.

As cleared, S 737 continued the virtual ban on Alaskan oil exports first imposed in 1977. It made no change in the provisions of 1977 extension legislation designed to counter the Arab economic boycott against Israel.

Following emotional debates, both the Senate and House turned down pleas for curbs on exports of cattle hides, sought by the domestic leather industry as protection against soaring hide prices.

Final Provisions

As signed into law, S 737, the Export Administration Act of 1979:

- **General Provisions.** Extended through Sept. 30, 1983, export control programs previously authorized under the Export Administration Act of 1969, as amended.
- Authorized appropriations of $8 million annually in fiscal 1980 and fiscal 1981; earmarked $1.25 million in each year for foreign availability assessments.
- Provided that export controls should only be used to protect the national security, to aid U.S. foreign policy, or to protect the domestic economy from an excessive drain of scarce materials.
- Authorized the secretary of commerce to establish and maintain a list of goods or technology (the "commodity control list") subject to export controls.
- Directed the president not to impose foreign policy or national security export controls on a specific item if comparable goods were available elsewhere, unless he found that the absence of controls would be detrimental to U.S. foreign policy or national security.
- **National Security Controls.** Authorized the secretary of commerce, in consultation with the secretary of defense, to impose export controls for national security reasons.
- Directed the commerce secretary to notify applicants who had been denied an export license that the denial was for national security reasons, and to describe what, if any, modifications to the goods could be made to allow a license to be issued.
- Directed the secretary to pay particular attention to the difficulty of devising effective safeguards to prevent a potential enemy nation from diverting critical technologies to military use.
- Provided that U.S. export control policy should not be based solely on a country's communist or non-communist status, but include other factors such as the country's present relationship with the United States.
- Directed that the list of items subject to national security export controls should be jointly determined by the secretaries of commerce and defense, and that the list should be revised to ensure that national security export controls were limited to militarily critical technologies.
- Gave the secretary of defense primary responsibility for developing a list of militarily critical technologies; required that the list should be completed and published "in an appropriate form" in the *Federal Register* not later than Oct. 1, 1980, and that the secretaries of commerce and defense should share responsibility in transferring critical technologies to the commodity control list.
- Directed that when the secretary of commerce found that goods controlled for national security reasons were freely available elsewhere, he could not impose controls on the item unless the president determined that the absence of controls would harm U.S. national security. If controls were imposed despite foreign availability, the secretary must publish the reasons for the control. Otherwise the secretary must approve any license application if comparable goods were available elsewhere.
- Required that any determination that goods were available elsewhere must be supported by reliable evidence when it was the basis for a decision to grant a license or remove a control.
- Directed the president, in cases where controls had been imposed despite foreign availability, to initiate negotiations with foreign governments to eliminate the availability.
- Allowed the secretary of commerce to devise an indexing system to remove goods from the control list as they were projected to become obsolete unless another agency objected and the secretary determined the goods should not be removed.
- **Foreign Policy Controls.** Authorized the secretary of commerce, in consultation with the secretary of state, to impose export controls for foreign policy reasons.
- Provided that foreign policy controls would expire on Dec. 31, 1979, or one year after they were imposed, unless extended by the president; directed the president to notify Congress of his reasons for extending a foreign policy export control.

• Directed the commerce secretary to tell any applicant who was denied a license for foreign policy reasons why his license was denied.

• Established criteria for the president to consider before imposing foreign policy export controls, including: 1) the probability controls would achieve the intended foreign policy purpose; 2) the compatibility of the controls with overall U.S. foreign policy; 3) the reaction of other countries to the imposition of controls; 4) the effect of controls on the U.S. economy; 5) the ability of the United States to enforce the controls effectively; and 6) the foreign policy consequences of not imposing controls.

• Directed the president, before imposing foreign policy controls, to make reasonable efforts to achieve the same purpose through negotiations or other alternative means.

• Directed the president to consult with Congress before imposing any foreign policy export control, and to submit to Congress a report detailing his reasons for any foreign policy control.

• Stipulated that foreign policy control authority did not authorize controls on medicine or medical supplies, or any export intended to meet basic human needs.

• Directed the secretary of commerce to notify Congress before any export license was approved for exports to any country that had supported international terrorism, if the goods had military potential and were valued at more than $7 million.

• **Short Supply Controls.** Authorized the secretary to control exports for short supply reasons.

• Directed the secretary to monitor exports of any goods when the volume of exports might contribute to an increase in domestic prices or a domestic shortage.

• **Alaskan Oil Exports.** Prohibited exports or exchanges of Alaskan crude oil (except a swap arrangement with an adjacent foreign state for the sake of convenience) unless the president found: 1) that the exports would not diminish the total quantity of oil in the United States; 2) that an exchange would mean reduced acquisition costs to refiners, with at least three-fourths of the cost savings passed on to consumers; 3) that any contract could be terminated if the crude oil supplies of the United States were threatened or diminished; and 4) that an exchange was clearly necessary to protect the national interest.

• Directed the president to report such findings to Congress, which must approve the exchange within 60 days.

• Allowed an exception for oil exports to Israel.

• **Refined Petroleum.** Barred any export of refined petroleum without an export license; required the secretary to notify Congress of any application for a license to export refined petroleum, and barred the granting of a license for 30 days after the notification unless the president notified Congress that any delay would harm the national interest.

Agricultural Commodities. Required the president to notify Congress if he decided to limit exports of agricultural commodities for foreign policy or short supply reasons; permitted Congress to veto such actions by concurrent resolution within 30 days.

• **Foreign Boycotts.** Left unchanged the provisions of the 1977 Export Administration Act extension designed to curb American participation in the Arab boycott against Israel.

• **License Application Procedures.** Permitted exporters for the first time to obtain a single license for multiple exports of the same item to a specific destination, thus reducing paperwork.

• Allowed an applicant for an export license to petition the secretary of commerce if the department failed to meet the administrative deadlines for a decision; if the matter was not resolved within 30 days, allowed an applicant to take action in a U.S. district court to request compliance with the deadlines.

• **Violations.** Set the following maximum penalties for violations of the act: fines of $50,000 or five times the value of the exports involved, whichever was greater, and/or five years' imprisonment ($100,000 or 10 years for willful violations).

• Set the following maximum penalties for any exporter who willfully failed to report any knowledge that goods shipped to a potential enemy nation were being used for military or intelligence-gathering purposes: fines of $100,000 or five times the value of the export, whichever was greater, and/or five years' imprisonment.

• **Enforcement.** Provided that confidential information obtained before June 30, 1980, would not be disclosed; after that time, it would be subject to the disclosure provisions of the Freedom of Information Act.

• **International Investment Survey Act.** Authorized appropriations of $4.4 million in fiscal 1980 and $4.5 million in fiscal 1981 to carry out the provisions of the International Investment Survey Act (PL 94-472).

Background

The Export Administration Act evolved from the Export Control Act (PL 81-11), which was originally passed in 1940 and rewritten during the Cold War in 1949.

The law restricted trade with communist bloc nations by allowing the president to bar or limit exports that conflicted with the foreign policy or national security interests of the United States or because of domestic shortages or inflation. It was administered by the Commerce Department through a licensing system. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 206)*

After periodic extensions through the 1950s and 1960s, the law was rewritten in 1969 and renamed the Export Administration Act (PL 91-184).

The new law eased restrictions on the sale of items to communist countries if they were freely available from such areas as Western Europe and Japan — a reflection of the fact that all but 200 of the 1,200 items subject to controls at the end of 1968 could be obtained by the communist countries from European nations.

The measure still permitted the president to prohibit all trade for reasons of national security regardless of foreign availability considerations. But it required him to explain in detail reasons for restricting trade in nonmilitary goods and items which could be obtained from other nations. *(1969 Almanac p. 499)*

1977 Extension

Action on the 1977 extension legislation (PL 95-52) focused on the Arab boycott against Israel. Congress added provisions to the act that generally prohibited American firms from refusing to trade with Israel or other American firms as a precondition for trading with an Arab state. *(1977 Almanac p. 352)*

The legislation, which extended the act through Sept. 30, 1979, based U.S. policy for controlling exports on factors such as a nation's current and potential relationship to the United States rather than on whether or not it was a communist state.

It also provided that exports of U.S. goods should not be restricted by the federal government if the same prod-

ucts were available from other nations, unless it was demonstrated that the absence of such restrictions would damage the nation's security.

Senate Committee Report

The Senate Banking Committee reported S 737 May 15 (S Rept 96-169). The committee said export control decisions were frequently subject to lengthy delays and duplication of effort, and that there was a growing need to revise the list of products and technology subject to controls.

The report said the increasing number of license applications — nearing an annual level of 80,000 — "reflect a failure to prune the control lists and to concentrate licensing requirements where they can be most effective."

The committee also criticized the Commerce Department for not revising its list of technologies controlled for national security purposes. The committee said the list should be limited to technologies that could "significantly enhance the military capability of potential adversaries."

Without this sharply defined focus, the committee said, the system tended to "limit some exports unnecessarily while controlling insufficiently other exports which could be seriously detrimental to national security."

Senate Floor Action

The Senate July 21, after a lengthy Saturday session, passed S 737 by a 74-3 vote. *(Vote 205, p. 35-S)*

Floor debate on the bill pitted Adlai E. Stevenson, D-Ill., who sought to cut trade red tape, against Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., who wanted to tighten restrictions against export of anything that would enhance the Soviet Union's military strength.

The result was a series of compromises generally judged a standoff.

Stevenson, chairman of the Banking International Finance Subcommittee that wrote the bill, defended the need to clear away unnecessary impediments to trade. In the effort to strike a balance between national security and a competitive economy, he said, the risk was that the United States would "in the name of national security, shoot itself in the foot."

Jackson argued that the export control process was "in total shambles" under the administration of the Commerce Department and pushed an amendment to give the secretary of defense primary responsibility for listing goods and technologies subject to national security controls. But he agreed to a Stevenson compromise leaving imposition of export controls with the secretary of commerce while acknowledging it was the primary responsibility of the secretary of defense to identify militarily critical goods and technologies.

Alaska Oil, Cattle, Commodities

Alaskan Oil Swaps. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, proposed an amendment weakening the bill's tough restrictions against exporting Alaskan oil to another nation, such as Japan, in exchange for oil from some other country, such as Canada or Mexico. He argued that costs of transporting the oil in tankers and lack of refining capacity on the West Coast would hold down production in Alaska.

Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., defended the bill's Alaskan oil provision, which he had offered during committee markup. "The only people who stand to gain from the Stevens proposition are the state of Alaska, at the expense of the other 49 states, and the oil producers. . . ," Riegle said.

Stevens proposed dropping the committee requirement that at least three-fourths of the savings of any swap be passed on to consumers, a finding he said was "impossible" to make without price controls and massive auditing. Instead, his amendment said that any swap should have no adverse impact on prices of the refined product.

"The Riegle amendment will deter the industry from making the investments that are necessary to expand production," Stevens said.

Riegle said he knew of no evidence that the oil companies in Alaska needed exports to increase production, and that allowing exports to Japan could kill any hope that pipeline facilities to the lower 48 states would be completed.

The Senate tabled the Stevens proposal by a vote of 52-30. *(Vote 201, p. 35-S)*

Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., won approval of an amendment providing for a congressional veto of any Alaskan oil swap proposed by the president under the bill's criteria. The amendment provided that both chambers would have to vote against a swap in order to veto the president's decision. As reported, the bill required both houses to approve any swap before it could take place — effectively permitting one house to veto the swap. Eagleton said the committee bill would "lead to chaotic congressional intervention in the day-to-day activities of executive departments and agencies and further deflect Congress from its policy-setting responsibilities." His amendment was adopted by voice vote, after a Riegle motion to table was rejected by a vote of 34-48. *(Vote 202, p. 35-S)*

Animal Hides. The Senate rejected, 38-46, an amendment by Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, to limit U.S. exports of animal hides until the president determined there were adequate domestic supplies. A reduction in cattle slaughter had cut the supply of cattle hides on the world market, increased prices for leather and hurt domestic industries such as shoe manufacturing, Muskie said.

Muskie's proposal won support from manufacturing state senators but ran headlong into opposition of members from cattle-producing states. *(Vote 200, p. 35-S)*

Cattle-state senators argued that hide production was down because cattle herds were in a rebuilding phase. They said that limiting hide exports would lower hide prices and force up meat prices even further without having much effect on leather products such as shoes.

Agricultural Commodities. Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., proposed an amendment to strike language directing the president, before resorting to export controls on agricultural commodities, to consider using the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) as the exclusive agent for sales to foreign governments in order to help stabilize markets and maximize returns to farmers. The provision was intended as an alternative to comprehensive export controls in situations where foreign purchases had led to tight supplies of a specific commodity. Bellmon said he thought CCC intervention in the market was unwise and could be used to control the price of a commodity. The amendment was accepted by voice vote, after a Stevenson tabling motion was rejected, 20-57. *(Vote 204, p. 35-S)*

Other Amendments

Other amendments adopted by voice votes were introduced by:

• Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., to bar the secretary of commerce from approving any export to a country that the secretary of state had determined supported international terrorism. Javits said three countries (Iraq, South Yemen and Libya) had been named by the State Department as aiding international terrorism.

• James A. McClure, R-Idaho, to provide a one-house veto (as a substitute for the committee bill's two-house veto) on a presidential embargo of agricultural commodity exports, with the other house having the opportunity to override the veto and reinstate the embargo. Accepted by voice vote, after a Stevenson motion to table was rejected, 33-46. *(Vote 203, p. 35-S)*

• Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, to exempt from Freedom of Information Act disclosure requests confidential information provided by exporters until June 30, 1980, but thereafter exempt only license application information.

House Committee Action

The report of the House Foreign Affairs Committee (HR 4034 — H Rept 96-200), which was filed May 15, criticized the existing program along the same lines as the Senate report and made generally similar proposals for change.

The administration of export controls "has not substantially improved since the enactment of the Export Administration Amendments of 1977," the report said. It described as "alarming" the rapid growth of license applications and the growing number of applications that took more than three months to process.

In view of the fact that less than one in 200 applications were rejected in 1978, the committee found that "far too much review is undertaken for the amount of control achieved." In addition, U.S. controls that were not matched by other countries simply hurt U.S. companies competing for exports.

The committee concluded this "does little to protect U.S. national security: it merely means that goods and technology which would be exported by U.S. firms are exported instead by foreign competitors."

HR 4034, the report said, was intended to reduce the number of items subject to controls and to provide increased scrutiny for those remaining, to improve the efficiency of the licensing process and to establish a set of criteria to govern the use of foreign policy controls.

House Floor Action

The House passed its version of the bill by voice vote Sept. 25, following five days of intermittent debate that began Sept. 11.

The leather industry lost its fight to limit cattle hide exports Sept. 18 as the House rejected an amendment similar to the one previously voted down by the Senate.

In earlier debate on the bill Sept. 11, Richard H. Ichord, D-Mo., won overwhelming approval of an amendment that gave the Defense Department sole responsibility for identifying critical technologies and placing them on the export control list to keep them out of the hands of potential enemies.

Ichord described the bill as "a can of worms when it started out, as far as national security was concerned. The whole thrust was to let down the gates and let everything go."

Adoption of the amendment was a setback for business and computer lobbyists, who feared it would take the Commerce Department's export promotion point of view out of the decision-making process.

Cattle Hides

The cattle hides amendment, rejected Sept. 18 by a 186-218 vote, provided that U.S. exports of cattle hides could not exceed average exports in the 1974-78 period, when hides were relatively abundant and exports were a bit more than half of domestic production. Controls would not be used if the president found that adequate supplies were available to domestic users, or if other exporting nations had removed export controls on hides. *(Vote 436, p. 126-H)*

Amendment sponsor James M. Shannon, D-Mass., summed up the problem by comparing the current situation with that in 1977, when 41 million hides were produced and 17 million were bought for domestic use. In 1979, he said, about 34 million hides would be produced; 70 percent — about 24 million — would be exported, leaving 10 million for domestic use. He said prices had risen from 37 cents a pound in 1977 to 73 cents a pound currently.

Higher prices for hides could threaten thousands of jobs in the domestic leather industry, and were sure to be passed on to consumers as higher shoe prices, he said. Export embargoes on hides by nations such as Brazil and Uruguay were a major cause of the current problem.

"The American footwear and leather-using industry has become a hostage to the restrictive trade practices of other nations," Shannon said.

Led by members from the western cattle states, opponents argued that the amendment would reduce U.S. exports and worsen the trade deficit; that it would hurt the recovery of the cattle industry; that the price of hides was a relatively small factor in the price of leather products; and that other factors were more to blame for the problems of the leather industry.

"If we start a process of protecting every industry with restrictions on exports, we are being just as protectionist as if we limit imports," said Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash.

Though admitting that hide supplies were likely to be low for the next two years, while herds were being rebuilt, Mark Andrews, R-N.D., said a drop in domestic hide prices would only slow the herd rebuilding process, meaning prices would remain high for a longer period.

An amendment by Allen E. Ertel, D-Pa., to require the Agriculture Department to monitor hide exports, was later adopted by voice vote.

Critical Technologies

Ichord, chairman of the House Armed Services Research and Development Subcommittee and one of the chief critics of the Foreign Affairs Committee bill, introduced his critical technologies amendment when debate began Sept. 11.

The amendment set a deadline of Oct. 1, 1980, for the Defense Department to complete a list of critical technologies, and provided that these items should be added to the export control list without any review by other agencies. HR 4034 set no deadline for the critical technologies list, and provided that decisions on items to be added to the list should be shared by the Defense and Commerce departments.

Jonathan B. Bingham, D-N.Y., the bill's sponsor, said he did not think the critical technologies list could be completed in a year. The Defense Department, he said, had

already been wrestling with the problem for three years. Bingham also objected to denying the Commerce Department any say about what should be put on the export control list; the process, he said, "should continue to be a joint process."

The amendment was adopted, 273-145. *(Vote 414, p. 120-H)*

Ichord said the vote reflected a conservative trend in the mood of the House after the disclosure of Soviet troops in Cuba. He also said "99 out of 100" members probably didn't understand what was involved in his amendment.

"They were voting on their gut reaction as to who should have the responsibility," he said. "I laid it right on the line. You should pinpoint responsibility. . . ."

Indexing

Ichord narrowly lost, 201-206, on an amendment to drop the section of the bill dealing with indexing, which would allow the secretary of commerce to periodically remove from the export control list goods or technology that had become obsolete, unless another government agency objected. *(Vote 415, p. 120-H)*

He called the indexing idea "an attempt to forecast technology in advance and predetermine the state of the art at a given time."

Bingham said the provision was needed to help reduce delays caused by the rapidly increasing number of applications.

Scrap Metal

The House adopted by a 238-165 vote Sept. 18 an amendment by Paul Findley, R-Ill., that allowed representatives of the scrap metal industry to petition the Commerce Department requesting either monitoring of exports or export controls in the event increased scrap metal exports caused a domestic shortage or an inflationary jump in domestic prices. *(Vote 435, p. 126-H)*

"This is not a protectionist amendment. It does not impose or call for export controls," Findley said. "It simply gives those who are hurting assurance that they can make their case in a formal hearing — something they are currently denied."

Opponents argued that the scrap metal industry should not be singled out for special treatment.

'Bushel for a Barrel'

The agriculture bloc responded noisily — and negatively — to a proposal by James Weaver, D-Ore., that would use the export licensing system to establish a minimum price for wheat, corn and soybeans of 80 percent of parity, an index pegged to farmers' buying power. This would boost the minimum price for wheat to $4.72 a bushel and for corn to $3.33 a bushel, both substantially higher than current prices.

The amendment, he said, would prevent the Soviet Union and Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) oil-producing nations from buying U.S. grain at cheap prices. Foley said the proposal was unworkable, and that it was simply not possible for the United States to control the price of grain the way OPEC controlled the price of oil. The amendment was rejected by voice vote.

Soviet Truck Plant

The House adopted, 271-138, an amendment by Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio, providing that rules for the control of critical technologies should reflect the difficulties associated with written assurances that technology would not be diverted to military use. *(Vote 416, p. 122-H)*

The amendment was an outgrowth of the controversial sale of over $1 billion worth of equipment, including a sophisticated computer, for a Soviet truck and diesel engine plant on the Kama River. A Commerce Department official told a House subcommittee in May that some of the engines were being installed in military trucks. Critics claimed this was a violation of Soviet assurances not to use the factory for military purposes; the administration contended that the Soviets did not violate the agreement.

"The problem with end-use statements and so-called safeguards is that they are only cosmetic and do not work," Miller said.

"If the Soviets want to divert the technology for direct military purposes, they will do so, like they have done with the military truck engines coming out of the Kama River," he said.

While agreeing that safeguards could not absolutely prevent diversions, Bingham contended they were nevertheless a "useful device to assist in the process of reducing the degree to which diversions occur." Adopting the amendment, he said, "might very well discourage the administration from using safeguards or end-use statements."

Alaskan Oil

Before passing the bill, members resoundingly defeated an amendment that would have made it much easier for the president to export Alaskan oil in exchange for oil imported from Mexico.

The oil amendment, rejected by a 61-340 vote, was introduced Sept. 24 by William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif. It would have allowed the president to swap Alaskan North Slope crude shipped to Japan in exchange for oil imported from Mexico unless "the major oil exporting countries have imposed severe restrictions on the export of oil to the United States." *(Vote 462, p. 134-H)*

Dannemeyer argued that a swap would result in lower costs due to savings in transportation, have positive benefits for the U.S. balance of trade, improve U.S. relations with Mexico and lessen U.S. dependence on the Panama Canal.

The bill's tough restrictions on the president's authority to export Alaskan oil were defended by Howard Wolpe, D-Mich., and Stewart B. McKinney, R-Conn., who first succeeded in effectively banning Alaskan oil exports during consideration of the export control bill in 1977.

They said the bill's restrictions were necessary in order to reduce American dependence on foreign oil supplies and provide the impetus for construction of pipelines to carry the oil to the eastern states. McKinney argued the export cost would be offset by Mexican imports and not help the balance of trade, and any savings would be in the form of higher oil company profits and not lower consumer costs.

Other Amendments

During debate Sept. 21 the House adopted by a 318-29 vote an amendment by Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., to prevent disclosure of any confidential export license information until June 30, 1980. After that date, confidential information would be subject to the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, which included protection for trade secrets and confidential commercial information. *(Vote 456, p. 132-H)*

By voice vote the House accepted amendments by:

- Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif., to increase penalties against any person who "willfully" failed to report to the Defense Department that a particular export was being used for military or intelligence-gathering purposes by a potential enemy nation. A tougher version of this amendment was rejected Sept. 18 by a standing vote of 9-11.
- Miller, R-Ohio, to require the president, when reliable evidence indicated that exports subject to national security controls had been diverted to military use, to prohibit any further export of goods or services to the particular project or plant producing the military item.
- Joe Moakley, D-Mass., to provide for congressional notification and review of any proposal to export refined petroleum products, unless the secretary of commerce found that the proposed export was vital to the national interest and that a delay would be harmful.
- Bingham, to give the Commerce Department additional time — until July 1, 1980 — to implement the administrative reforms provided in the bill.
- Lester L. Wolff, D-N.Y., to reinstate existing law on re-export controls, under which the United States retained some control over goods shipped to its allies in Europe or Japan that were then shipped to another country.
- Wolff, to provide that when the president determined export controls were necessary even though the technology was available elsewhere, he should direct the secretary of state to negotiate with foreign governments to eliminate the foreign availability in cases where the technology was vital to U.S. security.
- Wolff, to require reliable evidence that foreign availability existed, either through scientific or physical examination, expert opinion or intelligence information, when it was the basis for a decision to grant an export license.
- Millicent Fenwick, R-N.J., to require the secretary of state to notify Congress before any export license was approved for technology worth over $7 million to any country that had provided support for international terrorism.
- Peter A. Peyser, D-N.Y., to authorize the president to use export controls to restrict exports to countries that violated the principles of the Monroe Doctrine barring European interference in the Americas. Peyser said the amendment would show that the House favored letting the president use trade restrictions as a weapon in his negotiations with the Soviets over withdrawal of combat troops from Cuba.

Amendments Rejected

The House rejected amendments by:

- Dornan, to require government agencies involved in national security export control cases to retain a complete set of records on each application decision for five years. Recorded vote, 109-296. *(Vote 417, 122-H)*
- Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., to require the president to review United States exports to OPEC countries to determine if they were consistent with the national interest. Voice vote.
- Dornan, to increase penalties against any person who failed to report any knowledge that a specific item was being used for military or intelligence-gathering purposes by a potential enemy nation. Standing vote, 9-11.

After passing HR 4034 by voice vote, the House agreed to substitute its language for that of the Senate bill, clearing the way for a conference on S 737.

Conference Action

Conferees met Sept. 26 and reconciled the conflicts between the House and Senate bills. The conference report was filed Sept. 27 (H Rept 96-482).

The most controversial item was a House provision for a congressional veto of foreign policy export controls, which the administration claimed would undermine the effectiveness of foreign policy controls.

Bingham said the threat of a veto was the only way Congress could make sure it would be consulted in advance. Senate conferees, led by William Proxmire, D-Wis., argued that the veto provision was not necessary to ensure advance notification. Conferees finally agreed to drop the veto provision and simply require prior consultations.

Conferees also modified a House provision that gave the Defense Department sole responsibility for compiling a list of critical technologies and provided that the items on the Pentagon list would automatically be added to the export control list administered by the Commerce Department.

The final version gave the Defense Department primary responsibility for compiling the critical technologies list and retained the House bill's deadline of Oct. 1, 1980, but it restored the joint role of the Commerce Department and Defense Department in deciding which items should be added to the list of goods controlled for national security reasons.

Conferees also agreed to a House provision giving exporters the right to seek relief in U.S. district court if the Commerce Department failed to meet the deadlines for license application decisions and a petition to the department had not resolved the problem within 30 days. The provision was designed to prevent long delays in the license application process, one of the chief complaints of the business community. ▮

Debt Limit Extensions

Congress twice during 1979 enacted legislation extending the "temporary" ceiling on the public debt, ultimately approving an $879 billion ceiling through May 31, 1980.

Had Congress failed to act, the ceiling would have reverted to its permanent level of $400 billion, leaving the government unable to meet its borrowing needs.

Lawmakers approved, as part of the second debt limit bill, a proposal by the House Ways and Means Committee to link future debt limit increases to the congressional budget resolutions, thereby eliminating the need for separate debt limit votes in the House.

Following a dispute over balanced budget amendments, Congress included in the first debt limit bill instructions to the Senate and House Budget committees to present a three-year budget plan for fiscal 1980-82. *(Budget action, p. 163)*

First Increase: $830 Billion

With the government on the verge of default and partisan bitterness echoing in the House chamber, legislation increasing the national debt limit finally cleared Congress April 2.

Battles over balanced budget amendments held up the bill (HR 2534 — PL 96-5) until, at most, only one day

remained before the Treasury would have run out of money and been unable to pay the nation's bills.

Even at that, final approval was so uncertain that House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., in a rare floor speech, warned that failure to complete action on the measure would precipitate a serious financial "crisis."

As enacted into law, the bill increased the temporary debt limit to $830 billion through Sept. 30, 1979. The previous $798 billion ceiling had expired March 31. *(Previous increase, 1978 Almanac p. 283)*

Other provisions increased to $40 billion from $32 billion the amount of long-term bonds the Treasury could issue with interest rates above 4.25 percent, and raised the interest rate ceiling on U.S. savings bonds to 7 percent, from 6 percent. The bill also required the House and Senate Budget committees to submit plans to balance the federal budget in either fiscal 1981 or 1982 on April 15, 1979, and to then submit balanced first budget resolutions for each of those years.

The balanced budget amendments were offered in the Senate as an alternative to stricter proposals that would have prevented further debt limit increases unless Congress adopted a balanced budget or agreed to deficit financing by a three-fifths majority.

House Action

The House March 15 passed HR 2534 (H Rept 96-31) by a 214-195 vote after turning back a second effort to link it with a requirement that Congress balance the federal budget. *(Vote 45, p. 14-H)*

Balanced budget advocates Phil Gramm, D-Texas, Trent Lott, R-Miss., and James R. Jones, D-Okla., had been thwarted in an earlier attempt to require a balanced budget as a precondition to the debt limit hike. The House had rejected an $836 billion debt ceiling bill (HR 1894 — H Rept 96-2) Feb. 28 by a 194-222 vote, an effort to force consideration of a balanced budget amendment to that bill was blocked on a 222-197 procedural vote. *(Vote 14, 15, p. 6-H)*

On March 15, the three members proposed allowing debt limit increases through fiscal 1980 provided Congress balanced the budget in fiscal 1981. Their amendment would have allowed an unbalanced budget in 1981 by a two-thirds vote.

The House Rules Committee refused to approve a rule allowing consideration of the balanced budget amendment, however. And the House in effect allowed adoption of the closed rule on a procedural vote, 207-198. *(Vote 36, p. 14-H)*

As then, Gramm and Jones declared a moral victory, and agreed to support the debt limit increase.

Senate Action

The Senate March 21 passed HR 2534 by a 52-39 vote after approving 37-42, an amendment sponsored by Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., requiring the Budget committees to submit balanced budgets for fiscal 1981 and 1982. *(Long amendment, vote 21, p. 6-S; passage, vote 28, p. 7-S)*

The Long amendment was offered by Long and Budget Committee Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, as an alternative to a series of amendments — the principal one by Robert Dole, R-Kan. — to require balanced budgets.

Long and Muskie argued that such amendments were too inflexible. They said their alternative would allow Congress to understand the full implications of balancing the budget before actually voting to do so.

The key test of strength for advocates of a stricter provision came when the Senate rejected, 36-54, a motion to table the Long amendment. *(Vote 21, p. 6-S)*

Under the balanced budget amendments approved by the Senate, the Budget committees would be required to submit on April 15, 1979, plans to submit balanced budgets for fiscal 1981 and 1982, and to explain the effects of balancing the budget on revenues, spending, employment, inflation and national security. They would also be required to report balanced first budget resolutions for those two years.

In establishing the principle that Congress should consider spending decisions for several years at a time, the provision would achieve an objective that budget reformers had long sought.

A related amendment, sponsored by Bob Packwood, R-Ore., directed the president to submit an "alternative" balanced budget any year his actual recommendation included a deficit. *(Vote 25, p. 6-S)*

Final Action

When the bill returned to the House, Republicans prepared to push a more stringent balanced budget proposal. But the Democratic leadership decided to keep a resolution (H Res 183) to accept the Senate amendments off the House floor until April 2. Richard Bolling, D-Mo., conceded that decision was made because the leadership didn't have enough votes to get the resolution through earlier.

In his floor speech April 2, O'Neill cited warnings by Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal that failure to increase the debt limit that day would prevent the government from paying approximately $8.3 billion in maturing Treasury notes and about $8 billion in Social Security checks.

"Let us not play politics at a time like this," the Speaker said. "America is in a time of crisis."

O'Neill's speech helped convince the House to approve the resolution, 239-165. Lawmakers had cleared way for that action on a procedural vote, 216-160. *(Votes 64, 65, p. 16-H)*

Second Increase: $879 Billion

Congress later in the year approved a further increase in the debt limit to $879 billion through May 31, 1980 (PL 96-78).

House action on the second debt limit bill followed a familiar pattern. On Sept. 20, the House rejected, 200-215, a proposal to increase the limit to $885 billion through July 31, 1980 (HR 4229 — H Rept 96-434). But on Sept. 26, with the existing $830 billion limit due to expire four days later, lawmakers approved, 219-196, a proposal to increase the limit to $879 billion through May 31, 1980 (HR 3989 — H Rept 96-472). *(Votes 452, p. 138-H; vote 453, p. 138-H)*

The Senate passed HR 3989 by a 45-29 vote Sept. 28, and the measure was signed into law the following day. *(Vote 317, p. 35-S)*

Congress also approved, as part of the debt limit bill, a proposal by the Ways and Means Committee to eliminate the need for separate debt limit votes in the House. The House rejected by a 132-281 vote an attempt to strike it from the bill. *(Vote 454, p. 138-H)*

Under the new procedure, the debt limit would be whatever level of debt was assumed in the most recent conference report on the budget resolution. Upon adoption

of the budget conference report, the debt limit approved in the resolution would be included in a joint resolution that would be deemed approved by the House. The joint resolution would then go to the Senate and ultimately to the president for his signature, without a separate House vote.

Ways and Means Committee members hoped the new procedure would end the periodic ritual of voting on the debt limit — an exercise they said had virtually no meaning since the size of the debt was predetermined by earlier congressional spending decisions.

Other provisions increased to $50 billion from $40 billion the amount of long-term bonds the Treasury could issue with interest rates above 4.25 percent. ■

Davis-Bacon Wage Standard

Business groups made little headway with their 1979 campaign to nibble away at the Davis-Bacon prevailing wage law.

Originally enacted in 1931, the Davis-Bacon Act required contractors on federally funded construction projects to pay locally prevailing wages — that is, the same wages paid for similar private sector jobs in the same area. Its aim was to protect construction workers from exploitation during the Great Depression.

The law initially covered only government building projects, but Congress extended it over the years to cover private construction funded in full or part by federal dollars, such as subsidized housing for the poor, educational and medical facilities. *(Background, Congress and the Nation Vol. I, pp. 634, 649)*

According to a 1979 report by the General Accounting Office (GAO), the act covered about $40 billion worth of construction, representing about 25 percent of the total amount of construction activity in the United States. Of some four million construction workers in the country, about 800,000 were covered under the law.

Organized labor and other proponents of Davis-Bacon argued that the act promoted stability and cut unemployment in the construction industry.

But the GAO recommended repeal of Davis-Bacon on grounds that it was inflationary. The agency said the act often required contractors to pay union wages in non-union localities.

Charging that the Senate and House labor committees had refused to act on proposals to repeal or amend Davis-Bacon, business opponents of the law tried a new approach in 1979. Instead of seeking outright repeal of the act, they sought to attach Davis-Bacon exemptions to various authorization bills. That piecemeal approach was proved successful.

Military Construction

Organized labor won a major victory July 9, when the Senate voted to continue requiring government contractors to pay prevailing area wages on military construction projects.

The vote came on the $4 billion military construction authorization bill (S 1163 — PL 96-125), which was passed by voice vote. *(Story, National Security section)*

The measure had been reported by the Armed Services Committee June 13 (S Rept 96-236) with a provision waiving the Davis-Bacon Act for military construction projects. It was taken up on the floor July 12, but that was recommitted to the Labor and Human Resources Committee for review.

Labor Committee Chairman Harrison A. Williams Jr., D-N.J., had argued that his panel had partial jurisdiction over the bill because of the waiver, which he claimed was another in a series of "piecemeal" attempts to repeal the act.

After a series of hearings, the labor panel voted 12-4 to report the bill back to the floor with a recommendation that the waiver be deleted. The report (S Rept 96-250) was filed July 26.

"We believe waiving the Davis-Bacon Act's requirements for these contracts would result in tremendous hardship for the workers in this highly volatile and unstable industry, and in distinct disadvantage to employers, especially small employers, in the construction industry," Williams told the Senate.

However — in an action later reversed in conference — opponents of the prevailing wage law won a modest concession from the Senate, which backed a proposal by John Melcher, D-Mont., "modernizing" the act as it applied to all federal construction.

His amendment, adopted 68-28, increased the minimum size of projects affected by the act from $2,000 to $10,000 — except in the case of renovation or rehabilitation. A tabling motion was rejected 40-57. *(Votes 220, 229, p. 30-S)*

The existing limit was established in 1935, and Melcher said he computed the $10,000 figure by translating $2,000 into 1979 dollars.

He called it a "much preferable threshold" that would exempt about one-quarter of all federal construction projects from the act.

Organized labor proponent Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., supported Melcher's amendment, calling it "simply an acknowledgment of what has happened in the economy."

Housing Authorization

Responding to the year's other major attack on the prevailing wage law, both the House and Senate rejected proposals to attach Davis-Bacon waivers to the fiscal 1980 housing and community development authorization bill (HR 3875). *(Story, p. 314)*

In a 155-244 vote June 6, the House rejected an amendment by George Hansen, R-Idaho, to waive Davis-Bacon Act wage requirements for construction workers on Indian housing projects and residential rehabilitation projects carried out by non-profit neighborhood organizations. *(Vote 171, p. 34-H)*

And the Senate July 13 rejected, 35-57, a proposal by Jake Garn, R-Utah, to exempt residential rehabilitation projects by non-profit neighborhood groups from Davis-Bacon prevailing-wage laws. The vote set up a prevailing-wage rather than a prevailing-wage ratio of approximately five to one. *(Vote 193, p. 26-S)*

In a surprise to the entire House whom, Rep. John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, proposed July 18 to add a Davis-Bacon waiver to a District of Columbia subway bill (HR 3911). He said the waiver be offered the amendment was in keeping with one in the case of the defeated Davis-Bacon amendment to the housing bill.

Ashbrook complained that although members of the Housing Subcommittee had proposed a thorough review of the controversial labor law, the Education and Labor Committee had only one day of hearings. The amendment failed, 72-166. *(Vote 377, p. 96-H)* ■

Wage-Price Unit Extended

Congress approved a one-year extension of the Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS), the agency designated to run the Carter administration's anti-inflation program.

The bill (HR 2283 — PL 96-10) extended COWPS through Sept. 30, 1980. It authorized $8,483,000 for the agency in fiscal 1980, and increased to $6,952,000 from $2,210,000 the authorization for fiscal 1979.

Legislative History

The House passed its version of the bill March 21 by a 242-175 vote, after adopting, 252-159, an amendment limiting the extension to one year. The House Banking Committee had recommended a two-year extension (H Rept 96-33), as requested by the Carter administration. *(Votes 42, 43, p. 16-H)*

The Senate version (S 349 — S Rept 96-36), reported by the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee March 14, agreed in major respects with the House-passed bill. The Senate passed the bill April 2 on a 62-22 vote. *(Vote 35, p. 8-S)*

Prior to passage, the Senate rejected two amendments:

- By John Heinz, R-Pa., to earmark part of the council's expenditures for study of the inflationary impact of federal programs. Roll call, 36-41. *(Vote 33, p. 8-S)*
- By William Proxmire, D-Wis., to extend for three months, through June 30, 1979, the life of the Renegotiation Board, an agency established to recapture excessive profits made on defense and defense-related government contracts. Roll call, 28-56. *(Vote 34, p. 8-S; Renegotiation Board, p. 326)*

The conference report on the bill (H Rept 96-93) was adopted by the House April 25 by a 240-168 vote. The Senate approved the compromise by voice vote April 26, completing congressional action on the legislation. *(House vote 90, p. 32-H)*

The final version of the bill included Senate provisions directing the council to consider ways to promote greater productivity growth and establishing as a national goal under the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment act (PL 95-523) a reduction of federal spending to no more than 21 percent of gross national product by fiscal 1981 and 20 percent by fiscal 1983. *(Humphrey-Hawkins act, 1978 Almanac p. 272)* ▮

Real Wage Insurance

President Carter's proposal to provide a tax break for workers who restrained their wage demands — "real wage insurance" — died a quiet death on Capitol Hill.

The plan was designed to give unions an incentive to cooperate in the fight against inflation by granting workers a 1 percent tax credit for the first $20,000 in wages if they stayed within the administration's 7 percent wage guidelines. But the proposal never really caught the imagination of Congress.

At one point it looked as if the House Ways and Means Committee might actually approve the measure, purely along party lines, as a boost to Carter's anti-inflation efforts. But the only action the committee took was to provide for the program's revenue loss in its budget report to the House Budget Committee.

And it was there the proposal died. Early in April, the Budget Committee voted to slash $2.5 billion in estimated real wage insurance costs from the budget. The Senate Budget Committee never even considered the program. *(Budget resolution, p. 163)* ▮

Countercyclical Aid

President Carter's countercyclical aid bill (HR 5980) suffered a setback in the House Dec. 14 when key opponents succeeded in chopping $100 million from the initial, pre-recession phase of the program.

By a 184-153 vote, lawmakers approved an amendment by L. H. Fountain, D-N.C., to cut spending for the "targeted fiscal assistance" program from $250 million to $150 million. *(Vote 654, p. 194-H)*

Immediately after the vote, Government Operations Committee Chairman Jack Brooks, D-Texas, won permission to withdraw the bill from the floor until 1980, following Congress' month-long Christmas holiday.

Brooks and Fountain, both longtime opponents of Carter's anti-recession legislation, had agreed late in November to back a compromise bill.

Under the first phase of that compromise, the government would provide $150 million in immediate aid to cities and rural areas with high unemployment. Brooks' committee later increased that sum to $250 million.

Phase two of the bill, anti-recession aid, would provide funds for state and local governments once the nation entered a recession. The total authorization limit for both programs would be $1 billion.

The Senate had passed a somewhat different version of the bill (S 566) Aug. 3.

Background

Similar legislation — part of President Carter's urban policy — lapsed in 1978 when opponents in the House threatened a parliamentary showdown on the final day of the 95th Congress. *(1978 Almanac p. 313)*

The Senate had substituted the federal aid plan for an unrelated bill after the House Government Operations Committee indefinitely postponed consideration of the legislation. The bill never made it to the House floor, however.

First enacted in 1976, the $3 billion countercyclical aid program was designed to help cities recover from the effects of the 1974-75 recession.

Funds distributed under the plan were used to offset cuts in essential services — such as police and fire protection — caused by declining tax revenues.

In 1979, the administration again asked Congress to fund the targeted fiscal assistance program, although it sharply reduced its request to $250 million for fiscal 1979 and $150 million for 1980.

"A number of communities still are experiencing severe fiscal problems and need more time to recover," Carter said in his March 6 message to Congress on his 1979 fiscal assistance amendments. *(Text of message, p. 13-E)*

He also promised, but never delivered, a standby, unemployment-tagged aid program that he said would be "a hedge against economic adversity."

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Finance Committee reported its version of the bill July 30 (S Rept 96-273). As reported, S 566

amended Title II of the Public Works and Employment Act of 1976, which lapsed Sept. 30, 1978, and extended its authority for two years, through fiscal 1980. *(1976 act, 1976 Almanac p. 68; extension, 1977 Almanac p. 110)*

Under the bill, cities with unemployment rates higher than 6 percent would be immediately eligible for targeted fiscal assistance.

But if the national unemployment rate exceeded 6.5 percent, the more comprehensive anti-recession plan would replace the targeted assistance program.

The committee bill authorized $150 million in targeted fiscal assistance for fiscal 1979 and $85 million per quarter for fiscal 1980.

For the anti-recession program, it allowed $125 million per quarter, plus an additional $30 million for each one-tenth of 1 percent by which national unemployment exceeded the 6.5 percent trigger.

Committee aides said that even according to the most pessimistic economic forecasts, the anti-recession program would not be needed until the third quarter of 1980.

S 566 specified that state governments receive one-third of the total anti-recession funds. States had been excluded from the 1978 proposed legislation. The bill also restricted aid to cities or states with per capita incomes under 150 percent of the national average (about $7,300) — except in Alaska and Hawaii.

Under the bill, federal assistance payments would be made quarterly, based on the average unemployment rate of the previous two quarters. Cities and states would calculate their share based on the amount of general revenue sharing funds they received and the amount of local unemployment over 4.5 percent. Cities would have to qualify for at least $2,500 per quarter before they would receive aid. And 1 percent of the total funds would be set aside for Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa and the Virgin Islands.

The committee estimated that the five biggest recipients of targeted fiscal assistance would be: California, $65.7 million; Michigan, $21.2 million; New Jersey, $19.1 million; New York, $70 million; Pennsylvania, $20.4 million.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed S 566 Aug. 3 by a 69-23 margin. *(Vote 246, p. 42-S)*

Passage of the countercyclical aid bill came only five days after it was approved by the Finance Committee and just two days after it won a mandatory waiver from the Congressional Budget Act.

"The rush was to get it over to the House — where there traditionally has been difficulty with it — before the recess," said an aide to Bill Bradley, D-N.J., chairman of the Finance Subcommittee on Revenue Sharing.

Bradley and other proponents of the Antirecession and Targeted Fiscal Assistance Amendments of 1979 had urged its immediate passage on grounds "we are in a recession now."

But Henry Bellmon, Okla., ranking Republican on the Budget Committee, complained that "there has been inadequate time to analyze the impact of this measure since it was reported to the floor."

"The irony of this bill," Bellmon added, "is that the debt-ridden federal government is shipping out dollars we do not have to local governments which, in most if not all cases, are in a far more healthy financial condition than we are.

"If there is going to be any revenue sharing, it ought to be the other way around."

Bellmon succeeded, by a 51-34 vote, in limiting authority for the programs to fiscal 1980 only. *(Vote 243, p. 42-S)*

He argued that without his amendment, the Senate would "dump the money into the coffers of municipalities at the end of the fiscal year when they have no way to spend that money in the time for which it was appropriated."

Bellmon was less successful with a second amendment to strike the targeted fiscal assistance program from the bill. "It is disguised in this bill as a 'countercyclical' rather than a counterstructural program, as it truly is," Bellmon said.

But Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., argued, "To ask us to wait for the doctor to come next year is asking us to take mortal blows from which we probably will be unable to recover, as we have been unable to recover . . . from 1973 and 1974."

The amendment failed, 31-59. *(Vote 244, p. 42-S)*

A third amendment by the Oklahoma Republican also was defeated, 31-61. *(Vote 245, p. 42-S)*

It would have raised the unemployment trigger of the targeted assistance program from 6 percent to 7 percent, a plan he said would direct funds "more tightly toward the communities that are in genuine need."

House Committee Action

President Carter won a significant victory Dec. 5 when the House Government Operations Committee approved a compromise version of his countercyclical aid plan.

Fountain, the Revenue Sharing Subcommittee chairman, said the president agreed at a Nov. 28 White House meeting to come "three-quarters of the way" toward meeting the objections he and committee Chairman Brooks had voiced over the legislation. They introduced the new compromise (HR 5980 — H Rept 698) later that day.

"This is a good, responsible piece of legislation that most of us can support," Fountain told his subcommittee at a markup conducted at breakneck speed Dec. 3.

With Brooks looking over their shoulders, subcommittee members approved the measure by voice vote, without amendment, and sent it to the full committee for action the next morning.

There it received an impressive 27-12 endorsement, split along party lines. The committee chairman promised to "speed" the legislation to the floor before Christmas.

The compromise Carter negotiated with the House chairmen called for a scaled-down targeted aid program of $150 million and anti-recession aid to be distributed on the basis of two quarters of decline in the gross national product (GNP) and "real wages" — income adjusted for inflation.

The amount of aid localities would receive would be figured partly by using the area's revenue sharing formula and partly by measuring local tax revenues or changes in unemployment.

Total spending for both programs would be $1 billion, although the second fiscal 1980 budget resolution provided just $525 million. The White House said because payments would not be made until weeks after each quarter ended, only $445 million would be spent during the period covered by the budget.

John Gunther, executive director of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, criticized Carter for letting "the enemy design the program."

But administration lobbyists said they were pleased with the bill that emerged from committee, which reinstated several key provisions that Brooks and Fountain had trimmed.

"We still have a little tinkering to do in conference," said Les Aspin, D-Wis., who steered a key administration amendment through the committee.

That proposal, approved 20-14, would hike spending for the targeted aid program from $150 million to $250 million — a change Brooks opposed on grounds "the more we put into this program, the less we're going to have for countercyclical."

Brooks' objections to a second amendment by Aspin prevailed, however. That proposal would have put cities with high jobless rates first on the list for anti-recession aid, while Brooks' draft provided help on the basis of growth in unemployment.

The chairman's approach, Aspin argued, would allow towns with relatively short jobless rolls to receive as much help as cities with high rates of unemployment.

"It just spreads the money around to everyone," Aspin argued. "That's not the way we ought to be doing it."

He dropped the plan, however, when Brooks agreed to a compromise that would allow communities with low unemployment to receive some aid, but would direct most funds to areas with unemployment over 6 percent.

The committee also adopted an administration amendment offered by Benjamin S. Rosenthal, D-N.Y., that would convert the sliding scale used to dole out anti-recession aid in Brooks' plan to a steady sum — $15 million per for each one-tenth percentage point of decline in real wages and salaries.

The chairman's bill would have scaled the amount of aid to $10 million per one-tenth percentage change once the economy started to improve and to $5 million once the GNP reached post-recession levels.

A fourth amendment, by Clarence J. Brown, R-Ohio, also won committee approval. It would increase the number of small communities eligible for aid.

The committee plan would have provided help only to towns that qualified for at least $6,000 of aid; the Brown amendment lowered that minimum requirement to $3,000.

House Floor Action

When the bill came to the House floor Dec. 14, Fountain offered his amendment to cut spending for targeted fiscal assistance from $250 million to $150 million. He argued that funding targeted aid at the higher level "would drain the money that would otherwise be paid out as anti-recession assistance."

And Brooks maintained, "I would much rather go into the conference with $150 million and compromise up to the $250 million" than accept a higher figure.

Proponents of targeted fiscal aid vowed to try to reinstate the funds when the bill was brought back to the floor in 1980.

Much of the GOP argument against Carter's bill focused on Brooks' longstanding opposition to countercyclical programs.

Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., told the House that in May Brooks had described the legislation as a "snake." Since then, he continued, Brooks "apparently encountered and did, like Adam, embrace the snake."

But Brooks defended the bill on grounds that "what makes HR 5980 new — and better — is its use of a different triggering formula than past versions of the legislation used."

A contingent of lawmakers with metropolitan constituencies also took the floor to praise the aid plan, which they said would provide a "safety net" in case of recession. ▮

Economic Development Aid

Congress did not complete action in 1979 on President Carter's economic development plan, which aimed to promote investment in the nation's neediest communities. The plan, successor to Carter's earlier proposal for a national development bank, would greatly expand authority and funding for the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration (EDA), an agency established in 1965 to provide grants to poor communities to help lure new business investment to the area or revive failing industries.

Although the legislation (S 914) was passed by the Senate Aug. 1 and the House Nov. 14, conferees were not appointed until Dec. 6 and did not complete action on the measure before adjournment. Meanwhile, official authority for EDA programs expired Sept. 30. Existing programs continued to operate under a temporary funding resolution. *(Continuing resolution, p. 275)*

Both the Senate and House versions of the bill gave EDA new authority to offer loan guarantees and interest subsidies, as well as grants and loans, to companies that agreed to locate in needy areas. The bills also extended the Appalachian Regional Development Commission and a network of other regional commissions.

Although the Senate approved the administration bill with few changes, the House included two provisions that Carter suggested he might veto:

- The House bill made more than 90 percent of the nation eligible for EDA assistance. Carter and the Senate favored tighter standards, covering about 67 percent of the country, to help direct aid to the neediest communities.
- The House bill authorized $2 billion for a standby, anti-recession public works program — a provision opposed by both Carter and the Senate on grounds it would not help cut unemployment during a recession.

Background

Congress established the Economic Development Administration to carry out the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 (PL 89-136). The act, a major Johnson administration domestic program, authorized federal funds for public works grants, business loans and technical assistance to spur development in economically depressed areas across the country. *(Background, 1965 Almanac p. 798; most recent extension, 1976 Almanac p. 84)*

While EDA always had good support in Congress, throughout the Nixon administration the agency was on shaky ground. In 1974, Nixon wanted to phase out EDA and convert its funding to block grants. *(EDA phaseout, 1974 Almanac p. 158)*

Congress made the first move to revitalize the agency in approving the economic stimulus program of 1976. EDA was given the task of allocating $2 billion for state and local public works projects. A year later, Congress voted another $4 billion for the program. *(Stimulus package, 1976 Almanac p. 68, 1977 Almanac p. 112))*

Carter Proposals

The Economic Development Administration won a bureaucratic victory early in 1979 when President Carter rejected plans to create a new Department of Developmental Assistance by folding EDA and several other agencies into the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Instead, Carter endorsed a more limited reorganization. He proposed an expansion of EDA's programs and spending authority and the transfer to it of several economic development programs operated by the Small Business Administration and the Farmers Home Administration. In addition, Carter scrapped earlier plans to create a new national development bank, proposing instead that most of the planned bank functions be given to EDA.

That substitute reorganization plan also eventually was shelved, although key elements of the administration development policy were incorporated in legislation extending the 1965 act.

"We don't want to do anything that would jeopardize our economic development legislation that's moving through Congress," said an administration domestic policy aide.

"We'd rather get that off the ground well than spend all our time on reorganization."

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee and the Environment and Public Works Committee jointly reported the administration economic development bill July 27 (S 914 — S Rept 96-270). The measure, which made only minor changes in the legislation proposed by President Carter, authorized $3.6 billion through fiscal 1983 for EDA programs.

Financing Tools

Although the bill included $300 million less financial authority than the administration requested, "the [financing] tools themselves have survived nearly intact," according to an EDA official.

Those "tools" — interest subsidies, loan guarantees, direct loans and grants — would allow EDA to boost its modest business assistance powers and consolidate its myriad public works, technical assistance and planning programs.

"The act provides a program that works," the two committees said in their joint report.

"It is adaptive to pockets of poverty, high unemployment, local low income places, localities suffering long-term economic deterioration, or places experiencing a sudden and severe rise in unemployment."

Public Works-Development Provisions

Eligibility. Key provision of the Senate development bill was a new, tighter eligibility rule designed to direct financial aid "with greater precision" to distressed areas.

Under existing standards, more than 85 percent of the population was eligible for development assistance. The new criteria designated 67 percent as eligible — after a two-year moratorium.

Low per capita income, high unemployment, low employment growth rate or a proportionately large below-poverty population would qualify a community for aid under S 914. So-called "pockets of poverty" — ailing sections of otherwise healthy cities — also would qualify.

Senate Banking Committee Chairman William Proxmire, D-Wis. — who voted against the bill his panel reported — subsequently told the Senate he believed the standards still were too lax.

Public Works Grants. The Senate bill provided that public works grants could go, for the first time, to localities suffering slow, long-term economic deterioration.

It reserved up to 25 percent of development grant funds for "labor intensive" projects that create a large number of jobs — such as rehabilitation or renovation of water or road systems.

It increased the maximum federal share of public works project costs from 50 percent to 80 percent. Certain communities — such as Indian tribes — could receive 100 percent grants.

It provided that grants could be used for the design and environmental analysis of proposed public works projects.

And it specified that communities submit general, long-term economic development plans as part of their grant applications.

Other Grants. S 914 authorized three new grant programs to stimulate economic development or counteract sudden unemployment problems.

The revolving loan program would provide grants to communities to use as low-interest loan capital for business ventures likely to provide new jobs. When the loans were repaid, the localities would use the funds to finance other projects.

Location grants would allow communities to defray up to 15 percent of the costs of expanding, retaining or locating a firm in a distressed area. The funds could be used to buy land or finance construction or rehabilitation of commercial property.

The bill also made available grants to help prevent sudden and severe dislocation that could result from the loss of a major employer in an area, such as a military base or a plant hurt by foreign competition.

Business Assistance. Three new business financing aid plans were authorized under the bill: loan guarantees, direct loans and interest subsidies. These "tools" were the major components of Carter's abandoned proposal for a national development bank.

Newest and most controversial was the interest subsidy program — which would allow the government to subsidize interest for companies locating or rehabilitating plants in distressed areas. The subsidies, however, could not be more than 5 percent and could not reduce the interest rate below 5 percent.

The direct loan program authorized the government to make low-interest loans to finance up to 65 percent of eligible projects in distressed areas — with a limit of $10 million for any one firm.

The guaranteed loan plan allowed the Treasury to guarantee 100 percent of up to 90 percent of loans made to finance projects in a distressed area. The guarantees were limited to $50 million for any one firm.

The bill also required EDA to use its financing authority only when a business was unable to obtain assistance elsewhere.

It further specified that no more than 10 percent of the funds could be made to firms with more than $50 million in assets.

Other Provisions. The act also established the posts of under secretary of economic development and EDA administrator — a provision the Banking Committee opposed on grounds it was unnecessary.

Authorizations

S 914 authorized $555.2 million for public works and economic development grants in fiscal 1980 — up from $334.5 million from fiscal 1979.

It also allocated $600 million for each of the next three fiscal years. And it stipulated that no more than 25 percent of the funds be used for public works projects.

For development financing programs, the bill authorized $1.8 billion in loan guarantees for 1980 and the same amount for 1981. That was a 429 percent increase over 1979. However, federal outlays under this authorization would not occur unless there were defaults on loans.

The legislation also allowed $150 million for direct loans for the next two fiscal years and $50 million for contract authority for interest subsidies in 1980.

To pay for projected loan guarantee losses, the bill authorized budget authority of $27.9 million for 1980 and $45.9 million for 1981.

Carter had requested an additional $40 million for the direct loan program and $300 million more for interest subsidies.

He had asked for six-year authorizations for each of the programs. However, the Banking Committee said the one- and two-year authorizations would allow it to monitor the little-used loan and interest subsidy programs.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed the bill Aug. 1 by an 83-17 vote. *(Vote 237, p. 40-S)*

Before passage of S 914, the Senate incorporated a separate measure (S 835) extending the Appalachian Regional Commission and the system of regional planning commissions established under the 1965 law. That brought total authorizations under S 914 to $7.3 billion. *(Previous extension, 1975 Almanac p. 160)*

Regional Commissions

S 835, reported by the Environment and Public Works Committee May 15 (S Rept 96-171), was added by voice vote. It had been passed separately by voice vote of the Senate July 31.

S 835 added three new regional commissions to the current network and increased the commissions' authority — a proposal that developed into the most controversial section of the umbrella public works-development legislation.

Charging that the $3.7 billion bill would establish an unnecessary "wall-to-wall layer of regional government," Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., July 31 pushed to limit the authority of the regional commissions and block creation of the three new agencies. His amendment failed by a narrow 47-51 margin. *(Vote 231, p. 39-S)*

Adopted by a 77-21 vote was an amendment by Robert T. Stafford, R-Vt., to prevent the Alaska Regional Commission from developing land use plans. *(Vote 232, p. 39-S)*

Other Amendments

The Senate adopted several amendments by voice votes and with little debate, including those proposed by:

- Stafford, requiring environmental impact statements for public works projects.
- Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, mandating that EDA provide assistance to communities hurt by military base closings, if such aid was not provided by the Defense Department.
- Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., requiring the secretary of commerce to report to Congress by March 1, 1980, on plans to implement the new development financing program.
- Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., permitting localities to use development grants to buy surplus federal property — such as air bases or naval yards.
- John Glenn, D-Ohio, providing an exemption from restrictions in the bill to ensure that the EDA could continue a $100 million loan guarantee for a steel project in Youngstown, Ohio.

House Committee Action

In the House, the Public Works Committee and the Banking Committee's Economic Stabilization Subcommittee haggled for months over control of certain portions of the economic development measure.

The Public Works Committee claimed full jurisdiction, and reported a complete bill May 15 (HR 2063 — H Rept 96-180).

The Banking subcommittee, however, said it should write the development financing section of the bill.

The House version finally was cleared for debate when Public Works Chairman Robert A. Roe, D-N.J., agreed Oct. 22 to permit the Banking panel to offer a package of amendments fine-tuning the financing portion of the bill.

Meanwhile, official authority for the EDA and the regional commissions expired Sept. 30. The programs operated under a continuing resolution.

As reported by the Public Works Committee, HR 2063, the National Economic Development and Public Works Act of 1979, permitted EDA to offer loan guarantees and interest subsidies — as well as grants and loans — to companies that agreed to locate in distressed areas.

The bill also extended the Appalachian Regional Development Commission and a network of other regional commissions, and authorized $2 billion for a standby public works program to go into effect when the nation's unemployment rate topped 6.5 percent.

The Public Works bill authorized a total of $8.6 billion through fiscal 1983. Of that total, $4.1 billion would go for EDA programs; $600 million for regional commissions; $1.9 billion for Appalachian development projects; and $2 billion for the standby public works program.

Major Provisions

Economic Development. Title I of the bill extended EDA's grant programs for two years and authorized funding of $700 million in fiscal 1980 and $750 million in 1981.

It also provided $569 million in fiscal 1980 and $850 million in 1981 for the president's new development financing programs.

In addition, the measure authorized $1.8 billion for loan guarantees in 1980 and another $125 million for the revolving loan program. The amount of loan guarantee authority would increase in 1981 to $2.5 billion.

The bill authorized $20 million for research and development programs in 1980, with another $50 million the next year.

And it allowed $200 million in 1980 and $250 million in 1981 to aid areas hurt by the closing of military bases and to spur production of such new fuels as gasohol.

The bill authorized the EDA to provide up to 75 percent of project costs under the direct loan program; up

to 90 percent under the loan guarantee program; and up to 7 percent of interest rates under the interest subsidy plan.

For direct grants, the bill increased EDA's maximum contribution to 80 percent of the project cost and 100 percent of the cost of an environmental study.

It also set new eligibility criteria for awarding EDA aid — a locality must be able to show a high rate of unemployment, low per capita income or extended job loss in order to qualify.

However, the bill allowed so-called "pockets of poverty" to apply for aid. Such localities are poor areas in otherwise wealthy cities.

Since the bill also permitted all communities currently eligible for aid to continue applying for aid, the new standards would make about 90 percent of the nation eligible.

Regional Development Commissions. Title II of the bill extended the regional commissions for two years and increased the number of commissions from eight to 11.

It authorized $250 million annually for the commissions, to be distributed among the agencies on an "incentive" basis.

The bill also allowed the commissions to use 20 percent of such funds for development grants.

Appalachian Development. Title III of the bill extended the Appalachian Regional Development Act for two years. The Appalachian highway program was extended through Sept. 30, 1983, and the bill authorized a total $2 billion for road construction.

It also increased the maximum federal share of such highway projects from 70 to 80 percent of costs.

And it authorized $340 million through Sept. 30, 1981, for such other Appalachian development programs as child care, public housing and business assistance.

Standby Public Works. Title IV of HR 2063 authorized a $2 billion standby local public works program if national unemployment rose above 6.5 percent.

This program would provide direct grants of up to 100 percent of costs to help communities build or improve such facilities as water and sewer systems, courthouses, fire stations and schools.

The bill required the EDA to act on such applications within 60 days and localities to start construction within 90 days.

The committee said such restrictions were necessary to ensure the program went into effect in time to counteract recession-related unemployment.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 2063 Nov. 14 by a 301-99 vote. *(Vote 590, p. 174-H)*

Before passage of the bill, the House turned back a challenge to the $2 billion standby public works plan.

Gene Snyder, R-Ky., tried to kill the anti-recession program by moving to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to strike that section. His motion failed 148-250. *(Vote 589, p. 174-H)*

Earlier, by a 19-42 standing vote, Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., also lost his bid to strike the program from the bill.

"This section of the bill was not authorized in the budget. It is not requested by the administration," Bauman argued. "Government officials have even said the president might consider a veto of this legislation if it contains this $2 billion public works program."

Floor Amendments

The en bloc amendments offered by the Banking Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization, Chairman William S. Moorhead, D-Pa., told the House, were designed to direct EDA aid to "middle-sized and smaller firms who cannot float bonds in the bond market and who do not have ready access to other long-term lenders such as insurance companies."

The amendments, approved by voice vote, would limit loan guarantees to a maximum of $20 million and direct loans to $10 million.

However, the subcommittee amendments specified that 15 percent of the annual loan guarantee authorization could be used to fund larger guarantees — with a ceiling of $50 million.

The amendments also would prohibit firms with more than $50 million in assets from applying for the aid.

And for interest subsidies, Moorhead's panel authorized the EDA to pay no more than 7 percent of the interest charged on development loans, with the provision that the borrower pay at least 4 percent.

The House also adopted amendments that would:

- Allow EDA to process two loan guarantee applications filed before the special steel loan guarantee program expired Oct. 1.

Sponsor William H. Harsha, R-Ohio, said the two plants — in Youngstown, Ohio, and Detroit, Mich. — "deserve the time and attention" other applicants had received.

The Ohio mill was applying for $100 million in guarantees; the Detroit plant, for $60 million.

- Provide assistance for workers laid off by cancellation of a military contract.

James L. Oberstar, D-Minn., made this proposal to modify a broader amendment by Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn. Oberstar's plan would restrict authority for such assistance to two years and apply only to areas affected by cancellation of a "substantial" contract.

- Provide grants of up to $100,000 to help communities plan for the closing of a local military base or cancellation of a major defense contract.

According to the amendment by Stewart B. McKinney, R-Conn., the Defense Department also would be required to notify the Commerce Department a year before a base or contract was pulled out of a town.

- Authorize EDA financing to help employees of a failing plant purchase and operate that plant.

Sponsor Stanley N. Lundine, D-N.Y., said his amendment would require EDA to set aside at least 5 percent of its annual loan guarantee authority for such plans.

- Allow a demonstration program permitting local development agencies to buy stock in new or struggling businesses.

The amendment was a compromise by Parren J. Mitchell, D-Md., who wanted to provide full authorization for the equity purchase program.

Under the proposal, community agencies would be able to buy shares in certain projects with money from small, locally controlled "revolving" grant funds.

The Banking subcommittee had supported such an equity purchase program, but the Public Works Committee opposed it on grounds it would allow the federal government to hold stock in private companies.

Defeated, by a vote of 137-262, was an amendment by Bauman to limit the power of the regional commissions. *(Vote 588, p. 74-H)*

Housing Authorization

In its 1979 revision of the nation's housing laws, Congress clamped a lid on many government-subsidized housing programs while providing more funds for President Carter's key urban grant program.

The omnibus housing authorization bill (HR 3875 — PL 96-153) also made a sweeping revision of regulations governing the sale of land across state borders.

As requested by Carter, Congress boosted the authorization for the urban development action grant (UDAG) program from $400 million to $675 million in fiscal 1980. The program was designed to encourage private investment in commercial or industrial projects in financially ailing urban areas.

The bill authorized $1.14 billion in additional contract authority for low income housing assistance during fiscal 1980. That sum was expected to fund 240,000-265,000 units under the Section 8 rent subsidy and public housing programs — down from an estimated 360,000 units in 1979.

Harrison A. Williams Jr., D-N.J., chairman of the Senate Banking Subcommittee on Housing, called the authorization "one of the smallest efforts in assisted housing in recent years."

Other provisions of the bill increased funding for homes for the elderly and handicapped and hiked the mortgage ceiling under the federal insurance program to adjust for inflation.

And the measure required developers who provided federally subsidized low-income housing to maintain that property for such poor residents for the full terms of their contracts with the government.

It was this last contract requirement that kept the housing conference "at sword's point for so long," as Les AuCoin, D-Ore., a member of the House Banking Subcommittee on Housing, put it.

Conferees began meeting July 20 to reconcile House and Senate versions of the Housing and Community Development Amendments of 1979, but a compromise was not reached until Dec. 13.

That stalemate put the bill more than two-and-a-half months behind its Oct. 1 deadline. The House had passed its measure June 7 and the Senate passed its version July 13.

The Senate approved the conference report (H Rept 96-706) Dec. 18 by voice vote, and the House voted 361-29 Dec. 19 to send the bill to the White House for the president's signature. *(Vote 663, p. 196-H)*

Provisions

As signed into law Dec. 21, the Housing and Community Development Amendments of 1979 (HR 3875 — PL 96-153) contained the following provisions, effective Oct. 1, 1979:

Title I. Community and Neighborhood Development and Conservation

• **Section 312 Rehabilitation Loans.** Authorized $140 million in fiscal 1980 for loans to improve existing housing, with up to $75 million of that amount earmarked for multifamily homes. The 1979 authorization for Section 312 loans was $245 million.

• **Comprehensive Planning Grants.** Authorized $50 million to help fund city or area planning projects.

• **Community Development Block Grants.** Increased the funds tagged for distribution to smaller cities from $250 million to $275 million in fiscal 1980.

• Transferred $10 billion from the HUD's "discretionary fund" into the basic grant portion of the program to help offset the increase in grants to smaller cities.

• Provided that local governments only partly located within an urban county were eligible for funds from the urban, rather than non-metropolitan, portion of the block grant program.

• **Urban Development Action Grants.** Increased the authorization level for the UDAG program from the 1979 level of $400 million to $675 million.

• Restricted the use of UDAG funds to projects that would not be initiated without federal aid and which could not replace the federal funds with other types of local or private funding.

• Allowed financially healthy cities with "pockets of poverty" to apply for UDAG aid, but limited such grants to 20 percent of total UDAG funds.

• Required a city to prove that pocket of poverty residents had incomes less than 80 percent of the local average and that 30 percent of the residents of the area had incomes 30 percent lower than the national poverty rate.

• Required that in a city with at least 50,000 residents, a pocket of poverty have 10,000 residents or 10 percent of the total city population, whichever was less. For cities with fewer than 50,000 residents, the poor area must have 2,500 residents or 10 percent of the population, whichever was greater.

• Required that an applicant city provide fire, police, sanitation and road repair services to the poor area comparable to those in other areas of the city.

• Stipulated that cities applying for UDAG funds to aid a pocket of poverty match 20 percent of the cost through local, state or federal funds.

• Relaxed the definition of a city under the UDAG program to allow towns and townships to participate.

• **Urban Homesteading.** Authorized HUD to reimburse the Veterans Administration and Agriculture Department for property they turned over for use in approved urban homesteading projects.

• **Neighborhood Self-help Development Program.** Authorized $13.5 million for the neighborhood self-help development program, and provided that 10 percent of these funds could be awarded as "innovative grants" without the full certification of the local government.

• **Livable Cities.** Reduced the authorization for the livable cities program, designed to encourage arts and cultural activities at the neighborhood level, from $10 million to $5 million.

• **Condominium Report.** Required the HUD secretary to report within six months on the effects of condominium or cooperative conversion on the rental housing market.

Title II. Housing Assistance Programs

• Authorized $1,140,661,000 in fiscal 1980 in new contract authority for Section 8 and public housing.

• Stipulated that $195,053,000 of that contract authority be used for public housing, with $1,063,013,000 for Section 8 housing and not less than $50 million for modernization of existing units.

• Authorized $741.5 million in operating subsidies in fiscal 1980 for public housing and Section 8 programs.

• **Tenant Contribution.** Increased a tenant's rent contribution to between 20 and 30 percent of his income, except

for very low income families who must pay between 15-25 percent of their income.

• Exempted families currently occupying public or Section 8 housing from the rent contribution increase.

• **Section 101 Rent Supplements.** Consolidated the Section 101 rent supplement program with the Section 8 program, but stipulated that no Section 101 tenant pay more rent under the new arrangement than he paid previously.

• **Section 236 Rental and Cooperative Housing Program.** Changed the income requirement for new participants in the Section 236 rental and cooperative housing program to conform with Section 8 requirements.

• **Troubled Housing Projects.** Authorized $82 million — up from $74 million in 1979 — for operating subsidies for troubled multi-family housing projects.

• **Tenant Selection.** Provided that families occupying substandard housing or who were involuntarily displaced had priority for public housing and Section 8 programs.

• **Displaced HUD Tenants.** Assured any tenant displaced from HUD-owned projects as a result of sale or repair the right to obtain other government-assisted housing.

• **Energy Requirements.** Required maximum weatherization in modernization projects, and required that new or substantially rehabilitated projects be equipped with heating and cooling systems selected on the basis of long-term cost.

• **Section 235 Homeownership Assistance.** Provided that low-income families who, without assistance would be displaced from apartments being converted to condominiums or cooperatives, receive priority for home ownership assistance, a program that provided government subsidies on mortgages for low- and moderate-income homebuyers.

• Provided that such mortgages could be insured up to 20 percent above the maximum if the homes were in an area undergoing major renovation.

• Broadened eligibility by dropping requirements that applicants be displaced families, families with five or more minor children or families living in public housing.

• **Minimum Rent Studies.** Required HUD to submit two studies to Congress: comparing subsidized rents to rents paid privately by persons of the same income; and examining whether to require minimum rent payments from residents of government housing projects.

Title III. Program Amendments and Extensions

• **Research Authorization.** Authorized $50.3 million in fiscal 1980 for housing department research.

• **FHA General Insurance Fund.** Increased the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) fund to cover defaults on insured mortgages by $93 million.

• **Section 202 Program of Housing for the Elderly and Handicapped.** Authorized $3.8 billion in fiscal 1980, $4.8 billion in 1981 and $5.8 billion in 1982 for cumulative loan authority for housing for the elderly and the handicapped.

• Required a report by HUD to Congress within six months on the housing needs of the elderly and handicapped in rural areas.

• Required a study by HUD to Congress within six months on ways to reduce costs of the Section 202 housing program.

• **Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation.** Authorized $12 million in fiscal 1980 for the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation.

• **Usury Exemption.** Exempted from state or local usury limits any loan, mortgage or advance made under the National Housing Act.

• **Mortgage Study.** Required a HUD study of alternative mortgages to the fixed-rate loans insured under the National Housing Act.

• **Graduated Payment Mortgage Program.** Limited participation in the graduated payment mortgage (GPM) program to borrowers who had not owned a home within the last three years.

• Specified that the balance of principal and interest could never exceed 113 percent of the original appraised value of the home.

• Limited the number of GPMs issued each year to 10 percent of the total single family mortgages insured by the Federal Housing Administration or 50,000 mortgages, whichever was greater.

• Lowered the down-payment requirement for GPM borrowers from 8 percent to between 3 and 5 percent.

• **Mortgage Ceiling Increase.** Increased the ceiling on FHA-insured loans for all types of single-family homes to $67,500, up from the current limit of $60,000; to $76,000 for two-family homes; to $92,000 for three-family homes; and $107,000 for four-family homes.

• Specified that in high-cost areas, the ceiling could be exceeded by up to 75 percent. And in certain other cases, reviewed by HUD, the limit could be exceeded by up to 90 percent.

• **Mobile Home Loans.** Increased the maximum loan for a single-module mobile home from $16,000 to $18,000 and $27,000 for a mobile home with at least two modules.

• Increased the maximum loan for a single-module mobile home on an undeveloped lot to $24,000 and $33,000 for a double-module home on a similar lot.

• Increased the maximum loan for a single-module mobile home on a developed lot to $27,500 and to $36,500 for a double-module mobile home on a similar lot.

• Increased the maximum amount of mortgage insurance for a mobile home site from $3,900 to $8,000 per space.

• **Mortgage Limits for Multi-family Housing.** Increased the maximum mortgage for a family unit in a building without an elevator to $44,170 and to $53,690 for a unit in a building with an elevator.

• **Hospital Combination Financing.** Prohibited the use of government loan insurance or mortgage guarantees to collateralize tax-exempt bonds, except for certain hospitals that already had begun to arrange for such refinancing.

• **Thermal Requirements.** Rejected HUD's temporary thermal requirements for masonry construction, and requested that final regulations be issued within one month after enactment.

• **Paperwork Reduction.** Required the departments of HUD and Agriculture and the Veterans Administration to consolidate and simplify housing forms.

• **Loans by Savings and Loans.** Raised the ceiling on mortgages granted by federally chartered savings and loan associations from $60,000 to $75,000.

• **Loans in Outlying Areas.** Permitted government-insured loans to be granted to rural borrowers with homes located next to an all-weather public road, rather than a highway, as in current law.

• Lowered the minimum lot size for a farm home that received government mortgage insurance from five acres to two and one-half.

Title IV. Interstate Land Sales

• **Cooling-off Period.** Lengthened the "cooling off period" during which a consumer could reconsider his contract from three to seven days.

• **Statute of Limitations.** Tightened the statute of limitations to provide three years in which to file suit against a developer after a violation of interstate land sale laws was discovered.

• **Criminal Penalties.** Increased the maximum penalty for violating the act from $5,000 to $10,000 and from five to seven years of imprisonment.

• **Exemptions.** Exempted subdivisions of less than 100 lots from reporting and disclosure requirements.

• Exempted subdivisions of less than 25 lots from all provisions of the act.

• Exempted from registration and disclosure requirements the sale or lease of lots where each non-adjacent parcel of land contained no more than 20 lots.

• Exempted from registration and disclosure requirements developments where all lots were 20 acres or more.

• Exempted the sale or lease of the first 12 lots of a larger subdivision where no more than 12 units were sold in any calendar year.

• Exempted from registration and disclosure requirements a subdivision of less than 300 lots when a lot was sold to a resident of another state whose principal residence was within the same Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

Title V. Rural Housing

• **Authorization.** Placed a limit for the first time on loan and guarantee authority for rural housing, authorizing $4.5 billion in fiscal 1980.

• Stipulated that of that total, not less than $3 billion be used for subsidized loans for rental or cooperative housing for low- and moderate-income people and the elderly.

• **Section 516 Domestic Farm Labor Housing.** Provided $30 million in fiscal 1980 for grants for housing for domestic farm workers.

• **Advance Expense Payments.** Authorized $5 million in 1980 for advances to certain FmHA borrowers for taxes, insurance and other payments.

• **Rental Assistance.** Provided that up to 70 percent of the units in Farmers' Home Administration projects could receive rental assistance.

• **Prepayment of Section 514 and 515 Loans.** Permitted prepayment of loans by private investors who built low-income rural housing with government financing only if the investor agreed to retain the project for its original use for 20 years from the date the loan was made.

• Provided that, in the case of loans made to investors prior to the date of enactment of the 1979 housing amendments, FmHA could accept prepayment if low- and moderate-income and elderly tenants could maintain residency for the length of the contract or had affordable alternative housing made available to them.

• For projects with more than 10 units, provided that an investor could prepay only if he met the other conditions and if FmHA determined that conversion of the property would have no adverse impact on the area's supply of housing for low- and moderate-income people.

• **Homeownership Subsidies.** Limited homeownership subsidies to $500 million in 1980, and indicated the program would not be funded in fiscal 1981.

• **Refinancing.** Approved new refinancing authority for loans that were five years old or less if the failure to refinance would cause a borrower to lose his home or deprive him of a "decent, safe and sanitary dwelling."

• **Section 504 Home Repair Loans.** Increased the authorization for home repair loans for low-income families from $5,000 to $7,500.

• **Eligibility.** Required that, "to the extent practicable," at least 30 percent of participants in FmHA programs have incomes below 50 percent of the area median.

Title VI. Miscellaneous

• **Federal Insurance Administration.** Extended HUD authority through Sept. 30, 1981, to provide new crime, riot and flood insurance.

• Permitted HUD to continue existing crime and riot insurance through Sept. 30, 1984.

• Provided subsidized flood insurance under the emergency program for communities that had no actuarial rates or elevation studies.

• Transferred the position of federal insurance administrator from HUD to the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

Committee Action

In reporting the fiscal 1980 housing authorization May 15 (HR 3875 — H Rept 96-154, S 1149 — S Rept 96-164), the House and Senate Banking committees proposed changes designed to make sure that housing dollars were used primarily to benefit those families least able to afford shelter on their own. Proposed spending ceilings were well below fiscal 1979 levels for most federal housing programs.

Assisted Housing Proposals

Both committees proposed key changes in the requirements for low-income families to obtain federal housing assistance under the Section 8 rental subsidy and public housing programs.

HR 3875 increased to 30 percent of adjusted gross income (from 25 percent) the maximum tenant contribution to rent for families whose incomes exceeded 50 percent of the median level for an area.

The proposed rent hikes would be on a sliding scale based on income, so that, for example, a family at 65 percent of median income would pay a maximum of 27 percent of adjusted income.

According to the committee report, the proposed hike would have limited impact. Only 7 percent of the tenants in the Section 8 program had incomes above 50 percent of the median, while only 12 percent had incomes above 50 percent of the median in the public housing program.

"In a period of great concern over the cost of our assisted housing programs," the report said, "the committee believes that some recognition should be made of the differential ability of families to pay for their housing."

The Senate committee, citing the same budgetary constraints, proposed reducing the eligibility ceiling from 80 percent of the area's median income to 70 percent.

"The committee believes that eligibility has been extended too broadly in light of the current budget restrictions that face us," the report said.

The Senate committee estimated that the lower income ceiling would reduce the number of families eligible for Section 8 rental subsidies and public housing from 30 million to 25 million.

As drafted by the committee, the new income ceiling would not apply to families currently residing in federally assisted units.

Spending Ceilings Reduced

Both committees recommended an authorization for fiscal 1980 of $1,286,155,000 in new contributions for as-

sisted housing, enough to allow about 300,000 units of Section 8 and public housing.

The House committee estimated that the $1.3 billion in new contract authority would require about $28.8 billion in budget authority to cover the cost of the housing contracts, which ran as long as 40 years. The Senate committee estimated budget authority at $30.4 billion. The first fiscal 1980 budget resolution contemplated $25.8 billion in budget authority for the programs.

The proposed fiscal 1980 authorization was $145 million above the level requested by the Carter administration for fiscal 1980. The administration had said its spending ceiling would provide enough money for about 300,000 units, but the committees said the administration proposal did not reflect the impact of inflation on housing.

The 300,000 units proposed for fiscal 1980 were well below the estimated 360,000 units the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) expected to assist during fiscal 1979.

Both committees authorized $741.5 million for public housing operating subsidies, as requested by the administration. The fiscal 1979 authorization was $729 million.

The committees proposed sharply lower ceilings in fiscal 1980 for the highly popular Section 312 housing rehabilitation loan program. The House committee set spending at $150 million, while the Senate committee authorized $130 million, the level sought by the Carter administration.

Urban Development Action Grants

Both committees approved an increase in the spending ceiling for urban development action grants from the fiscal 1979 level of $400 million to $675 million, as requested by the administration. The increased spending was proposed as part of the administration's urban revitalization effort.

The Senate bill also included a provision designed to allow up to 20 percent of urban development action grant funds to be used in economically healthy cities that had so-called "pockets of poverty."

The Senate proposed a similar provision during debate on the fiscal 1979 housing authorization, but was rebuffed by the House. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 310)*

Unlike the earlier proposal, however, the new amendment would require that action grants awarded to cities and towns with pockets of poverty be used for the direct benefit of the distressed areas.

Interstate Land Sales

The Senate committee, prodded largely by land developers and the real estate industry, included in its bill a package of amendments designed to ease the regulatory and reporting requirements for land developers whose business attracted clients from neighboring states. *(Previous legislation, 1968 Almanac p. 318)*

The key sections of the Senate amendments would add two new exemptions from the registration and disclosure requirements of the act. The first exemption, for a sales operation intrastate in nature, would be available on a lot-by-lot basis if 1) the lot was free and clear of liens, encumbrances and adverse claims, 2) an on-site inspection had been made by the potential buyer and 3) each purchase or lease agreement clearly described the party responsible for providing specific facilities.

The second exemption, designed for interstate sales, would apply to developers of subdivisions of up to 500 lots when they sold to buyers who lived within 100 miles of the property, provided the three conditions in the first exemption were met and the developer also:

- Designated an agent for the service of process within the home state of the purchaser.
- Provided simple notification to the HUD secretary that all other requirements had been met.

The House committee took a different approach, adopting a mixture of amendments. Some would reduce or end registration requirements for small developers. For example, one section would raise the maximum size of a subdivision exempt from the registration and disclosure requirements of the act from 50 to 100 lots.

But other proposed changes would increase the scope of the law, and toughen HUD's enforcement powers. One particularly controversial proposal would give the HUD secretary cease and desist powers. Another section would extend the act's coverage to subdivisions with fairly large lots. Existing law exempted subdivisions where all lots were five or more acres in size. The proposed amendment would exempt subdivisions where at least 90 percent of the lots were 40 acres or more in size and any remaining lots were no less than 30 acres in size.

Legislative Review

Accepting a Carter administration proposal, the Senate bill would repeal a key section of the legislative review procedures established by Congress for housing regulations in 1978.

The section, which allowed either Banking committee to delay proposed regulations for up to three months, was considered the most important element in the legislative oversight process worked out in 1978 by House and Senate conferees after weeks of haggling. *(Further details, 1978 Almanac p. 307)*

The House bill included a different provision designed to invoke the legislative review process for the first time. The provision would block final HUD regulations dealing with minimum property standards for masonry construction.

The committee said it included the provision because it was concerned that HUD, in preparing the new, tougher standards to make single-family homes more energy efficient, only conducted a cost-benefit analysis for frame construction and did not do a similar analysis for masonry construction.

The committee said HUD acknowledged the oversight and subsequently directed the National Bureau of Standards to conduct a cost-benefit analysis for masonry construction. However, the committee said, the National Bureau of Standards report would not be ready until about two months after the HUD regulations were supposed to take effect.

"Given the scope of these standards and their potential impact on national building practices, the department should have completed such a critical analysis prior to issuing the standards as final," the committee said.

Therefore, it included a provision in HR 3712 delaying the regulations for three months. The committee said that should give HUD enough time to review the cost-benefit study and, if necessary, make changes in the standards for masonry construction.

Other Highlights

Both HR 3875 and S 1149 would extend basic HUD-Federal Housing Administration programs for one year, through Sept. 30, 1980.

Both measures would also increase FHA single-family mortgage loan ceilings, although each bill proposed different limits.

	Existing	House	Senate
One-family	$60,000	$ 65,000	$ 70,000
Two-family	65,000	73,500	80,000
Three-family	65,000	87,500	99,000
Four-family	75,000	100,000	120,000

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 3875 June 7 by a 355-36 vote. *(Vote 176, p. 56-H)*

The House bill authorized $1,286,155,000 for low-income public housing and Section 8 rental subsidies in the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1. Thomas L. Ashley, D-Ohio, chairman of the Banking Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development, said that would "fund up to 300,000 units of low-income assisted housing, down from the 400,000 unit target provided in prior years."

'Fiscal Restraint'

While he regretted the need for the 30 percent cut, Ashley said, "It was our reluctant judgment that in this year of fiscal restraint . . . the reduction in the number of families to be assisted was necessary."

HR 3875 also authorized $675 million for the urban development action grant program, a $275 million increase requested by the Carter administration. The House rejected an effort to transfer $200 million from the action grant program to the broader community development block grant program. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 126)*

Before passing the bill, the House rejected committee-approved language that would have permitted HUD to halt fraudulent practices in interstate land sales.

And, in the year's first floor test of the issue, it rejected an effort to remove Davis-Bacon Act prevailing wage requirements from two federal housing programs. *(Davis-Bacon, p. 307)*

Prevailing Wage Requirements

In a 155-244 vote June 6, the House rejected an amendment by George Hansen, R-Idaho, to waive Davis-Bacon Act requirements for payment at locally prevailing wage rates to construction workers on Indian housing projects and residential rehabilitation projects carried out by nonprofit neighborhood organizations. *(Vote 171, p. 54-H)*

"This is not an amendment to repeal Davis-Bacon," Hansen maintained. ". . . This is not an amendment against the unions — this is an amendment that is against the shoddy application of the prevailing wage provisions to two particular housing programs."

Adoption of the amendment would show that "we are sincere about removing the restrictions that are preventing minorities and the less fortunate from having the most and best housing units available for the money," Hansen said.

But Frank Thompson Jr., D-N.J., chairman of the Labor Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, retorted, "The fact is that the real purpose of this amendment is to undercut the real wages of workers on certain government construction projects.

"This is just one of the numerous peripheral attacks on Davis-Bacon," he added.

Urban Development Action Grants

The amendment to transfer $200 million from the urban development action grant (UDAG) program to the block grant program failed on a 159-263 vote. *(Vote 165, p. 54-H)*

It was offered by Don Ritter, R-Pa., who said he did "not believe that, within the limited funds available, we should starve the basic block grant program and at the same time allow gluttony for UDAG."

L. H. Fountain, D-N.C., chairman of the Government Operations subcommittee with oversight responsibility for the program, agreed: "I just cannot support a 69 percent funding increase for the UDAG program at a time when HUD seems to be making some unnecessary and highly questionable grants under the existing authorization."

Les AuCoin, D-Ore., urged defeat of the amendment. "We are either going to focus the money where the documented need exists," he said, " . . . or we can just funnel the money out [under the block grant program] in a formula that requires no city to get off its hands, put its thinking cap on, or come up with some creative ideas. The latter is what UDAG does, and it deserves to be supported."

The House adopted, 312-102, an amendment to make up to 20 percent of action grant funds available to cities and urban counties that contained pockets of poverty. The amendment, offered by Stephen L. Neal, D-N.C., was similar to language included in the Senate version of the bill. *(Vote 166, p. 54-H)*

Ashley opposed efforts to expand eligibility for the program. "During our subcommittee markup and before the full committee, not a single member asked to be heard with respect to pockets of poverty," he said.

Interstate Land Sales

Carroll A. Campbell Jr., R-S.C., offered an amendment to strike language that permitted the HUD secretary to issue cease and desist orders prohibiting the sale or lease of property by a developer who violated anti-fraud provisions of the Interstate Land Sales Act. The provision also authorized HUD to issue temporary restraining orders and to assess civil penalties for a violation of those orders.

Campbell argued that the provision usurped judicial authority, but Ashley insisted that HUD needed the additional powers to be able to respond quickly to deceptive land sales practices.

The House backed Campbell, first approving the amendment by a 129-73 teller vote and later ratifying that action by a 245-145 recorded vote. *(Vote 175, p. 56-H)*

In other action, the House adopted:

- By a 311-79 vote, an amendment to prevent Social Security cost-of-living increases from being counted as income when calculating rent in assisted housing. *(Vote 174, p. 56-H)*
- By a 366-16 vote, an amendment designed to reduce paperwork in housing programs. *(Vote 173, p. 56-H)*

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed HR 3875 July 13 by an 82-0 vote, after amending the House-passed measure to incorporate the text of S 1149 and two other bills: S 903, extending Federal Insurance Administration programs, and S 1064, the rural housing authorization. *(Vote 164, p. 30-S)*

Major floor skirmishes came over a provision of S 1149 exempting federal loans and mortgages from state usury

ceilings and on an amendment waiving part of the Davis-Bacon Act for certain neighborhood improvement projects.

State Usury Ceilings

Robert Morgan, D-N.C., blasted the Senate Banking Committee for "pre-empting the rights of the states to govern usury in their own states."

In a speech embellished with references to Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, Morgan warned that the usury law exemption could set a precedent.

"We are going to pre-empt this one and pre-empt that one — until we will soon be pre-empting all of the states' laws," he said.

But proponents of the section argued it was needed to free mortgage money in states with low interest ceilings. And they maintained the bill provided that states could enact new laws to limit interest rates.

"Usury ceilings have been a real problem for borrowers as well as lenders in this country," said Banking Committee Chairman Proxmire. "They are well intended, but often they have the effect of shutting off or sharply curtailing mortgage credit."

Proxmire added that "usury ceilings create an incentive for lenders to invest in other states which are not subject to the same usury ceilings."

Morgan's amendment was rejected 20-62. *(Vote 163, p. 30-S)*

Davis-Bacon Requirements

Also hotly debated was an amendment by the committee's ranking Republican, Garn. He proposed to exempt residential rehabilitation projects by non-profit, federally funded neighborhood groups from Davis-Bacon journeyman-trainee ratios.

The 1931 act — one of organized labor's most hallowed laws — provided that federal contractors pay the locally prevailing wage — usually the union wage — on federal construction jobs. It also set a tradesman-trainee ratio of approximately five to one.

"It was never contemplated that Davis-Bacon should in any way inhibit such neighborhood revitalization efforts," Garn said.

Bill manager Harrison A. Williams Jr., D-N.J., chairman of both the Banking Subcommittee on Housing and the Labor and Human Resources Committee, opposed the amendment on grounds its impact was "vastly overstated."

Most self-help housing rehabilitation, he said, was done on small structures that already were exempt from Davis-Bacon.

And Labor Committee Republican Jacob K. Javits, N.Y., urged defeat of the proposal on grounds it would "break down the balance of interest" between regular construction workers and self-help builders.

Garn's amendment, previously rejected in committee, failed 35-57. *(Vote 160, p. 30-S)*

Housing Authorizations

Williams described the housing bill as "truly lean in comparison with recent years."

The legislation, he said, "fully reflects a desire of Congress and the public for thoughtful, prudent federal spending during an era of enormous inflationary pressures."

Like its House counterpart, the Housing Subcommittee had constructed a bill substantially lower than in 1979, and targeted the aid for families least able to afford shelter.

But fiscal watchdog Proxmire — backed by Budget Committee Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine — succeeded in trimming an extra $145 million from the bill.

That cut, in contract authority for assisted housing, would pare the number of assisted units from 300,000 to 266,000 — the level requested by the administration. The House bill, however, authorized funds for 300,000 units — down 66,000 units from the 1979 level.

"We have cut, we have cut, we have cut; we have cut to 300,000 units," pleaded Williams. ". . .[B]ut let us not cut it one more time."

The amendment was approved 51-40. *(Vote 161, p. 30-S)*

Under the bill, only one program would receive a sizable funding increase: urban development action grants would jump $275 million to a total $675 million.

President Carter requested the hike to accommodate newly eligible "pockets of poverty " — distressed areas within non-distressed cities.

The legislation was tightened, however, by an amendment sponsored by John Tower, R-Texas, and modified by Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass. It required non-distressed cities to contribute 20 percent of action grant project costs from local, state or other federal funds.

Authorization cuts included:

- The popular rehabilitation loan program, trimmed 47 percent to $130 million.
- The planning assistance program, down about 20 percent to $50 million.

The bill also tightened eligibility requirements for the assisted housing program, dropping the family income ceiling from 80 percent to 70 percent of median income.

But it raised the ceiling on single-family mortgages from $60,000 to $70,000. The House retained the current limit.

And it also created a new, graduated mortgage program allowing lower downpayments and more repayment alternatives. That flexibility was achieved by requiring that a government-backed mortgage never exceed 97 percent of the "projected" rather than current value of a property.

Among other new legislative provisions was a section exempting certain interstate land transactions from federal registration and disclosure requirements.

Applauded by Lawton Chiles, D-Fla., as eliminating "expensive, time-consuming and unnecessary requirements," the measure would allow developers of small subdivisions to sell to residents of another state if they live within 100 miles of the property.

The section, sought by the real estate industry, also would allow developers to use the "tools" of interstate commerce — telephones or mail — if a potential purchaser lived in the same state as the developer's property.

The House interstate land sales provision would reduce some registration requirements for small developers while strengthening HUD's enforcement powers.

Senate changes in the committee bill included:

- Two amendments by Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M.: to establish an Office of Elderly Housing; and to waive minimum capital requirements in connection with the Section 202 elderly "independent living" program.
- A proposal to require communities to study the ratio of condominium conversion to rental housing and require the secretary of housing and urban development to report to Congress in six months on the multi-family housing market.

• An amendment by Tsongas to change eligibility requirements and application forms for low-income rental programs to one uniform standard.

• Two proposals by Javits: to lift the purchase and sales price limits for multi-family housing financed by government-backed loans; and to increase from 75 percent to 90 percent the amount a high-cost area mortgage may exceed the maximum FHA mortgage limits.

• An amendment by Alan Cranston, D-Calif., to authorize the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to invest in a minority investment corporation to provide ailing minority savings and loan asssociations with investment and modernization capital and technical assistance.

• An amendment by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to ensure continued funding for a regional water and sewer system affected by the government's decision to withdraw financial backing from the Soul City new town near Raleigh, N.C. Defeated by a 34-55 vote was a proposal by William L. Armstrong, R-Colo., to limit rent subsidies to families with income of no more than 50 percent of the national median or $12,000, whichever was less. *(Vote 159, p. 29-S)*

Crime, Flood, Riot Insurance

The omnibus housing bill also included the text of S 903 (S Rept 96-145) extending the Federal Insurance Administration's crime, flood and riot insurance programs until Sept. 30, 1981, and authorizing $74 million for flood studies.

Bill managers said the extension was needed to allow the committee time to conduct oversight studies.

Insurance Subcommittee Chairman Donald Stewart, D-Ala., won voice approval of his amendment to transfer the position of flood insurance administrator from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to the newly created Federal Insurance Administration.

Rural Housing

The Rural Housing Amendments of 1979 approved by the Senate as part of the housing package differed from the administration version chiefly in the length of authorization — one year instead of the requested two.

The bill, the Congressional Budget Office estimated, provided for outlays of about $140 million in 1980, with loan authority of $84 million and rural housing grant spending authority of about $66.5 million.

Morgan, Rural Housing Subcommittee chairman, said major program changes in the bill included:

• Stricter targeting requirements to direct assistance to low-income families.

• New authority to construct seasonal housing for farm workers.

• Limits on the resale of Farmers Home Administration-backed mortgages by developers of low-income rural housing.

That provision was needed, Morgan said, to prevent developers from prepaying or refinancing projects aided by the FmHA to help low-income families and then reselling the homes to high-income purchasers.

The original committee bill (S 1064 — S Rept 96-157) provided that FmHA loans could not be sold for 30 years. The Senate amended that provision to 15 years and deleted a clause making the new resale rule retroactive.

Conference Highlights

The conference report on the bill was not filed until Dec. 13 (H Rept 96-706).

Contract Restrictions. The conference fight over the new contract restrictions revolved around whether to impose them on current owners of rural housing projects.

Both sides agreed that some change was needed to correct a loophole that allowed investors to use taxpayer subsidies to build homes for low-income people, but then quickly repay the loans, evict the tenants and convert the property to other uses.

"The investment of federal funds for housing must confer direct benefits on lower income families and not provide a windfall to developers," argued Rep. Thomas L. Ashley, D-Ohio, chairman of the House Housing Subcommittee, during debate on the conference report.

Ashley and other House conferees took a hard line on the restrictions, arguing that current law intended that developers be bound to the full terms of their contracts.

Their Senate counterparts, however, viewed the provision as a retroactive clause that could initiate lawsuits against the government by developers who had converted the property to other use.

As a compromise, a committee aide said, Senate conferees accepted the restriction but wrote "some flexibility" into the bill by allowing prepayment in certain cases.

However, Garn, ranking Republican on the Senate Banking Committee, refused to endorse the conference report, on grounds the provision was "particularly shocking and unconscionable."

Conferees also included a similar restriction binding owners of Section 8 rent subsidy housing projects to the full terms of their contracts. That provision did not apply to current contract-holders, however.

Income Increase. Another provision that sparked controversy in conference was an increase in the maximum rent contribution required from tenants of government assisted housing.

Previously, no family was required to pay more than 25 percent of its income towards rent. But the new bill gave the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) the authority to require a contribution between 20 and 30 percent of family income.

Senate Banking Chairman William Proxmire, D-Wis., called the increase a "painful but necessary step" towards fiscal discipline for housing programs.

But Ashley promised the House that HUD would not implement the increase "unless the economic and financial viability of our housing programs absolutely required it."

A Senate aide, however, cautioned that Ashley's interpretation of the provision "is not unanimously endorsed on the Senate side."

House conferees also lost a bid to exempt increases in Social Security benefits from personal income used to determine eligibility for public housing.

House conferees, however, were able to stave off an attempt by the Senate to tighten the income level for applicants for Section 8 assisted housing — privately owned properties whose tenants receive government subsidies.

The Senate proposal would have limited the program to families with incomes no higher than 70 percent of the local average. Instead, conferees stayed with the current 80 percent income level.

Housing Aid. Conferees accepted the Senate figure of $1.14 billion for low-income housing assistance, which

would allow the government to provide an additional 240,000-265,000 units during 1980.

Ashley acknowledged that while he was unhappy with the funding level, which was below the House-passed figure, it matched the amount provided in the appropriations bill already cleared by Congress. *(Appropriations bill, p. 207)*

Displacement Priority. In order to help the limited federal dollars reach the families with the most urgent housing needs, the conferees required that occupants of substandard housing or those displaced involuntarily from their homes go to the top of the list for public housing and Section 8 programs.

Urban Development Action Grants. The conferees agreed to permit up to 20 percent of UDAG funds to go to healthy cities with pockets of poverty. This provision was fought bitterly in 1978 by lawmakers from the ailing Northeast and Midwest.

But this time, members from the older cities approved the idea in exchange for support from Southern and Western members for the huge hike in funds.

"It was a classic case of cooperation between the Frostbelt and the Sunbelt," a committee aide said.

While both groups of conferees accepted the principle of pockets of poverty, their versions of how to design the program differed.

The House advocated a stricter provision than the Senate, with a narrow definition of such an area and a requirement that a pocket city not neglect basic services to the area.

The compromise, described by one aide as "a very decent resolution of a very difficult issue," tightened the Senate version on several counts but allowed that chamber a major concession on how pocket of poverty applications were evaluated.

House conferees had urged that pocket of poverty applicants compete with all other UDAG applicants for funds. But the Senate thought the program should be separate.

The conference agreement allowed for a separate pool of funds for pocket of poverty applicants, but specified that such projects be funded on their own merits.

Usury Limit. Bowing to the pressures of double-digit inflation and the skyrocketing cost of credit, conferees used the bill to exempt from state and local usury laws any loan insured or issued by the government.

"This is necessary to prevent the shutdown of FHA in a number of states in which the FHA rate currently exceeds the state usury ceiling," Williams explained.

Interstate Land Sales. Conferees exempted numerous developments from the registration and disclosure requirements that governed the interstate sale of land and tightened some regulations to aid consumers.

Ashley said the changes "balance the need to relieve intrastate and small land developers from federal registration and disclosure requirements with the need to provide consumers with stronger protections against fraud."

Graduated Payment Mortgage Program. Conferees scaled back the new graduated payment mortgage program, designed to help young home-buyers by providing mortgages with payments that started out low and increased as their incomes increased.

Their bill limited the program to purchasers who had not owned a home in three years. And it placed a cap on the number of GPMs that could be insured each year — 10 percent of all FHA mortgages or 50,000, whichever was greater.

Rural Housing Limits. In an attempt to gain new control over the activities of the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), the conferees for the first time placed a limit on the total loans and guarantees the agency could issue.

"It's in line with a more budget-conscious Congress," a commmittee aide said.

In the past, the FmHA made loans or guarantees from a revolving credit fund that required no authorization from Congress to tap.

Temporary Mortgage Help. A temporary mortgage payment assistance program included in the Senate bill was dropped from the conference agreement after the administration withdrew its support.

The White House maintained HUD already had the authority, under its assignment program, to take over mortgage costs for government-insured borrowers temporarily unable to meet their payments. ▮

Banking Deregulation

Controversy over broad banking issues prevented final action in 1979 on legislation designed to save several kinds of interest-bearing checking services from a court-ordered ban.

The bill (HR 4986) was blocked when the Senate and House attached provisions easing federal regulation of the banking industry and sweetening membership requirements in the Federal Reserve System.

Those "Christmas tree limbs," as House Banking Committee Chairman Henry S. Reuss, D-Wis., described them, forced conferees to abandon attempts to reconcile their vastly different measures in the closing weeks of the session.

Instead, they rushed to the floor stopgap legislation (HR 4998 — PL 96-161) to extend the special services until March 31, 1980, giving the Banking panels time to consider the other provisions.

The accounts that Congress was fighting to save had been ruled illegal in federal court on grounds they had no basis in law. The court gave Congress until Dec. 31 to authorize the popular services.

They included the automatic transfer of funds from savings to checking accounts at banks; remote service units for the withdrawal of funds from savings and loans; and check-like "share draft" accounts at credit unions.

The temporary measure also authorized interest-bearing NOW (negotiable order of withdrawal) accounts in New Jersey, overrode state usury laws on mortgages until March 31, and provided a 90-day override of state usury laws on business and agricultural loans over $25,000 in size (a one and one-half year override if the ceiling was imposed by state constitution).

Congress sent the stopgap legislation to President Carter Dec. 19, after shipping it four times between the two chambers for amendment. The House initially struck the usury override from the bill, but later agreed to a Senate modification.

Background

The banking debate was ignited when the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit ruled April 20 that several bank regulatory agencies had exceeded their

authority in allowing commercial banks, savings and loan associations and credit unions to offer what amounted to interest-bearing checking accounts. Banks had been prohibited from paying interest on checking accounts since 1933.

The court ruling in turn renewed the continuing controversy over "Regulation Q," which set interest rate ceilings on different types of accounts, and allowed savings and loan associations to pay 0.25 percent more in interest than commercial banks. *(Regulation Q extension, banking law changes, 1978 Almanac p. 301)*

Regulatory agencies had been edging away from the prohibition against interest-bearing checking accounts for some time. They had allowed depository institutions to take a variety of steps to circumvent the prohibition:

- Beginning in 1972, savings banks in some states had been allowed to offer NOW accounts — essentially checking accounts that provide interest. By 1979, NOW accounts were allowed on an experimental basis in all the New England states and in New York.
- Credit unions were first allowed to offer "share draft accounts" — also like checking accounts — beginning in 1974.
- Also in 1974, the first "remote service unit" was approved for a savings bank. They are essentially automatic teller devices installed at commercial locations such as supermarkets. They allow customers to withdraw cash from savings accounts at the scene of a major purchase, thus providing much the same benefit as a checking account.
- Beginning in 1975, "telephone transfer accounts" — allowing people to shift money from interest-bearing savings accounts into checking accounts — were approved for commercial banks. They enable people holding checking accounts to keep only enough money in non-interest bearing accounts to cover actual payments.
- Finally, in 1978, commercial banks and mutual savings banks were authorized to transfer funds automatically from savings to checking accounts.

Court Action

The various regulatory actions prompted a series of lawsuits that culminated in the April 20 appeals court decision.

The court ruled simultaneously on three cases:

- A suit by the U.S. League of Savings and Loan Associations trying to block Federal Reserve Board approval of automatic transfer services for commercial banks.
- One by the American Bankers Association against a National Credit Union Administration rule approving share drafts for credit unions.
- One by the Independent Bankers Association of America against a Federal Home Loan Bank Board regulation allowing savings and loan associations to open remote service units.

The three-judge panel warned that the regulatory decisions tended to make three "separate and distinct types of financial institutions . . . virtually identical . . . all without the benefit of congressional consideration and statutory enactment."

But the court acknowledged that "enormous investments" had already been made by banks to install new equipment to provide the new services. To avoid a "disruption," it delayed the effective date of its decision until Jan. 1, 1980, "in the expectation that the Congress will declare its will upon these matters."

Lawmakers were under pressure to avert the court decision because a lot of money and many depositors would be affected. Specifically:

- At the close of 1978, just two months after automatic funds transfer service was first approved, about 5,000 commercial banks held $3.3 billion in 420,000 such accounts. By April 25, 1979, balances in automatic transfer accounts had grown to $6.4 billion.
- There were about 800,000 share draft accounts totaling $720 million in approximately 740 credit unions by the end of 1978. There were about 400,000 share draft accounts in 600 state credit unions.
- The Federal Home Loan Bank Board had authorized about 200 federally chartered savings and loan associations to operate remote service units. The units had access to $2.6 billion in savings accounts.

Administration Recommendations

The court decision coincided with the completion of work by an administration task force assessing Regulation Q. After reviewing the task force's work, President Carter May 22 urged Congress to enact "comprehensive financial reform legislation." *(Text of message, p. 33-E)*

Specifically, the president recommended:

- Allowing all federally insured institutions to offer interest-bearing checking accounts.
- Letting all deposit interest rates rise to market levels.
- Allowing all federally chartered savings institutions to offer variable rate mortgages.
- Permitting federally chartered savings institutions to invest up to 10 percent of their assets in consumer loans.

House Action

Acting to head off the court decision, the House passed HR 4986 Sept. 11 by a 367-39 vote under suspension of the rules, a shortcut procedure that precludes amendments and required a two-thirds vote for passage. *(Vote 413, p. 120-H)*

The bill, approved by the Banking Committee on a 35-4 vote without a formal report, provided legislative authorization for the services that would be blocked by the decision and also extended NOW account authority nationwide.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Banking Committee reported its version of HR 4986 Oct. 15 (S Rept 96-368), after adding two controversial amendments that would:

- Increase the ceiling on deposit interest rates one half percentage point annually between 1982 and 1989, after which the ceiling would be completely removed. The existing ceiling was 5.25 percent on regular checking accounts at commercial banks, and 5.5 percent at savings and loan associations.
- Decrease to $1,000 from $10,000 the minimum denomination of "money market certificates" — six-month certificates whose interest rate was tied to that on U.S. Treasury notes. That change had been aggressively sought by representatives of "small savers," who wanted people with smaller accounts to be able to benefit from high market-level interest rates.

The financial community was divided on the question of interest-bearing checking accounts. While some wanted the new accounts, others had resisted their introduction.

Opposition from savings and loan associations in California had been particularly strong, and Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., convinced the Senate committee to exempt them from the provision allowing NOW accounts. Cranston's amendment would require the California Legislature to approve the accounts before they could be offered in that state.

Beyond that, savings and loan associations were jittery about the increase in interest rate ceilings because eventually it would deprive them of the .25 percentage point "differential" — extra interest — they were allowed to offer on top of what commercial banks could pay on deposits. Under the Senate committee bill, the differential would cease to have any meaning once interest rates were increased to market levels.

The Senate panel's bill included a provision authorizing bank regulatory agencies to postpone scheduled increases in the interest rate ceilings if economic conditions — the health of savings and loan associations — justified it.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed its version of HR 4986 Nov. 1 by a lopsided 76-9 vote, after four days of floor action and two dozen amendments. *(Vote 380, p. 63-S)*

Most changes were "housekeeping" in nature — clarifying language in the bill or making certain provisions contingent upon the phase-out of Regulation Q.

But Robert Morgan, D-N.C., succeeded in stripping the bill of a provision that would have authorized the Federal Reserve to set reserve requirements for all banks that offered NOW accounts, even if they were not members of the Federal Reserve System.

He also won a change in the provision requiring bank regulators to lower the minimum denomination of money market certificates from $10,000 to $1,000.

Morgan called that measure "devastating to the homebuilding business in America" and "devastating to the savings and loan industry," because it would drain funds out of savings accounts used to finance mortgages.

Banking Committee Chairman William Proxmire, D-Wis., agreed to a compromise that would require bank regulators to lower the minimum denomination to $1,000 "as soon as feasible" unless the decrease posed an economic threat to savings and loans.

Under the compromise, a decrease could be vetoed by any of the three regulatory agencies concerned: the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB) or the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (FDIC).

The FHLBB, which regulates savings and loans, opposed dropping the denomination of money market certificates.

Morgan Substitute

Morgan lost his bid, however, to scale down the committee bill with a substitute authorizing depository institutions to offer share drafts, automatic transfer service and remote service units — the specific practices barred by the court decision.

It also included Senate-approved amendments to override state usury laws, update truth-in-lending laws and increase federal deposit insurance.

The substitute omitted Banking Committee provisions to authorize nationwide NOW accounts, phase out Regulation Q and lower the minimum denomination of money market certificates.

Proxmire argued that Morgan's proposal "preserves the status quo with all of its unfairness and inefficiency."

"Senator Morgan's amendment is one-sided," he said. "It overrides mortgage ceilings, giving higher rates, but does nothing for the saver."

Proxmire moved to table the amendment, and won 57-38. *(Vote 375, p. 62-S)*

Morgan subsequently sought approval of an amendment to permit states to determine whether to allow NOW accounts. That was rejected, 37-51. *(Vote 378, p. 63-S)*

Non-Member Reserves

Fed Chairman Paul A. Volcker supported Morgan's amendment to delete the committee provision extending reserve requirements to non-member banks that offered NOW accounts. It was adopted 66-18. *(Vote 379, p. 63-S)*

Morgan said the proposal was a "substantial departure" from current policy and should be considered as a separate bill. "Let us wait and let the entire Banking Committee work its will first," he said.

Proxmire argued that "we should not create new checking account authority without giving the Federal Reserve adequate authority to control the money supply."

Other Amendments

Other amendments adopted included those offered by:

- Thad Cochran, R-Miss., to override state usury laws on business and agricultural loans over $25,000, as provided for residential mortgage loans by the committee bill.

Cochran said the amendment — accepted by a 73-13 vote — was needed to assure availability of credit in 24 states that limited the amount of interest state financial institutions could charge on loans.

Under this provision, state legislatures would have the right to enact new interest rate ceilings at any time. *(Vote 371, p. 62-S)*

Cochran's amendment cleared Congress as separate legislation (HR 2515 — PL 96-104) the same day the Senate passed the banking reform bill.

- Jake Garn, R-Utah, ranking Republican on the Banking Committee, to revise truth-in-lending regulations.

Proxmire said Garn's package of four amendments was designed to "provide a much better and improved system for the consumer to understand what his true annual rate is, what his finance charge is and to be able to shop and act on that basis."

The amendments would make restitution to victims of dishonest lending practices available immediately; would provide regulatory agencies "greater flexibility" n reviewing truth-in-lending violations; allow lenders a one-quarter-point error rate on interest rates and finance charges; and bar investigators from probing possible lending violations more than about one-and-a-half years old.

- Cranston, to authorize savings and loans to issue credit cards and provide overdraft accounts.
- Cranston, to increase the maximum federal deposit insurance from $40,000 to $50,000 per account.
- John Tower, R-Texas, to authorize savings and loans to invest in certain types of money market funds. Currently, they must purchase securities separately.

"It would be particularly useful to small savings and loans who may not be able to devote the necessary time and expense to managing a sophisticated and high-yielding securities portfolio," Tower said.

- Donald Stewart, D-Ala., to prohibit state-chartered trust companies from acquiring operations in other states, a

prohibition the bill already applied to nationally chartered institutions.

Agreed to by a 61-32 vote, his amendment was a substitute for one offered by Adlai E. Stevenson, D-Ill., which would have deleted the entire section of the bill dealing with interstate trust operations. *(Vote 376, p. 62-S)*

Stevenson's amendment was supported by senators from big banking states; Stewart's by lawmakers where state banks might be threatened by an influx of large, national banks.

- John Heinz, R-Pa., to place a six-month moratorium on the purchase of U.S. banks by foreign companies. Heinz said his amendment would stop "the invasion of our shores by foreign banking interests."
- Tsongas, to permit federal mutual savings banks to accept deposits from any source and to use up to 20 percent of their assets for any type of investment subject to approval of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

By phasing out interest rate controls, Tsongas said, the bill would require thrift institutions to pay flexible market rates of interest to their depositors, but invest only in long-term fixed rate mortgages. "It is questionable whether the savings bank industry can remain competitive under such restrictions," he said.

Morgan amended Tsongas' measure by extending the new authority to all federally chartered savings and loans. Then, however, he spoke against his own amendment, calling it a "bad precedent."

"But it is going to conference and the problems of the senator from Massachusetts and my concern about the fairness of treating savings banks differently from other thrifts can be considered then," Morgan said.

- Morgan, to allow the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to vary the reserves it requires member institutions to maintain from 3 to 6 percent of all insured accounts. Existing law set the reserve requirement at 5 percent.

Senate, House Bills Compared

As passed by the Senate Nov. 1, the "Depository Institutions Deregulation Act of 1979," was far broader than the version of HR 4986 originally passed by the House Sept. 11.

Like the House bill, it authorized four types of interest-bearing checking services:

- NOW accounts, used by savings and loan associations and commercial banks.
- Check-like "share drafts," used by credit union customers.
- Remote service units, deposit-withdrawal machines operated at commercial sites by savings and loans.
- Automatic funds transfer systems, which bank customers use to switch money from savings accounts to checking accounts.

In addition, the Senate bill:

- Phased out interest rate ceilings on savings accounts over the next 10 years.
- Gave savings and loans and credit unions limited consumer and commercial lending authority.
- Lowered the minimum denomination of money market certificates from $10,000 to $1,000.
- Increased the ceiling on federal deposit insurance from $40,000 to $50,000.
- Simplified truth-in-lending regulations. The Senate had passed the truth-in-lending provisions as separate legislation (S 108) May 1. *(Story, Transportation chapter)*
- Overrode state usury ceilings on mortgage, business and agricultural loans.

It also exempted California savings and loan institutions from offering NOW accounts — a provision sought by Alan Cranston, D-Calif.

President Carter Nov. 2 praised the Senate-passed legislation as "critically important" for small savers and urged conferees to quickly resolve differences between that bill and the version approved by the House.

House Attaches Fed Membership Bill

Following Senate approval of its sweeping measure, the House Banking Committee decided to attach the text of House-passed Federal Reserve membership legislation (HR 7) to the interest-bearing checking account bill. The House approved that move Nov. 7 and requested a conference on the combined measures.

"What we do today is a kind of machete to cut off the extraneous Christmas tree limbs that the Senate has unfortunately put on the Consumer Equity Act," Banking Chairman Henry S. Reuss, D-Wis., told the House.

As passed by the House July 20 on a 340-20 vote, HR 7 provided a "voluntary" plan to reinforce the Federal Reserve Board's control over bank reserves, as opposed to the "mandatory" plan recommended by the Banking Committee (H Rept 96-263). *(Vote 334, p. 98-H)*

At issue was the amount of bank deposits that should be subject to Federal Reserve Board reserve requirements. Under existing law, the board was allowed to impose such requirements — specifying what percentage of deposits should be held in reserve rather than being reinvested — only on its 5,664 members. But the total amount of deposits subject to the requirements had been declining as more and more banks decided to drop their membership. The board claimed that weakened its ability to control the nation's money supply.

To solve the problem, the board asked Congress for authority to impose reserve requirements on all banks — including non-members. The House Banking Committee endorsed that approach.

But Banking Committee Republicans, led by J. William Stanton, R-Ohio, argued that such a "universal mandatory reserve" scheme should be rejected in favor of a "voluntary" approach. They were supported by the American Bankers Association. On July 20, Reuss agreed to their scheme, with a few minor amendments.

As approved by the House, HR 7 reduced existing reserve requirements for Federal Reserve member banks in order to induce them to stay in the system. Only if the erosion of membership continued — and the total amount of bank deposits subject to reserve requirements thus kept falling — would the bill impose mandatory requirements on all banks.

Conference Impasse

"The irresistible force seems to have met the immovable object," concluded House Banking Chairman Reuss, as conferees failed to reach a compromise during an initial session Dec. 5.

The irresistible force was the House provision designed to encourage membership in the Federal Reserve System.

The immovable object was the Senate provision to phase out interest rate ceilings under Regulation Q.

Unable to reach agreement on these issues, Senate and House conferees quickly decided to extend the special checking accounts for 90 days, deferring further conference action on HR 4986 until 1980. ▮

IRS Tax Regulation Curbs

Before leaving for the Christmas holidays, Congress approved a bill (HR 5224 — PL 96-167) to prohibit the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) from changing the rules on the taxation of fringe benefits and commuting expenses and the status of independent contractors.

The legislation barred the IRS from issuing tax regulations governing fringe benefits and commuting expenses until June 1, 1981, and from changing the tax status of independent contractors until Dec. 31, 1980.

In order to clear the measure, the Senate Dec. 20 agreed to a House amendment extending until Jan. 1, 1981, a law allowing state legislators to deduct business expenses, such as travel and housing costs associated with time spent in the state capital. President Carter signed the bill Dec. 29.

Congress also approved a one-year extension, through Jan. 1, 1979, of the state legislators provision in separate legislation (HR 3091 — PL 96-178). However, that bill's provision was superseded by the provision in HR 5224.

The original House version of HR 5224 (H Rept 96-448), passed by a 347-14 vote Oct. 9, barred IRS regulations on fringe benefits and commuting expenses, and extended the existing rule for taxation of state legislators' travel expenses. *(Vote 483, p. 142-H)*

The Senate version of HR 5224 (S Rept 96-433), passed by voice vote Dec. 7, deleted the provision dealing with legislators' travel expenses but added six other extension provisions, including the ban on independent contractor rules, and five "non-controversial" simplification amendments which the House had passed separately Oct. 30 (HR 5505 — H Rept 96-545).

Background

Fringe Benefits. The fringe benefit issue had vexed Congress since at least 1975, when the Treasury Department first proposed a series of regulations establishing how to tax them. The U.S. Supreme Court had ruled that fringe benefits should be taxed as regular income, but Congress and the executive branch were unable to agree on how to do so.

The Treasury Department's proposed regulations aroused considerable opposition and were never implemented. In 1978, Congress agreed (PL 95-427) to prohibit issuance of final regulations before 1980. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 270)*

Commuting Expenses. In the same 1978 law, Congress prohibited the Treasury Department from issuing final regulations governing the deductibility of commuting expenses. Transportation expenses were generally considered non-deductible if the taxpayer was going to his principal place of work from his residence, while transportation costs to temporary worksites were deductible. The Treasury Department had suggested making all commuting expenses non-deductible.

Legislators' Travel Expenses. The issue involving state legislators stemmed from a special rule Congress adopted in 1976 governing their deductions for away-from-home living expenses. In general, taxpayers were allowed deductions for business-related travel expenses away from their principal residences. In 1976, Congress agreed to let state legislators decide to designate their homes in their legislative districts their principal residences — even if they spent most time elsewhere — and to make travel expense deductions accordingly.

The special rule had been extended twice, most recently (PL 95-258) through 1977. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 101)*

Independent Contractors. The Treasury Department claimed that millions of dollars in revenue were lost every year because so-called independent contractors, or the self-employed, did not pay federal income or Social Security taxes. In order to remedy this problem, Treasury proposed to issue regulations requiring independent contractors to withold 10 percent of their income. Many members of Congress contended this would place an unfair burden on independent businessmen.

In order to give lawmakers time to devise a legislative solution, Congress in 1978 barred changes in the tax status of independent contractors before Jan. 1, 1980, but it did not come up with permanent rules by that date. *(1978 Almanac p. 219)* ∎

Tax-Exempt Mortgage Bonds

No issue plagued the House Ways and Means Committee more consistently in 1979 than legislation to cut back the use of tax-exempt bonds to subsidize home mortgages.

After several revisions and attempts to get a bill before the House, the committee Dec. 3 reported a measure (HR 5741 — H Rept 96-678) that would give House members the option of voting 1) to restrict the use of tax-free mortgage bonds to aid low-income buyers or 2) to provide a savings incentive — $100 of savings account interest tax-free. However, the Rules Committee did not clear the bill for floor action in the first session.

On Oct. 23, the Rules Committee had voted to grant a rule on mortgage bonds that would have permitted the House to approve both programs. But the government's revenue loss would have been so large if the House accepted both plans that Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman, D-Ore., asked that the bill be sent back to Ways and Means, and the Rules Committee agreed.

The Senate took no action on mortgage bonds in 1979, but a tax exemption for savings account interest won overwhelming Senate approval Dec. 17.

The proposal, which was attached to the oil windfall profits tax bill (HR 3919) by a 94-4 vote, would exempt from taxes the first $201 a year ($400 for joint returns) in savings account interest and investment dividends. *(Vote 481, p. 80-S; windfall profits, Energy chapter)*

Ways and Means Action

The Ways and Means Committee Nov. 16 approved HR 5741 — which had been introduced late in October by Ullman, Barber B. Conable Jr., R-N.Y., and W. Henson Moore, R-La — after adding two key committee amendments.

The measure would do away entirely with the mortgage bond program, under which cities and states sold tax-free bonds to raise money for home mortgages. It would, however, allow a generous transition period to allow bond issues already "in the pipeline" to go forward. In its stead, the bill would create a tax incentive for savings, allowing the first $100 of interest from a savings account ($200 in the case of couples) to be tax free if the funds were used for home purchases.

But, in a maneuver designed to give the House an opportunity to make a choice between those plans, the committee also approved an amendment that would scrap the savings incentives and at least temporarily preserve the mortgage bond program.

The amendment, introduced by Thomas J. Downey, D-N.Y., was, in essence, the bill originally reported by the Ways and Means Committee Aug. 31 (HR 3712 — H Rept 96-414) with several modifications, plus a provision that knocked out the savings incentive plan.

HR 3712 restricted the use of tax-free mortgage bonds to low-income buyers. It also contained a sunset provision, killing the entire program after three years. The Downey amendment limited the program to two years and allowed one-third of the mortgages issued in target, or blighted, areas to be made regardless of the income earned by the home buyer. Under the provisions of the original bill, home buyers using money from the tax-exempt mortgage bond program could not have an income higher than 115 percent of the area's median income; in target areas the income ceiling was set at 140 percent of the median income.

The committee also adopted a second amendment that would substantially liberalize the transition rules for mortgage bonds already in the pipeline — those issues that were under way on April 25 when the first mortgage bond bill was introduced.

The Ways and Means Committee agreed to ask the Rules Committee to grant a closed rule for the bill — just allowing votes on the two committee amendments.

The Rules Committee Dec.20 approved the Ways and Means Committee's request with one exception — a separate vote was to be allowed on an amendment to give the state of Kansas the opportunity to come under the transition rules for pending bond issues even though it missed the April 25 date. The first vote would be on the Downey amendment. A vote for Downey would be a vote to phase out the mortgage bond program and to reject the savings incentive tax break. That was the majority position of the Ways and Means Committee.

If the House rejected Downey, it could then pass the bill, thereby approving the savings incentive plan. ▮

Inheritance Taxation

Congress in 1979 determined to undo the "carryover basis" rule of inheritance taxation — one of the pre-eminent tax "reforms" it had enacted in 1976.

The Senate Nov. 19 attached an amendment to repeal the rule to the windfall profits tax bill (HR 3919). The amendment, adopted by an 81-4 vote, previously had been endorsed by the Senate Finance Committee. *(Vote 413, p. 69-S; windfall profits bill, Energy chapter)*

The House version of the bill did not include carryover basis repeal, but more than half of the members of the House had sponsored repeal legislation. And on Dec. 18 the House voted 326-77 to instruct its conferees to go along with the Senate repeal of carryover. On Dec.20 House members agreed in conference to do away with carryover basis. *(Vote 657, p. 194-H)*

Under the carryover basis rule, which was scheduled to take effect Jan. 1, 1980, those who inherited property would have to pay capital gains taxes on the difference between the original purchase price of the property and the price when it was sold by the heir. Existing law required capital gains taxes only on the difference between the value of the property when it was inherited and when it was sold. *(Background, 1976 Almanac p. 41)*

In 1978, Congress had delayed implementation of carryover until Dec. 31, 1979. *(1978 Almanac p. 224)*

The Carter administration opposed repeal of the provision but supported legislation (HR 4694) introduced by Rep. Joseph L. Fisher, D-Va., that would clarify some of the complex language contained in the 1976 law, make carryover easier to administer and greatly limit the number of taxpayers to whom carryover basis would apply. ▮

Foreign Real Estate Taxes

The Senate Finance Committee Dec. 15 reported legislation (HR 2297 — S Rept 96-504) to close a tax loophole that permitted foreigners to sell U.S. real estate and escape paying capital gains taxes American sellers would have to pay.

The measure, substituted for the text of an unrelated House-passed bill, would require foreigners to pay taxes when they made a profit selling real estate. The House Ways and Means Committee was working on a similar measure.

At the same time it voted to impose capital gains taxes on foreign real estate investors, the Senate panel agreed to an amendment that would repeal the existing 30 percent withholding tax on interest paid to foreigners on investments that were sold in foreign capital markets. The repeal, which would cost the Treasury an estimated $34 billion in 1980, was designed to make U.S. investments more attractive in the international market.

Under the proposal approved by the Finance Committee, buyers of real estate owned by foreigners would be required to withhold 28 percent of the purchase price, or the tax on the seller's gains plus the amount of any tax not paid on a previous sale of the property, whichever was less.

The withholding requirement would be waived if the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) issued a certificate confirming that there was no gain on the sale or that adequate security had already been provided to the IRS.

Withholding would also be waived if the foreigner sold his personal residence, and the price was below $150,000.

The tax would apply to all real estate sales after 1979. However, if the provision conflicted with an existing U.S. treaty obligation, it would not take effect until after 1984 — giving the Treasury Department ample time to renegotiate the treaty. ▮

Renegotiation Board Demise

The Renegotiation Board, set up in 1951 to renegotiate defense and space contracts whose profits were deemed excessive, closed its doors March 31 when its funding expired. It fell victim to heavy lobbying by the defense industry. Senators from states with large defense contractors, including Majority Whip Alan Cranston, D-Calif., worked to kill the board.

By a 28-56 vote, the Senate April 2 rejected a motion by William Proxmire, D-Wis., to grant the board a two-month reprieve, to June 30. Proxmire's move was in the form of an amendment to a bill (S 349) extending the Coun-

cil on Wage and Price Stability. *(Vote 34, p. 8-S; Wage-Price Council, this chapter)*

Set up during the Korean War, the board claimed to have recouped $1.3 billion in excess profits for the government, while spending only $100 million itself. *(Background, Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 334)*

Opponents said the reverse was true. They reasoned that reporting requirements and other costs of compliance totaled as much as $400 million yearly. The federally imposed extra costs were passed along to the government, the industry contended.

By the time it expired, the agency had accumulated a backlog of 6,000 cases, despite its nearly 200 employees and $6 million annual budget. Opponents pointed to the backlog as evidence of the board's "ineptness."

Defenders said the agency needed more staff and power to do its job. "To dismantle the machinery that exists for recapturing excess defense contracts would be a disastrous mistake for Congress and taxpayers," Proxmire said. President Carter backed the extension.

The board always had a precarious lease on life. Since its inception it had been reauthorized 13 times. Its authority ended Sept. 30, 1976, but Congress continued to grant it money to clean up the case backlog. *(Previous extension efforts, 1977 Almanac p. 816, 1976 Almanac p. 510)* ▮

Treasury Cash Requirements

President Carter signed into law June 8 a two-year extension of the Treasury's authority to borrow from the Federal Reserve to obtain cash to meet its short-term needs.

This "draw authority," first enacted in 1942 and extended 22 times previously, permits the Treasury Department to operate with lower cash balances than otherwise would be required and assures that the Treasury will be able to raise cash quickly in emergencies. The authority had expired April 30.

The extension bill (HR 3404 — PL 96-18) set up a new procedure under which the Treasury in routine circumstances could borrow securities from Federal Reserve banks and then sell them on the open market. It would have to repurchase the securities and return them to the Federal Reserve within six months.

Previous law permitted the Treasury to borrow cash from the Federal Reserve by selling securities to it. Under HR 3404, that system could be used only in "unusual and exigent circumstances," when authorized by at least five members of the Federal Reserve Board.

Legislative History

Congress completed action on HR 3404 May 24 when the Senate passed the House version of the bill by voice vote. The House had passed HR 3404 May 23 by a 316-75 vote. Prior to passage, the House adopted amendments that limited the extension to two years from the date of enactment and imposed a $5 billion ceiling on the aggregate amount which could be lent at any one time. As reported by the House Banking Committee May 1 (H Rept 96-111), the bill had provided for a five-year extension and a $15 billion loan ceiling. The House had rejected that version May 7 when it was brought to the floor under suspension of the rules, a procedure that precluded floor amendments. The vote was 175-195. *(Passage, vote 154, p. 50-H; previous rejection, vote 108, p. 38-H)* ▮

Trade Adjustment Assistance

Congress did not complete action in 1979 on legislation authorizing additional aid for workers and firms injured by import competition. The bill (HR 1543) was passed by the House May 30, but the Senate did not take up the version of the measure reported by the Finance Committee Oct. 30.

Similar legislation passed both chambers in 1978 but died in the final hours of the 95th Congress. *(1978 Almanac p. 279)*

As authorized in the 1974 Trade Act (PL 93-618), the adjustment assistance program provided extra unemployment and retraining benefits for workers displaced by imports and made loans, loan guarantees and special tax deductions available to firms adversely affected by imports. *(Background, 1974 Almanac p. 553)*

House Action

As reported by the Ways and Means Committee March 20 (H Rept 96-57) and passed by voice vote of the House May 30, HR 1543 extended trade adjustment assistance for the first time to workers and firms that made component parts for products displaced by imports. It also eased eligibility requirements and extended benefit periods for displaced workers and expanded technical and financial assistance for import-impacted firms.

The principal budgetary effect of the legislation stemmed from its worker assistance provisions, which had an estimated cost of $177 million in fiscal 1980. The Carter administration objected to the additional cost, but the House Budget Committee backed the bill.

Major provisions of the House-passed bill:

- Extended coverage to workers: 1) in eligible firms that provided parts or services for import-impacted products; 2) laid off from import-impacted firms as a result of union seniority rights; or 3) employed at least 26 of the 52 weeks or 40 of the 104 weeks immediately preceding layoff with more than one import-impacted firm. Benefits would also become available to workers who were unaware of the one-year time limit for filing petitions after being laid off.
- Extended benefit periods an additional 26 weeks, up to a maximum of 104 weeks, for workers in retraining programs and workers age 60 or over.
- Increased job search and relocation allowances for workers.
- Established demonstration projects in trade-impacted areas to test vouchers as an alternative to encourage worker retraining.
- Extended coverage to eligible firms that supplied component parts or services for import-impacted products.
- Provided technical assistance to firms to help prepare their petitions for assistance and to firms unable to prepare economic adjustment plans without outside help.
- Raised the ceiling on the government share of the cost of technical assistance from 75 to 90 percent.
- Lowered the interest rate on direct loans to a rate set by the Treasury secretary or the average annual interest rate on all U.S. bonds and notes.
- Raised the ceiling on direct loans from $1 million to $3 million and the limit on loan guarantees from $3 million to $5 million.
- Allowed workers and firms to become eligible on the basis of threatened as well as actual decline in sales or production of the firm.

• Authorized the secretaries of labor and commerce to initiate petitions on behalf of workers or firms.

• Established industry-wide technical assistance, including grants to labor and industry associations for measures to improve the economic efficiency of trade-impacted industries and studies by the Commerce Department to determine the causes of their competitive problems.

Senate Committee Action

In reporting the bill Oct. 30 (S Rept 96-385), the Finance Committee made two changes in the House version.

The committee dropped a House provision that permitted any group of workers laid off after October 1974 and before November 1977 to file for benefits if they had not filed for them before. The provision was a response to criticisms that the program was inadequately publicized and that many groups had not filed for relief because they were unaware of the program's existence.

The committee also dropped the alternative test in the House bill that extended benefits to workers who had been employed 40 of the 104 weeks immediately preceding layoff with more than one firm (as an alternative to 26 out of the previous 52 weeks immediately preceding layoff).

The committee said it felt that test "would not require sufficient attachment to the labor force and would be too costly." ▮

Banking Law Correction

Congress early in 1979 corrected a technical deficiency in major banking reform legislation hastily passed in a last-minute flurry on the final day of the 95th Congress.

The bill (S 37 — PL 96-3) freed financial institutions of a requirement that they inform all their customers of their legal rights under the new law (PL 95-630). The Senate passed the bill (S Rept 96-5) by voice vote Feb. 9, and the House passed it by a 362-5 vote Feb. 27, completing congressional action. *(Vote 13, p. 4-H)*

The repealed section of the law would have required financial institutions to inform all their customers of their rights to privacy — even though their records might not actually be sought by any law enforcement agency.

Lawmakers agreed that the requirement would be very costly to banks, and not particularly beneficial to customers since other sections of the act not affected by the correction measure established rules for informing customers whose records were sought by law enforcement agencies of their rights. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 300)* ▮

Balanced Budget Movement

Congress spent much of 1979 trying to figure out what to do about growing demands for a balanced federal budget, which were viewed as an expression of the anti-spending, anti-Washington temper of the times.

The chief promoter of the balanced budget movement, the National Taxpayers Union, had been campaigning since 1975 for a constitutional convention to write an amendment that would require a balanced federal budget. The organization claimed that 30 of the required 34 states had issued a call for such a convention by the end of 1979. *(Constitutional convention, Law Enforcement chapter)*

While polls showed that Americans overwhelmingly supported a balanced-budget amendment, most economists considered it simplistic at best and, at worst, potentially disastrous. Liberals complained that it would "handcuff" Congress, making it unable to fight unemployment and recession. But some conservatives warned that it could fail to achieve its key objective — reducing the size of government.

By year's end, a balanced-budget amendment had won Senate subcommittee backing. Meanwhile other lawmakers continued searching for a politically palatable alternative.

Constitutional Amendment. The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution approved a balanced-budget constitutional amendment by a 5-2 vote Dec. 19.

Drafted by Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, and introduced by Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., the amendment would allow deficit spending only when authorized by a three-fifths vote of each house or by a simple majority in times of war.

The amendment was opposed by Subcommittee Chairman Birch Bayh, D-Ind., who proposed his own legislation to limit government spending and taxes. Bayh argued that his measure would go into law quicker than a constitutional amendment, which must be approved by two-thirds of each chamber of Congress and 38 states.

Under Bayh's plan, the president would be required to submit a balanced budget to Congress. And spending and tax revenues under that budget would be limited to 20 percent of the gross national product (GNP). In fiscal 1979, federal spending, including spending by off-budget agencies, amounted to 21.9 percent of GNP, while tax receipts stood at 20.1 percent of GNP.

Giaimo Bill. In the House, Budget Committee Chairman Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., introduced legislation (HR 6021) Dec. 4 that would limit federal spending, including tax expenditures, to 27.5 percent of GNP by fiscal 1983. Giaimo's bill also would place a ceiling on government loan and loan guarantee programs.

The proposal surfaced just one week after final action on the long-overdue second budget resolution for 1980. That spending guide allowed an outlay hike of $15.6 billion over the first target resolution but did not contain enforcement language that would have required committees to live within the limits set in the budget. *(Budget resolution, p. 163)*

"I have long been troubled by the gap between congressional rhetoric on the need to exercise fiscal restraint and congressional performance in voting on specific spending bills," Giaimo said. "I have become convinced that unless we devise stricter controls, we will not get a firm grip on federal spending."

Credited with initiating such legislation was Rep. James R. Jones, D-Okla., who had introduced his own spending limit plan (HR 5371) earlier in 1979.

House leadership had promised a vote on his measure by the end of the year — a tradeoff for support the Oklahoman garnered for the troubled second budget resolution — but that vote was postponed until 1980, pending a review of spending limit proposals by a special Rules Committee panel. Similar hearings were planned by the Senate Budget Committee.

In other action, Congress added balanced budget-spending restraint language to bills increasing the federal debt limit and extending the Council on Wage and Price Stability. *(Stories, pp. 305, 308)*

The Senate rejected revenue limitation amendments to the windfall profits tax bill. *(Story, Energy chapter)* ▮

Agriculture

Farm income and productivity showed healthy increases in 1979, but America's international troubles and double-digit inflation impinged sharply on farmers.

Net farm income was $32 billion for 1978-79 and was forecast at $38 billion for 1979-80, both record highs. But because of uncontrollable "overhead" production costs, those levels might not soon be repeated, the Agriculture Department (USDA) warned. At year's end, department economists predicted a 20 percent drop in farm income.

Arab oil price increases and domestic oil shortages worsened by Iran's lengthy production cutoff helped drive the prices of petroleum-based fertilizers and pesticides upward. Overall farm production costs rose 16 percent, driven up by the petroleum prices, ever-higher interest rates and high beef feeder cattle prices.

A record $34.7 billion in farm exports was a major factor in the income rise.

The Agriculture Department released early predictions of a poor Soviet wheat crop, which pushed market prices up by as much as $1 a bushel compared to a year earlier, and farmers sold high when the Russians began buying.

The sequence was quite different from 1972, when massive, surreptitious Soviet wheat purchases left farmers feeling that major grain exporters had profited unfairly.

But the future of farm exports clouded by the end of the year. Rumors began circulating in commodity markets of an American grain embargo against the Soviet Union to punish the Soviets for their late December invasion of Afghanistan.

The embargo materialized Jan. 4 when President Carter announced that some 17 million tons of feed grains and wheat the Russians had planned to buy would not be delivered. It was a major policy reversal for Carter, who had vowed during his 1976 presidential campaign never to use food as a weapon.

Months earlier, the major export market for American rice, Iran, had decided to buy from other nations because of the Carter administration's refusal to extradite the deposed shah as demanded by militants holding Americans hostage in the American Embassy in Tehran.

The developments disturbed farmers, who said Carter had led them to rely on a steady export growth as a way of maintaining strong prices. They were somewhat mollified by early administration decisions to purchase contracts for the embargoed grain, to sweeten the benefits to farmers putting grain into reserves instead of marketing it and to instigate other price-strengthening measures.

Food for Crude and Gasohol

International developments gave new prominence to two policy options that had been low priority items for Congress but were popular among farmers.

The first proposal was to enact a "barrel of oil for a bushel of grain" law. Supporters insisted that the United States could form a sort of commodity Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to crank up world food prices and retaliate for the price-setting activities of the arab-dominated oil organization.

The notion appealed particularly to the anti-establishment American Agriculture Movement (AAM), but support ranged from lukewarm to nonexistent among established farm groups. In September, the House literally shouted down the idea when Rep. James Weaver, D-Ore., tried to attach a so-called "food for crude" amendment to an export administration bill (HR 4034).

Weaver proposed setting all U.S. food export prices at 80 percent of parity, an index of the buying power of farmers. The substantial increase over current prices would force higher payments from OPEC nations and the Soviet Union, supporters maintained.

But House Agriculture Committee Chairman Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., scoffed at the suggestion that competing grain exporters like Canada, Australia, Argentina and France would go along. The only effect of Weaver's amendment would be to give away "major portions of our primary markets," Foley said. The U.S. commodity market tends to be the price-leader for foreign government grain boards, who set their export prices under U.S. levels.

The second proposal, to boost conversion of farm products and waste to alcohol fuel, received a much warmer reception in Congress. It appeared to offer a comparatively economical way to "stretch" costly petroleum by combining it with gasoline to produce gasohol. And it also held out the possibility of a major new market for farm products.

But critics maintained that it would take more petroleum-based products to grow, harvest and distill the raw materials for gasohol than would be saved after its production.

Nevertheless, both the House and the Senate Agriculture committees reported bills (HR 3905, S 1772) to authorize millions in loans and loan guarantees to create production facilities. The Senate version passed the Senate as a floor amendment to synthetic fuels legislation (S 932) which was pending in conference at the end of the year.

A second major energy bill, the windfall profits tax measure (HR 3919), extended through the year 2000 an existing exemption for gasohol from the four-cents-a-gallon federal excise tax on gasoline. *(Story, p. 601)*

Other Developments

The year began with noisy demonstrations for higher price supports by tractor-riding AAM farmers. It ended with AAM promises to return to Washington.

During the year, Congress all but completed work on bills to raise grain target prices and to continue farm lending programs. Media reports of multimillion-dollar loans, some to such unconventional borrowers as a "tennis ranch," prompted members to put new ceilings on certain types of loans. A major sugar price support bill went down to House defeat, scuttled by consumer and labor opposition.

—By Elizabeth Wehr

Consumer-Labor Votes Kill House Sugar Bill

A broad coalition of consumer and labor groups combined Oct. 23 to kill a House sugar price support bill.

The 158-249 vote against the measure (HR 2172) marked the end of a two-year effort to aid domestic sugar growers. The House in 1978 rejected a similar proposal by 17 votes. *(Vote 529, p. 154-H; 1978 Almanac p. 462)*

The bill's defeat was attributed mainly to consumer attacks against its inflationary impact and labor dissatisfaction with minimum wage provisions. With both groups fighting the proposal, members from the industrial Northeast and urban areas lined up in nearly unanimous opposition. A Congressional Quarterly vote analysis found that urban and suburban district members rejected the bill by an overwhelming 29-126 margin.

Though supporters said the bill's inflationary impact would be negligible because sugar prices had risen above the support level in recent months, many members were apparently wary of casting a vote that could be construed as inflationary.

"The vote looked to the House like a vote against inflation, and many members were eager to cast one of those," said Bill Frenzel, R-Minn.

The 91-vote margin was deceptive, supporters and opponents agreed. The bill would have won another 20 or 30 votes if the House had adopted a key Frenzel amendment. The amendment would have barred direct federal payments to sugar producers. Other members were prepared to vote for the bill as a favor to colleagues, but switched at the last minute when it was apparent HR 2172 would be rejected anyway.

"When you look at the final vote, you must conclude that the votes were never there for a sugar program," Frenzel said.

However, one provision of the bill that implemented the International Sugar Agreement (ISA) was revived when Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, agreed to hold hearings to consider ratification of the agreement. *(Story, p. 332)*

Provisions

As approved by the House Agriculture and Ways and Means committees, HR 2172:

- Imposed import fees on cheaper foreign sugar to provide domestic growers an assured price of 15.8 cents a pound for the 1979 crop year. Further increases up to 7 percent of the assured price would have been permitted in 1980 and 1981.
- Permitted as much as a half-cent a pound in direct federal payments, up to $50,000 per producer.
- Implemented the ISA, which created an international system of export quotas and stockpiling to help keep world sugar prices between 11 and 21 cents a pound.
- Raised the minimum wage to $3.30 per hour for sugar workers, with additional increases for equipment operators.

Background

1978 Proposals. The 1978 battle went down to the final hours of the session Oct. 15. The legislation finally died when the House by a vote of 177-194 rejected the conference report on a compromise bill (HR 13750) that acceded to administration demands to set a relatively low minimum price and eliminate any automatic increases to account for inflation.

The defeat left two issues dangling: Senate approval of the ratification of the ISA and a domestic price support program for sugar, which was due to expire at the end of the 1978 crop year, in September 1979.

The core of the 1978 fight concerned conflicting claims about the costs of producing sugar. Domestic producers pushed hard to set a minimum price for sugar close to their production costs, which they said averaged 17 to 18 cents a pound. Administration spokesmen claimed average production costs were about 15 cents a pound.

A second issue was how to support the price. The administration first proposed setting a target price of about 14 cents a pound (when the market price fell below the target price, producers would be paid the difference) and adjusting it annually to reflect average production costs.

Congress favored using import fees and quotas on foreign sugar to raise the price to 16 or 17 cents, with additional adjustments to reflect inflation. Administration officials later agreed to the fee and tariff approach but wanted direct federal payments to sugar producers rather than automatic inflation adjusters.

A few days after the House rejected HR 13750, Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland announced that the government would revise import fees to support the sugar price for the 1978 crop year at 15 cents a pound.

New Proposals

At first it appeared the impasse might be settled early with Carter apparently rejecting the advice of his anti-inflation advisers and agreeing to a hefty increase in sugar prices.

Prospects for speedy passage of a bill were tempered, however, by administration insistence that a top figure of 15.8 cents a pound would be non-negotiable, though the administration said Congress could also add up to a half-cent a pound direct federal payment.

Foley-Ullman Bill. Under HR 2172 introduced by House Agriculture Committee Chairman Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., and Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman, D-Ore., prices in the 1978 crop year would have been raised to 15.75 cents a pound by increasing the price objective to 15.25 cents through quotas and fees and paying producers a supplementary payment up to one-half cent a pound. In succeeding years the price objective could increase up to 7 percent annually to reflect changes in production costs, and the half-cent supplementary payment would be retained. In the 1979 crop year the price objective could have gone up to about 16.1 cents, plus the half-cent direct payment.

The bill set minimum wage rates for field workers at $3 an hour in 1979, with 20-cent annual increments. It also provided for termination of direct payments and a half-cent increase in the price objective in the event any total payment limitation was imposed, and authorized a four-year loan program for sugar.

Administration Plan. Administration officials planned to use the Foley-Ullman bill as the vehicle for compromise legislation. Agriculture Secretary Bergland spelled out the administration's differences in a March 14 letter to Foley.

Bergland said the administration would accept a price objective of 15.8 cents a pound for 1979 plus a half-cent direct payment, but would oppose any increase for the 1978 crop year.

"The administration will not support an additional increase in the market price objective for 1978 above the current 15-cent level, and it will not support a payment for 1978 crop sugar," Bergland said. "There is no provision in the 1980 budget for the approximately $61 million which such a payment would cost."

Bergland also asked for greater flexibility in the formula for determining increases in the price objective. In addition to cost-of-production data, he said, other factors, such as production of domestic sugar and high fructose corn syrup, the relationship between sweetener supply and demand and the relationship between sweetener supply and imports, should be considered.

Bergland said that if Congress did add direct payments to the price objective in the bill, it should also raise the bill's minimum wage provisions. Administration officials suggested a rate of about $3.30 an hour in 1979, 10 cents above the rate provided in the Foley-Ullman bill.

The administration also asked for authority to waive interest rates on loans in order to give producers an incentive to redeem their stocks and sell at the current market price of about 15 cents. With producers facing an interest charge of about one cent a pound on top of the loan rate of 14.73 cents, administration officials said they feared that much of the $800 million worth of 1978-crop sugar under loan would be forfeited to the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Committee Action

Prospects for early passage dimmed, however, with opposition from corn sweetener producers who opposed direct payment provisions, and from consumer and labor groups.

Agriculture. The Agriculture Committee twice cancelled markup to give industry representatives time to reach a consensus. But it finally voted 29-9 on April 26 to report a bill.

In the key provision on prices, the committee bill as reported May 7 (H Rept 96-125, Part I) stayed within the administration limits. It used fees and quotas on imported sugar to maintain a minimum price pegged to the average cost of production for domestic sugar. It set a price objective of 15 cents a pound for the 1978 crop year and 15.8 cents a pound for 1979, with additional increases up to 7 percent in 1980-81 proportional to increases in the cost of production.

In addition, the bill gave producers in 1979 through 1981 a direct payment of up to a half-cent a pound, with a limit of $50,000 per producer.

The bill also:

- Authorized the president to implement the ISA.
- Authorized the agriculture secretary to impose quantitative restrictions on sugar imports if import duties were insufficient to meet the price objective.
- Set the minimum wage for sugar field workers at $3 an hour for the 1978 crop year and $3.30 an hour for 1979, with increases in 1980 and 1981 proportional to increases in the price objective.

Dissenting Views. The opposition to the bill was reflected in the dissenting views of several members.

"The American consumer now spends $1.3 billion each year to support the price of sugar," said Margaret M. Heckler, R-Mass. "This bill would increase that charge in direct attributable costs by $250 million and by at least another $250 million when those products which are further down the food chain have another penny or four cents tacked onto the price of crackers and soup, jelly and bread, cookies and ice cream, cereal and canned fruit."

The split among sugar producers was demonstrated in the remarks of Hawaii Democrat Daniel K. Akaka, who described the payment limitation provision in HR 2172 as "a serious economic discrimination against Hawaii." Hawaii's 500 small and 15 large producers would receive about $10 million in payments without the $50,000 limitation, but only $1 million with it, Akaka said.

Hawaiian sugar would also be placed at a disadvantage in competing with western beet sugar, he said, since most western beet growers would not be affected by the limitation. Hawaii "would be priced out of the market, because the competition would receive a full subsidy from the government while Hawaii would not," Akaka said.

Trade Subcommittee. The House Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee voted 12-7 on June 27 to approve the bill, after narrowly defeating an amendment to eliminate a half-cent-a-pound direct payment to producers.

While the subcommittee made no major changes in the legislation, several members sharply criticized the bill's inflationary impact and left little doubt that the measure's prospects were very uncertain.

The Trade Subcommittee left the price support provisions intact, but only after defeating by a 7-9 vote an amendment by Frenzel that would have dropped the direct payments provision.

Frenzel said the administration wanted the direct payment "to relieve the cost to the consumer, but the cost was being assessed in another way that I felt most members of the House would find unacceptable. It differentiates between sugar producers and other kinds of producers like corn producers," he said in an interview. "In my judgment it's the wrong way to structure a program. It builds a program which never ends. Producers become reliant on a federal handout and develop a dependency on it, and the bureaucracy becomes dependent on it as well."

W. Henson Moore, R-La., said that without the direct payment the bill would be of little use to small sugar producers in his state.

Ullman argued that "the domestic industry would be on a very marginal basis with 15.8 cents and nothing more."

Subcommittee Chairman Charles A. Vanik, D-Ohio, said he felt the House would consider HR 2172 "too inflationary" and that he didn't think the measure would pass. "The bill needs to be moderated," Vanik said.

Vanik's prediction that HR 2172 would not survive a floor vote was an important factor in his amendment to the first section of the bill, which would have implemented the provisions of the ISA.

The ISA had been threatened with collapse because Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Church held up the ratification process pending passage of a domestic price support program.

Vanik proposed to broaden the agriculture secretary's authority to set import fees for sugar. Under existing law, the fee could not exceed 50 percent of the world sugar price, and the administration had expressed concern that with world prices dropping to 8 cents a pound, it might not be able legally to maintain the current 15-cent price objective.

By dropping that restriction, Vanik said he was providing an "insurance policy." If the House did not support the price support provisions of HR 2172, he said, he would attempt to pass only the first section of the bill, saving the ISA and giving the secretary authority to raise the fees through administrative action.

Vanik won by a vote of 9-6.

The subcommittee by voice vote accepted two changes in the farm labor provisions. The amendments, by Thomas J. Downey, D-N.Y., would:

- Shift responsibility for administration of the minimum wage provisions from the Agriculture Department to the Labor Department.
- Toughen existing child labor laws by forbidding any farm labor by children under 14 and barring children aged 14-16 from working more than eight hours a day unless they were members of the immediate family.

The subcommittee rejected by a 9-10 vote a Vanik amendment to give the administration flexibility to set the loan rate for sugar in a range from 85 to 90 percent of the price objective. HR 2172 provided that the loan rate would be set at 89 percent of the price objective.

Ways and Means. On July 19 the House Ways and Means Committee voted 16-13 to approve the bill after rejecting another Frenzel attempt to drop the direct federal payment by a vote of 12-17.

In reporting the bill July 25 (H Rept 96-125, Part II), Ways and Means left largely unchanged the substance of the measure first approved by the House Agriculture Committee April 26.

Floor Action

Frenzel, renewing his efforts on the floor, argued that direct payments would create a government handout that would be impossible to stop and that price supports should be achieved in the marketplace — where consumers can shop for substitutes — rather than indirectly through taxes.

Supporters, including Foley, said the assured return of 16.3 cents a pound in fees and payments was probably less than average sugar production costs and therefore necessary to help the industry survive, and that payments were used in many other farm programs.

Two opposition leaders — Peter A. Peyser, D-N.Y., and Heckler — urged members who opposed the bill to reject the amendment in order to make the measure as unattractive as possible.

"I had to make a tactical decision, and then convince my friends following my lead on this that this was the way to go," Peyser said. "If we had then lost the bill, it would have been a difficult vote to explain."

The tactic was apparently effective: 73 members voted against the weakening amendment and then voted against the bill. The amendment was rejected, 200-212. The outcome might also have been reversed if sugar producers had been willing to compromise and drop the direct payments, Frenzel said. *(Vote 528, p. 154-S)*

In hindsight, a Foley aide said, "we should have accepted the Frenzel amendment" in an effort to defuse the opposition.

A second Frenzel amendment, to prevent direct payments from ever giving producers an assured return above 16.3 cents a pound, was rejected by a standing vote of 18-62. Foley argued that the proposal would be an administrative nightmare that would cost more to administer than it saved in lower payments. ▮

International Sugar Pact

After the defeat of a sugar price support bill, an administration agreement with key members of Congress led to the ratification of the two-year-old International Sugar Agreement and higher market objectives for domestic sugar farmers.

The treaty had been blocked for almost two years because Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, and other members from sugar-producing states insisted that higher domestic price supports were needed to complement the treaty.

After the House defeat Oct. 23 of HR 2172 that would have raised the support price of sugar and implemented the ISA, Church and others reached an agreement with the administration. *(Sugar bill, p. 330)*

It called for Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland to use existing law to maintain a sugar "market objective" of 15.8 cents a pound — up from 15 cents and the same figure that would have been established for price supports under HR 2172.

In return, Church's committee voted 10-1 Nov. 20 to report the treaty (Exec A, 95th Cong., 2d Sess, Exec Rept 96-15). By a vote of 80 to 11, the Senate Nov. 30 approved the ratification of the ISA. *(Vote 435, p. 73-S)*

The separate implementing legislation (HR 6029) was approved by the House Ways and Means Committee but there was no floor action.

The treaty set an international sugar price range of 11 to 21 cents a pound for participating nations. Members agreed to stockpile sugar when world prices dropped and to release it only when prices rose. They also agreed to restrict sugar imports from non-member nations. Expenses for stockpiling would be defrayed by a fund supported by fees on sugar traded. ▮

Meat Import Quotas

A new countercyclical formula to determine how much unprocessed beef and veal may be imported each year was cleared by Congress Dec. 18 and sent to the president.

The Senate approved the legislation (HR 2727 — PL 96-177) by voice vote, clearing the measure. The House had passed HR 2727 by a vote of 352-48 Nov. 14 after working out compromise language to avoid a presidential veto. *(Vote 586, 174-H)*

President Carter had vetoed a similar bill in 1978, objecting to restrictions on his discretionary authority to suspend quotas and to a 1.2 billion pound floor on meat imports rather than the 1.3 billion pounds he had recommended. *(1978 Almanac p. 460)*

As reported by the House Ways and Means Committee June 6 (H Rept 96-238), HR 2727 contained language on presidential authority acceptable to the administration. And although the bill continued to recommend a 1.2 billion pound floor on imports, the leadership agreed to a floor amendment raising the minimum to 1.25 billion pounds, to which the administration agreed.

The new formula allowed more meat to be imported when domestic supplies were low and prices were rising. When supplies were abundant, the quotas would be lowered.

The existing formula, enacted in the 1964 Meat Import Act (PL 88-482), did just the opposite. *(1964 act, Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 728)*

Supporters argued that the quotas would smooth out fluctuations in domestic meat supplies. Opponents maintained the formula would be inflationary.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, HR 2727 (PL 96-177):

- Directed that a countercyclical formula be used in calculating import quotas.
- Allowed a minimum of 1.25 billion pounds of imported meat regardless of what the formula called for.
- When the formula indicated domestic supplies were plentiful and prices were falling, provided that the president could not increase the annual quota unless: 1) he determined there was a national emergency; 2) he determined there was an inadequate supply — because of natural disaster, disease or major national market disruption — to meet domestic demand at reasonable prices; or 3) mid-year data indicated domestic supplies were decreasing.
- When the formula indicated domestic supplies were low and prices were rising, the president may suspend the quota or increase the total quantity if: 1) such action is required by overriding economic or national security interests; or 2) supply is inadequate to meet domestic needs at reasonable prices.

House Committee Action

An amendment by Ways and Means raised the possibility of a presidential veto for the second year in a row.

The committee modified the restrictions on the president's authority to suspend quotas, but the veto possibility was raised when it again recommended a minimum import level of 1.2 billion pounds.

The committee earlier had rejected by one-vote margins amendments by W. Henson Moore, R-La., to set the level at 1.25 billion pounds, and by Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., to return to the 1.3 billion pound level recommended by the trade subcommittee and the administration.

Trade Subcommittee Chairman Charles A. Vanik, D-Ohio, noting a "real danger" of a veto, said he would offer a floor amendment to set the minimum at 1.3 billion pounds.

House Action

The committee bill represented a delicate compromise among industry, members of Congress and the administration.

As promised, the leadership agreed to an amendment raising the minimum, which was offered by Bill Frenzel, R-Minn.

Bill Gradison, R-Ohio, then proposed an amendment to the Frenzel amendment lifting the floor to 1.3 billion pounds.

Gradison argued that a lower figure could mean the United States might lose trade concessions from Australia and could hinder access to foreign meat in times of domestic shortage.

But others warned against tampering with the compromise. "This strikes at the very heart of the compromise that has been carefully worked out between the administration, the producers and all parties concerned," responded Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman, D-Ore.

The Gradison amendment was rejected by a 136-266 vote. The House then adopted the Frenzel amendment by voice vote. *(Vote 585, p. 174-H)*

Senate Action

In passing HR 2727, the Senate made no changes in the bill passed by the House. The Senate Finance Committee had reported (S Rept 96-465) the measure Dec. 7.

Supporters, led by Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, maintained that the new formula would protect consumers from sharp price swings in beef, particularly hamburger. The existing formula simply exacerbated the natural rise and fall of beef prices during the years it took to raise and market beef cattle, Bentsen and others argued.

The only objection came from Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., who warned that the measure "is highly inflationary, protectionist, and may strain our vital trade relations with many of our important trading partners." ▮

Milk Price Supports

Legislation (HR 4167 — PL 96-127) continuing milk price supports at 80 percent of parity through September 1981 was cleared by Congress Nov. 15.

The Senate passed the bill by voice vote Nov. 15, clearing the measure for the president who signed it Nov. 28. The House overwhelming approved the bill Nov. 8 by a vote of 310-64. *(Vote 570, p. 168-H)*

The legislation required the agriculture secretary to support the price of milk at not less than 80 percent of parity, an index designed to give farmers the buying power they had during the 1910-14 base period. It also extended authority to make semi-annual support adjustments.

The bill's supporters contended the 80 percent level was necessary to assure adequate milk supplies and long-term industry stability. Allowing prices to fall below 80 percent would be harmful, they said, particularly when high beef prices gave dairy farmers the option of selling cattle for a quick profit.

Under the federal program, the Commodity Credit Corporation buys surplus dairy products to keep the price from falling below the support level. The support price was boosted Oct. 1 to $11.22 per hundred pounds of milk from $10.51 and was expected to be about $11.72 April 1.

After the provision of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1977, which required an 80 percent minimum support, expired March 31, Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland announced he would continue the 80 percent level for the marketing year that began Oct. 1. *(1977 farm bill, 1977 Almanac p. 417)*

Bergland said he supported HR 4167 but sought a trigger mechanism that would have allowed a smaller-than-required change in the semi-annual adjustment if CCC purchases of butter, cheese and no-fat dry milk exceeded certain levels. The plan was designed to guard against extra costs in the event of overproduction.

An amendment to establish the trigger amendment offered by Rep. Paul Findley, R-Ill., was rejected by voice vote. A motion by Findley to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to add the amendment was rejected by a standing vote of 53-202. Opponents argued that the plan was new and should be thoroughly reviewed.

Committee Action. The House Agriculture Committee reported HR 4167 (H Rept 96-278) June 15. An identical bill (S 6 — S Rept 96-400) was reported by the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee Nov. 6. After passing HR 4167, the Senate postponed its own bill indefinitely. ▮

Wheat Agreement

With negotiations on a new agreement to help stabilize world wheat prices moribund, the Senate by an 89-6 vote June 26 approved ratification of a one-year extension of the International Wheat Agreement. *(Vote 153, p. 28-S)*

The negotiations collapsed in mid-February after some developing countries objected to the proposed wheat prices and U.S. negotiators failed to win agreement on the size of world wheat stocks.

The existing agreement, which was due to expire June 30, was extended for one year or until a new agreement became effective. It consisted of two parts: 1) a Wheat Trade Convention, which provides information to the 55 members about wheat harvests and weather conditions; and 2) a Food Aid Convention, which commits the United States to supply at least 1.89 million metric tons of food aid annually.

The Foreign Relations Committee approved the agreement (Exec. L, 96th Congress, 1st Session) earlier the same day by a vote of 11-0.

Committee Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, noted during floor debate that the U.S. food aid commitment was about 40 percent of what the United States actually furnishes annually through Public Law 480 food aid programs.

The only contentious notes were sounded by two western senators. James A. McClure, R-Idaho, and Max Baucus, D-Mont., who urged greater use of "food power" to offset Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries' oil price increases. ▮

FmHA Emergency Loans

Stung by reports that billions of dollars in subsidized loans had been made to large corporate farmers, both the House and Senate moved to tighten up the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) programs.

House and Senate conferees agreed to crack down on the federal program but there was no final action on the report in 1979.

Conferees on legislation (S 985) to amend the FmHA loan programs decided Dec. 19 to limit the total amount an individual farmer could borrow to recover from disaster damage to $2 million and to phase that down to a total of $500,000 by the end of fiscal 1983. They rejected efforts to raise that total by California representatives, who claimed that their state's very large farms simply required more capital. Conferees also reduced the time period during which emergency loan recipients are eligible for additional funds.

Conferees reached a final agreement Dec. 20, but floor action was postponed until 1980.

Existing law placed no upper limit on the FmHA "emergency" loans for actual losses and associated costs from damage to farms by natural disasters. FmHA programs were reserved by law for farmers unable to get credit elsewhere. Also, a borrower must live in a federally designated "disaster area."

One problem with the emergency loans had been that the federally subsidized, low-interest rates created a "powerful incentive" for farmers to evade FmHA's "no-credit-elsewhere" requirement, according to House Agriculture Committee Chairman Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash.

In some cases, farmers sought low-interest FmHA loans as investment capital, plowing the money into higher interest-bearing accounts, Foley said.

However, the major spur to the congressional crackdown was a CBS "60 Minutes" television program revealing that some farmers had borrowed as much as $15 million in FmHA disaster loans. Most of these had been to very large food-producing corporate farms, many in California.

In some cases, however, FmHA approved loans for nontraditional farm operations — such as a "tennis ranch."

Senate Action

The Senate passed S 985 May 23 by voice vote before the alleged abuses in the program were made public. The bill increased lending limits for the fiscal 1980-82 for loan programs mandated by the 1972 Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act (PL 92-419). *(Background, 1972 Almanac p. 502)*

The ceilings totaled $5.8 billion annually — more than $2 billion above the administration proposal — plus as much as necessary for emergency loans.

The bill allowed annual lending of $1.6 billion for real estate loans, $1.2 billion for farm operating loans, $1 billion for insured water and sewer facility loans, $1.5 billion for business and industrial loans and $500 million for insured community facility loans.

For emergency disaster loans, the bill provided for open-ended lending to cover losses resulting from natural disasters.

In its report filed May 15 (S Rept 96-168), the Senate Agriculture Committee noted that the bill's loan ceilings were substantially higher than the level of loans actually being made during the current fiscal year.

The increases were necessary to cope with inflation, the report said, and because farm and rural credit needs "exceed the credit now being made available by commercial lenders, the Farm Credit System and the Farmers Home Administration."

House Action

The House Oct. 24 passed HR 3683 by a vote of 393-14 after adding amendments to curb emergency loan abuses, then amended S 985 to contain the House language. *(Vote 536, p. 156-H)*

The FmHA authorization was needed, according to the House Agriculture Committee's report (H Rept 96-153, Part I) filed May 15, to fulfill a requirement of the 1978 Agricultural Credit Act (PL 95-334) and to increase congressional oversight of rapidly growing FmHA programs. In prior years FmHA lending levels were set in appropriations legislation. A supplemental report (Part II) was filed June 7. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 446)*

Edward R. Madigan, R-Ill., proposed an amendment to require that interest rates for guaranteed loans exceeding the amount of an actual disaster loss be negotiated between the borrower and the lender, that applicants must seek a guaranteed loan for operating purposes before they could become eligible for an FmHA insured loan and that applicants must present written evidence that they were unable to obtain private credit.

"The fact of the matter is that there are loans in excess of $15 million being made to farmers who have tennis

ranches, who have show horses, who have garages full of Cadillac automobiles and Rolls Royce automobiles," Madigan said.

Ed Jones, D-Tenn., chairman of the Agriculture Conservation and Credit Subcommittee, objected to the amendment and said that additional hearings were needed.

But after being defeated by a standing vote of 18-21, the amendment was later adopted by 326-84. *(Vote 535, p. 156-H)*

By voice vote the House also accepted amendments by:

- Madigan, to require the secretary of agriculture to develop long-term cost projections for FmHA loan programs.
- William M. Thomas, R-Calif., to require the secretary to consider the operations and financial status of an individual before imposing a limit on the amount of money a borrower could receive.
- Dan Glickman, D-Kan., to require the secretary to consider the total net worth of a loan applicant, including both farm and non-farm assets.
- Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla., to drop a provision that the authority for each program covered in the bill applied only so long as the program was administered by the secretary of agriculture.

An amendment by Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, to prohibit any loans to farm producers for the development of handling or processing facilities, was rejected by voice vote.

House Provisions

As passed by the House, S 985:

- Authorized annual lending levels for FmHA farm and rural development loan programs for three years beginning in fiscal 1980, including $1.6 billion for real estate loans; $1.5 billion for farm ownership loans ($1.4 billion insured, $100 million guaranteed); $100 million in water development loans ($90 million insured, $10 million guaranteed); $1.2 billion in farm operating loans ($1.15 billion insured, $50 million guaranteed); $1 billion in water and sewer loans (all insured); $500 million in community facility loans (all insured); $1.5 billion in business and industrial loans ($100 million insured, $1.4 billion guaranteed); and emergency loans as necessary.

(FmHA loans are of three types: "direct" loans from federal funds; "insured" loans made by the secretary of agriculture from a revolving fund supplied by money from private investors; and federally "guaranteed" loans made by private lenders.)

- Required that at least 25 percent of insured loans be made to low-income borrowers.
- Clarified FmHA's authority to make loans for solar energy systems, including gasohol.
- Increased the population size of communities eligible for water and sewer facility loans from 10,000 to 20,000.
- Extended eligibility for all FmHA loan programs to aliens admitted as permanent residents.

Second Senate Floor Action

When the Senate again took up S 985 Dec. 14, it agreed by voice vote to replace the House text with amendments on the emergency loans. Those amendments:

- Established a $500,000-per-disaster limit for emergency loans to individuals for actual losses and a $1.5 million limit for an individual's indebtedness for emergency loans for other than actual losses, such as operating expenses.
- Authorized actual loss loans of up to $500,000-per-disaster for individuals who could get credit elsewhere, with the interest rate set by the secretary, at no more than the "cost of money" to the government and up to 1 percent more for administrative expenses. Permitted the secretary to subsidize the interest for actual loss loans.
- Limited to 5 percent the interest rate for actual loss loans for individuals who couldn't get credit elsewhere.
- Terminated a requirement that county committees certify the amount of emergency loans.
- Limited to two years, instead of five, an individual's eligibility for emergency operating loans in addition to his original loan.

Conference

As agreed to Dec. 20 by the conferees, S 985:

- Authorized annual lending levels for FmHA farm and rural development loan programs for three years beginning in fiscal 1980 as follows: $1.6 billion for real estate loans; $1.5 billion for farm ownership loans ($1.4 billion insured, $100 million guaranteed); $100 million in water development loans ($90 million insured, $10 million guaranteed); $1.2 billion in farm operating loans ($1.15 billion insured, $50 million guaranteed); $1 billion in water and sewer loans (all insured); $500 million in community facilities loans (all insured); $1.5 billion in business and industrial loans ($100 million insured, $1.4 billion guaranteed); and emergency loans as necessary.
- Permitted the secretary to transfer no more than 25 percent of authorized amounts for real estate and operating loans between the categories of insured and guaranteed loans; a House provision.
- Required at least 25 percent of insured farm ownership and operating loans be made to low-income borrowers; a House provision.
- Required the secretary to submit long-term cost projections for FmHA loan programs to Congress with authorization requests; a House provision.
- Stipulated that FmHA guaranteed or insured loans may be used to finance solar and other "non-fossil" energy systems for residential use and rural industrial development; a House provision.
- Increased the population required of communities eligible for FmHA community facility loans from 10,000 to 20,000; a modified House provision.
- Extended eligibility for FmHA loan programs to aliens admitted as permanent residents, as did the House bill, and to long-term lease holders in Hawaii, as did both bills.

Emergency Loans

- Required the secretary to administer the emergency loan program to encourage family farms and required that no agriculture-related program should put family farms "at an unfair economic disadvantage." This provision, from the Senate bill, was "utterly meaningless," according to Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga.
- Required that the net worth of a loan applicant must be considered before an emergency loan was granted; from the House bill.
- Eliminated a requirement that the secretary could not approve an emergency loan larger than an amount certified by the county committee; from the Senate bill.
- Permitted the secretary to pay interest subsidies to lenders for guaranteed loans covering actual losses. That federal subsidy could not be more than the difference be-

tween the interest rate for loans covering losses and the highest interest rate for guaranteed loans for other purposes; from the Senate bill.

Provided also, as did both House and Senate bills, that interest rates for these guaranteed loans would be set by borrower-lender agreements, not to exceed limits set by the secretary.

- Set a $500,000-per-disaster limit on emergency loans to individuals for actual loss. Also established a $1.5 million limit on an individual's indebtedness for emergency loans for purposes other than covering actual losses; from the Senate bill.
- Barred direct or insured emergency loans for other than actual loss, unless the applicant was unable to get a guaranteed loan; from the House bill. Conferees decided to apply this provision to loans over $300,000.
- Required applicants for emergency loans to submit letters showing they had been turned down for loans by other sources.
- Permitted emergency loans for individuals who could get credit elsewhere, with three conditions: the secretary would set the interest rate, not to exceed the the cost of money to the government plus a service charge of up to 1 percent; the loans could only be for actual losses; the loans could not be more than $500,000 per disaster; from the Senate bill. Conferees insisted that these loans would be at the discretion of the secretary.
- Reduced to two years, from five, the time during which an emergency loan borrower was eligible for additional, annual loans to continue the farm operation; from the Senate bill. ▮

Crop Insurance

Bills advancing one of Carter's major farm policy proposals — to replace disaster aid payments with a national crop insurance program — were introduced in both the House and Senate. However, only the Senate completed action in 1979.

The Senate measure (S 1125 — S Rept 96-254) was passed by a 64-27 vote Sept. 10.

The House bill was approved by the Agriculture Committee by a one-vote margin and reported (HR 4119 — H Rept 96-430) Sept. 13. But there was no floor action before the first session ended.

The administration plan to drop the expensive disaster aid program that provided relief for farmers who lost their crops to floods, drought or other catastrophes, brought criticism from several groups.

The government would subsidize the premiums, but even so, many farmers would be paying for protection for the first time — and a lot of them did not like the idea.

The lukewarm farm-area support for expanding the crop insurance program was primarily due to two factors:

- Farmers' unhappiness over the plan to stop disaster payments, which had paid out free-of-charge about $436 million a year since 1974 for disaster losses.
- Concern of the private crop insurance industry — including two of the largest farm organizations, which sell crop insurance — that the new, subsidized program could kill the industry.

Despite heavy lobbying by the insurance industry, the Senate refused by two- and three-vote margins to exclude crop hail and fire insurance coverage from the new program.

S 1125 continued the disaster aid program for the 1981 crop year so that farmers would be protected while the new insurance program was being established. The disaster aid program was scheduled to expire at the end of the 1979 crop year.

The phase-out was a focal point of opposition to the bill. Some farm groups felt the "free" disaster aid was a much better deal for farmers than crop insurance. Some senators said continuing disaster payments while the insurance program was being set up would be wasteful.

An amendment to hasten the phase-out was defeated. Bill sponsors said that defeat was crucial to passage of the bill, since many wheat- and cotton-state senators had made their votes contingent on the continuation of disaster payments for two more years.

"If we had lost that [the amendment], we might have lost all the wheat-state senators," said Ed Graves, an aide to Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky., the bill's sponsor. "Without the phase-out, it's problematical whether we would have had a bill."

The Bills

Both the House and Senate bills would expand the limited activities of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation (FCIC) into a nationwide program offering comprehensive all-risk insurance for most crops.

The Senate bill directed the government to pay between 20 and 40 percent of the premium cost, while the House bill set the government share at 30 percent.

Both continued disaster aid through 1981, but administration officials indicated the president might veto a bill extending the program through the 1981 crop year.

Background

The Carter administration introduced its expanded crop insurance proposal in 1978, primarily as an alternative to the disaster payments program, which along with FCIC and emergency loan programs forms the basis of existing programs to support farmers who have suffered disaster losses. The 95th Congress did not act on the plan. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 468)*

Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland labeled the existing system of disaster payments a "disaster in itself."

The program had been heavily criticized as promoting mismanagement by encouraging farmers to plant on marginal land. It was estimated that of the $2.2 billion spent on disaster payments since 1974, the government had paid about $700 million to farmers who had repeatedly planted crops on land that was very susceptible to natural disasters.

The program had also been widely criticized as inequitable, since only wheat, feed grain, rice and cotton farmers were eligible for the payments. Some farmers were ineligible for any emergency program, while others could and did collect from several.

The FCIC, established in 1938, had since 1948 been operating on an experimental basis, with limits placed on its growth and financing. FCIC coverage was available in about half of the nation's counties. The corporation's capital stock was limited by statute to $200 million, and appropriations for its operating expenses were limited to $12 million a year.

Barred from providing coverage in actuarially unsound regions where disaster risk is highest, and with relatively high premiums and low payback rates, the program has remained comparatively small in scope. In 1978 it provided

about $2 billion in coverage for 26 commodities on 21.5 million acres — about 11 percent of all farm acreage eligible for the program, or about 6 percent of total U.S. farmland.

Numerous past attempts to provide private all-risk insurance have failed, largely because of the tremendous losses that can be incurred from catastrophic natural disasters such as floods and droughts. Private firms have generally restricted their crop insurance coverage to hail, fire and lightning.

The Carter administration proposed to expand the crop insurance program to about 90 percent of U.S. cropland and 18 major crops. The government would pay half the premium cost for farmers who bought insurance covering 50 percent of their production costs; the subsidy would decrease for farmers who chose higher coverage. Coverage up to 90 percent of production costs would be offered.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Agriculture Committee, in reporting S 1125 July 20 (S Rept 96-254), said the federal subsidy was the key to getting widespread participation in the program. It set the subsidy at between 20 and 40 percent of premium costs; a farmer could insure up to three-fourths of his typical yield.

The program would cost about $300 million a year if the premium subsidy were set at 30 percent, the committee estimated. A 20 percent subsidy would reduce spending by about $105 million, and a 40 percent subsidy would increase it by the same amount, the committee said.

The committee debated several issues, including the size of the subsidy, the role of private insurers and extension of the disaster payments program.

The Subsidy. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., proposed to limit the subsidized insurance to 50 percent of a farmer's average yield. Subsidizing three-fourths of the yield would amount to unfair competition with private insurance, he contended. Helms' amendment lost on a 4-11 vote.

The committee decided to allow the FCIC to set the subsidy rate between 20 and 40 percent of premium costs, rather than the flat 20 percent in the bill as introduced. David L. Boren, D-Okla., argued that a higher subsidy might be necessary to achieve sufficient participation in the program. His amendment was accepted 8-7.

Private Insurance. The committee rejected by a 6-11 vote an amendment to exclude coverage of hail, fire and lightning from federal crop insurance. Sponsors said such coverage would compete with private insurance.

Disaster Program Extension. After an amendment to extend the program to the 1981 crop year was rejected 8-9, George McGovern, D-S.D., modified the proposal to give farmers the option in 1981 to sign up for crop insurance or remain eligible for disaster payments. That amendment was accepted 10-7.

Minority Views. Three committee Republicans criticized the committee bill in minority views. Helms, S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, Calif., and Roger W. Jepsen, Iowa, charged that setting the premium subsidy in a range between 20 and 40 percent could increase government costs from $175 million to $395 million a year by 1984. A better way to increase participation, they said, would be to encourage the involvement of private insurance firms.

Provisions

As reported, S 1125 included the following major provisions:

FCIC Growth. Beginning in fiscal 1981, the bill would increase FCIC's capital stock to $500 million from $200 million and delete the $12 million limit on annual appropriations to cover administrative costs. It would remove existing limits on FCIC growth and encourage rapid expansion into all counties and coverage for all crops.

Private Insurance. The bill would encourage private crop insurance companies to write all-risk policies by removing existing limits on FCIC's authority to reinsure private insurance against catastrophic losses due to floods or droughts. S 1125 would also permit FCIC to use private companies on a commission or contract basis to market and service federal crop insurance.

Subsidized Premiums. The bill directed FCIC to pay between 20 and 40 percent of premium costs. The subsidy would apply both to federal crop insurance premiums and to premiums on private (or state or local government) all-risk insurance with federal reinsurance.

Coverage. The bill provided several options for the price and amount of coverage. It would require FCIC to offer insurance on 75 percent of a farmer's average yield, which is estimated to be about enough to repay a farmer for his major operating expenses in the event of a disaster.

Farmers could elect to cover their crops at the value of either the federal price support price or the projected market price, whichever was higher. Premiums would vary according to actuarial estimates of the disaster risk in a particular area.

For example, with a 30 percent subsidy, 75 percent of his yield covered, and using a price of $2.20 a bushel, a corn farmer in a high-risk area would pay a premium of about $10.70 an acre. In a medium-risk area, the price would drop to $9.30 an acre.

Disaster Payments. The bill extended disaster payments through the 1981 crop year while the new crop insurance program was gearing up and expanding. It extended the disaster payments program through 1980 and gave farmers the option of buying crop insurance or remaining eligible for disaster payments in 1981.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed the bill (S 1125) by a 64-27 vote Sept. 10. *(Vote 263, p. 45-S)*

Senate opponents tried twice to exclude hail insurance from the federally subsidized program.

First, Roger W. Jepsen, R-Iowa, offered an amendment to exclude both hail and fire insurance. Such coverage "has been provided efficiently by the private sector, at no cost to the taxpayers, for many years," he said.

Robert Dole, R-Kan., also complained that the legislation did more than "supplement and complement" private insurance. Instead, he said, "it allows the federal government, through a highly subsidized program, to compete directly and unfairly with private enterprise."

Huddleston, the bill's sponsor, said the amendment would destroy the purpose of the measure.

"One of the major selling points of federal crop insurance is that it provides coverage for all risks," Huddleston said. "The peril of hail must continue to be an integral part of the program. This is especially important if S 1125 is to achieve its purpose of substantially expanding farmer participation in federal crop insurance."

Huddleston denied that the bill would compete unfairly with private insurance coverage. Private and federal

crop insurance have "co-existed in many areas of the nation for years," Huddleston said.

Huddleston's motion to table the Jepsen amendment was agreed to, 46-43. *(Vote 259, p. 44-S)*

Dole then offered an amendment to exclude hail insurance —but not fire. The amendment was essentially the same as Jepsen's, since fire insurance is a relatively minor part of the private crop insurance industry's business.

Huddleston's motion to table Dole's amendment carried by an even narrower margin, 47-45. *(Vote 262, p. 45-S)*

Subsidy Limit

Jesse Helms, R-N.C., introduced an amendment to limit the federal subsidy to insurance on only 50 percent of a farmer's average production.

Helms contended that the higher subsidy amounted to unfair competition with private insurance and warned that the cost of the expanded federal program could skyrocket. He said his amendment would cut federal spending on premium subsidies by 40 percent.

Huddleston contended that the cost was likely to be less than the disaster payments program.

The amendment was rejected, 43-47. *(Vote 260, p. 45-S)*

Disaster Aid Phase-out

Helms' second amendment provided for a faster phase-out of the disaster payments program. The bill gave farmers the option in the 1981 crop year of buying crop insurance or being eligible for disaster payments. Helms' amendment ruled out disaster payments in 1981 in counties where crop insurance was generally offered, but gave the agriculture secretary authority to waive the ban on a county-by-county basis.

"If a farmer has access to a free government handout, he will opt for it rather than put up out-front cash on a shared-cost crop insurance program," Helms said. "Who can blame him?"

Sponsors of the bill said the Agriculture Department needed two years to set up the new program; anything less could leave many farmers without any protection in 1981.

Helms' amendment was rejected, 33-58. *(Vote 261, p. 45-S)*

Other Amendments

By voice votes the Senate accepted amendments:

- By Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., authorizing the agriculture secretary to use Commodity Credit Corporation funds to pay any producer loss claims when FCIC funds were insufficient to cover program expenses.
- By Robert Morgan, D-N.C., authorizing FCIC to conduct a pilot program in at least 25 counties to write insurance based on the risk to individual farmers rather than using county-wide data.

House Committee Action

By a one-vote margin, the House Agriculture Committee approved a bill July 20 that was similar to S 1125. The committee vote was 21-20 — but only after Keith G. Sebelius, R-Kan., and Dan Glickman, D-Kan., changed their votes from no to yes.

The House bill:

- Extended disaster payments through 1981 in any county where subsidized crop insurance was not available. In counties where crop insurance was available by the beginning of the 1981 crop year, disaster payments would be eliminated except under certain conditions.
- Required FCIC to pay 30 percent of the premium cost up to a coverage level of 65 percent of normal yield. Allowed farmers to insure crops for either 50, 65 or 75 percent of their normal yield.
- Directed FCIC to adopt a reinsurance program to allow private companies to develop all-risk policies.
- Removed existing restrictions on FCIC expansion.

Committee Amendments

The committee wrestled at length with the issue of the federal program competing with private insurance. Charles E. Grassley, R-Iowa, introduced an amendment to reduce competition by giving farmers the option of taking federal all-risk coverage with or without hail and fire protection. The premium on federal policies without hail and fire coverage would be reduced, although the premium subsidy would remain the same. Proponents of the amendment argued that it might induce the insurance industry to support the bill.

Ed Jones, D-Tenn., chairman of the Conservation and Credit Subcommittee and a sponsor of the bill, introduced a substitute that left to the discretion of the FCIC board the choice of providing farmers either all-risk coverage or limited coverage excluding hail and fire. The Jones substitute was adopted 22-14.

The committee also accepted an amendment to loosen conditions under which farmers could receive disaster payments in 1981. Disaster payments would be retained if the secretary of agriculture found that the federal program offered inadequate protection, or if they were needed as an incentive to encourage farmers to sign up for land diversion programs. ▮

Farm Target Prices

Major differences in House and Senate bills to give wheat and grain farmers a 7 per cent increase in federal target prices were not reconciled by the end of the year.

The House Nov. 8 by voice vote approved legislation (HR 3398 — H Rept 96-228) providing a 7 percent increase in the 1979 crop year, raising the target price for wheat from $3.40 a bushel to $3.63 and for corn from $2.20 a bushel to $2.35.

The Senate passed the measure by voice vote Dec. 20 establishing a 7 percent increase in 1980 and 1981 and limiting to $50,000 annual disaster payments to any one individual.

The administration supported the Senate measure.

Under the program if market prices fall below target price levels, the government pays the difference to farmers who agree to keep a percentage of their land out of production. The administration opposed the House action, arguing that the bill could not be enacted until after the deadline for farmers to decide to participate in the 1979 set-aside programs.

Proponents argued that without congressional action, 1980 target prices for wheat would drop from $3.40 a bushel to $3.06, with a corresponding decrease for corn, under a formula in the 1977 omnibus farm bill (PL 95-113). The case for the boost was strengthened by the Agriculture Department's prediction of a drop of as much as 20 percent in farm income for 1980. *(Farm bill, 1977 Almanac p. 417)*

Senate Action

The Senate Agriculture Committee reported the bill (S Rept 96-446) Dec. 4.

The committee version of HR 3398 also permitted the department to require farmers to maintain their usual crop acreage — instead of expanding into unsuitable areas — as a condition for participating in the program. It also extended disaster payments for one year, fiscal 1980.

On Dec. 20, the Senate by voice vote agreed to drop any increase for 1979 but established a 7 percent hike in 1980 and continued the new floor into 1981.

In addition, the Senate accepted an amendment by Robert Morgan, D-N.C., limiting the disaster payments to any individual farmer to $50,000 in any one year.

House Action

The Agriculture Committee reported the bill (H Rept 96-228, Part I) May 30 and the Appropriations Committee reported it (Part II) June 21.

Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland told the Agriculture Committee in a May 15 letter that the Agriculture Department "strongly" opposed enactment of the bill.

He said the 1977 farm bill provided a "sound" mechanism for target price adjustments based on both the unit price and the quantity sold. Also, he said, because of record high yields in 1978, production costs had not increased enough to justify an increase in target prices.

Bergland also noted that any change in the law would come too late to have an effect on participation in the administration's set-aside program. He said it could provide a windfall for farmers who had signed up and discriminate against those who had not.

The committee approved HR 3398 May 17 by voice vote. In its report, the committee described the bill as a "stopgap measure" that would provide a modest increase in payments to a portion of the farm economy that was in "serious need of help."

The committee said HR 3398 would have no effect on consumer prices.

The 7 percent "cost-of-living" increase in 1979 target prices was approved by voice vote Nov. 8 by the House.

The 1979 wheat prices had been above the bill's target level and corn prices were expected to remain close to or above the level. But the bill could have considerably more impact with the addition of target price increases for 1980. Agriculture Committee Chairman Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., had intended to propose an amendment to extend the 1979 levels through the 1980 crop year but did not because of parliamentary complications. ▮

Rural Development Policy

The Senate June 14 by voice vote passed a bill (S 670) designed to increase coordination between federal, state and local governments in the development of policies to encourage rural development.

The House Agriculture Committee reported a companion bill (HR 3580 — H Rept 96-259) June 8, but no floor action occurred in the first session.

The lack of coordination had resulted in "wasteful duplication of efforts, conflicts among federal programs and excessive bureaucratic confusion that is hindering the effective delivery of services and assistance to rural areas," the Senate Agriculture Committee said in its May 16 report on the bill (S Rept 96-187).

S 670 directed the secretary of agriculture to develop a rural development policy management process that would involve federal, state and local agencies. It dropped existing requirements for five annual reports on rural development in favor of a comprehensive five-year assessment of rural conditions that would establish goals for a rural development program. It authorized appropriations of $1.5 million to administer the program and prepare the report.

The bill as passed also provided $15 million in planning grants to state and local organizations to participate in the program. It originally provided $20 million, but the Senate agreed to a floor amendment by Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., to cut $5 million from the total. Boschwitz argued that over the previous two years the program had only utilized $5 million for planning grants and that a doubling of the authorization from $10 million to $20 million could not be justified. ▮

Transportation/Commerce/Consumers

For the most part, 1979 was a year in which a number of legislative policy battles involving transportation were begun but were not fought to conclusion.

Congress did enact significant legislation to aid railroads as the financial problems plaguing the Eastern lines spread into the Midwest and West.

It also cleared legislation to strengthen the government's ability to attack illegal maritime rebating and acted to beef up the safety of the pipeline transportation of hazardous gases and liquids.

But many of the major policy issues were continued into 1980, including the deregulation of railroads and trucking, a major revision of maritime policy and the revamping of outdated telecommunications laws.

Fuel Shortages

Fuel shortages and the continuing administrative effort to deregulate the transportation industry provided a backdrop for the deliberations of Congress in 1979.

Motorists across the country snarled traffic waiting in lines for scarce gasoline. The shortage of fuel and the escalating prices led to a drop in auto usage. By the year's end, passenger miles for automobiles were down 2 percent over 1978, with a total of 1.2 billion miles, according to the Transportation Association of America.

At the same time, commuter railroad ridership soared in areas like New York and Philadelphia as motorists fled the gas lines. Ridership was up as much as 20 percent, the highest in three decades, during some periods of the summer.

But in the long run, motorists proved to be fickle patrons. By October, with gasoline supplies nearing more normal levels, the early ridership increases had dropped to an 8 percent gain over last year.

In June, 30,000 members of the Independent Truckers Association began a two-month strike to protest the rising cost of diesel fuel, the 55 mph speed limit and other factors that they claimed threatened their livelihoods.

The strike continued into July, marked by sporadic violence and blockades of fuel pumps. An estimated 50 percent of the trucking industry was idled involving at least 37 states, mostly in the West and Midwest.

The Carter administration responded with several measures, including diverting some diesel fuel reserved for agriculture and instigating ways in which the individuals could recoup more fuel costs from trucking firms.

The fuel problems also dipped into airline profits, already threatened by the grounding of all DC-10 aircraft after the May 25 crash of a jetliner in Chicago that killed 273 persons. The Air Transport Association estimated that U.S. airlines' profits would be down to about 2 percent in 1979. The chief reason, according to the industry organization, was the cost of fuel which was $6.5 billion in 1979, up $2.5 billion over the previous year.

The gas shortage figured prominently in the congressional cutback of the Amtrak passenger train service. The administration had proposed that the deficit-ridden system be pruned by 43 percent and members of Congress were initially expected to resist eliminating trains from their districts.

But when the severity of the gasoline shortage became apparent, the administration and Congress compromised on a less drastic plan. Congress cleared legislation that eliminated 16 percent of the system's routes and established criteria for determining which trains would be continued.

In addition, the continuing financial plight of the private railroads demanded congressional attention.

Among the hardest-hit financially were the Rock Island and the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific railroads which were in bankruptcy proceedings.

The Milwaukee Road was required to temporarily continue service it had proposed ending on about half of its 9,800 miles of track. In return it received federal aid.

Later the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) rejected a plan offered by shippers and employees to provide service, and the Milwaukee began the process of abandoning and selling some of its less profitable routes.

The Rock Island service was continued by the Kansas City Terminal under the direction of the ICC.

Deregulation Proposals

The administration and some members of Congress contended, however, that the long-range answer to the economic health of both the railroad and trucking industries lay in deregulation of the industries.

The successful enactment in 1978 of airline deregulation legislation did not have the expected effect of facilitating the passage of trucking and railroad deregulation bills in 1979.

Segments of the railroad industry objected to the administration plan. After holding hearings on the administration bill, the Senate Commerce Committee late in the session pronounced it unsatisfactory and ordered its own measure reported. The bill generally would relax some federal regulations by giving railroads more flexibility to set rates and by simplifying regulatory procedures. Floor action in the Senate and committee action in the House were both postponed until Congress returned in 1980.

Trucking deregulation legislation was introduced jointly by Carter and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., in June in the midst of the independent truckers' strike. But the trucking industry and unions also resisted easing government regulation.

However, when the ICC began to move on its own to decrease regulation administratively, congressional leaders ordered it to stop and assured the administration that trucking legislation would be passed in 1980.

Maritime Matters

Hearings by the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee on proposals to establish a new maritime policy

for the nation laid the groundwork for consideration in the second session of the 96th Congress.

President Carter proposed revitalizing the industry by relaxing antitrust restrictions on groups of shipowners and shippers that fix rates, set routes and make other industry agreements.

Some members of Congress, however, had already introduced their own bills calling for broader antitrust immunity than eventually proposed by the president.

House Commerce Communications Subcommittee Chairman Lionel Van Deerlin, D-Calif., was forced to abandon his ambitious plan to rewrite the Communications Act of 1934. The intent was to bring the law up to date with the advances in broadcasting and telecommunications.

However pressure from the broadcasting industry, consumers and other groups forced him to scale down the effort, concentrating only on the complex technology and business relationships of the telecommunications industry.

At the end of the session, Van Deerlin and the bipartisan leadership of the full committee announced their proposals for telecommunications legislation in 1980.

FTC Restraints

While those issues failed to reach the floor, Congress did debate a number of other transportation and commerce issues that when resolved, could have significant long-range impact.

A great deal of attention focused on attempts to restrict the activities of the Federal Trade Commission. Critics claimed the agency was overzealous in regulating business to the point of bureaucratic harassment. It should, they said, be more responsive to the public and Congress.

Defenders who described the FTC as an important protector of consumer rights found themselves pitted against well-financed business and professional groups. FTC supporters argued that a key provision in a House-passed measure — a one-chamber congressional veto over any regulatory action of the agency — was an unconstitutional invasion of executive authority.

The Senate, traditionally opposed to the veto, had its own bill that in some ways was considered as sweeping as the House legislation in its efforts to rein in the FTC.

The proposal, which would stop several FTC actions and investigations, was ordered reported by the Senate Commerce Committee but did not reach the floor in 1979.

The progress of the two proposals was viewed in some quarters as a clear signal of the inability of the consumer movement to regain the influence it enjoyed during the early 1970s when substantial consumer legislation was enacted. Consumer activists claimed they were outspent and outgunned by business lobbies encouraged by the defeat in 1978 of an independent consumer agency.

Another consumer oriented issue was the reduction of aircraft noise. While consumer and environmental interests were not able to persuade Congress to defeat bills they thought would enable airlines to avoid federal anti-noise rules, they were able to influence changes that made the legislation less objectionable to them.

However, because of confusion and some opposition to the final conference report, neither chamber took final action during the first session.

New Secretaries Named

The President replaced his transportation and commerce secretaries during 1979.

Brock Adams was fired July 20 after refusing requests from the White House to take action against two top aides in the Transportation Department. He was replaced by Neil Goldschmidt, former mayor of Portland, Ore.

Commerce Secretary Juanita M. Kreps resigned Nov. 1 for personal reasons. She was suceeded by Philip M. Klutznick, a Chicago attorney with broad business, international banking, Democratic and Jewish ties.

House, Senate Advance Bills To Curb FTC

After months of intense politicking and lobbying, both the House and Senate advanced legislation in 1979 to restrain the activities of the Federal Trade Commission, contending that the agency had gone far beyond its mandate.

The House Nov. 27 overwhelmingly passed a three-year authorization bill (HR 2313 — H Rept 96-181) allowing Congress to veto any regulatory action taken by the FTC, a provision that carried the threat of a presidential veto. In addition, the legislation banned some activities outright, bringing some investigations to a halt.

"We are seeing an end to government by bureaucratic fiat," Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., sponsor of the congressional veto, said.

Supporters argued that the legislative veto was necessary to make the agency accountable to Congress and reduce unnecessary federal regulation.

But Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas, warned, "What we are doing in this legislation today is commencing a plucking of the powers of the only agency that we can call a consumer agency in the entire U.S. government."

On Dec. 14 the Senate Commerce Committee reported a sweeping bill (S 1991 — S Rept 96-500) that would blunt or eliminate many FTC powers and investigations. It would force the agency to stop or reassess its action in major proceedings that included proposed rules governing children's advertising, used car sales and trade groups that set industry standards.

The Senate measure did not include a congressional veto, an issue on which the two chambers have strongly disagreed. FTC funding had bypassed the normal authorization-appropriations process since 1977 because the House demanded a congressional veto while the Senate opposed it. Senate opponents and President Carter argued that the one-chamber veto was unconstitutional because it encroached on the authority of the executive branch. Critics also argued that Congress would become bogged down in complex regulations and be bombarded by special interest groups seeking special consideration. *(Congressional veto story, Congress and Government chapter)*

Passed by a vote of 321-63, HR 2313 authorized $75 million for fiscal 1980, $80 million in fiscal 1981 and $85 million in fiscal 1982. *(Vote 606, p. 180-H)*

In addition to allowing either chamber to veto FTC actions if the other did not object in 30 days, the legislation prohibited the FTC from regulating the funeral industry and from petitioning the patents commissioner to cancel a trademark on the grounds the trademark had become a common, generic term. All the restrictions were tied to the three-year life of the authorization.

The passage of the bill was viewed in some quarters as the clearest sign in recent years that the consumer movement was still not able to regain the influence in the Capitol that it had enjoyed during the early years of the decade. Activists had lobbied strongly to defeat the funeral home provision. Spokesmen maintained that the consumer groups were unable to match business organizations in raising funds to support their views.

Background

Many complaints about the FTC could be traced to two factors — the increased authority given the agency in 1974 to make rules that affect broad economic interest groups rather than individual businesses, and the new FTC Chairman, Michael Pertschuk. *(Background, 1974 Almanac p. 327)*

Congress enacted the 1974 Magnuson-Moss Act (PL 93-637), supporters contended, because business felt the FTC's action against individual companies was anti-competitive. The act allowed the commission to issue industry-wide rules with the force of law and required due process hearings and cross-examination rights for affected parties.

Some critics contended that through these proceedings, the FTC legislated more than Congress and that it had overstepped its authority.

The broad discretion the FTC maintained in selecting its targets, without explicit direction from Congress, made its rulings more vulnerable to attack than those of other regulatory agencies. In addition to affecting virtually every consumer, FTC actions immediately affected thousands of businessmen and professionals.

Since 1974, the agency had initiated about 20 proceedings to regulate industries ranging from children's advertising to funeral homes. While most were initiated before Pertschuk became chairman in early 1977, most were being completed under his leadership.

Under Pertschuk, many observers said, the FTC had been more aggressive in confronting powerful corporate interests than at any time in its 65-year history. Pertschuk defended the FTC's direction and accomplishments, saying "Because we're an active agency and doing the job we ought to be doing, there are more groups into which the teeth of the commission are sinking now and more groups attacking [the rules] as they come to fruition."

Business Opposition

Using its broad mandate to ferret out "unfair or deceptive acts or practices," the FTC had antagonized, among others, the organized bar, the American Medical Association and the insurance, television, advertising, automobile and drug industries.

In retaliation, the business community seized on public disdain for government regulation to launch a massive — if somewhat scattershot — campaign against the FTC. Lobbies for businesses affected by commission actions joined the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers in a three-pronged attack that would:

- Give Congress the power to veto all FTC regulatory actions.
- Eliminate or cut funding for "public intervenors," groups paid with federal funds to present testimony that would not otherwise be given in agency proceedings.
- Stop the commission from proceeding with regulatory actions, rulemakings, investigations and lawsuits against specific business interests.

Consumer lobbyists, who launched a counterattack zeroing in on several specific amendments, suggested that big business decided to take on the agency after defeating the proposed Consumer Protection Agency in the 95th Congress. They argued that the FTC's ability to protect consumers against unfair or deceptive business practices through its rule-making authority was at stake. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 473)*

House Committee Action

The House Commerce Committee May 15 reported HR 2313 with language prohibiting the FTC from petitioning the Patent and Trademark Office to abolish any trademark solely because it had become a generic term, a provision aimed at protecting the Formica Corp. from proposed FTC action.

The commission contended the Formica label was generically considered the common name for decorative plastic laminate materials used for covering tables and counter tops.

The FTC petitioned the Commerce Department's Patent and Trademark Office to cancel the trademark on the ground that the label had become generic. This was the first time the FTC had sought cancellation solely on those grounds. The Formica Corp. challenged the FTC in court.

House Commerce opponents of the "Formica amendment," tried to delete the provision, but they lost 15-24, with only Democrats voting to eliminate it.

HR 2313 also authorized a congressional veto of FTC regulations and restricted the payments the commission could make to groups that could not afford to testify at FTC hearings.

These provisions also were added by the Consumer Protection Subcommittee. As a result of a compromise with opponents, the provisions, including the Formica amendment, were tied to the three-year life of the authorization.

The committee bill also authorized $75 million, $80 million and $85 million for fiscal 1981-82, respectively.

House Committee Vote

The Commerce Committee vote on the Formica amendment, 15-24, was:

Nay. Voting to eliminate the amendment were, James H. Scheuer, D-N.Y.; Commerce Chairman Harley O. Staggers, D-W.Va.; John D. Dingell, D-Mich.; Lionel Van Deerlin, D-Calif.; Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas; Richardson Preyer, D-N.C.; Richard L. Ottinger, D-N.Y.; Timothy E. Wirth, D-Colo.; Philip R. Sharp, D-Ind.; Toby Moffett, D-Conn.; Marty Russo, D-Ill.; Doug Walgren, D-Pa.; Albert Gore Jr., D-Tenn.; Barbara A. Mikulski, D-Md.; and Mickey Leland, D-Texas.

Yea. Supporting Formica's position were Thomas A. Luken, D-Ohio; ranking minority member Samuel L. Devine, R-Ohio; John M. Murphy, D-N.Y.; David E. Satterfield III, D-Va.; Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif.; Jim Santini, D-Nev.; Andrew Maguire, D-N.J.; Ronald M. Mottl, D-Ohio; Phil Gramm, D-Texas; Al Swift, D-Wash.; Richard C. Shelby, D-Ala.; James T. Broyhill, R-N.C., ranking minority member of the subcommittee; Tim Lee Carter, R-Ky.; Clarence J. Brown, R-Ohio; James M. Collins, R-Texas; Norman F. Lent, R-N.Y.; Edward R. Madigan, R-Ill.; Carlos J. Moorhead, R-Calif.; Matthew J. Rinaldo, R-N.J.; Dave Stockman, R-Mich.; Tom Corcoran, R-Ill.; Gary A. Lee, R-N.Y.; Tom Loeffler, R-Texas; and William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif.

House Floor Action

As expected, the House approval was by a substantial margin.

The 321-63 vote Nov. 27 on HR 2313 came shortly after the House approved an amendment to stop the FTC from investigating or prosecuting antitrust cases against agricultural cooperatives. The vote on the amendment was 245-139. *(Votes 605, 606, p. 180-H)*

Opponents of amendments on agricultural cooperatives and the funeral home industry contended that a host of special interests would ask Congress to stop FTC actions against them if the amendments were enacted.

Levitas, the prime mover behind the veto provision, called the bill "landmark legislation," which took control of government from unelected bureaucrats and gave it back to elected officials.

The House began debate Nov. 14 under a rule (H Res 456) that limited consideration of amendments to specific ones on funeral homes, agricultural cooperatives and the cereal industry.

The bill as reported was a carefully crafted compromise, and supporters feared that its passage would be jeopardized if many special interest amendments were allowed. *(Vote 544, p. 160-H)*

"It has been open season on the FTC and I admit that I have been one of the hunters. . . . But fair is fair. We should not let the smell of blood drive us into a frenzied and foolish crippling of the FTC," said Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., Consumer Protection Subcommittee member.

Funeral Homes

The House Nov. 14 by a vote of 223-147 approved the heavily lobbied funeral home amendment. The cereal amendment was withdrawn. *(Vote 591, p. 174-H)*

Numerous consumer, religious, labor and senior citizens' groups opposed the amendment, arguing the proposed FTC rule requiring disclosure of funeral costs was necessary protection for people at a vulnerable time. The list included several AFL-CIO organizations, the National Council on Aging, National Consumers League, the American Association of Retired Persons, Congress Watch, the Consumer Federation of America and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Supporters maintained that most funeral homes were local, small businesses and the FTC rule amounted to unnecessary and burdensome federal regulation. They said the FTC could not show a large enough pattern of abuse in the industry to warrant the rule.

Agricultural Co-ops

Most of the debate Nov. 27 involved an amendment offered by Mark Andrews, R-N.D., barring the FTC from investigating or prosecuting agricultural cooperatives in antitrust matters or investigating agricultural marketing orders.

A voice vote was determined to have rejected it. But, on a recorded vote requested by Andrews, members voted 245-139 for the amendment. *(Vote 605, p. 180-H)*

The amendment would stop a 2½-year-long FTC case against Sunkist Growers Inc. The agency charged that the cooperative unlawfully monopolized western oranges, lemons and lemon products by engaging in anti-competitive practices to restrain trade.

Andrews argued that the FTC had no authority over cooperatives because the Capper-Volstead Act put the cooperatives under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture.

FTC action, he charged, was bureaucratic harassment of cooperatives and if allowed to continue, would badly damage the future of small farmers who were the members.

Opponents contended that cooperatives and their activities had grown beyond the scope envisioned by the Capper-Volstead Act. Some cooperatives had developed into large corporations with subsidiaries engaged in oil and chemical production and sales.

Scheuer noted that Sunkist Growers had sales of $500 million in 1978. Farmland Industries had sales of $3.2 billion; Associated Milk Producers Inc. had sales of $1.77 billion; Agway Inc. had sales of $1.7 billion and Land O'Lakes had sales of $1.49 billion.

Scheuer added that Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland in a letter had opposed the amendment, saying that it was appropriate for the FTC to investigate cooperatives when their activities fell beyond the reach of the Capper-Volstead Act.

House Provisions

As passed, HR 2313:

- Authorized $75 million for the FTC in fiscal 1980; $80 million, fiscal 1981; and $85 million, fiscal 1982.
- Allowed congressional veto of any FTC regulation and permitted one chamber to veto if the other did not adopt a resolution of disapproval within 30 days.
- Provided for expedited judicial review of challenges to the constitutionality of the congressional veto measure.
- Prohibited the FTC from petitioning the patents commissioner to cancel a trademark on the ground that it had become the common descriptive name of an item. This would stop FTC action against the Formica Corp.
- Reduced the amount to $750,000 a year from $1 million for paying citizens and businesses to testify at FTC proceedings if they otherwise could not afford to do so. The amount any one group could receive in any year or in any proceeding was limited to $75,000.
- Barred the FTC from regulating the funeral home industry.
- Prohibited the FTC from investigating or prosecuting antitrust cases against agricultural cooperatives and investigating agricultural marketing orders.
- Required the FTC to prepare a regulatory analysis of every proposed and final regulation. The analysis would include the objectives of the regulation, alternatives and projected benefits and adverse economic effects.

Senate Committee

A bill (S 1991) different from the House legislation but which would severely cut back FTC activities was ordered reported by the Senate Commerce Committee Nov. 20.

The bill did not include a congressional veto. But it would force the agency to stop or reassess its action in a number of major proceedings, such as proposed rules governing children's advertising, used car sales and trade groups that set industry standards. A number of other restrictions were also included.

Stuart E. Eizenstat, Carter's chief domestic adviser, and the FTC commissioners criticized the bill, saying it might damage the government's ability to prevent unfair or anti-competitive practices.

But Eizenstat also said there was strong concern that some provisions "undermine the capacity of government agencies to meet real public needs — in the case of the FTC, the need to prevent and redress anti-competitive, unfair or deceptive commercial practices."

The FTC commissioners wrote to Consumer Subcommittee Chairman Wendell H. Ford, D-Ky., the bill's sponsor, that "some of the measures that you have proposed, singly and in combination, are likely to damage severely, and perhaps irreparably, the ability of the commission to protect consumers and competition."

Several amendments approved by the committee:

- Allowed the FTC to continue adjudicating "unfair" advertising on a case-by-case basis. This softened Ford's original provision, although the bill still would end the FTC's children's television advertising proceeding.

For industry-wide rulemaking, the agency would have to show that the advertising was "false or deceptive."

- Allowed a party providing corrective action required by cease and desist orders, such as special advertising, to petition the FTC to drop the corrective action order.
- Barred the FTC from investigating the insurance industry, which basically was regulated by the states.
- Stopped the FTC from prescribing industry-wide regulation rules in antitrust cases under the 1974 Magnuson-Moss Act (PL 93-637) although industry-wide antitrust rules could be issued to the extent allowed by other law. The agency's ability to issue industry-wide rules in antitrust cases under other law was arguable. Rules could be issued on a case-by-case basis. The amendment would stop the current FTC investigation of consumer product standard-setting organizations. ▮

Household Moving

Legislation to ease regulation of the household goods moving industry was passed by the Senate Dec. 20.

The bill (S 1798) allowed rate-setting flexibility for movers and made it easier for new firms to enter the field. This would result in a financially healthy industry, the Senate Commerce Committee said in reporting the bill Dec. 13 (S Rept 96-497).

Consumer advocates said the bill in some cases headed off efforts by the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to increase consumer protection, such as a proposed rule requiring a binding estimate on the cost of transporting household goods.

The American Movers Conference supported the bill, although it opposed easing entry for new firms.

The House Public Works Committee was expected to consider the legislation in 1980.

As passed by the Senate, the bill:

- Allowed movers to charge up to 10 percent above or below a standard rate established by the ICC for transportation services and up to 20 percent above or below a standard for accessory services.
- Gave carriers antitrust immunity to discuss changes in the procedures establishing standard rate. They would not be allowed to discuss individual rates.
- Prohibited the ICC from requiring binding estimates.
- Made the practice of setting a fraudulent weight a specific crime punishable by up to $10,000 and two years in jail.
- Barred the ICC from fining a mover for a recordkeeping violation unless the shipper suffered actual harm.
- Provided a mechanism for helping to resolve claims filed against carriers by their customers. ▮

Amtrak Funds Authorized, Routes Cut Back

An Amtrak authorization bill (HR 3996 — PL 96-73) reducing the passenger train system by more than 4,000 miles and setting criteria to determine which trains will be continued was signed into law by President Carter Sept. 29.

Although the cutback amounted to approximately 16 percent of the existing routes, the plan was far less drastic than the 43 percent cut originally sought by the administration in January. The administration plan, designed to eliminate uneconomical trains, would have saved $189 million in fiscal 1980.

The legislation authorized $912.7 million for operating and capital expenses for fiscal 1980; $984.9 million for fiscal 1981; and $329 million in fiscal 1982 for just capital expenses.

The fiscal 1980 authorization was $140.7 million more than requested by the president and $252.7 million more than appropriated for fiscal 1979.

The size of the route cut was influenced by the crowded trains and gas lines that followed the spring gasoline shortage. Congressmen argued that this was not the time to be drastically cutting back trains and the White House eventually agreed to a smaller reduction.

The bill passed by the Senate (S 712) on Aug. 1 differed substantially from the version reported by the Senate Commerce Committee. The committee, acting before the severity of the nationwide gasoline shortage was realized, had gone along with most of the administration's plan.

The Senate version was similar to that passed by the House on July 25. But differences over continuing "political trains" — those going through the district of a powerful congressman — and funding required sending the bill to conference.

The legislation was cleared by the House Sept. 27 and the Senate Sept. 25 when both chambers adopted the conference report by voice votes.

Trains Retained

Formulas were developed using updated ridership figures and revenue losses to determine which trains should be retained. Supporters said the formulas would be objective tests and not simply methods for protecting political trains.

But opponents whose areas lost trains contended that the formulas were in fact designed to protect politically favored trains.

A sore point was the continuation of the Cardinal, which operates between Washington and Chicago, and the Shenandoah, from Washington to Cincinnati. The two trains operated through West Virginia, the home state of House Commerce Committee Chairman Harley O. Staggers, one of the conferees, and Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, both Democrats.

During floor discussion of the conference report on Sept. 27, Rep. Samuel L. Devine, R-Ohio, chairman of the House Republican Conference, questioned continuing the Cardinal while the National Limited, a train that went through his district, was stopped.

"[I]t is difficult for me to explain to my constituency why a train that runs well through West Virginia, which happens to be that of the majority leader in the Senate, why that would be retained when it did not meet the criteria any more than did the National Limited," Devine said.

Supporters said the Cardinal and Shenandoah would be kept running on a temporary basis. The two trains would have to meet the legislation's criteria within two years to be continued.

Saved by the new formulas were the Pioneer, from Seattle to Salt Lake City; the InterAmerican, Chicago to Laredo, Texas; the Montrealer, Washington to Montreal; the Southwest Limited, Chicago to Los Angeles; the Southern Crescent, New York to New Orleans; and the Hiawatha, Seattle to Chicago.

The Mt. Rainier and the Pacific International were combined to provide service between Portland and Vancouver. The Silver Meteor and Champion, both running from New York to Miami and St. Petersburg, were combined but may be run separately during heavy travel seasons.

Only two trains — the National Limited between New York and Kansas City and the Hilltopper between Boston and Catlettsburg, Ky., via Washington and West Virginia — actually stopped Oct. 1. Temporary federal court orders blocked plans to discontinue others immediately.

Final Provisions

As cleared by Congress, the legislation:

- Authorized $1.2 million for the rail public counsel office to represent consumer rail interests before the Interstate Commerce Commission.
- Established a formula to require Amtrak to continue train service if the short-term loss on a route did not exceed 7 cents per passenger mile and the number of passengers per mile was projected to average at least 150 in fiscal 1980.
- Established additional criteria for saving trains based on whether they were on short- or long-distance routes and whether they were necessary to maintain a regional balance. Amtrak would retain short-distance trains under this formula if their short-term loss was not more than 9 cents per passenger mile and the number of passengers averaged at least 80 per mile. Some long-distance trains would be kept if necessary to maintain regional balance in the national system. Trains continued under this additional criteria would be given up to two years to meet the stricter formula.
- Allowed Amtrak to provide substitute train service over routes scheduled for restructuring or elimination. The substitute service must meet the formulas within two years in order to continue operation or be replaced by planned new service. This provision allowed the continuation of the Shenandoah and the Cardinal.
- Required Amtrak to evaluate portions of discontinued routes for possible reinstatement and to report to Congress by Feb. 15, 1980.
- Required Amtrak to report to Congress by April 30, 1980, on the feasibility of establishing a system of uniform cost allocation, including the cost by route, revenue by route, profit or loss by route and the profit or loss per passenger on a route.
- Required Amtrak to start a reduced fare program for the elderly and handicapped. No fee or percentage was set.
- Provided for a study by the comptroller general on ways for Amtrak to repay its pre-1973 debt to the federal

government. The 180-day study was a compromise. The House had wanted Amtrak to repay the debt in stock rather than cash, while the Senate wanted to keep the payment in cash.

Background

The Transportation Department in a Jan. 31 report to Congress proposed a 43 percent cutback in the Amtrak rail network. The reduction would permit a 23 percent savings, some $189 million, in the federal subsidy through fiscal 1980.

At the same time, the reduced system would serve 91 percent of the passengers who used the old system, the department maintained.

Congress had included in Amtrak's fiscal 1979 authorizing legislation (S 3040 — PL 95-421) a request for the department's recommendations for a basic Amtrak route structure by Dec. 31, 1979. *(1978 Almanac p. 477)*

The proposed system would serve 22 of the nation's 25 largest population centers, 39 of the 50 largest cities and 40 states. Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Hawaii, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Vermont, Maine and New Hampshire would have no service at all. Alaska, Hawaii, Maine, New Hampshire and South Dakota have never had Amtrak service.

Though the administration expected a fight from Congress, it was counting on the growing pressure to cut spending to counteract the tendency of members to vigorously resist cutbacks affecting their districts.

Initial reaction seemed to confirm that expectation. Although Amtrak, the National Association of Railroad Passengers and some congressmen continued to express concern about the cutbacks, most seemed resigned to the need for them.

The proposed budget asked for new budget authority for Amtrak of $760 million in fiscal 1980, compared with $779 million appropriated the previous year. Of the total, $552 million was earmarked for operating subsidies, a drop of $48 million from the 1979 figure.

But when refugees from fuel-short automobiles switched to Amtrak, the Carter administration retreated from severe cut backs in passenger train service. In May Amtrak had to turn away 756,246 passengers for lack of space.

Transportation Secretary Brock Adams announced on June 20 that the administration endorsed a House committee plan to restore some trains scheduled for elimination.

House Action

Committee: The House Commerce Committee rejected an attempt to kill the administration's plan, but the committee established a formula to determine which trains would be retained.

NEW AMTRAK SYSTEM

SOURCE: National Railroad Passenger Corp.

As reported (H Rept 96-189) May 15, HR 3996 contained a three-year authorization: $866.5 million for fiscal 1980; $940.5 million for 1981; and $958.5 million for 1982.

Authorizations for the U.S. Railway Association, the Office of Rail Public Counsel and the rail rehabilitation and improvement financing fund brought the total for fiscal 1980 to $1.1 billion.

Despite the envisaged cutbacks in rail routes, the recommended authorization for fiscal 1980 was higher than that approved by Congress for fiscal 1979. *(1978 Almanac p. 477)*

In a minority view included in the report, Devine, then ranking minority member of the committee, and James M. Collins, R-Texas, contended that Amtrak had failed to attract enough passengers despite the recent increase in ridership to justify another government subsidy.

Floor: Action on the Amtrak authorization began July 24, but was carried over to July 25 as the House sifted through a series of amendments and substitute amendments. The House approved HR 3996 by a 397-18 vote July 25. *(Vote 346, p. 102-H)*

An amendment to put a one-year moratorium on the route cuts, sponsored by Albert Gore Jr., D-Tenn., and Wyche Fowler Jr., D-Ga., was rejected 197-214. *(Vote 343, p.100-H)*

The House accepted several amendments, including one that added criteria to those already in the committee bill, to assure a better regional balance. That amendment, proposed by Robert Duncan, D-Ore., was adopted by voice vote.

The Duncan formula involved some short-distance and some long-distance trains. These trains would have two years to meet the stricter criteria approved by the Commerce Committee.

The legislation as modified by the Duncan amendment cut 5,500 miles of train routes, leaving Amtrak with 22,000 miles. The bill, as approved by the committee, would have left Amtrak with 19,000. Carter's plan would have cut the Amtrak system to 15,700 miles.

Amendments: Amendments accepted by voice vote included provisions to:

- Permit Amtrak to reduce fares for the elderly and handicapped.
- Require Amtrak to evaluate portions of discontinued routes for possible reinstatement and to report to Congress by Feb. 15, 1980.

The House rejected by a 168-250 vote an amendment to require Amtrak to establish fares that would produce revenues equal to 40 percent of expenses in fiscal 1980, 45 percent in 1981 and 50 percent in 1982. *(Vote 345, p. 102-H)*

Senate Action

Committee: As reported by the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee (S Rept 96-183) May 15, the bill (S 712) authorized a total of $1 billion for fiscal 1980 and $900 million for fiscal 1981 for Amtrak. The committee recommendations exceeded the administration's original request by $49.3 million the first year and $59 million the second.

The panel said it increased the authorization in part because there would be problems rerouting some trains under the original Transportation Department plan.

The increase also was to be used to continue some commuter trains, study an alternative service between Washington and Chicago and provide additional funds to retain some trains that would be saved under the substitute legislation.

A majority of the committee on May 1 opposed a resolution of disapproval (S Res 49) by Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, R-N.M., of the administration's original plan.

Floor: Commerce Chairman Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev., and other supporters of a compromise route plan, drafted a substitute for the committee-reported bill. Their intent was to bring the legislation more in line with the House-passed version and to reach a compromise with members who did not want extensive cuts.

Cannon said the federal government had to stem Amtrak's growing subsidy. When Amtrak began in 1971, its annual subsidy was $40 million, but in 1979, its operating subsidy alone amounted to $600 million, he said.

During discussion of the substitute, introduced by Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., the Senate debated an amendment for a one-year moratorium. John Melcher, D-Mont., moved to freeze the existing Amtrak route structure for one year to see if ridership continued to increase. But the Senate easily killed his amendment, 35-65. *(Vote 238, p. 40-S)*

Seven amendments were accepted by Leahy and adopted by voice vote.

Leahy's proposal, adopted by an 89-11 vote, included the House formula requiring Amtrak to continue train service if the short-term loss on a route was no more than 7 cents per passenger mile and the number of passengers per mile was projected to average at least 150 in fiscal 1980. *(Vote 239, p. 40-S)*

As passed by the Senate, S 712 authorized a total of $1.1 billion for fiscal 1980 and $945 million for fiscal 1981 for Amtrak, including a rail improvement fund.

Amendments: Other amendments adopted by voice vote:

- Required Amtrak to continue service for two years on short-distance routes if the loss did not exceed 9 cents per passenger mile and the number of passengers averaged at least 80 per mile. Some long-distance trains also would be continued. The formula was designed to preserve some regional balance in train service.
- Increased by $54 million Amtrak's capital budget to handle increased ridership and to make train service a more attractive transportation alternative.
- Required Amtrak to establish a reduced fare for elderly and handicapped individuals and to require the Transportation Department's Federal Railroad Administration to reimburse Amtrak for the difference between the reduced and regular fares.
- Required Amtrak to establish a system of uniform cost allocation by Dec. 31, including the cost by route, profit or loss by route, and the profit or loss per passenger on a route. A report on the costs was to be given to the Senate and House Commerce committees by Feb. 15, 1980.
- Required Amtrak to submit a report to Congress by Jan. 31, 1980, on the feasibility of restoring the trains dropped Oct. 1 under S 712.

Conference

The agreement reached by conferees Sept. 19 included an authorization of $912.7 million for fiscal 1980 and continued the Cardinal and Shenandoah trains through West Virginia.

The House had cut the Cardinal, and the Senate eliminated the Shenandoah. The compromise to keep both trains was worked out before the actual conference meeting. The agreement included requiring the two to meet the performance formula within two years, or they both would be discontinued.

The conference report filed Sept. 26 (H Rept 96-481) also provided for the following:

- Authorized $912.7 million for fiscal 1980, $984.9 million for fiscal 1981 and $329 million for fiscal 1982. The 1982 authorization included only capital funds, not operating funds.

The House had authorized $881.5 million, $930.5 million and $963.5 million for the three fiscal years. The Senate had authorized $871.8 million and $949.5 for fiscal 1980 and 1981, respectively.

- Compromised on $1.2 million for the rail public counsel office representing consumer rail interests before the Interstate Commerce Commission. The House had included $1.8 million, while the Senate wanted to eliminate the office.

Maritime Rebating

Legislation to curtail illegal rebating in the ocean shipping industry was signed into law (S 199 — PL 96-25) by President Carter on June 19. A similar measure had been pocket-vetoed by the president in 1978.

The 1979 bill (S 199) was signed after a provision was added giving the president the power to reverse any suspended tariff for national defense or foreign policy considerations.The 1978 measure did not contain that option and Carter objected that the legislation might disrupt State Department shipping talks then underway with Japan and several European nations. *(1978 Almanac pp.509, 66-E)*

In rebating, steamship companies seeking to gain shipments offered shippers discounts or kickbacks that were lower than the rates filed with the Federal Maritime Commission (FMC), in violation of federal law. As cleared June 5 by Congress, S 199 strengthened the ability of the FMC to act against anti-rebating violations by foreign-flag firms.

Congressional, administration and industry supporters contended the bill was necessary because the inability of the FMC to enforce the law against foreign-flag shipping firms discriminated against U.S. companies and put those companies at an unfair advantage.

Some countries allowed rebating while others didn't officially sanction it. Many U.S. trading partners enacted "blocking statutes" to prevent their nationals from disclosing rebating information to the United States.

The legislation compelled any steamship company to comply with the FMC's orders for information on rebating practices or face a one-year ban from U.S. ports. If a company argued that it couldn't comply because of conflicting foreign law, then the secretary of state would negotiate with the foreign country to get the information.

"Fundamental notions of fairness and decency demand that we act swiftly to clear our international trades of illegal rebates. . . . It is not only unethical, but it destroys fair competition and imposes unnecessary and hidden costs on the shipping public," John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee chairman, said.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 199:

- Increased civil penalties to $25,000 from $5,000 for certain anti-rebating violations.
- Allowed the FMC to prohibit a firm from operating in U.S. ports for up to a year for failure to comply with an order to produce information in an investigation. Any carrier that accepted cargo while it was suspended would be subject to a civil penalty of $50,000 for each shipment.
- Required the secretary of state, when a carrier refused to comply with subpoenas or discovery orders because of conflicting foreign law, to consult with that nation's government to try to obtain the information.
- Allowed the president to void a tariff suspension within 10 days for reasons of national defense or foreign policy.
- Required the heads of common carriers engaged in foreign commerce to file a statement under oath that it was company policy not to engage in illegal rebating, that the company had taken steps to prevent rebating and that the company would fully cooperate with the FMC. Failure to file the statement would result in a civil penalty of up to $5,000 for each day of the violation.
- Prohibited use of federal conspiracy statutes to punish illegal rebating practices committed after Aug. 29, 1972.

Senate Action

The bill was reported by the Senate Commerce Committee on May 15 (S Rept 96-147) and passed by voice vote on May 23.

According to the committee, the Shipping Act of 1916, as amended, dealt "with one of the most significant impediments" to fair enforcement of the law against rebating — access to documents of foreign flag steamship companies.

The FMC could get information or documents for an investigation only if a foreign firm or U.S. citizen voluntarily released the information.

Many governments had passed statutes making it virtually impossible for the FMC to get the information it needed to prosecute a violation successfully.

Rebating — either through cash payments or payments by carriers for services that ought to be paid by shippers — threatened the future of American steamship firms, the committee said. The rebates amounted to more than $100 million a year, it said.

The committee said it recognized that tariff suspensions could have a foreign policy impact, but the committee felt the provision allowing the president to disapprove a suspension order for national defense or foreign policy reasons provided "reasonable" flexibility.

House, Final Action

The House by voice vote on June 4 passed S 199 after substituting its own slightly different version (HR 3055 — H Rept 96-232).

The Senate concurred in the House changes on June 5.

Coast Guard Authorization

Legislation (S 709 — PL-96-23) authorizing $1.39 billion for the Coast Guard in fiscal 1980 was cleared by Congress on May 31 and signed into law by the president on June 13.

The Senate Commerce Committee reported the bill (S Rept 96-134) on May 11. The House Merchant Marine Committee reported a companion measure (HR 2295, H Rept 96-118) on May 4.

Final action came when the House approved the Senate-passed version by voice vote. The Senate had passed the bill by voice vote on May 17.

The legislation authorized $32 million, or 2.5 percent more than the amount requested by the president for fiscal 1980. The authorization also was 8.2 percent higher than the level for fiscal 1979.

House and Senate members said the additional funds were necessary because of the increased workload of the Coast Guard. In addition, they said they were concerned about recent accidents and the need for more seaman training.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 709 authorized the following:

- $1.058 billion for operations and maintenance.
- $292.8 million for acquisition, construction, rebuilding and improvement of navigation aids, shore facilities, vessels and aircraft.
- $14.9 million for the alteration or removal of bridges obstructing navigation.
- $25.52 million for research, tests and evaluation.

The bill also raised the ceiling on the number of commissioned officers to 6,000, from 5,000. ▮

U.S. Travel Service

Congress rejected a proposal to phase out the Commerce Department's United States Travel Service (USTS) and cleared legislation (S 233) Sept. 28 authorizing $8 million for the agency for one more year.

The bill was signed by the president Oct. 10 (PL 96-85).

The administration's fiscal 1980 budget had proposed consolidating USTS, which encouraged foreigners to travel in America, with other trade promotion activities in the department's Industry and Trade Administration at a savings of $11 million in 1980.

The administration said the need for USTS had been diminished by discount air fares, increased purchasing power of many foreign currencies in the United States and private tourism promotion. It recommended closing the six offices in Canada, Mexico, Japan, West Germany, France and the United Kingdom.

But the bill's backers pointed out that the National Tourism Policy Study prepared by the Senate Commerce Committee in 1978 reported that for every $1 spent by USTS, $18.60 is returned by tourist spending.

While saying they were not satisfied with the USTS performance, they argued it should be continued on an interim basis until legislation implementing a national tourism policy was completed by fiscal 1981.

Legislative History. As cleared by Congress Sept. 28, S 233 authorized $8 million for fiscal 1980, compared to $13.5 million for 1979. In addition, the staff of the District of Columbia office was reduced 60 percent, as recommended by the USTS Travel Advisory Board. The overseas offices were retained.

The Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee reported S 233 March 1 (S Rept 96-8) and the Senate passed the measure March 8 by voice vote.

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reported an identical bill, HR 2795, on May 15 (H Rept 96-146).

Final Action. The House considered HR 2795 Sept. 24. On Sept. 28, it passed the bill by 239-48, vacated passage, and then passed the Senate bill. *(House vote 477, p. 138-H)* ▮

Maritime Authorization

Legislation (S 640 — PL 96-112) authorizing $440.5 million for fiscal 1980 maritime activities was cleared by Congress Nov. 5 after major differences over crew sizes and ship operating subsidies were eliminated by conferees.

The House agreed by voice vote on Nov. 2 to accept the conference report (H Rept 96-556) and the Senate agreed, also by voice vote, on Nov. 5.

The total authorized was $4.5 million above the administration request but $30.5 million below the fiscal 1979 authorization.

House provisions barring the use of operating subsidies for lobbying by industry research groups and alleged "featherbedding" — the hiring of unnecessary personnel through union pressure — were dropped in conference when John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., chairman of the Merchant Marine Committee and chief House conferee, agreed to the Senate request to exclude them.

Although conferees are expected to support the positions taken by their respective chambers, the amendments had been offered over Murphy's objections by Paul N. McCloskey Jr., R-Calif., ranking minority member of the Merchant Marine Committee.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 640 (PL 96-112) included:

- $3.5 million to repair and equip a replacement training ship for the Massachusetts Maritime Academy.
- $101 million for subsidies for commercial ship construction.
- $256,208,000 for ship operating subsidies to offset the lower operating costs — particularly labor costs — of foreign-flag operators.
- $16,360,000 for research and development.
- $27,872,000 for maritime education and training, including $17,132,000 for maritime training at the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N.Y., and $1,998,000 for unexpected fuel costs for training vessels at state merchant marine schools.
- $35,598,000 for operating expenses.
- Permitted a foreign-built, U.S.-flag ship carrying cargo destined for a foreign port to stop at an American port to transfer the cargo to a U.S.-flag ship owned by the same operator. The provision would be in effect until April 1, 1984.
- Allowed steamship companies to suspend federal operating subsidy contracts for certain ships for one to five years. Those firms would then operate outside shipping regulations imposed by the program.
- Allowed a 5 percent reduction in construction subsidies unless the vessel was built as part of a series.
- Required ships built with subsidies to be enrolled in a Department of Defense Sealift Readiness program.
- Defined states as U.S. citizens so they would qualify as first mortgagor in financing commercial fishing vessels.

Senate Action

The Senate with little debate authorized $435 million for 1980 by a vote of 85-2 on May 24. *(Vote 113, p. 21-S)* The bill had been reported (S Rept 96-105) by the Commerce Committee on May 1.

Provisions: The bill included $101 million for ship construction subsidies and authorized the use of $23 million left over from fiscal 1979 appropriations. In addition, it included:

- $256,208,000 for ship operating subsidies to offset the lower operating costs of foreign flag operations.
- $35,598,000 for operating expenses, including $6,377,000 for reserve fleet expenses and $29,221,000 for other operating costs.
- $16,360,000 for research and development.
- $25,874,000 for maritime education, including $17,132,000 for training at the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N.Y.

House Action

The House bill (HR 2462) was reported (H Rept 96-169) by the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee on May 15. It authorized $438.5 million — $3.5 million more than the Senate. The extra money was added to repair and equip a replacement training ship for the Massachusetts Maritime Academy.

Other amendments approved by the full committee April 25 included McCloskey's proposal to bar construction and operating subsidies for vessels that would not be available for the Pentagon's Sealift Readiness program.

HR 2462, passed by the House July 27, authorized $440.5 million.

Most of the debate July 20 and 27 focused on a McCloskey amendment to trim the construction subsidy program, which subsidized up to 50 percent of the cost of a ship. He argued the subsidies had failed to reduce the costs.

McCloskey's attempt to eliminate $69 million for three bulk ships — vessels carrying coal, grains and other bulk commodities — was handily rejected July 27 by 139-246. *Vote 356, p. 106-H)*

Opponents included Murphy who contended that the subsidies were necesary if shipyards were to remain viable, aid the economy and backup the nation's security in time of war. Others argued that cuts would damage the steel and shipbuilding industries.

The House did accept by 196-183, McCloskey's amendment to prohibit construction subsidies for any vessel manned by a crew that was 50 per cent greater than the minimum recommended by the Coast Guard. *(Vote 357, p. 106-H)*

The House also accepted by a 9-4 standing vote a McCloskey amendment prohibiting operating subsidies for employer contributions to industry groups that engaged in lobbying.

Other Amendments. The House by voice vote also accepted:

- An amendment by Gene Snyder, R-Ky., to allow companies to suspend federal operating subsidy contracts for certain ships from one to five years. In exchange, the firms would be allowed to operate outside the program's shipping regulations.

- Snyder's amendment to allow foreign-built, U.S.-flag ships to transfer at interim ports cargo destined for foreign trade, as foreign ships were permitted to do.

- A proposal by David F. Emery, R-Maine, adding almost $2 million for unexpected fuel costs for training vessels at state merchant marine schools.

Final Action. The president signed the bill into law Nov. 16 (PL 96-112). ▮

Pilots Retirement

Experienced pilots lost a bid to continue flying airline planes beyond their 60th birthdays when Congress cleared legislation Dec. 19 that failed to overrule a mandatory federal retirement regulation.

The bill (HR 3948 — PL 96-171) originally would have permitted pilots over 60 to continue to fly airline planes while a study on the effects of aging was conducted by the National Institutes of Health.

But on Dec. 5, the House by a vote of 240-165 amended HR 3948 by deleting the provision. *(Vote 623, p. 184-H)*

The bill, passed by voice vote, provided only for a 12-month NIH study on the effects of aging on pilots.

The Senate, with no debate, passed the bill Dec. 18 by voice vote, and Dec. 19 the House agreed to a Senate amendment, clearing the measure for the president.

Heavy lobbying by the Air Line Pilots Association, the AFL-CIO union representing more than 30,000 pilots, and other labor groups, plus the opposition of the Federal Aviation Administration, the American Medical Association and most airlines, were major factors in the House defeat of the provision, according to observers.

The FAA set retirement at 60 in 1959, arguing that medical science can't predict accurately whether or when a pilot will succumb to obvious incapacitation, such as heart attack or stroke, or to subtle health problems, such as nervous disorders which could mean poor judgment.

The older pilots, who also lobbied, contended that the rule is discriminatory and said no one is automatically too old at any arbitrary age. Their supporters argued there is no evidence to prove that pilots over 60 were less safe than younger pilots.

House Action

The Public Works Committee reported the bill (H Rept 96-474) Sept. 25, after rejecting an amendment that would have continued the age 60 rule while the study was underway. The amendment was resubmitted and accepted during floor action.

Also struck when the House amended the bill Dec. 5 was a provision making the retirement rule applicable to commuter service pilots. They may continue flying beyond the age of 60, even though they, unlike airline pilots, fly without a co-pilot.

Eastern Airlines Capt. Jack Young, legislative vice president of the Pilots Rights Association, said the group would not continue its fight in the Senate. He said the pilots wanted the study conducted so Congress could then consider changing the retirement rule. A prolonged fight probably would only delay the study, he said.

Senate Action

The Senate took up HR 3948 after agreeing to discharge the Commerce Committee from consideration of the bill. Majority leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., offered the unanimous consent motion to discharge the committee at the request of Commerce Committee Chairman Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev.

The Senate accepted an amendment deleting a $600,000 authorization for the study.

The House originally provided no funds for the study because its Budget Committee objected to the authorization. But the money was reinstated by mistake.

Final Action

On Dec. 19 the House agreed to the Senate amendment. Glenn M. Anderson, D-Calif., floor manager of the bill, said NIH had other funds available.

The president signed the bill into law Dec. 29. ▮

Milwaukee Railroad

Congress cleared emergency legislation (S 1905 — PL 96-101) Nov. 2 to aid the financially troubled Milwaukee Railroad, which had shut down service on about half of its 9,800 miles of track the day before.

The conference report (H Rept 96-583) adopted by voice votes by both chambers provided loan guarantees the railroad was reluctant to accept and which administration officials had originally opposed. But the president on Nov. 4 signed the legislation, a compromise carefully crafted by grain and coal state congressmen who feared the economic consequences of any shutdown.

The loan guarantees could amount to $70 million to maintain service for up to five months. The legislation also gave a shipper-employee group time to prepare a plan to take over the railroad. But because of the railroad's probable inability to repay the loans, the taxpayer was likely to foot the bill. The legislation also guaranteed $75 million for labor protection benefits.

Other Provisions

PL 96-101 provided that train service would be continued by the Milwaukee Railroad (Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Co.) under the following conditions:

- Shippers and employees could submit a plan for taking over the railroad to the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) by Dec. 15. The House had sought a Dec. 1 date.
- The ICC would have 30 days to approve the plan.
- If the plan were approved, it had to be implemented by April 1, 1980. The House had wanted March 1, while the Senate wanted May 10.
- The transportation secretary had to provide loan guarantees in the interim to help pay operating costs and the government would take a low priority among the creditors for repayment if the Milwaukee defaulted.
- If the plan was not approved, loan guarantees would be provided for 60 days while the railroad's restructuring took place and some lines were sold.
- The Milwaukee would become eligible for $30 million in loans for equipment repairs.

Background

Federal District Judge Thomas R. McMillen in Chicago, overseeing the railroad's bankruptcy case, ordered the shutdown of mostly northwestern routes at 12:01 a.m. Nov. 1. The railroad had officially declared bankruptcy in December 1977.

The court-appointed trustee, former Illinois Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie (R, 1969-73), had sought the court order to save the more economically viable "core " lines in the Midwest. Ogilvie, the railroad and the Carter administration believed the western lines were not financially viable and if service continued on them, then the core lines might collapse too.

The railroad, the country's seventh largest, lost $93 million in the first nine months of 1979.

Western congressmen argued that expected increased grain and coal traffic would make the Milwaukee financially sound. Without the Milwaukee, they said, Northwest shippers would have to switch to more costly transport.

Congressional Compromise

Although there were several preliminary plans in both chambers with differing extensions of time to continue service, the main proposals were S 1905, reported Oct. 29 by the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee *(no written report)*, and H J Res 341 reported May 30 (H Rept 96-225) by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. After passing H Res 341 Oct. 30, the House inserted its own language into S 1905, which the Senate had passed earlier the same day.

Conferees compromised on most provisions with relative ease by Nov. 2. However, labor protection was a problem.

Both chambers provided loan guarantees of $75 million to pay Milwaukee employee severance claims. The loans would receive a high priority among the railroad's creditors to assure repayment. But the House detailed a specific program, worked out by Commerce Transportation Subcommittee Chairman James J. Florio, D-N.J.

According to aides, Bob Packwood, R-Ore., ranking minority member of the Senate Commerce Committee, blocked attempts to accept the House language. Packwood believed the benefits program should be resolved by labor and management and Congress should not interfere.

The compromise reached included only the $75 million and dropped the details provided by the House. However, the conference report filed Nov. 2 "suggested" that if private negotiations between the trustee and labor failed, the House program should be followed. ▮

Pipeline Safety

Legislation (S 411 — PL 96-129) providing stronger federal regulation of pipeline transportation and storage of hazardous natural and petroleum gases and liquids was cleared by Congress Nov. 15.

The bill represented the "first major review and legislative revision of the pipeline safety program since it was enacted in 1968," according to John D. Dingell, D-Mich., chairman of the House Commerce Energy and Power Subcommittee.

The legislation grew out of the increasing concern of members of Congress about accidents involving exploding liquefied natural gas (LNG) and liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), which are used for home heating, cooking, industrial activities and other purposes.

It gave the Transportation Department clear regulatory authority over pipeline transportation and storage of hazardous liquids for the first time and beefed up the government's ability to set and enforce LPG and LNG pipeline safety standards, including construction, operation and maintenance.

The House passed its bill (HR 51) Sept. 18, while the Senate passed S 411 June 4. The two chambers avoided a

formal conference, and their Commerce committees worked out the differences.

The House version seemed more comprehensive than the Senate bill. But the House included clarifications of previous law, which the Senate did not think was necessary. The House also included provisions relating to state regulation, which were taken out of the final bill.

A major change was the coverage of hazardous liquids. The Senate bill had included LPG as well as other hazardous liquids, while the House bill only brought LPG under the act.

The Senate passed the compromise legislation by voice vote Nov. 14, while the House passed it by voice vote on Nov. 15. It had been endorsed by the Transportation Department and industry associations.

Known as the Pipeline Safety Act of 1979, it was similar to a bill (HR 11622) passed by the House in 1978. That bill died at adjournment because the Senate declined to act on it. *(1978 Almanac p. 755)*

Some members of Congress had not been satisfied with the progress in regulating pipeline transportation and storage of the gases by the Department of Transportation, which was given that responsibility under the Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968 (PL 90-481). The 1979 act amended the 1968 law and repealed the Transportation of Explosives Act of 1908, the only existing authority for regulating hazardous liquid pipelines. *(1968 Almanac p. 339)*

S 411 covered the liquefied gases and hazardous liquids that travel through the nation's 1.7-million-mile pipeline system or are held in storage and other facilities.

When drastically cooled, the gases are compressed to a fraction of their original volume and thus are easier to transport and store. But as LNG warms, it vaporizes and expands, becoming a drifting gas cloud that could be ignited by a minor spark. An explosion and fire in 1944 at an LNG storage facility in Cleveland killed 128 persons, injured 300 and caused $7 million in property damage.

LPG, if accidently released and warmed, forms a highly flammable cloud that is heavier than air. It could sink into sewers, turning them into subterranean bombs.

Final Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 411 authorized $13 million to carry out the provisions in fiscal 1980 and $15 million in fiscal 1981. In addition, the legislation:

Title I — Natural Gas

- Mandated the secretary within a year to set standards requiring pipeline facility operators to participate in a program that would provide notice of proposed construction near their facilities.
- Required state agencies regulating intrastate pipeline facilities to annually report all accidents or incidents involving personal injury or property damage exceeding $5,000 and any other accident the agency considers significant.
- Allowed the secretary to issue orders directing compliance with the act or any regulation issued under it. The U.S. district courts would have jurisdiction to enforce the order.
- Set civil penalities of not more than $1,000 for violations of the act, not to exceed $200,000 for any related series of violations. Set criminal penalities of up to $25,000 and 5 years in jail for willfully violating the act.
- Set criminal penalities of up to $25,000 and 15 years in jail for willful destruction of any interstate transmission facility.
- Required the secretary to order corrective action upon determining that a pipeline facility was hazardous.
- Required the secretary within one year to submit a report to Congress on the costs and benefits of additional federal legislation on pipeline safety and the establishment of an electronic data processing system for reporting pipeline safety data.
- Excluded structures or equipment on navigable waters from the definition of LNG pipeline facilities.
- Required the secretary within 180 days to set minimum safety standards for locating, building and operating new LNG facilities. No new facility could be built unless it met the standards.
- Barred the operation of new facilities unless the applicant submitted an adequate plan detailing steps to be taken in case of an LNG accident.
- Exempted from the location and construction standards facilities whose applications for approval were filed by March 1, 1978. Not exempted, however, would be additions or replacements to those facilities.
- Within 270 days, required the secretary to establish minimum operating standards for all facilities.
- Provided that the secretary conduct a study of the risks associated with LNG and LPG facilities and authorized the secretary to order facility operators to maintain adequate insurance.
- Set civil penalties of up to $50,000 and five years in jail for willful violation of the standards and financial responsibility requirements.

Title II — Liquid Pipeline Safety

- Required the secretary to set minimum federal safety standards for the pipeline transportation of LPG and hazardous liquids.
- Provided for minimum federal safety standards for the design, construction, inspection and operation of LPG and hazardous liquids facilities.
- Required the secretary to set standards requiring pipeline facility operators to participate in a program that would provide notice of proposed construction near their facilities.
- Allowed states to set stricter standards for facilities but required federal standards for interstate transmission facilities.
- Provided for state regulation of intrastate facilities.
- Allowed the secretary to issue orders directing compliance with this section or regulations issued under it.
- Set civil penalties of up to $1,000 for each violation, not to exceed $200,000 for any related series of violations. Set criminal penalties of up to $25,000 and 5 years in jail for willfully violating the act, and up to $25,000 and 15 years in jail for willfully damaging interstate pipeline facilities.
- Required the secretary to order corrective action upon determining that a pipeline facility is hazardous.
- Required pipeline facility owners and operators to prepare and carry out a plan for inspection and maintenance of the facilities. The secretary may require revisions upon determining that the plan is inadequate.
- Required the secretary to submit a report to the president and Congress listing accidents, repairs, casualties, standards adopted and violations of the act. ∎

Aircraft Noise Control Agreement Reached

Legislation to control airport noise for the second time in as many years became embroiled in controversy in 1979 and failed to clear Congress.

Conferees, after being threatened with House rejection or a presidential veto, revised an earlier agreement in the closing days of the first session to reach a compromise.

But confusion and misunderstanding led to a stalemate. House supporters Dec. 20 withdrew the revised conference report on the legislation (HR 2440 — H Rept 96-715) from the floor after an extremely close vote approving the rule for the report's consideration. The vote was 195-192. *(Vote 668, p. 198-H)*

The issue in 1979 was the exemption of some aircraft from Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) noise control standards. In 1978 it was federal subsidies, and the legislation died in the House in the final hours of the 95th Congress. *(1978 Almanac p. 504)*

Proponents claimed exemptions would encourage airlines to purchase even quieter craft in the future rather than spend money to convert old planes to meet the standards. Opponents contended the provisions were a sham and would allow noisy planes to fly beyond the FAA-set deadlines.

Also at issue was the manner in which the legislation was brought up. House critics had bottled up legislation (HR 3942) in their chamber because they believed the bill failed to control noise.

However, the Senate in a surprise move Oct. 22 attached its bill (S 413 — S Rept 96-52) exempting aircraft from FAA standards to a routine airport development measure (HR 2440 — H Rept 96-475) passed earlier that same day by the House. The maneuver forced a conference, bypassing the House opponents.

House critics cried foul and tried to block appointment of conferees. Failing that, they did force the revision of the first conference agreement to require stricter compliance with anti-noise standards.

The FAA currently required some two- and three-engine aircraft to comply with noise reduction standards by 1981 and others by 1983. Four-engine jets must comply by 1985.

As finally reported by the conference committee Dec. 19, HR 2440 exempted two-engine jets with 100 or fewer seats until 1988 and two-engine jets with more than 100 seats until 1985. If the jets were sold after Jan. 1, 1983, they must comply with the FAA noise standards.

Two-engine aircraft with more than 100 seats would be exempt until 1986 if the airline signed a contract by 1983 to replace them with jets meeting even more stringent standards than currently required by the FAA. This was known as the "new technology waiver."

Three-engine aircraft would be eligible for the waiver until 1985 if the airline contracted by 1983 for replacements meeting the more stringent standards.

The first compromise would have exempted all two-engine aircraft and allowed waivers for three-engine jets.

The original Senate legislation in effect exempted most two- and three-engine jets and granted compliance waivers to all aircraft if the airline contracted to purchase replacements meeting the more stringent standards.

The final compromise did not allow waivers for four-engine aircraft.

The House legislation would have allowed exemptions for two- and three-engine aircraft serving primarily small communities. No aircraft would have been subject to more stringent noise rules than currently existed, except for reasons of safety, until 1991.

Senate Action

Committee

Noise abatement legislation was revived in 1979 by Senate Commerce Chairman Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev., who also chaired Commerce's Aviation Subcommittee.

Cannon had been pushing for exemptions in the noise reduction standards since 1978 because he believed that in some cases the airlines would have to go to unnecessary expense to meet the standards without providing significant noise relief.

Instead of a tax as authorized by the 1978 bill — which would fall under the Finance Committee's jurisdiction — the 1979 version authorized the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), which was under Commerce's jurisdiction, to levy a surcharge on the cost of air travel and freight. The surcharge was intended to help airlines defray the costs of noise abatement.

A controversial 1978 provision retained in S 413 extended the deadline for airlines to comply with the noise control standards under certain circumstances. The intent of the waiver was to encourage the purchase of new aircraft instead of muffling existing planes.

Because delivery of a new plane took between one and three years from the date it was ordered, depending on the model, the waiver provision would, in effect, put off compliance with FAA standards for up to several years in some cases.

Another provision increased the authorization for airport and airway development for fiscal 1980. Transportation Secretary Brock Adams said the administration would propose legislation to restructure the Airport and Airway Trust Fund beginning in fiscal 1981 and that it would oppose any trust fund measure changing spending levels before 1981.

Provisions

As reported (S Rept 96-52) unanimously March 29, S 413:

- Authorized the Civil Aeronautics Board to impose — and to adjust upward or downward — a surcharge on domestic and international air passenger transportation and on air cargo shipments.

The surcharge was not to exceed 2 percent of the cost of domestic air transportation, and was to be imposed by the CAB solely if requested by an airline company or if recommended by the transportation secretary.

After a fleet complied with the standards, there would be "no restriction on the operator's usage of the noise abatement charge revenues," according to the committee.

- Required the transportation secretary to waive an FAA deadline for aircraft owned by companies that had placed orders for replacement craft before the deadline for complying with the noise control standards.

• Permitted the secretary to waive the deadline for complying with the standards for a "reasonable" time if an aircraft owner had "good cause."

• Instructed the secretary to devise a method for measuring noise at airports and surrounding areas and to identify land uses that would be compatible with various noise levels.

• Established a voluntary federal "noise compatibility" program, with $15 million from the Airport and Airway Trust Fund authorized for planning grants to airport operators, local authorities and regional planning commissions to formulate such noise control programs. Up to $75 million in grants to airport operators was authorized during fiscal 1980 for carrying out the programs.

• Instructed the secretary to prepare noise control programs for the federally owned and operated Dulles and National airports in the Washington, D.C., area.

• Barred any person who acquired land near an airport after a noise control program had been prepared from suing to recover damages from an airport operator for airport noise, unless there was a significant change in the airport's operations after the land was purchased.

• Prohibited the use of documents that formed part of a noise control program in any suit seeking damages for airport noise.

• Authorized an increase of $100 million in fiscal 1980 spending authority from the trust fund for commercial and general aviation airport development, operations and maintenance, and an increase of $5 million in fiscal 1980 for reliever airports.

• Authorized the secretary to issue mandatory noise control standards for international air carriers if the International Civil Aviation Organization had not done so by Jan. 1, 1980.

Floor

Passed by a vote of 78-15 May 1, S 413 authorized new spending of about $200 million in fiscal 1980 for noise control studies, land acquisition and airport development programs. *(Vote 73, p. 15-S)*

The Senate approved an amendment that in effect exempted most two- and three-engine planes from FAA noise regulations. The amendment, adopted by a vote of 51-38, was introduced by Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, and endorsed by Cannon. *(Vote 72, p. 14-S)*

Proponents contended that muffling most two- and three-engine planes would not reduce noise enough for people to notice the difference. Approval of the amendment left mostly four-engine planes under FAA noise rules.

Supporters of waivers beat back an attempt by Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., to eliminate those provisions from S 413. Javits' amendment was rejected 33-57. *(Vote 71, p. 14-S)*

Javits contended that waivers would allow airlines to fly noisy aircraft for three to five years beyond the FAA's 1985 deadline for either replacing planes with quieter ones or "retrofitting," or muffling, their engines.

Three other amendments were approved by voice votes:

• Exempted air carrier employees from state income taxes except in their states of residence. By Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H.

• Allowed the FAA to approve an application for an airport development project without requiring an environmental impact statement if the project allowed non-complying aircraft to be replaced by planes that met the noise standards. By Richard Stone, D-Fla.

• Required the FAA to set regulations on the solicitation of money or distribution of materials by religious or nonprofit groups at Washington's National and Dulles airports. By Robert Morgan, D-N.C.

Other amendments added during Senate debate April 10:

• Limited the CAB's discretionary authority to impose a noise control surcharge only if the airline industry's corporate rate of return on investment fell below 5 percent. By Bob Packwood, R-Ore.

• Set out a procedure that the CAB must follow before imposing a surcharge. By Gary Hart, D-Colo.

• Permitted noise control grants to be spent on the soundproofing of residences. By Charles H. Percy, R-Ill.

• Authorized the use of $250 million in uncommitted surplus funds in the Airport and Airway Trust Fund toward the cost of FAA operations and maintenance, which ordinarily were paid for from general funds. By Cannon.

House Action

Committee

The House noise abatement bill (HR 3942) reported by the House Public Works Committee (H Rept 96-203, Part 1) May 15 had been amended to prohibit the FAA from implementing new regulations requiring private planes operating near many of the nation's major airports to use new radar equipment and other procedures allowing better tracking of their location.

The committee voted 29-14 to approve the amended bill, even though Public Works Aviation Subcommittee Chairman Glenn M. Anderson, D-Calif., who worked for passage of a noise control bill for two years, opposed it.

Amendments added "at the behest of the airline industry and the airframe and engine manufacturers would tie the FAA's hands and leave it helpless in the face of critical noise and safety problems," he said.

The amendment to prohibit the FAA from imposing new safety regulations, sponsored by William H. Harsha, R-Ohio, ranking minority committee member, was approved 25-8 May 9.

Noise control efforts were hurt, critics said, by another Harsha amendment, approved 28-11, allowing either chamber to veto any new FAA regulation that required airlines to

House Committee Vote

The William H. Harsha, R-Ohio, amendment to prohibit the FAA from imposing new saftey regulations was adopted 25-8:

Voting for the amendment were: Albosta, D-Mich.; Atkinson, D-Pa.; Boner, D-Tenn.; Breaux, D-La.; Ertel, D-Pa.; Flippo, D-Ala.; Howard, D-N.J.; Johnson, D-Calif; McCormack, D-Wash.; Rahall, D-W.Va.; Roberts, D-Texas; Roe, D-N.J.; Abdnor, R-S.D.; Clausen, R-Calif.; Clinger, R-Pa.; Gingrich, R-Ga.; Hagedorn, R-Minn.; Hammerschmidt, R-Ark.; Harsha; Lewis, R-Calif.; Royer, R-Calif.; Shuster, R-Pa.; Snyder, R-Ky.; Stangeland, R-Minn., and Taylor, R-Mo.

Voting against were: Ambro, D-N.Y.; Anderson, D-Calif.; Fary, D-Ill.; Ferraro, D-N.Y.; Levitas, D-Ga.; Mineta, D-Calif.; Young, D-Mo. and Goldwater, R-Calif.

switch to aircraft meeting noise control standards more stringent than existing ones.

The bill also exempted more than 1,100 two- and three-engine planes serving mostly small communities from FAA noise control rules. Anderson wanted to exempt only about 565 two-engine planes.

A jurisdictional dispute resulted in two versions of legislation. The Commerce Committee claimed jurisdiction, had the Public Works bill referred to it and then reported a modified version (H Rept 96-203, Part 2) July 13.

Airplane Exemptions. The major difference from the Public Works version was a provision limiting the freedom of airlines to continue flying two- and three-engine planes not in compliance with noise standards. The Public Works bill exempted all two- and three-engine planes that make most of their flights out of small or medium-size airports. Supporters claimed it would preserve air service for small communities and that smaller airports do not suffer from serious noise problems.

Opponents contended that two- and three-engine planes make up 82 percent of all U.S. air passenger operations and are the only planes that fly into 75 percent of the nation's airports.

Noise Standards. The Public Works version prohibited the FAA from issuing any new stricter noise standards. The Commerce Committee version allowed stricter standards if the transportation secretary found "that health and environmental benefits" outweigh the cost to airlines.

Critics Block Bill

After the House Rules Committee received the modified version, a coalition was able to bottle up the legislation.

The coalition lobbied colleagues on and off the committee to oppose the legislation. Norman Y. Mineta, D-Calif., Public Works Aviation Subcommittee Chairman Anderson and 10 other Public Works members wrote Rules Committee Chairman Richard Bolling, D-Mo., urging him not to grant a rule on the legislation.

And on Oct. 19, the new transportation secretary, Neil Goldschmidt, said in a letter to Bolling that he would urge President Carter to veto the bill. Goldschmidt called the bill "anti-environment" because it would allow planes to avoid the noise regulations.

Bolling, who supported the legislation, conceded that there probably were not enough votes on the floor to pass it and held the bill in committee.

Senate Bypass

On Oct. 22, at Cannon's request and without debate, the Senate amended HR 2440 to contain the language of the Senate noise control bill (S 413). HR 2440, a routine reauthorization of airport development funds, had been reported Sept. 25 by the House Public Works and Transportation committee (H Rept 96-475) and was passed under suspension of the rules by voice vote in the House Oct. 22.

Conference

The House agreed to a conference Nov. 16. After three weeks of bargaining, House and Senate conferees Dec. 12 announced a compromise exempting most smaller planes from federal noise standards.

But the agreement was opposed by three House conferees, who said they would fight the conference report when it was brought to the floor for a vote.

During one recess at the Dec. 12 session, the three dissidents — Anderson, Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., and James J. Florio, D-N.J. — received assurances again from Goldschmidt that President Carter would veto the bill.

The compromise, proposed by Rep. Gene Snyder, R-Ky., exempted all two-engine aircraft. Three-engine aircraft would be exempted if the airlines contracted by 1983 to replace the planes with ones meeting the more stringent standards and if those replacements were delivered by 1985. Four-engine aircraft, which had to meet a 1985 deadline, were not exempted.

The conferees also agreed to allow airlines to retrofit the engines on Boeing 727 three-engine jets to meet the noise standards required of new 727's. FAA standards would have required the altered jets to be quieter than the new ones.

Interstate Service Amendment. The airport development bill had included an amendment requested by House Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, to prevent Southwest Airlines from providing interstate air service from Dallas' Love Field. Dallas had closed Love Field to interstate flights because of an agreement with other airlines serving the area to use only the Dallas-Fort Worth Airport.

The House members did not want the Wright amendment to be damaged by the noise controversy. As insurance, they attached the Wright provision to a Senate bill easing international air regulations (S 1300 — S Rept 96-531).

The agreement also authorized increased funding for general aviation airports. It authorized $45 million in discretionary funds for general aviation airports, $13 million more than originally planned. It also reauthorized fiscal 1980 discretionary programs for airport development for both air carrier and general aviation airports as required by the Airport and Airway Development Act of 1976. *(1976 Almanac p. 646)*

Threatened with House rejection or a presidential veto, the conferees threw out the first agreement Dec. 18 and reached a second one that appeared satisfactory to House and administration critics. The revised plan required stricter compliance with anti-noise standards.

"It's not what I would have liked, but it's the best we could get," Anderson said.

"It is an acceptable compromise considering the extreme differences in opinions," said Cannon.

Final Action

House rules require three days between filing and considering conference reports. The supporters of the revised agreement asked for unanimous consent to consider the report on Dec. 19 before the required layover in an attempt to vote before the Christmas recess.

John W. Wydler, R-N.Y., whose Fifth District bordered the John F. Kennedy International Airport, blocked consideration by objecting to the consent request.

Supporters went to the House Rules Committee and received a rule (H Res 511) to allow a vote on the conference report. The House Dec. 20 approved the rule by only a 195-192 vote. Worried about the narrow margin, the supporters then withdrew the legislation.

A Public Works Committee staffer said the vote was narrow because many members didn't understand that the conference report being voted on was different from the first agreement. The conference report was not available to members until Dec. 20.

There was also some outright opposition to the legislation. The Airport Operators Council International (AOCI) lobbied against it. The group represents municipalities and authorities that own and operate airports. Many airports have faced lawsuits from neighboring residents because of aircraft noise.

"We want to see total adherence to the guidelines," said Theana Kastens, spokesman for AOCI.

Conference Highlights

A key provision of the final legislation was an authorization of $25 million for noise and land use compatibility programs. For the first time, the transportation secretary was authorized to grant funds to municipalities near airports even though they do not own them.

Anderson said the money currently goes to the airport operator, which normally uses the funding for projects to protect the owner-municipality from aircraft noise.

The conferees originally agreed to authorize $75 million for noise compatibility programs for fiscal 1980. The administration, however, objected to the amount.

Before agreeing to the final report, the conferees worked out a compromise with the administration to earmark $25 million of a $44 million authorization for air carrier airport development projects. The $44 million authorization was in addition to other funds for those projects.

Other Conference Provisions

The conference report also recommended that:

- Airlines be allowed to retrofit engines on Boeing 727 three-engine jets to meet the noise standards required of new 727's. FAA standards would have required the altered jets to be quieter than the new ones.
- $15 million be authorized for planning noise compatibility projects.
- An additional $13 million be authorized for general aviation airports.
- Damage suits against airport noise be barred if they acquired property after enactment of the legislation and they had knowledge of the noise exposure map of the area. They could recover for damages if there were significant changes in airport operations that resulted in additional noise.
- Southwest Airlines be allowed to continue its current interstate service to New Orleans from Love Field in Dallas. Southwest, and any other similar airline, would be allowed to provide turn-around service to four states contiguous to Texas but could not promote the service outside those states. Other interstate flights would be barred.
- An original Senate provision allowing the CAB to authorize or require aircraft operators to impose a "noise abatement charge" to be used by the operator to meet noise standards be dropped.
- A Senate provision authorizing the use of $250 million in uncommitted surplus trust funds toward the cost of FAA operations and maintenance, ordinarily paid for from general funds be dropped. ▮

Transport Safety

Concerned about accidents involving the transportation of dangerous gases and chemicals, both chambers of Congress passed legislation (S 1141, HR 3502) authorizing increased funding for federal safety programs. But the House and Senate failed to reach agreement on their differences before the end of the year.

The Senate bill (S 1141) authorized $5.5 million for fiscal 1980, while the House amended the bill to limit 1980 funds to $5 million and added $5.5 million for fiscal 1981.

President Carter had requested $4.4 million for fiscal 1980.

House Action

The Public Works and Transportation Committee and the Commerce Committee, given joint jurisdiction of HR 3502, reported the bill May 15 (H Rept 96-175, Parts I and II).

There were 18,022 reported accidents in 1978 involving the air, rail and highway transportation of dangerous gases and chemicals. This included 46 fatalities and 1,132 injuries, up from 32 deaths and 749 injuries in 1977, according to the Public Works Committee report (Part I).

The committee said the increased funding was necessary because the Transportation Department needed to improve its response to emergency situations and to expand and improve training of local officials.

The House by voice vote on Sept. 17 passed S 1141 after amending it to contain the House language. The bill authorized funds for two years for the Transportation Department to carry out the Hazardous Materials Transportation Act of 1975 and to study and evaluate safety programs.

For 1980, the bill maintained the funding levels authorized for 1978 and 1979 of $5 million, which was 14 percent above President Carter's budget request of $4.4 million for fiscal 1980. For 1981 the House increased the amount to $5.5 million.

The legislation also required the department to report to Congress by June 30, 1980, on the effectiveness of the law, particularly regarding the transportation of nuclear materials.

Senate Action

The Senate Commerce Committee reported S 1141 (S Rept 96- 149) on May 15 after receiving a report prepared by the Congressional Research Service on the department's hazardous materials safety activities.

Although the report complimented the department for significant improvements, it contained a number of criticisms, including inadequate inspection programs. The report, requested by the committee in 1978, was finished in April.

The Senate passed S 1141 by voice vote on May 22 authorizing $5.5 million for fiscal 1980. ▮

Truth in Lending

The second attempt by the Senate in two years to amend the 1968 Truth in Lending Act ran into determined opposition in the House.

Despite a pledge in 1978 by House Consumer Affairs Subcommittee Chairman Frank Annunzio, D-Ill., to consider changes in the act, he refused to take up legislation (S 108) passed by the Senate May 1 revising the law's credit reporting, civil liability and enforcement provisions.

The Senate later attached the truth in lending provisions to banking reform legislation (HR 4986) which failed to clear Congress when conferees did not resolve differences by adjournment. *(Story, Economic Policy chapter)*

The legislation, sponsored by William Proxmire, D-Wis., would have simplified the law's language requiring certain disclosures, eliminate other disclosure requirements and limit the civil liability of lenders for "technical" violations.

The bill was identical to one approved by the Senate in 1978 but was never considered by the House. The House Banking Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs refused to consider that bill, Annunzio charging that it did not retain all of the consumer safeguards in the existing law. *(Provisions, 1978 Almanac p. 528)*

Critics cited provisions they said would not assure that information disclosed would be understood by the consumer, would make it difficult for the consumer to determine if he were overcharged and would abolish the three-day cooling off period for open line credit cards.

The Truth in Lending Act (PL 90-321) was generally considered to be one of the most important consumer protection laws. It required lenders to disclose key information about credit transactions so that consumers might shop for the best deal and know if a lender were illegally taking advantage of them. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. II, p. 807)*

Senate Action

The Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee reported S 108 April 24 (S Rept 96-73). It had been approved unanimously by the committee Feb. 27.

Since 1968 lenders who charged the highest interest rates "have experienced a substantial reduction in their share of the consumer credit market," the committee said, noting that some experts attributed this to the impact of the 1968 act.

S 108 was passed by the Senate without debate or amendment by voice vote May 1. ▮

Highway Safety Agency

Legislation authorizing funds for the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) became entangled in controversies over air bags and bumpers, and House-Senate differences were not resolved during the first session of the 96th Congress.

A major difference was the amount and length of the authorization, but there were other substantial issues as well.

The House in passing HR 2585 Dec. 19 authorized $48.5 million for fiscal 1980 only. It also accepted amendments establishing a congressional veto over agency actions and attempting to prevent enforcement of a NHTSA deadline requiring air bags in automobiles.

President Carter had requested $57.8 million for fiscal 1980. The fiscal 1979 funding was $55.7 million.

The Senate July 11 approved S 1159 authorizing funds for three years and accepted an amendment offered by Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., on bumper standards that would help the bumper industry in his state.

House Action

As reported May 15 (H Rept 96-145) by the House Commerce Committee, HR 2585 authorized $48.5 million for fiscal 1980 and $52.5 million for 1981. The bill adopted by the House by voice vote contained only a 1980 authorization of $48.5 million.

The agency is responsible for issuing safety standards to reduce auto fatalities and providing information to help consumers reduce unnecessary maintenance and repair.

James H. Scheuer, D-N.Y., chairman of the committee's Consumer Protection Subcommittee, said limiting the authorization to one year would give Congress the opportunity for better oversight of the agency's activities.

As passed by the House, the legislation included authorizations of $400,000 to monitor the agency's standards for auto bumpers and $2.4 million to carry out the agency's consumer information program, including developing a ratings system for automobile maintenance and crashworthiness.

Also authorized was $1.4 million for programs on diagnostic tests for reducing unnecessary repairs and saving fuel from well-tuned cars and $300,000 for the agency's program against odometer fraud.

Air Bag Controversy

Air bags were designed to inflate in an accident to protect the occupant from injury. A 1977 Transportation Department rule required air bags or involuntary seat belts to be installed by the fall of 1981 for some cars and by fall of 1983 for all cars.

Critics charged that air bags had not been proven to be safe and in fact could be hazardous. They also claimed that air bags would increase the cost of cars.

Supporters contended that air bags had a good safety record and were not expensive when mass produced.

Congress included a prohibition in the fiscal 1979 transportation appropriations bill against using funds to enforce the standard. A similar measure was also included in the fiscal 1980 appropriations, although the standard's supporters made clear that it would not affect the agency's work prior to the implementation of the 1981 standard. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 61, 1977 Almanac p. 531)*

Dave Stockman, R-Mich., who said it was a "sensible compromise in the interminable debate" over air bags, offered an amendment to prevent enforcement of any NHTSA standard that did not give car customers the choice of passive restraints — air bags or involuntary seat belts — or voluntary seat belts.

Although the amendment was accepted overwhelmingly, it was not expected to affect the agency's 1981 deadline because it was tied to the one-year life of the authorization. However, a Stockman aide said that the 320-73 vote was "a powerful symbol" of stiff opposition the standard would face when Congress considered a fiscal 1981 authorization. *(Vote 664, p. 196-H)*

Congressional Veto

Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., offered the veto amendment, which was accepted by voice vote. It also was tied to the one-year life of the authorization and the agency did not expect to issue any regulations during that period.

Under the amendment, one chamber could veto a rule if the other chamber did not object within 30 days.

Levitas said rules on seat belts and school buses were already subject to congressional veto. The amendment extended the veto to all other regulations and standards issued by the agency.

"This amendment will make this agency accountable through the Congress to the people," Levitas said.

Critics of the congressional veto argued that it is unconstitutional because it encroaches on the authority of the executive branch.

Senate Action

Automobile bumper standards brought Byrd, D-W.Va., and Appropriations Committee Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash., into conflict July 11 as they defended the interests of their home states.

Byrd unexpectedly called up a bill (S 1159 — S Rept 96-185) authorizing funds for traffic and motor vehicle safety and pushed through an amendment that would help the steel bumper industry in West Virginia. The bill had been reported by the Commerce Committee May 15.

The amendment, however, was approved at the expense of aluminum interests, a major industry in Magnuson's state of Washington.

The change required the federal automobile bumper standard to be rolled back to protect a car body against crash damage at speeds up to 2.5 miles per hour. The existing standard of 5 mph went into effect in September 1978.

The new standard favored steel bumpers. And a major producer of steel bumpers is Houdaille Industries Inc. of West Virginia.

Other federal regulations designed to save gasoline have resulted in the auto industry cutting car weight by substituting lighter aluminum for steel in bumpers and other parts. To meet the 5 mph test, steel bumpers would have to be heavier.

Neither senator referred to his state's possible interest on the floor. And both contended that the issue was consumer costs and protection.

"I think it is time for the Congress to see to it that consumers receive the protection they need and the hundreds of millions of dollars of savings they deserve from utilizing the more cost effective 2.5 mph bumper," Byrd said.

But Magnuson argued that Congress should heed a study by NHTSA in favor of the 5 mph standard rather than substitute its own judgment on a technical issue.

"While it reads as a simple change, extremely complex engineering and economic analysis is actually involved in judging which level would provide the consumer with better protection," Magnuson said.

The bill authorized $63.3 million for fiscal 1980 to administer the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act and the Motor Vehicle Information and Cost Savings Act. *(Background, 1967 Almanac p. 838)*

The bill also authorized spending of $73.95 million annually in fiscal 1981 and 1982.

Other Provisions

Other provisions of S 1159:

- Allowed the transportation secretary to exempt motor vehicles from odometer requirements when mileage does not relate to value or performance, as in antique cars.
- Prohibited the transportation secretary from requiring tire dealers to record the names and addresses of tire purchasers. They would be required, however, to give consumers forms to fill out voluntarily and return to tire manufacturers.

The NHTSA wanted to keep the mandatory requirement because it would make it easier to contact consumers if tire defects were found.

But the Commerce Committee in its report said tire registration was low and a survey indicated that the public would be likely to voluntarily register tires at a higher rate. The National Tire Dealers and Retreaders Association said a voluntary program would save dealers about $30 million a year and reduce paperwork. ▮

Law Enforcement/Judiciary

Only a handful of bills coming from the Judiciary committees cleared Congress during 1979 — none of them constituting major legislation.

Congress cleared and the president signed legislation to revamp the much-criticized Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

The agency, which had been labeled ineffective and wasteful, will continue to administer grant programs to the states. But its research and statistical work now will be done by two new agencies, the National Institute of Justice and the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

The administration of all three agencies will be coordinated by the new Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics.

Congress also cleared bills to expand the authority of federal magistrates to hear civil and criminal cases and to postpone for one year enforcement of strict time limits for conducting federal criminal trials.

Criminal Code

After failing in 1978 to secure approval of controversial legislation to revise the federal criminal code, the House and Senate Judiciary committees returned to the issue in 1979 and began work on two comprehensive code proposals.

While a House bill remained in the Criminal Justice Subcommittee as the year ended, the Senate Judiciary Committee — under the leadership of its new chairman, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass. — ordered a bill reported following six days of markup.

The criminal code bill approved 14-0 by the Senate Judiciary Committee marked the third major attempt since 1973 to revise and update federal criminal laws.

The Senate passed a bill in January 1978, but the House failed to act on the measure after the Criminal Justice Subcommittee determined it was unwise to revise the entire criminal code through one large package of legislation.

House sentiment changed in 1979. With a new chairman and new members, the Criminal Justice Subcommittee opted for comprehensive reform. The panel was working on a proposal similar in structure to the Senate bill when Congress adjourned and was expected to approve a plan for consideration by the full House committee in 1980.

Like earlier legislation, the Senate bill was a compromise resulting from continuing negotiations between the Justice Department, civil liberties groups, the organized bar and the business community.

As reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee, the bill would rewrite some existing federal criminal laws, consolidate others now spread throughout the U.S. Code's 50 titles and create an entirely new sentencing procedure to eliminate parole. Sentencing guidelines would be developed by a new sentencing commission. Judges who deviated from the guidelines in imposing punishment would have to state why.

Minutes after the Senate committee ordered the code bill reported, members voted 7-6 to re-establish the death penalty for several federal crimes. The bill was approved with no debate — prompting howls of protest from several interest groups. It had been brought up under a long standing agreement to act on the death penalty after consideration of the code legislation.

Both the House and Senate committees also began hearings on a Carter administration proposal to write a charter for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But actual markup on bills to enact the charter, which would spell out the FBI's authority and responsibilities, was put off until at least 1980.

Nominations

The Senate Judiciary Committee approved and sent to the floor presidential nominees for 137 federal judgeships. Of that number, 113 were named to fill new judgeships created under the 1978 Omnibus Judgeship Act (PL 95-486), which authorized 35 new federal appellate judges and 117 new district court seats.

Under its new chairman, the Senate panel revised its procedures for investigating judgeship candidates, preparing a more detailed questionnaire for nominees to require fuller disclosure of personal and financial information and hiring special investigators to check nominee backgrounds. In past years, the committee staff had conducted investigations when necessary.

The Senate committee also unanimously approved the nomination of Benjamin R. Civiletti to be attorney general, and the Senate confirmed him for the position, 94-1.

As head of the Justice Department's criminal division, Civiletti supervised the investigation of former Budget Director Bert Lance and the probe of alleged Korean influence-buying in Congress. He replaced Griffin B. Bell, who resigned in July.

Antitrust

Although several significant antitrust bills were considered by both committees, none was enacted. Among the most controversial were bills to overturn the Supreme Court's *Illinois Brick* decision that prevented indirect purchasers from suing price-fixers and to restrict mergers and acquisitions by large oil companies.

The bill to overturn the *Illinois Brick* decision was reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee, but failed to win floor consideration because of the threat of a filibuster. While the companion House bill was approved by the Monopolies and Commercial Law Subcommittee, backers delayed bringing it to the full committee because the Senate bill was stymied.

The oil merger bill squeezed through the Senate Judiciary Committee by a 9-8 vote, but faced an uncertain future on the Senate floor where opponents were threatening a filibuster.

The oil merger bill was all that remained of a more sweeping conglomerate merger package that Kennedy and co-sponsor Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, had hoped to move through the Judiciary Committee. They abandoned the broader bill, which would have affected mergers by all conglomerates, after sensing strong opposition.

Along with legislation to overturn the *Illinois Brick* price-fixing decision and to ban oil company mergers, both committees considered several other antitrust measures.

The Senate passed a bill designed to speed up antitrust trials and make them less costly. Among other things, the bill would give judges discretion to penalize attorneys who intentionally engaged in conduct to delay litigation.

It also would give the Justice Department express authority to obtain company documents for antitrust investigations.

Five bills that would cover the same ground were pending before the House Judiciary Committee.

The Senate Judiciary Committee also approved a bill to give defendants in price-fixing lawsuits the right to proportionate damages from other alleged price-fixers.

And it sent to the floor another bill that would insulate from antitrust challenge certain exclusive territorial franchises owned by soft drink bottlers.

A similar bill was pending before a House subcommittee.

Awaiting Action

The House and Senate passed differing bills that would nearly triple the number of refugees allowed into the United States each year.

The two bills, which had similar goals but differed in some areas, also would create more orderly procedures for admitting refugees and for resettling them in the United States.

A conference committee was appointed and differences were expected to be reconciled in 1980.

Amid considerable hoopla, 14 bills were introduced in 1979 to overturn a Supreme Court decision allowing surprise police searches of newsrooms.

But despite the initial furor, there was no movement on the legislation. Senate and House subcommittees were expected to begin markup early in 1980 on legislation to overturn the ruling.

Several other bills considered by the Senate and House Judiciary committees were awaiting action when Congress adjourned, including:

- A major court reform proposal, passed by the Senate and pending in House committee;
- A lobby disclosure bill, reported to the floor by the House panel *(story, Congress and Government chapter)*.
- Bills to strengthen the authority of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to curb housing discrimination, pending in committee in both chambers;
- A bill to make computer fraud a federal crime, approved by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee;
- A bill, reported by the Senate committee, designed to encourage small business inventions by giving them the title to patents developed with federal funding;
- Legislation to revise the handling of international trade disputes, passed by the Senate;
- A bill, passed in differing forms by the Senate and House, to help consumers resolve minor disputes without going to court; and
- Legislation, passed by the Senate, to establish in law a program allowing the diversion of selected federal offenders from prosecution to education and counseling programs.

Access to Justice

Several court improvement and judicial administration bills that failed in 1978 were brought up again in 1979.

The House passed a bill giving the federal government the authority to sue to protect the rights of persons in state-run institutions.

The Senate Judiciary Committee approved a similar bill that was expected to go to the floor early in 1980.

The Senate passed a bill allowing attorneys' fees and other expenses to certain prevailing parties in lawsuits against the government.

Several similar bills were pending in a House subcommittee, but movement on the legislation in 1980 was doubtful.

The Senate also passed a bill that would give the Supreme Court almost complete discretion to determine the cases it will hear. The legislation would eliminate most of the classes of cases the court was required to consider.

However, the Senate adopted a floor amendment by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., designed to return prayer to the nation's public schools by removing Supreme Court jurisdiction over school prayer cases.

The bill as amended was sent to the House, where it remained in committee without action.

Both the House and Senate committees also conducted hearings on legislation to eliminate federal diversity jurisdiction, but no bills were reported to the floor.

— By Nadine Cohodas

Senate Judiciary Reports Criminal Code Bill

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported to the floor a wide-ranging bill (S 1722 — S Rept 96-553) to rewrite and recodify the federal criminal code.

The inch-thick, 400-page proposal — ordered reported Dec. 4 — would rewrite some existing federal criminal laws, consolidate others spread through the U.S. Code's 50 titles and create an entirely new sentencing procedure to eliminate parole. A report was filed Jan. 17, 1980.

Companion legislation was pending in a House Judiciary subcommittee.

Senate Judiciary Chairman Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., hoped to bring S 1722 to the Senate floor early in 1980.

Third Attempt

S 1722 was the third major attempt since 1973 to rewrite the federal criminal code. It represented a compromise package hammered out principally by Kennedy and Republican Sens. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Orrin G. Hatch of Utah.

In many respects, S 1722 resembled its forerunner, S 1437, which was passed by the Senate in 1978 but died in the House. *(1978 Almanac p. 165)*

A number of changes were made in S 1722, however, in an effort to placate civil liberties groups.

Like S 1437, S 1722 was expected to produce heated floor debate. Among the controversial issues were a labor extortion section and proposals covering obscenity, bail reform and appellate review of sentences.

Prospects for Senate passage appeared good, however, in spite of opposition from liberal senators concerned about individual rights and conservatives afraid the bill would weaken law enforcement tools.

House Bill

House Judiciary's Criminal Justice Subcommittee worked throughout 1979 on its own criminal code proposal, HR 6233. It hoped to send the bill to the full Judiciary Committee by February 1980, according to committee staff.

HR 6233 resembled S 1722 in basic structure, but differed in its treatment of a number of crimes.

The House subcommittee, in general, tried to avoid including generally defined crimes, favoring instead narrowly defined crimes relating to specific conduct.

In some instances, the House panel — responding to suggestions by civil liberties groups — defined elements of controversial crime sections differently from the Senate bill and from existing law.

Background

Federal criminal laws, principally found in Title 18 of the U.S. code, had been written piecemeal over the previous 200 years as Congress responded to particular problems.

The statutes were somewhat consolidated and revised in 1877, 1909 and 1948, but changes were limited to eliminating gross inconsistencies.

The first real effort to revise federal criminal laws began in 1966 when Congress in PL 89-801 created the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws, headed by then-California Gov. Edmund G. Pat Brown, D (1959-67). The commission's report resulted in the introduction on Jan. 4, 1973, of S 1.

At the request of President Nixon, the Justice Department wrote a separate bill for code reform (S 1400). This was introduced in the Senate on March 27, 1973.

Civil libertarians blasted the Justice bill as repressive and contradictory to the Brown Commission recommendations.

The Senate Criminal Laws Subcommittee held more hearings during 1973 and 1974 on S 1 and S 1400 in an effort to consolidate the two. Finally, on Jan. 15, 1975, a revised version of S 1 was introduced in the 94th Congress.

It drew criticism from lawyers and reporters, among others, who charged that the bill treaded too heavily on individual rights. The Senate Judiciary Committee did not act on the bill.

In 1977, Kennedy and Sen. John L. McClellan, D-Ark. (1943-77; House 1935-39), introduced S 1437, a revised version of S 1, which eliminated a number of the controversial provisions, including a section some critics labeled an "official secrets act."

S 1437 was sent to the Senate floor after three months of committee work. It passed 72-15 on Jan. 30, 1978, after eight days of debate.

House Rebuff

S 1437 fared poorly in the House, largely because of a fundamental disagreement between the House Subcommittee on Criminal Justice and the Senate over just how extensive criminal code reform needed to be.

The subcommittee, then chaired by Rep. James R. Mann, D-S.C. (1969-77), concluded that an omnibus approach to code revision was unwise, favoring instead "an incremental approach" to reforming federal criminal laws.

The subcommittee approved a bill (HR 13959) that almost completely rejected the recommendations in S 1437. HR 13959 was never acted upon in full committee.

The mood of the subcommittee changed markedly in 1979. Rep. Robert F. Drinan, D-Mass., took over the subcommittee chairmanship from Mann, who did not seek reelection. A foe of previous recodification bills, Drinan now pushed for an omnibus approach to criminal code reform.

In addition to Drinan, the panel had only one holdover from the 95th Congress, Rep. Sam B. Hall Jr., D-Texas.

Senate Committee Action

S 1722 was ordered reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee Dec. 4. The vote was 14-1 and came after hours of intense negotiations over a controversial labor extortion provision.

Only Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md., voted against the bill. Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., and Howell Heflin, D-Ala., did not vote.

Heflin was originally recorded as voting "yes" by proxy, but he later changed that to "not voting." A Heflin aide said later the senator had reservations about the bill, but preferred not to vote against it in committee.

Death Penalty

Immediately after acting on S 1722, the committee approved 7-6 a separate bill (S 114) to restore the death penalty for treason, espionage and deaths associated with specified felonies. *(Story, p. 369)*

Action on S 114 brought a storm of protest from civil liberties groups, who threatened to oppose the code even though the death penalty bill technically was a separate piece of legislation. The groups also opposed many provisions in S 1722.

Bill Changes

To assure bipartisan support, scores of changes were made in the wide-ranging bill from the time it was first introduced.

To help placate civil liberties opponents some offenses were redefined to narrow the federal government's authority to prosecute. For example, a new crime of solicitation would apply only to 33 specified felonies. An earlier version made the offense applicable to any federal crime.

Several proposals that were intended to help the Justice Department fight white-collar crime were trimmed back under amendments urged by the Business Roundtable, an influential business lobby.

The Justice Department, which strongly opposed some of the changes, ended up working with the Roundtable to come up with compromises that were eventually adopted by the committee.

Some changes in the white-collar crime provisions were approved, however, over intense Justice Department opposition.

One department official remarked bitterly after the Dec. 4 committee meeting that he barely recognized the bill approved.

Compromise Package

After the House failed to act in 1978 on a Senate-passed code reform bill, Kennedy, Hatch and Thurmond worked closely on the new code proposal in an effort to bring a bill to the floor with bipartisan support.

The effort involved the melding of nearly 200 amendments proposed by committee members into what the two Republicans considered a "package deal."

This delicate alliance was nearly shattered Nov. 27 when Kennedy's Democratic colleagues pushed through 9-5 an amendment by Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., that would have prevented the federal government from prosecuting alleged extortion during a bona fide labor dispute.

While Kennedy voted against the amendment, Thurmond and Hatch considered his failure to hold Democrats in line a breach of their agreement to report the bill with a bipartisan consensus. Both threatened to withhold support, and they prevented committee approval of the bill — which Kennedy had sought Nov. 28 — for five days.

Labor Extortion

The issue that delayed approval of S 1722 concerned efforts to clarify a 1973 Supreme Court decision interpreting the Hobbs Act, which covers coercive activity affecting interstate commerce.

The Supreme Court ruled that the law did not cover extortionate activity during a labor dispute if the objectives of the labor activity were lawful and could have been achieved through collective bargaining.

Labor unions and their Democratic supporters on the committee had wanted the law unchanged, but Republican opponents, reflecting the view of business, wanted federal coverage when serious felonies — such as bodily injury or property damage — occurred during labor disputes.

For five hours Dec. 4, Kennedy, Hatch, Thurmond, their aides and labor representatives negotiated a compromise proposal. What finally emerged was a bar to federal extortion prosecution during a labor dispute unless there were "clear proof" that the coercive conduct was a felony intended to cause death or severe bodily injury that was intended to further the aims of the labor dispute.

In addition, the amendment would require the attorney general, deputy attorney general or the head of the Justice Department criminal division to certify in writing that a federal prosecution should be started and that the state where the labor dispute occurred was "unable or unwilling" to conduct an "equivalent" prosecution.

Several committee staff members said that the labor issue had become a symbolic holding ground for the Republicans. "When you've swallowed so many other things, you have to finally say, 'this is it,' " said one Republican aide.

Other Action

In other action before final approval the committee agreed to double the prison sentence for trafficking in marijuana to 10 years, from five years.

Mathias, who said he had new information about the dangers of marijuana, had wanted stricter penalties for all the marijuana offenses. But his move was rejected.

The proposed code would change existing law for possession of small amounts of marijuana by eliminating prison terms. As approved, the bill provided a maximum $100 fine for possession of about 20 marijuana cigarettes or less, and a maximum $500 fine for possessing about 60 cigarettes.

At Mathias' urging, the committee agreed to hold hearings on the whole area of marijuana laws early in 1980.

The committee adopted by voice vote an amendment by Leahy to make violation of federal clean water or waste disposal laws a felony, and to increase the possible penalties. Violations were raised to felonies punishable by a maximum two-year sentence, a fine or both — from misdemeanors punishable by a maximum one-year prison term, a fine or both,

The committee also accepted by voice vote an amendment by DeConcini to redefine the crime of obstructing a government function by physical interference. DeConcini's amendment would cover interference with an official duty of a "U.S. official," a judge, a juror or specified law enforcement officers. A "U.S. official" was defined in the code to cover top level officials including the president, vice president, a member of Congress, a Supreme Court justice and heads of specified departments.

As introduced, the bill would have covered interference with the official duty of a "public servant," a broader term that encompassed many more government employees.

Major Amendments

Nearly 200 amendments were informally adopted by the senators during markup of the bill. Among the more important changes approved were:

- By Kennedy, Thurmond, Hatch and Leahy, changing the offense of "reckless endangerment" to "endangerment" and defining it to cover a person who engaged in conduct he knew imperiled another's life or acted with "an unjustified disregard for human life."

The provision would cover conduct — including actions by private companies — that violated seven public health and safety statutes. The offense would be a felony.

- By Birch Bayh, D-Ind., limiting the offense of "solicitation" to 33 specified crimes including murder, rape, kidnapping, aircraft hijacking and sexually exploiting a minor.

An earlier version of the bill made it an offense to solicit commission of any crime.

- By Hatch, authorizing either chamber of Congress to veto sentencing guidelines proposed by a sentencing commission that would be created under the bill.
- By Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., making it a federal crime to commit arson, aggravated property damage or criminal entry in specified circumstances at an existing nuclear plant, one under construction or any facility producing energy.

By a 7-8 vote the committee rejected an amendment by Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, to restore the offense of consumer fraud to the bill. The provision was taken out in a move by Thurmond. The Business Roundtable opposed inclusion of the offense.

Justice Department Concerns

Although the Justice Department had agreed to support S 1722, department officials considered S 1722 weaker than the 1978 Senate bill in the white-collar and organized crime areas. Among the changes the department had opposed were:

- Elimination of the offense of "reckless failure to supervise," which had been part of S 1437.
- Elimination of the offense of "omission to perform a duty," which would have covered such things as failing to take proper precautions as required by a public health law.
- Restriction of the offense of solicitation to 33 specified felonies, which department officials believed would hamper efforts to crack down on organized crime. The earlier bill would have made solicitation of any crime itself an offense.
- Elimination of the offense of consumer fraud.

Bill Overview

As reported by the Judiciary Committee, the substantive provisions of S 1722 were placed in a single title — Title 18 of the U.S. Code. Some procedural provisions were added to other titles of the code.

Title 18, under S 1722, would be divided into five major parts, each having a number of chapters and subchapters:

- **Part I (General Provisions, Principles)** contained provisions of general applicability, including definitions to be used in interpreting the rest of the code, a section about federal jurisdiction in general and provisions defining the possible states of mind present in each criminal act.

The bill reduced the number of possible criminal states of mind to four, from more than 60.

- **Part II (Offenses),** the main body of S 1722, grouped together federal felonies and misdemeanors with the exception of selected crimes — such as misdemeanor violations of federal regulatory laws.

The offenses previously had been scattered through the entire U.S. code. Along with defining the offenses, the chapter spelled out the bases of federal jurisdiction for certain crimes and the possible defenses to specified crimes.

- **Part III (Sentences)** established a new sentencing procedure and set maximum penalties for each offense.
- **Part IV (Administration and Procedure)** grouped together existing provisions dealing with criminal procedure and administration, basically preserving existing law.
- **Part V (Ancillary Civil Proceedings)** covered the supplementary civil proceedings that may be conducted in connection with criminal matters. S 1722 provided for proceedings such as forfeiture of property for certain crimes, use of restraining orders for racketeering offenses and measures to compensate victims of specified crimes.

Part I

Chapter 1. General Provisions

This chapter provided a table of about 100 definitions to be used in applying the code. The chapter also specified that sections should be interpreted in accordance with "general purposes" of the bill and in "accordance with the rule of strict construction as applied by the federal courts."

Chapter 2. Jurisdiction

The bases for federal authority over prosecutions were set out in this chapter. The provisions covered federal jurisdiction generally and specific jurisdiction over maritime, aircraft and extraterritorial offenses.

When the federal government and a state or local government had concurrent jurisdiction, the federal government would have to consider several factors before prosecuting, including the relative gravity of the federal offense and the state or local offense, the resources available to the federal government and the traditional role of the federal government in handling the offense.

Chapter 3. States of Mind

This chapter established the mental states that must accompany conduct to make them criminal offenses. The states of mind were reduced from more than 60 to four: "intentional," "knowing," "reckless" and "negligent." The chapter also included provisions for proving a state of mind.

Chapter 4. Complicity

The circumstances under which a person could be held criminally liable for the acts of another individual or organization were set out.

S 1722 made a co-conspirator guilty of each specific offense in furtherance of a criminal conspiracy if the acts were "reasonably foreseeable." This codified the so-called "Pinkerton doctrine," which was based on a 1946 Supreme Court decision that addressed the issue of accomplice liability.

A new crime of facilitation was established and covered anyone who knowingly facilitated the completion of an offense by providing assistance that was "in fact substantial."

S 1722 had contained a provision that made an omission to perform a legally required duty an offense. But at the urging of the Business Roundtable, Thurmond successfully struck the provision.

Chapter 5. Bars and Defenses

Statute of Limitations. The chapter established a five-year statute of limitations for felonies and misdemeanors and a one-year limit for infractions. Exceptions were provided for prosecution of espionage offenses, which could be initiated at any time. Extra time also was allowed to prosecute "concealable offenses," such as certain types of fraud and breaches of confidential duties.

Immaturity. A person under age 16 charged with a crime would be treated as a juvenile except for six enumerated offenses — murder, maiming, aggravated battery, kidnapping, aircraft hijacking and rape.

A person between ages 16 and 18 also would be treated as juvenile except if the offense involved a felony punish-

able by 10 years or more in prison, such as murder, kidnapping or rape. Then, such a person would be tried as an adult.

All persons over age 18 would be tried as adults.

Part II

Chapter 10. Offenses of General Applicability

Attempt. A general law of attempt to commit any federal crime was established. It would repeal a number of separate attempt offenses existing in Title 18 of the U.S. Code, but would not apply to attempt offenses outside of Title 18.

Criminal Solicitation. A new crime of solicitation to commit 33 specified crimes — including murder, maiming, kidnapping, robbery, burglary and trafficking in drugs — was created. An earlier version of the provision, strongly supported by the Justice Department, would have made it a crime to solicit any federal crime.

Inapplicability to Certain Offenses. This section stated that it was not an offense to attempt to commit, conspire to commit, or solicit specified offenses such as criminal conspiracy, attempt or solicitation. The section also made attempt, conspiracy and solicitation inapplicable to certain offenses unless the crimes were, in fact, completed. These included obstructing military recruitment or induction, inciting or aiding a mutiny, insubordination, desertion or leading a riot.

Chapter 11. Offenses Involving National Defense

Sabotage. This section made it a crime to damage, tamper with, contaminate or defectively make or repair U.S. property used or suited for use in the national defense.

Impairing Military Effectiveness. This was a crime under existing law. Under S 1722, the crime only applied in time of war or a national defense emergency, or to the impairment of the nation's defense to a large scale enemy attack.

Obstructing Military Recruitment or Induction. This section made it a crime in time of war to hinder, interfere with or obstruct recruitment, conscription or induction.

Espionage and Related Offenses. S 1722 incorporated existing law by providing cross references to three statutes:

- The Atomic Energy Act of 1954, which covers communication and receipt of restricted data with intent to injure the United States or give an advantage to a foreign nation.
- The Espionage and Sabotage Act of 1954, which covers gathering or delivering defense information to aid foreign governments; and
- The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, which covers gathering, transmitting or losing national defense information.

Chapter 12. Offenses Involving International Affairs

The offenses included in this chapter generally recodified existing laws covering attacks and conspiracies against a foreign power, recruiting for foreign armed forces and disclosing foreign diplomatic codes or correspondence.

It also included a new offense of conspiring within the United States to assassinate a foreign official outside the United States. The new crime was designed to help combat terrorist activities that might be plotted in the United States.

The chapter also covered smuggling, unlawful employment of aliens and fraudulent use of passports and evidence of citizenship.

Chapter 13. Government Processes

Obstructing a Government Function by Fraud. A new crime was created to cover obstruction or impairing a government function through misrepresentation, chicanery, trickery, deceit, craft or other dishonest means. It was designed to cover activities such as soliciting veterans into sham marriages with aliens to help the aliens enter the country.

Obstructing a Government Function by Physical Interference. This new offense covered obstructing the official duty of a U.S. official, a judge, a juror or specified law enforcement officers. "U.S. official" was defined to cover top level officials including the president, vice president, members of Congress, Supreme Court justices and heads of specified departments.

An earlier version of the bill had covered obstructing the duty of a "public servant" — which would have broadened applicability of the provision.

The bill specified that defenses to the crime would include proof that the government function was unlawful, the obstruction occurred during activity protected by the First Amendment or the public servant was not acting in good faith.

Obstruction of Law Enforcement. This subchapter covered such crimes as bail jumping, escape, possession of contraband in prison and flight to avoid prosecution or appearance as a witness.

Obstruction of Justice. This subchapter generally recodified existing offenses dealing with: the bribery of a witness; the corrupting, tampering with or retaliating against a witness or informant; tampering with physical evidence; improperly influencing a juror; monitoring jury deliberations and demonstrating to influence a judicial proceeding.

Contempt Offenses. S 1722 brought together a number of specific criminal contempt offenses — such as failing to appear as a witness and disobeying certain specified court orders. These offenses were spread over several titles of the U.S. Code and applied to specific proceedings.

The bill also included from existing law the offense of general criminal contempt — misbehavior that "obstructs the administration of justice" and disobeying "lawful" orders of a court (other than those explicitly specified).

The section provided that a defense to disobeying a court order would include the fact an individual took "reasonable and expeditious" steps to have the order reviewed by a higher court or to have another court stay the execution of the order. Another defense would be that the disobeyed order was invalid under the First Amendment.

Perjury, False Statements and Related Offenses. This section consolidated several existing laws and also created the offense of making a false written or oral statement to a law enforcement officer or a person given non-criminal investigatory authority by statute, regulation or rule.

Also included was a new misdemeanor offense of false swearing at an official proceeding. The offense did not require that the statement in question be material to the official proceeding, unlike perjury — a felony — which required a false, material statement made under oath or affirmation.

The section also covered alteration, destruction or concealment of government records. A new crime — failing to keep a government record that was required to receive federal benefits — also was created.

Official Corruption and Intimidation. This subchapter consolidated a number of offenses by government officials, including members of Congress. The offenses in-

cluded bribery, graft and the use of "inside information" for personal gain.

Also included were the offenses of tampering with a public servant to influence an action or performance of an official duty, and retaliating against a public servant for the person's action or performance of a duty.

Chapter 14. Offenses Involving Taxation

This chapter incorporated federal criminal tax offenses currently in the Internal Revenue Code. The chapter covered internal revenue as well as customs offenses.

Chapter 15. Offenses Involving Individual Rights

Civil Rights. Existing civil rights statutes were retained and language was added to make discrimination on the basis of sex a crime in specified circumstances.

The bar to sex discrimination was included in the offense of "unlawful discrimination," which prohibited using force or the threat of force to injure, intimidate or interfere with another person engaging in specified activities.

Activities covered by this provision included: applying for or participating in state or local programs; serving as a grand or petit juror; using public accommodations and facilities of interstate commerce, and selling, buying, renting, financing or occupying a dwelling.

Political Rights. This subchapter brought together laws regulating voting and voter registration that were in several titles of the code. In addition, the section created specific offenses to cover election fraud. Under existing law, prosecution of these offenses by the federal government generally had been accomplished through the civil rights conspiracy statute.

Privacy. This section covered use of eavesdropping devices, trafficking in such devices and the interception of correspondence.

It also included the offense of "revealing private information for a government purpose" that was designed to protect those members of the public who were required for one reason or another to make disclosures of confidential information to the government.

The provision was directed at present and former federal public servants who had access to such information because of their government employment and who subsequently made improper revelations.

Existing laws, which were in several of the code's titles, did not specifically cover former employees, and the various statutes had differing penalties. S 1722 made any prohibited disclosure an offense punishable by a sentence of up to one year. The section also included a bar to prosecution in specified circumstances to protect "whistle blowers."

Chapter 16. Offenses Against the Person

This section generally recodified existing criminal statutes, including murder, manslaughter, maiming, kidnapping and aircraft hijacking.

The section made sexual offenses apply without regard to the sex of the offender or victim, and eliminated the rule that prohibited one spouse from charging the other with rape.

S 1722 included a new — and controversial — felony offense called "endangerment." It was defined to cover persons or organizations engaging in conduct they knew imperiled another's life or acting with "an unjustified disregard for human life."

The offense was aimed at persons or organizations that violate federal health and public welfare laws.

Chapter 17. Offenses Against Property

Numerous property offenses ranging from arson to antitrust violations were consolidated in this section's seven basic subchapters: arson and other property destruction offenses; burglary and other criminal intrusions; robbery, extortion and blackmail; theft and related offenses; counterfeiting, forgery and related offenses; certain briberies; and investment, monetary and antitrust offenses.

An amendment by Simpson made it a federal crime to commit arson, aggravated property damage or criminal entry in specified circumstances at an existing nuclear plant, one under construction or any facility producing energy.

Extortion. One of the bill's most controversial provisions involved alleged extortion during labor disputes. As the result of a fragile compromise worked out over three days, the committee decided to modify a 1973 Supreme Court decision on the issue. The court had ruled that the federal law on extortion did not cover extortionate activity during a labor dispute if the aims of the labor activity were lawful and could have been achieved through collective bargaining.

Under the committee compromise, a federal extortion prosecution during a labor dispute was barred unless there was "clear proof" that the coercive conduct was a felony that was intended to cause death or severe bodily harm and also was intended to further the aims of the labor dispute.

In addition, either the attorney general, the deputy attorney general or the head of the Justice Department criminal division was required to certify in writing that a federal prosecution should be started and that the state where the labor dispute occurred was "unable or unwilling" to conduct an "equivalent" prosecution.

Counterfeiting. A new offense of trafficking in counterfeit sound recordings or motion pictures was included. The section was designed to cover the pirating of motion pictures and records.

Chapter 18. Public Order, Health and Welfare

Riot Offenses. The definition of a riot required 10 persons instead of three, as in existing law, and a riot would have had to occur before a person was prosecuted for inciting or leading one.

Federal jurisdiction over the offense of leading a riot existed if the riot occurred at an official federal detention center, the offense was within the "special jurisdiction of the United States" or a person moved across a state or U.S. boundary in executing or consummating the offense.

Special U.S. jurisdiction covers federal enclaves, vessels on the high seas and certain aircraft while in flight.

Racketeering Activity. This subchapter included several existing laws concerning racketeering. One statute made it a crime to acquire or keep control of any enterprise engaged in or affecting interstate commerce through a "pattern of racketeering activity" or through collection of an unlawful debt.

Another prohibited an employee or associate of an enterprise engaged in or affecting interstate commerce to conduct the enterprise's affairs through a "pattern of racketeering activity."

A third law included in the subchapter prohibited interstate travel in aid of racketeering and the commission of acts of violence in aid of racketeering.

Operating a Racketeering Syndicate. A new crime of "operating a racketeering syndicate" was included in the

subchapter. It was intended to facilitate the prosecution of persons who directed large criminal syndicates. Such persons frequently avoided prosecution because they were well-insulated from the syndicate's day-to-day operations.

Loansharking. Several existing laws concerning loansharking were consolidated. The section strengthened existing law by making it a crime to extend credit at an annual rate exceeding 45 percent.

Under existing law an interest rate of 45 percent or greater was not a specified crime, but only evidence of extortion.

Obscenity. This section made it a crime to disseminate obscene material to a minor or, without consent, to any person who was unable to avoid seeing the material.

The provision did not prohibit dissemination of obscene materials for no profit between consenting adults.

An affirmative defense was provided if the material were legal in the political subdivision or locality in which it was disseminated.

Unlike existing law, the section defined obscenity in accordance with Supreme Court cases. The definition covered, among other things, the offensive presentation of certain sexual activities that on the whole appeal to the prurient interest of the average person "applying contemporary community standards."

Prostitution. This section revised existing law by focusing on the operation of a prostitution business. It made it a crime to operate directly or indirectly a prostitution business. The offense also covered procuring patrons or prostitutes for the business. It was written to apply either to men or women.

Environmental Pollution. Violations of federal clean water and waste disposal laws were raised from misdemeanors to felonies punishable by a maximum two-year sentence, a fine or both. The misdemeanor penalty was a one-year prison term, a fine or both.

Part III

Chapter 20. Sentences

This section, which had no counterpart in existing law, stated four basic purposes for sentencing: punishment, deterrence, protecting the public and "promoting the correction and rehabilitation" of defendants.

Three types of sentences for individuals and two for organizations were provided. Individuals could be imprisoned, fined or put on probation. Organizations could be fined or put on probation.

Imposition of a Sentence. In imposing a sentence judges were required to consider certain factors, including the nature and circumstances of the offense, the history and characteristics of the defendant and the kinds of sentences available.

Sentencing Guidelines. The chapter created an eight-member U.S. Sentencing Commission under Title 28 of the U.S. Code to establish sentencing guidelines following a detailed list of factors set out in the bill.

The commission was given seven voting members and one non-voting member. The non-voting member would be the attorney general or his designee.

Four voting members would be appointed by the president. The other three voting members — who would be judges — would be selected by the president from a list recommended by the U.S. Judicial Conference.

Sentencing guidelines proposed by the commission would take effect 180 days after the commission reported them to Congress. Either chamber was permitted to disapprove any guideline.

Judges could depart from the commission's guidelines, but they would have to explain their reasons and a sentence would be subject to appellate review because it did not conform to the guidelines.

Notice to Victims. In cases involving a defendant found guilty of fraud or deceptive practices, the bill empowered courts to require the defendant to give reasonable notice and explanation of his conviction to victims of the offense. The section was intended to help citizens affected by such crimes to bring civil suits to recover damages.

Orders of Restitution. This section permitted a judge to order a convicted defendant who had caused bodily injury or property damage or other loss to pay restitution directly to the victim. The order of restitution would be in conjunction with any other sentence and independent of any condition for probation.

Sentence Review. A defendant was allowed to appeal his sentence if it exceeded the applicable guidelines. An exception would be a sentence pursuant to a negotiated plea bargain.

The government was allowed to appeal if the sentence were less than the applicable guideline, unless the sentence was part of a plea bargain.

Review also was allowed for a sentence of restitution.

Chapter 21. Probation

A sentence of probation was allowed except for "Class A" felonies, such as murder and certain kidnappings, and offenses for which probation was expressly excluded.

Three terms of probation were authorized — up to five years for a felony, up to two years for a misdemeanor and up to one year for an infraction.

A mandatory condition of probation was that a defendant not commit another federal, state or local crime during probation. Several discretionary conditions were listed, including supporting dependents, paying any fine imposed, making restitution and refraining from work in specified occupations, businesses or professions.

Chapter 22. Fines

An individual convicted of a felony, or a misdemeanor resulting in loss of human life, could be fined up to $250,000. An individual convicted of any other misdemeanor could be fined up to $25,000 and conviction of an infraction carried a fine of up to $1,000.

An organization convicted of a felony, or a misdemeanor resulting in loss of human life, could be fined up to $1 million. An organization convicted of any other misdemeanor could be fined up to $100,000. A fine of up to $10,000 was permitted for an organization convicted of an infraction.

An agent or shareholder of a company who was fined could, after conviction, be indemnified by his organization if the laws of the state where the violation took place permitted indemnification.

Chapter 23. Imprisonment

S 1722 specified nine classes of offenses — five grades of felonies, three grades of misdemeanors and an infraction. Each class of offense had a maximum penalty ranging from five days (for an infraction) to life in prison (for a Class A felony).

A judge could not modify a term of imprisonment once it was imposed, except in specified circumstances.

Parole would be eliminated over a five-year period to take care of inmates imprisoned under the existing system, which allowed parole.

Part IV

Administration and Procedure

The nine chapters in this part generally consolidated and clarified existing procedural sections of Title 18. The following chapters comprised the section.

- **Chapter 30** included the investigatory and law enforcement authority for the Departments of Treasury, Interior and Labor, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Drug Enforcement Administration, Postal Service, Bureau of Prisons, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and Railroad Police.
- **Chapter 31** provided ancillary investigative authority, including authorization for wiretaps, compulsion of testimony after a claim of self incrimination, protection of witnesses and payment of rewards.
- **Chapter 32** covered the rendition of fugitives and extradition procedures.
- **Chapter 33** specified the jurisdiction of U.S. district courts over offenses occurring within federal jurisdiction, powers of U.S. magistrates to try certain offenses, jurisdiction for arrest warrants and general rules for determining venue — the site of a trial.

The section covering magistrates corresponded to a law enacted in 1979 (PL 96-82) expanding the jurisdiction of U.S. magistrates in both civil and criminal cases. *(Story, p. 375)*

- **Chapter 34** detailed procedures for the appointment of counsel.
- **Chapter 35** covered release from custody and confinement pending judicial proceedings, including bail procedures.

Several controversial new bail provisions were added by Kennedy and Hatch that permitted:

—A judge to consider the safety of a community in determining whether to release a defendant before trial;

—A 10-day detention of a person arrested while already on conditional release; and

—Revocation of release and imposition of contempt sanctions for violating pretrial release conditions.

- **Chapter 36** provided for the disposition of cases involving juveniles and "mental incompetents."
- **Chapter 37** contained detailed rules for pre-trial and trial procedure, rules governing admissibility of evidence and rules for appellate review, including sentence review.
- **Chapter 38** covered administration of sentences, including probation, fines and imprisonment.

Part V

Ancillary Civil Proceedings

This part, which was largely a consolidation of existing law, included remedies available to the government and private citizens.

It allowed the government to seek the seizure and forfeiture of a defendant's property in specified circumstances. The government also was authorized to seek a court injunction to restrain the execution of a fraudulent scheme.

A new section in Part V created a victim compensation fund intended to aid individuals who had suffered personal injuries as the result of a criminal offense. ▮

Federal Death Penalty

With no debate, the Senate Judiciary Committee ordered a bill (S 114) reported Dec. 4 that would re-establish the death penalty for federal crimes such as treason, espionage and kidnapping that result in a death.

The 7-6 vote to report S 114 came just minutes after the committee approved a wide-ranging bill (S 1722) to revise the federal criminal code. A report on S 114 was filed Jan. 17, 1980 (S Rept 96-554). *(Criminal code, p. 363)*

Although more than a dozen federal crimes carried the death penalty, only one — causing a death during an air hijacking — was enforceable because of recent Supreme Court decisions specifying procedures that must be followed for imposing a capital sentence. S 114 would provide procedures to comply with the court's rulings.

The move to bring up S 114 was part of a longstanding agreement to act on the death penalty after consideration of criminal code legislation. The agreement came during 1978 Senate action on a criminal code bill (S 1437), which did not include a death penalty provision, but during floor debate an effort was made to include one. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 165)*

To forestall a filibuster on the issue, Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., agreed to consider a separate death penalty bill. Although S 1437 failed to clear Congress, the agreement to keep the death penalty separate from the criminal code and to permit a committee vote on the measure continued into the 96th Congress.

Approval of S 114 brought protests from civil liberties groups angry that the bill had been considered without debate.

Voting for S 114 were Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, Robert Dole, R-Kan., Thad Cochran, R-Miss., and Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo.

Voting against the bill were Kennedy, Max Baucus, D-Mont., John C. Culver, D-Iowa, Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., and Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md.

Not voting were Birch Bayh, D-Ind., Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., and Howell Heflin, D-Ala.

Provisions

As reported to the floor, S 114:

- Provided that after a defendant pleaded guilty or was found guilty of a capital offense, a separate sentencing hearing on punishment must be held before a jury unless the defendant agreed to a hearing before a judge.
- Allowed "aggravating" and "mitigating" factors to be presented during the hearing and allowed the government and the defendant to rebut any information presented.
- Required the jury or judge to return special findings identifying any aggravating or mitigating factors and to determine whether aggravating circumstances "sufficiently" outweighed mitigating factors to justify a death sentence.
- Permitted the death penalty for espionage only if the offense directly concerned nuclear weaponry, military spacecraft or satellites, early warning systems or other means of defense against large-scale attack, war plans, communications intelligence, codes, or any other major weapons system or major element of defense strategy.
- Prohibited the execution of a pregnant woman. ▮

Congress Clears LEAA Reorganization Plan

Congress Dec. 13 cleared and sent to the president compromise legislation (S 241) to restructure the embattled Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). President Carter signed the bill into law Dec. 27 (PL 96-157).

Final action came when the House adopted a conference report on S 241 (H Rept 96-695) by a vote of 304-83. The Senate had adopted the report by voice vote Dec. 11. *(Vote 647, p. 192-H)*

Under the restructuring plan, a new office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics (OJARS) was established to set broad program policies jointly with LEAA officials. The attorney general would resolve any disagreements between OJARS and the LEAA.

OJARS also was to coordinate the administration of the LEAA and two new agencies, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) and the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). Under S 241, the BJS and NIJ were to take over research and statistical work previously done by the LEAA, leaving the LEAA to continue its primary function of operating grant programs for the states.

In passing S 241 May 21, the Senate gave OJARS considerably more authority to set policy and coordinate the LEAA, BJS and NIJ, than was contained in the final compromise. The Senate action was intended to counter criticism of inefficiency and extravagance within the LEAA.

But when the House passed its version of the bill Oct. 12, LEAA critics argued that the new umbrella agency would be, as one congressman put it, a "bureaucratic monster," and OJARS was eliminated. It was restored in conference, but in a considerably weaker form.

The LEAA had been criticized for poor organization and wasting money on Buck Rogers-type police gadgets. During his campaign for president, Carter condemned the LEAA and was inclined to abolish it.

He backed away from that step, but significantly reduced funding for the agency.

Grant Programs

Under S 241, the LEAA would continue administration of the "discretionary" and "formula" grant programs. The formula grant program, formerly called the block grant program, would award money to states based on formulas established in the law. Discretionary grants would be awarded for programs that otherwise would not be undertaken, such as modernization of court systems.

S 241 also created a third program, called "national priority grants." These were to be for programs LEAA officials had found successful and should be continued.

S 241 authorized $825 million annually for the LEAA and related programs through fiscal 1983. However, under PL 96-68, making fiscal 1980 appropriations for the State, Justice and Commerce departments, the LEAA was to receive only $486,463,000 in that year. *(Story, p. 202)*

Conference Action

In addition to the OJARS compromise, conferees agreed:

- To provide 100 percent federal funding for "discretionary" grants. States would have to put up 10 percent of the money for "formula" grant programs starting in 1981.

The Senate bill provided 100 percent funding for both programs. The House required a 10 percent state contribution for both programs.

- To accept a House ban on use of LEAA money for construction except for projects under way. These projects would be given money for two more years.
- To accept a House provision setting a minimum population of 100,000 for cities, counties or combinations of local governments to apply for "mini-block" grants. Mini-block grants provide qualified local jurisdictions with a share of formula grant funds allocated to a state.

The Senate bill required a minimum population of 250,000.

- To allow funding of civil justice projects to the extent they are tied to criminal justice programs. This is a compromise between the House measure, which included a blanket prohibition against any civil program funding, and the Senate measure, which allowed the NIJ and BJS to support civil programs.
- To require OJARS and the LEAA, BJS and NIJ to submit annual summary reports of their programs and a more extensive report one year before the authorization expires.

The Senate bill required OJARS to submit an evaluation report to Congress judging programs by 18 criteria.

- To authorize funds for the LEAA and related agencies for four years. The Senate authorization was for five years and the House authorization was three years.

Final Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 241 (PL 96-157):

- Reorganized the LEAA, creating two new agencies to handle research and statistical work. The LEAA would continue to administer grant programs to the states. The National Institute of Justice would conduct research, and the Bureau of Justice Statistics would gather national criminal justice statistics.
- Created the Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics to set program policy jointly with the LEAA, and to coordinate administration of the LEAA, NIJ and BJS. The heads of OJARS, the LEAA, BJS and NIJ were to be appointed by the president.
- Authorized $800 million annually for the LEAA, the two new agencies and OJARS, through 1983. Of that amount, $750 million was allocated to the LEAA, including OJARS administrative costs, and $25 million was authorized for NIJ and BJS each.
- Authorized $25 million for the Office of Community Anti-crime Programs.
- Allocated 10 percent of all grant appropriations for awards in the discretion of the LEAA.
- Allocated 10 percent of all grant appropriations for the national priority grant program, designed to fund projects that have proven successful in the past.
- Allocated 80 percent of all LEAA funds for the formula grant program.
- Established two alternative formulas for distributing block grants to state and local governments. The grants were to be distributed either on the basis of state population or a four-part formula, which included population, crime rate, criminal justice expenditures and tax effort.

The bill specified that the LEAA should use the formula that provided a state the most money. However, it required that if the four-part formula were used, a state could not receive more than 110 percent of the amount it would have received had the population formula been used.

- Prohibited state and local governments from using more than 7.5 percent of formula grant funds for administration.
- Continued the requirement that 19.15 percent of all LEAA funds go to juvenile delinquency programs.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported S 241 (S Rept 96-142) May 14 after approving the legislation by voice vote April 24.

As reported, S 241:

- Reauthorized the LEAA and related agencies through Sept. 30, 1984, at $825 million annually.
- Required that 80 percent of all funds allocated for grants to state and local governments be distributed as block grants, instead of 70 percent as recommended by the Carter administration.
- Required that 10 percent of all funds allocated for state and local grants be distributed as priority grants for programs that have proven effective in improving the justice system, instead of 20 percent as recommended by the administration.
- Provided that 10 percent of all funds allocated for state and local grants be distributed as grants awarded at the discretion of the LEAA.
- Made the LEAA a division of a new Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics (OJARS).
- Created two new agencies, the National Institute of Justice and the Bureau of Justice Statistics, and transferred to them LEAA justice research and statistical programs.

Senate Floor Action

With only limited debate, the Senate May 21 passed S 241 by a 67-8 vote. *(Vote 102, p. 20-S)*

Although the LEAA had been criticized repeatedly since its creation in 1968 under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, opposition to the agency was muted on the Senate floor.

One reason was that S 241 would provide for a massive overhaul of the LEAA's organization and of how federal funds would be distributed to assist state and local criminal justice programs. Also, the LEAA was politically popular with local officials who administered federal funds.

Funding Level

As passed by the Senate, S 241 authorized $825 million annually for the LEAA and related agencies through Sept. 30, 1984. The LEAA's current authorization was to expire Sept. 30, 1979.

But Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., ranking minority member of the Senate Budget Committee, called the authorization level a misleading figure because the first budget resolution for fiscal 1980, as then approved by the House and Senate conferees, anticipated a substantially lower amount for the LEAA.

The Senate rejected April 25 an effort led by Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., the Senate Judiciary Committee chairman and a principal sponsor of S 241, to increase the allocation for the LEAA in the first budget resolution for fiscal 1980 to $546 million from the $446 million recommended by the Senate Budget Committee.

House and Senate conferees on the first budget resolution accepted the Senate's figure rather than the House-approved figure of $546 million.

Bellmon told the Senate he would not attempt to amend S 241 to reduce the $825 million in the proposed authorization for the LEAA. But Bellmon added that he would work in the Senate Appropriations Committee to ensure that no more than $446 million was appropriated for the LEAA in fiscal 1980.

The Carter administration budget for fiscal 1980 recommended $546.3 million for a revamped LEAA, including $9.9 million for the National Institute of Corrections which the Carter administration proposed transferring to the LEAA.

Both Kennedy and Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., a cosponsor of S 241, had criticized Carter's budget recommendation for LEAA as inadequate.

Senate Debate

Kennedy said S 241 would perform "major surgery" on the LEAA, rather than applying "Band-Aid" reforms.

"S 241 constitutes the most ambitious effort yet undertaken by the U.S. Senate to reform an agency which has often been sharply criticized," Kennedy asserted.

The reorganization proposed in S 241 satisfied some of the LEAA's critics, including Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., chairman of the Judiciary's Criminal Justice Subcommittee.

"I have been of the view that, unless something substantial be done to correct what I believe to be the inefficiency of the program and the lack of direction, the program would be better eliminated than continued in its present form," Biden said.

But other critics were not satisified. William Proxmire, D-Wis., said the LEAA had failed to help solve the crime problem and should be abolished.

Floor Amendments

By voice votes, the Senate adopted the following amendments to S 241 to:

- Provide for the president, instead of the attorney general, to appoint the members of the advisory board to the National Institute of Justice. Proposed by Birch Bayh, D-Ind.
- Specify that $28 million be allocated for the National Institute of Justice and $22 million for the Bureau of Justice Statistics, instead of $50 million combined for the two agencies. Sponsored by Bayh.
- Authorize the National Institute of Justice to conduct research into improving minority relations with police. Sponsored by Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio.
- Permit seven pilot projects in which prison industry goods could be sold in interstate commerce and to allow the federal government to purchase prison industry products if inmates were paid a reasonable wage. Sponsored by Charles H. Percy, R-Ill.
- Authorize the National Institute of Justice to conduct research on the prevention of kidnapping of children by one of their parents. Sponsored by Malcolm Wallop, R-Wyo.
- Allow grants made to colleges and universities to be used for developing law-related classes in public schools. Sponsored by Wallop.

• Exempt areas affected by high population growth because of the development of energy resources from the bill's prohibition against the use of grant funds for hardware, pay raises and construction. Sponsored by Wallop.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 241:

• Reorganized the LEAA. Research and statistics programs were removed from the LEAA and established as separate agencies — the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). The LEAA and the two new agencies were to be under the auspices of a new Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics (OJARS).

• Provided for the heads of OJARS and its three subordinate agencies to be appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate.

• Established advisory boards for the NIJ and the BJS. The advisory boards for the two agencies would have the authority to recommend three candidates for vacancies in the top post of each agency.

• Authorized the LEAA and the other new agencies to operate for five years, to Sept. 30, 1984.

• Authorized an annual appropriation of $825 million for the LEAA and the new agencies. Of that amount, $750 million was allocated to the LEAA, $28 million to the NIJ and $22 million to the BJS.

• Authorized $25 million for the Office of Community Anti-Crime Programs.

• Required planning statements by the states only once every three years instead of annually.

• Dropped a provision in existing law that earmarked certain funds for improved correctional programs, but continued the requirement that 19.15 percent of all LEAA funds go to juvenile delinquency programs.

• Allocated 10 percent of funding for state and local awards of categorical grants to be given at the discretion of the LEAA.

• Set aside 10 percent of funding to be used for state and local priority grants for programs that had been effective in improving the justice system.

• Allocated 80 percent of the funds for state and local grants to be used for formula block grants.

• Established two alternative formulas for distributing block grants to state and local governments. After allocating $300,000 to each state, the remaining block grant funds would be distributed either on the basis of state population or a four-part formula, which included population, crime rate, criminal justice expenditures and tax effort.

However, the bill provided that the new four-part formula would be used only if the funds for block grants in fiscal 1980 exceeded the amount of funds for corrections and general criminal justice block grants in fiscal 1979, which totaled $296.7 million. Under the original Carter administration budget for fiscal 1980, only $257.1 million had been allocated for block grants.

Under the previous authorization, block grant funds were to be distributed solely on the basis of population.

• Prohibited state and local governments from using more than 7.5 percent of their formula block grant allocation for administration.

• Barred the use of block grant funds for most hardware purchases, general salary increases and for construction projects.

• Established 22 purposes for which block grant funds might be used by state and local governments.

Required the director of OJARS to report to Congress not later than four years after the enactment of the bill on whether the purposes of the grant programs had been fulfilled.

• Provided direct entitlements to cities of more than 100,000 persons and to counties larger than 250,000 persons. These governments were to receive a fixed share of each state's block grant allocation and would not be forced to compete with smaller communities for funds.

• Dropped the requirement that LEAA block grants be matched by state and local governments. Under the previous law, state and local governments were to provide 10 percent of the cost of a project sponsored by an LEAA grant.

• Permitted the Office of Community Anti-Crime Programs to review applications for block grants.

• Left the National Institute of Corrections as a separate agency in the federal prison system, not transferring it to the NIJ, as proposed by the Carter administration.

House Committee Action

The House Judiciary Committee reported HR 2061 May 15 (H Rept 96-163). The bill was similar to S 241, as passed by the Senate. As introduced, the two bills were identical.

The committee ordered HR 2041 reported by a vote of 24-6, with one member voting present. Opposing the bill were John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio; William J. Hughes, D-N.J.; John Conyers Jr., D-Mich.; Mike Synar, D-Okla.; Jack Brooks, D-Texas, and F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., R-Wis.

In writing the LEAA reauthorization bill, the committee was confronted with a split between the full committee chairman and the chairman of the subcommittee that oversees the LEAA. Each backed different approaches to the reauthorization.

Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., the full committee chairman, was the sponsor of HR 2061, while Conyers, chairman of the Crime Subcommittee, was the author of HR 2108, a separate bill which called for LEAA grants to be focused in four areas. The Crime Subcommittee followed Conyers' lead and endorsed HR 2108.

Conyers filed a statement with the committee report criticizing the full committee's action.

"After all our talk about 'reform,' the bulk of the funds will go to the same recipients in essentially the same proportions, to be administered by the same network of so-called criminal justice planners, to be used for the same purpose[s], which are circumscribed only by the same illusive requirement that the money be used for 'improvements,'" Conyers wrote.

Other committee members filed statements indicating unhappiness with the proposed administrative revamping, the suggested new formula for distributing block grants to state and local governments and the elimination of the requirement of local matching funds for LEAA block grants. The members said they would offer amendments on the House floor to overturn the committee's decisions in those areas.

Provisions

As reported by the House Judiciary Committee, HR 2061 (H Rept 96-163):

• Revamped the organization of the LEAA. Research and statistical programs would be removed from the LEAA

and be established as separate agencies — the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). The LEAA and the two new agencies were under the auspices of a new Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics (OJARS).

- Provided for the heads of OJARS and its three subordinate agencies to be appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate.
- Established advisory boards for the NIJ and the BIS. The advisory boards for the two agencies were to recommend three candidates for vacancies in the top post of each agency.
- Authorized the LEAA and the two new agencies for four years through Sept. 30, 1983.
- Authorized $800 million annually for the LEAA and the two new agencies. Of that amount, $750 million was allocated to the LEAA and $50 million was authorized for the NIJ and the BJS.
- Required planning statements by the states only once every three years instead of annually.
- Allocated 10 percent of all LEAA funds to the Office of Community Anti-Crime Programs.
- Allocated 10 percent of all funds for categorical grants to be awarded at the discretion of the LEAA.
- Set aside 10 percent of all LEAA appropriations for priority grants for programs that had been effective in improving the justice system.
- Allocated 70 percent of all LEAA funds for block grants to state and local governments.
- Established two alternative formulas for distributing block grants to state and local governments. The block grant funds were to be distributed either on the basis of state population or by a four-part formula, which included population, crime rate, criminal justice expenditures and tax effort.

However, the bill provided that the new four-part formula would be used only if the funds for block grants in fiscal 1980 exceeded the amount of funds for corrections and general criminal justice block grants in fiscal 1979.

- Dropped the requirement that state and local governments match LEAA block grants.
- Prohibited state and local governments from using more than 7.5 percent of their formula block grant allocation for administration.
- Prohibited the use of block grant money for the purchase of hardware (with the exception of information and telecommunications systems), salary increases and construction.
- Provided direct entitlements to cities and counties of more than 100,000 persons.
- Dropped most earmarking of LEAA grant funds, but continued the requirement that 19.15 percent of all LEAA funds go to juvenile delinquency programs.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 2061 Oct. 12 by a 220-54 vote. *(Vote 508, p. 148-H)*

As reported to the floor, HR 2061 would have created a new office within the Justice Department, the Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics (OJARS), to oversee the LEAA and two new related agencies.

The House, however, adopted a floor amendment by John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, to strike authorization for the new umbrella office he said would become a "policy-making and administrative bureaucracy."

By a 237-169 vote, the House adopted the Ashbrook amendment to eliminate OJARS, the new umbrella agency. The action came after the amendment had been rejected by a 17-19 standing vote. *(Vote 492, p. 144-H)*

OJARS, which had been authorized under the Senate bill, was designed to oversee the operation of the LEAA and two new agencies, the Bureau of Justice Statistics and the National Institute of Justice.

As a result of Ashbrook's amendment, the LEAA, BJS and NIJ would report directly to the attorney general, as the law assistance agency did.

Backers of OJARS in the Senate and House had argued that the agency would provide needed control for the LEAA, which had come under criticism in recent years for spending too much money on questionable programs.

But Ashbrook argued during floor debate that "the only possible reason for creating OJARS is to establish a buffer from direct line authority by the attorney general."

By voice vote the House also adopted an amendment by Harold S. Sawyer, R-Mich., to restore the requirement that state and local governments continue to put up money in order to receive federal grants. As reported by Judiciary, HR 2061 provided 100 percent federal funding for discretionary and formula LEAA grants.

Under the LEAA's previous authorization, the federal government provided 90 percent of the money under the grant programs with state and local governments providing the remaining 10 percent.

The House also adopted by a 20-16 standing vote an amendment by Robert McClory, R-Ill., to keep the yearly authorization for the Office of Community Anti-Crime Programs at $25 million per year.

The bill as reported by the committee would have provided anti-crime programs with 10 percent of all LEAA funds, or about $50 million, McClory said.

Other Amendments

The following amendments also were adopted on the floor.

- By Don Edwards, D-Calif., to require that criminal intelligence systems funded through LEAA operate in conformance with LEAA guidelines, approved by voice vote.
- By Edwards, to permit representatives of professional legal organizations to be included on various LEAA advisory boards and councils, and allowing discretionary grants for revision of criminal justice standards. Agreed to by a standing vote of 28-22.
- By McClory, to delete a provision that prohibited the FBI from providing transportation for local or state law enforcement personnel taking part in training programs at Quantico, Va., approved by voice vote.
- By Sawyer, to authorize the NIJ to develop methods to curb parental kidnapping spawned by child custody disputes, approved by voice vote.
- By Melvin H. Evans, R-V.I., to allow the Virgin Islands and Guam to be considered as states for the purpose of allocating LEAA funds, approved by voice vote.

During floor consideration of HR 2061 Oct. 12, the House also adopted the following amendments:

- By Peter A. Peyser, D-N.Y., to allow the purchase of bulletproof vests with formula grant funds, by voice vote.
- By Mario Biaggi, D-N.Y., to require the BJS to compile specific information on crimes against the elderly, by voice vote.
- By Stephen L. Neal, D-N.C., to extend coverage of the Public Safety Officers Death Benefits Act (PL 94-430) to

rescue squad personnel, by a 180-99 recorded vote. *(Vote 507, p. 148-H)*

- By Harold L. Volkmer, D-Mo., to reduce the authorization for the LEAA, NIJ and BJS from four years to three, by voice vote.
- By Douglas K. Bereuter, R-Neb., to make funds already available to state judicial coordinating committees also available to state criminal justice councils that do court planning, by voice vote.
- By William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif., to make clear that a group of local government units within the same county could join together to meet the minimum population figure required to apply for mini-block grants, by voice vote.

The House rejected 181-224 an amendment Oct. 10 by Harold L. Volkmer, D-Mo., to permit local law enforcement agencies to use formula grant funds to buy equipment or hardware up to $1,000. *(Vote 491, p. 144-H)*

Backers of HR 2061 defeated two amendments Oct. 12 by Sensenbrenner that would have knocked out two major LEAA programs.

One amendment to eliminate the national priority grant program was defeated on an 85-197 vote. *(Vote 505, p. 148-H)*

Sensenbrenner's second amendment, to eliminate the "mini-block" grant program, was defeated by a 40-246 vote. *(Vote 506, p. 148-H)*

In addition to the two Sensenbrenner amendments, the House Oct. 12 also rejected the following amendments:

- By Volkmer, to eliminate the alternative four-part formula for allocating formula grant funds and retain the present system of awarding the grants solely on the basis of population, rejected by voice vote.
- By Volkmer, to allow states to use 20 percent of grant funds for planning purposes, instead of 7.5 percent as provided under the bill, rejected by voice vote.
- By Volkmer, to require not more than 12 percent of funds available for National Priority Grants be given to any one state, rejected by voice vote.
- By Volkmer, to allow use of formula grant money to buy photographic and fingerprint equipment for law enforcement purposes that related to a specific program or project, rejected by a 149-174 vote. *(Vote 504, p. 146-H)*
- By McClory, to authorize California to use previously awarded block grants to fund the 1980 Sixth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, rejected on a 127-203 vote. *(Vote 503, p. 146-H)*

After passing HR 2061, the House voted to vacate the action and incorporate the House amendments under S 241, the Senate bill number.

Provisions

As passed by the House, S 241 (HR 2061):

- Reorganized the LEAA, creating two new agencies to handle research and statistical work. The LEAA primarily would handle grant programs for the states. The National Institute of Justice would conduct research and the Bureau of Justice Statistics would gather national criminal justice statistics.
- Authorized the LEAA, BJS and NIJ for three years, through Sept. 30, 1982.
- Authorized $800 million annually for the LEAA and the two new agencies. Of that amount, $750 million would be allocated to the LEAA and $50 million would be authorized for the NIJ and BJS.
- Authorized $25 million each year through 1982 for the Office of Community Anti-Crime Programs.
- Required criminal justice planning statements by the states once every three years instead of annually.
- Allocated 10 percent of all grant appropriations for awards at the discretion of the LEAA.
- Allocated 10 percent of all grant appropriations for the national priority grant program, designed to fund projects that had proved successful in the past.
- Allocated 80 percent of all LEAA funds for the formula grant program.
- Established two alternative formulas for distributing block grants to state and local governments. The block grant funds would be distributed either on the basis of state population or a four-part formula, based on population, crime rate, criminal justice expenditures and tax effort.

The bill specified that the LEAA should use the formula that gave a state the most money. However, it required that if the four-part formula were used, a state could not receive more than 110 percent of the amount it would have received had the population formula been used.

- Required state and local governments to put up 10 percent of the money under the formula and discretionary grant programs. LEAA would fund 90 percent.
- Prohibited state and local governments from using more than 7.5 percent of formula grant funds for administration.
- Prohibited the use of formula grant money for the purchase of hardware (with the exception of bulletproof vests, and information and telecommunications systems), salary increases and construction.
- Provided death benefits administered through the LEAA for rescue squad personnel.
- Allowed cities and counties or combinations of local governments of more than 100,000 persons to apply for mini-block grants.
- Continued the requirement that 19.15 percent of all LEAA funds go to juvenile delinquency programs.

Final Action

The Senate asked for a conference Oct. 18 and the House agreed Oct. 19.

A conference report was filed in the House (H Rept 96-655) Nov. 16, but the Senate recommitted the conference report Nov. 29.

A second conference report was filed in the House Dec. 10 (H Rept 96-695). The Senate agreed to the report Dec. 11 and the House cleared the bill for the president Dec. 13. ▮

Bert Lance Indicted

Bert Lance, former director of the Office of Management and Budget under President Carter, was indicted May 23 by a federal grand jury in Atlanta for allegedly violating a series of federal banking laws.

Lance, who denied any wrongdoing and pleaded innocent to all the charges, was accused of making false entries in bank records, falsifying personal financial statements, misapplying bank funds and conspiracy.

After eight months as budget director, Lance resigned Sept. 21, 1977, following hearings by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee into Lance's banking practices. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 157)* ▮

Magistrates' Jurisdiction

Congress cleared for the president Sept. 28 a bill (S 237 — PL 96-82) to expand the authority of federal magistrates. President Carter signed the measure into law Oct. 10.

Final action came when the House adopted its conference report (H Rept 96-444) on the bill by a 273-38 vote. *(Vote 476, p. 138-H)*

The Senate adopted a similar report (S Rept 96-322) Sept. 20 by voice vote.

As cleared by Congress, S 237 allowed federal magistrates to hold jury and non-jury trials in both civil matters and criminal misdemeanor cases with the consent of the parties.

It also created a merit selection procedure for appointing magistrates and allowed part-time magistrates to preside over certain cases.

Previously, magistrates — who were appointed by federal district court judges — could try only non-jury federal misdemeanor cases where the penalty for the offense was no greater than one year in prison and a $1,000 fine.

They also could conduct pre-trial hearings in certain civil and criminal matters and make recommendations for disposition of the questions presented to district court judges.

Similar versions of the magistrate legislation passed both chambers during the 95th Congress. But the House added to the magistrate bill a controversial provision that would have abolished diversity jurisdiction in federal courts, and a conference committee was unable to reach agreement on the bill. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 201)*

The post of magistrate was created by legislation passed by Congress in 1968 and replaced the position of U.S. commissioner.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 237 (PL 96-82):

- Allowed magistrates to preside at jury and non-jury civil cases so long as the parties consented in writing. Part-time magistrates could preside at civil cases if a full-time magistrate were "not reasonably available."
- Allowed full-time and part-time magistrates to preside at jury or non-jury criminal misdemeanor trials, so long as the defendant consented in writing.
- Allowed magistrates to try juveniles accused of petty offenses if the juvenile consented. However, only non-incarcerative sentences could be imposed.
- Provided merit selection procedures for selecting magistrates according to regulations to be promulgated by the U.S. Judicial Conference. Merit selection panels would be required to screen candidates for district court judges, who would continue to appoint the magistrates.
- Provided direct appeals from magistrate proceedings to the U.S. Court of Appeals, unless the parties consented before trial to appeal to U.S. District Court.

Senate Action

The Senate May 2 passed S 237 by a voice vote. It had been reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee April 24 (S Rept 96-74).

Under S 237 as passed by the Senate, magistrates were authorized to decide civil cases for the first time and given expanded powers over criminal cases. They also were authorized to handle jury trials for the first time.

Previously, in the criminal area, a magistrate could handle federal misdemeanors in which penalties were no more than a year imprisonment or $1,000 in fines. A criminal defendant had to consent to trial by a magistrate instead of by a district judge and waive his right to a jury trial.

Under the bill, magistrates were authorized to handle any federal misdemeanor — an offense with a maximum one-year jail term — regardless of the maximum fine. A defendant still would have to consent to a magistrate handling his case, but would retain the option of a jury trial if he did.

In the civil area, magistrates designated by federal district courts — including part-time magistrates who were not engaged in law practice — were permitted to handle any civil case if the persons involved consented.

The bill required the issuance of court rules to assure the voluntariness of the parties' consent. Civil trials could be heard by a magistrate with or without a jury.

The legislation provided for an appeal of the magistrate's decision in civil cases to a circuit court of appeals. If the parties to the case consented ahead of time, the appeal could be made to a district court judge.

The measure passed by the Senate in 1977 called for appeal to a district court and, if the parties agreed, to the court of appeals.

S 237 required the Judicial Conference, the policy making body of the federal judiciary, to adopt standards for the qualifications of magistrates, as well as procedures for their selection.

It also mandated public notice of all magistrate vacancies and the establishment of merit selection panels to review candidates for full-time positions.

House Action

The House June 26 voted 374-42 to give U.S. magistrates new powers over federal civil and criminal cases. The action came under suspension of the rules. *(Vote 256, p. 78-H)*

The House bill (HR 1046) also gave magistrates for the first time the authority to try civil cases and to handle both civil and criminal jury trials. *(Vote 256, p. 78-H)*

Passage of HR 1046 was later vacated and the House amendments were incorporated under the Senate bill number.

Under the House bill, full-time magistrates could handle any civil case, as long as the parties to the case consented.

Under the Senate bill, part-time magistrates who were not engaged in law practice, also would be given authority to handle civil matters.

Magistrates also were given expanded powers to try criminal cases.

Both the House and Senate bills allowed full- and part-time magistrates to handle any federal misdemeanor, although the defendant would have to agree to have his case tried before a magistrate. He would, however, retain the right to a jury trial.

The House bill allowed parties to a civil case to appeal the magistrate's opinion to a federal district court judge. If the parties agreed ahead of time, the appeal could be made directly to a federal court of appeals. The Senate bill provided an initial appeal to a court of appeals or, if the parties agreed, to a district court judge.

Conference Action

The House asked for a conference June 26 and the Senate agreed July 10.

Conferees agreed to allow part-time magistrates who met specified requirements to preside at civil trials if the parties consented and a full-time magistrate were "not reasonably available."

The House bill did not provide for part-time magistrates to preside in civil cases.

Conferees dropped a Senate provision that would have allowed magistrates to accept felony guilty pleas with a defendant's consent. Under the agreement, the authority of magistrates to preside over criminal cases would extend only to misdemeanors.

Conferees also dropped another Senate provision that would have allowed magistrates to handle all juvenile misdemeanor cases and impose a prison sentence of up to six months. The House bill had no such provision.

Under the agreement, juveniles who consented could be tried by magistrates for petty offenses, but magistrates could not impose prison sentences. They could impose only non-prison punishment, such as a fine.

House conferees accepted a Senate provision that would allow an appeal from a magistrate's court to go directly to the appropriate U.S. Court of Appeals. However, if the parties consented, an appeal could be taken to U.S. District Court. The House bill had provided for an appeal to U.S. District Court, unless the parties consented at the start of the case to appeal to the Court of Appeals.

House conferees also accepted a Senate provision dealing with the selection of magistrates. Under the plan, selections would be made according to standards and procedures developed by the U.S. Judicial Conference. District court judges would continue to choose magistrates, but only after candidates had been screened and recommended by merit selection panels composed of residents in the judicial district with the vacancy.

The Judicial Conference did not have specific authority to establish mandatory qualifications or selection procedures. ▮

Speedy Trial Rules Delayed

Congress cleared legislation (S 961) July 31 to delay for one year strict new time limits for conducting federal criminal trials. President Carter signed the bill into law Aug. 2 (PL 96-43).

The new time limits technically had gone into effect July 1 under the 1974 Speedy Trial Act (PL 93-619). *(Background, 1974 Almanac p. 295)*

But by a 416-1 vote, the House passed S 961 to delay for one year, until July 1, 1980, the Speedy Trial Act requirement that federal criminal cases be dismissed unless they are brought to trial within 100 days of a defendant's arrest. *(Vote 368, p. 108-H)*

On June 19, the Senate had approved its version of S 961 to postpone implementing the sanctions for two years, until July 1, 1981. But after the House action July 31, the Senate agreed the same day by voice vote to the House changes and sent the bill to the president.

The Justice Department and the Judicial Conference of the United States, the policy-making arm of the federal judiciary, had wanted implementation of the dismissal sanction put off until 1981 and the arrest-to-trial time limit extended to 180 days.

Both the House and Senate bills left in place the 100-day arrest-to-trial deadlines established by the 1974 act.

Under the 1974 act, courts after July 1 would have had to dismiss any federal criminal case not brought to trial within 100 days of a person's arrest or in which authorities violated any of the interim arrest-to-trial deadlines established by the 1974 law.

The law required that defendants be indicted within 30 days after arrest, be arraigned within 10 days of indictment and be tried within 60 days of arraignment.

The legislation cleared by Congress July 31 merged the 10-day indictment-to-arraignment provision and the 60-day arraignment-to-trial provision into a single 70-day period.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 961 (PL 96-43):

- Postponed until July 1, 1980, from July 1, 1979, the effective date requiring dismissal of federal criminal cases if defendants are not tried within 100 days of their arrests; provided, that the chief judge of a district could apply to the judicial council of his circuit for permission to apply the sanctions earlier if he decided the district were able to comply before the 1980 deadline.
- Merged the existing 10-day indictment-to-arraignment and 60-day arraignment-to-trial intervals into a single 70-day period. The total arrest-trial period would remain at 100 days.
- Guaranteed the defendant 30 days to obtain counsel and prepare for trial; the 30-day period would begin on the day the defendant notified the court he had obtained counsel or would represent himself.
- Expanded and clarified the types of situations a judge could exclude from the 100-day limit rule. Among the so-called "excludable delays" would be: transporting the defendant from one district to another, consideration of proposed plea bargains, the entire pretrial motions hearing procedure from motion filing to termination, and so-called "ends of justice" continuances such as those granted to provide more time to prepare a case.
- Changed from temporary to permanent the 90-day time limits established to try high risk defendants released and awaiting trial and those held awaiting trial. Failure to meet the deadline would result in the release of pretrial detainees and the automatic review of release conditions for high-risk defendants.
- Empowered circuit judicial councils to grant emergency suspensions of the rules for up to one year at the request of a chief district judge. The original law required the U.S. Judicial Conference to approve the suspensions.
- Allowed a chief district judge to suspend time limits for up to 30 days if the judge determines the need for suspension is "of great urgency." Within 10 days of entering such an order, the chief judge must apply to the circuit judicial council for a formal suspension.
- Required congressional approval for a second suspension of time limits. Under existing law, the U.S. Judicial Conference could grant a second suspension that would remain in effect unless Congress decided to the contrary.

Background

Alarming increases in federal and state court backlogs of criminal cases prompted Congress in 1974 to pass the

Speedy Trial Act. Defense attorneys contended that excessively long arrest-to-trial periods frequently meant that suspected felons lost their Sixth Amendment right to a speedy trial.

The desire to dampen the incidence of released suspects committing additional crimes while awaiting trial also spurred congressional activity.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the American Bar Association, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit and the Judicial Conference of the United States, had all adopted rules aimed at speeding up pre-trial and trial proceedings. However, courts often ignored these voluntary guidelines.

The 1974 act provided that beginning July 1, 1979, a defendant would have to be indicted within 30 days of his arrest, arraigned within 10 days of indictment, and tried within 60 days of arraignment. Failure to meet either the aggregate 100-day limit or any of the interim deadlines would result in dismissal of the case.

The act also established a four-year phase in period. The final transitional phase of 125 days from arrest to trial went into effect July 1, 1978.

Criticism

The 100-day time limit had come under increasing fire from the Justice Department, which asserted that it would lead to poorly prepared cases and the postponement of arrests to avoid "starting the clock."

"The department believes that the risks are too high, the potential costs too great, to allow the permanent time limits and the dismissal sanction to go into effect on July 1," said the Justice Department's assistant attorney general for the criminal division, Philip Heymann, in May testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In explaining the Justice Department's proposal to extend the time limit to 180 days from arrest to trial, Heymann said that if the 100-day rule had been in effect for the year ending June 30, 1978, the courts would have dismissed approximately 5,174 felony cases, or 17 percent of the federal criminal cases. However, Heymann conceded that "the system will not allow 5,000" cases to be dismissed.

"Prosecutors have always used the floodgate argument," when trying to justify extending the deadlines, countered Howard Eisenberg, a spokesman for the National Legal Aid and Defender Association, a group of attorneys representing indigent clients.

"The sanctions are really the guts of the bill," Eisenberg said, adding that if federal prosecutors were more efficient in bringing cases to trial, only a few suspected felons would be released.

Senate Committee Action

In its June 13 report (S Rept 96-212) recommending a two-year delay in implementing the dismissal sanction, the Senate Judiciary Committee said more time was needed to study the law's potential impact on the criminal justice system.

However, the committee rebuffed the Justice Department's contention that the dismissal sanction coupled with the 100-day time limit would spark a flood of released felons.

"A case cannot, at present, be made for a fundamental policy change in the act by an enlargement of the time limits," the commitee said. The committee quoted from the department's own study of the act, which said that the number of dismissals would be low, since prosecutors and courts would rapidly adjust to the new 100-day limit.

The committee found that the prognosis for compliance with the permanent deadlines was good, since four out of five cases terminated before June 30, 1978, had been completed within the 100 days.

The committee stated that cases were routinely exceeding that time period because judges were interpreting too narrowly the various exemptions that could "stop the clock" during the arrest-to-trial period. So-called "excludable time" delays for filing pre-trial motions or for continuances could add large chunks of time to the allowable arrest-to-trial period, the panel found.

In the year ending June 30, 1978, judges failed to use legitimate delays in 75.6 percent of the cases, the committee said, quoting a study conducted by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate June 19 passed S 961 by voice vote. Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., said the two-year delay in imposing the dismissal sanction was needed to defuse judges' and prosecutors' hostility to the act and to gauge the effect which the addition of 152 new federal judges would have on expediting criminal proceedings.

As passed by the Senate, S 961 postponed for two years, until July 1, 1981, from July 1, 1979, the effective date after which federal criminal cases must be dismissed if they are not brought to trial within 100 days, provided that the chief judge of a district could apply to the judicial council of his circuit for permission to apply the sanctions earlier if he decided the district were able to comply before the 1981 deadline.

House Action

The House Judiciary Committee reported S 961 July 26 (HR 96-390), recommending only a one-year suspension of the dismissal sanction.

The committee said that within the next year 114 new permanent federal district court judges should be seated, giving understaffed districts the needed help to comply with the Speedy Trial Act.

The committee, like the Senate Judiciary Committee, rejected a Justice Department request to extend the time limit from arrest to trial to 180 days, allowing 120 days from indictment to trial.

The House passed S 961 on July 31, and the Senate agreed to the House amendments the same day. ▮

Justice Authorization

Congress Nov. 27 cleared a $1.95 billion fiscal 1980 authorization for the Department of Justice (S 1157). President Carter signed the bill into law Nov. 30 (PL 96-132).

Final action came when the Senate approved a conference report (S Rept 96-418) on S 1157 by voice vote. The House had approved the report (H Rept 96-628) by voice vote earlier the same day.

A key section of S 1157 authorized a "special investigator" appointed by the attorney general to investigate the

beleaguered Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

S 1157 authorized almost $78 million more than President Carter's amended budget request of nearly $1.88 billion.

The bill covered all parts of the Justice Department except for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) and its related agencies, which were authorized separately. *(LEAA, story p. 370)*

The fiscal 1980 State, Justice, Commerce appropriation bill (HR 4392 — PL 96-68) provided the Justice Department, except for the LEAA, with $1,908,504,000. *(Story, p. 202)*

Conference Action

As approved by the House, S 1157 authorized an inspector general for the INS, appointed by the president and empowered to conduct agency audits and investigations. The Senate bill had no such provision.

Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., chief proponent of the inspector general provision, said during the conference committee meeting that INS was "the worst mismanaged agency in the Justice Department."

After 40 minutes of debate, the conferees agreed to authorize a "special investigator" who would have the same powers as an inspector general but would be appointed by the attorney general.

Conferees also agreed to ask the Justice Department to determine by Feb. 15, 1980, whether an inspector general was needed for the entire department.

The conferees also agreed:

- To accept the Senate level of about $112 million for the department's general legal activities. The House bill had authorized $106 million.
- To accept a House provision earmarking $3 million for a Nazi War Criminal Special Litigation Unit. The Senate bill had set aside $2 million for the Nazi investigations.
- To accept the Senate level of nearly $48.6 million for the antitrust division. Up to $4 million would be available for antitrust enforcement grants to states. The House had authorized $46.6 million for the antitrust division with $3 million earmarked for state grants.
- To accept the House level of nearly $242.6 million for U.S. attorneys and marshals. The Senate authorization was $232.6 million. Conferees agreed to drop a Senate provision that would have prohibited U.S. marshals from serving private civil papers except for indigents and in extraordinary circumstances.
- To authorize $198.3 million for the Drug Enforcement Administration. This is a compromise between the Senate authorization of $193.4 million and the House figure of $202.4 million.
- To accept a Senate provision that put a $31,000 ceiling on the attorney general's official reception fund. The House bill had no ceiling.
- To accept a House provision allowing dependents of Justice Department personnel stationed overseas one round trip per year to the United States for educational purposes.
- To accept a House provision authorizing U.S. marshals to lease, maintain and operate aircraft.
- To accept a House provision requiring the Justice Department to report to Congress when the department decided not to enforce any provision of a law the department deemed unconstitutional.
- To accept a House provision authorizing the purchase of insurance for aircraft operated on official government business in foreign countries.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 1157 (PL 96-132):

- Authorized an estimated $72 million in open-ended funding for non-discretionary increases in employee salaries and benefits.
- Created a special investigator for the INS to conduct audits and investigations of the agency. The office would expire in three years unless renewed.
- Required the Justice Department to obtain an independent management analysis of the INS.
- Earmarked $3 million for a Nazi War Criminal Special Litigation Unit.
- Set aside $5.7 million to improve medical services within the federal prison system and $30,000 to improve inmate legal services.

In addition, S 1157 authorized the following amounts for fiscal 1980:

	Budget Request[1]	Final Authorization
General Administration	$ 28,168,000	$ 33,168,000*
U.S. Parole Commission	5,555,000	5,555,000
General Legal Activities	102,789,000	111,748,000
Antitrust Division	43,592,000	48,592,000
U.S. attorneys and marshals	231,921,000	242,573,000
Support for U.S. prisoners	21,800,000	25,100,000
Witness fees and expenses	27,052,000	27,052,000
Community Relations	4,473,000	5,428,000
FBI	575,608,000	584,408,000
Immigration and Naturalization Service	304,354,000	319,762,000
Drug Enforcement Administration	193,836,000	198,336,000
Federal Prison System	337,344,000	352,390,000
Total	$1,876,492,000	$1,954,112,000

[1] *As amended.*

* *Includes $5 million earmarked for a special state and joint state and local drug enforcement program.*

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported S 1157 (S Rept 96-173) May 15. In addition to its authorization recommendations, the committee-approved bill contained the following provisions that:

- Required the Justice Department to notify Congress when certain department funds were reprogrammed.
- Mandated an independent management analysis of the operations of the INS.
- Required the attorney general to submit a plan for establishment of case management systems for each judicial district.
- Prohibited the use of department funds for "message-switching" equipment until both the House and Senate Judiciary committees had given their approval.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate approved a $1.9 billion authorization on June 4 by a 77-2 vote. Only Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and William Proxmire, D-Wis., opposed the bill. *(Vote 115, p. 22-S)*

The Senate-passed authorization exceeded the amount recommended earlier by the House Judiciary Committee by about $15.1 million.

By a 20-59 vote, the Senate rejected an amendment by Helms to reduce the authorization for the civil rights division of the Justice Department by $2 million to $14.1 million from the $16.1 million recommended by the Senate Judiciary Committee. *(Vote 114, p. 22-S)*

The Carter administration had asked for $14.1 million for the civil rights division for fiscal 1980.

Helms told the Senate that the performance of the civil rights division should be scrutinized more closely. "By any objective standard of measurement, the performance is not so good," Helms said.

The North Carolina Republican pointedly criticized the role of the civil rights division in the Wilmington 10 case in his home state. The Wilmington 10 is the name given to a group of civil rights activists who were convicted in connection with the firebombing of a grocery store. The division had investigated whether the rights of the activists were violated.

"Such interference in a state criminal case . . . is nothing more than an unwarranted attack on the exemplary judicial system of North Carolina — aside from the wasted manpower and resources of the presumably 'overburdened' civil rights division," Helms said.

Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., the Senate Judiciary Committee chairman, replied that the $16.1 million recommended by the committee was "a barebones" budget. Kennedy did not respond to Helms' comments about the Wilmington 10.

Floor Amendments

By voice votes, the Senate adopted the following amendments to:

- Extend the life, through March 1, 1981, of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, which was scheduled to terminate Sept. 30, 1980. Offered by Kennedy.
- Increase the amount authorized for the Federal Bureau of Investigation by $4 million over the $580.4 million recommended by the committee. Proposed by Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C.
- Increase the funds allocated to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) by $7.5 million over the $305.8 million recommended by the committee. The additional money would be earmarked for the INS border patrol. Offered by Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.
- Require the attorney general to submit to Congress before Sept. 1, 1980, a plan to alter the function of the U.S. penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan., to that of a modern correctional institution. Offered by Robert Dole, R-Kan.
- Permit the attorney general to initiate an investigation of alleged violations of federal environmental or natural resource laws with the concurrence of the agency primarily responsible for the enforcement of those laws. Proposed by Kennedy.

The Kennedy amendment was an alternative to a proposed amendment by Malcolm Wallop, R-Wyo., that would have eliminated a provision in the committee-approved bill to allow the attorney general to initiate an investigation of environmental or natural resource law violations. No concurrence of the primary enforcement agencies would have been required under the committee proposal. Wallop withdrew his amendment after the Kennedy proposal was adopted.

House Committee Action

The House Judiciary Committee reported the Justice Department authorization (HR 3303 — H Rept 96-99, part 1) April 23. It was later referred to the Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce (H Rept 96-99, part 3) and Intelligence (H Rept 96-99, part 2) and was reported by the former May 15 and the latter May 8.

Citing "rampant inefficiency" in the management of the immigration service, the Judiciary Committee said additional funds had been authorized by the committee to deal with the deficiencies.

As reported, the bill authorized $320.1 million for the INS, compared to the $298.8 million requested by the Carter administration in its proposed fiscal 1980 budget. In fiscal 1979 the INS received about $305.4 million.

The Judiciary Committee approved HR 3303 on a 26-1 vote. The dissenter was Harold L. Volkmer, D-Mo.

As reported, the legislation authorized $1.91 billion in fiscal 1980 for the Justice Department, excluding the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA).

The legislation marked only the second time that Congress has gone through the authorization process for the Justice Department. From its creation in 1870 until fiscal 1979, the Justice Department never had to go before Congress for authorizing legislation, as required of other government agencies.

A requirement for annual Justice Department authorizations was included in the 1976 LEAA renewal act (PL 94-503).

As reported by the Judiciary Committee, HR 3303:

- Earmarked $7.1 million for automation of the INS's recordkeeping. Of that amount, $2.1 million would be set aside to update controls over non-immigrants, including foreign students, tourists and temporary visitors.
- Required the Justice Department to obtain an independent management analysis of the INS.
- Created an Office of Inspector General for the INS. The committee report said the functions of the new office would parallel those of the inspector offices created by the Inspector General Act of 1978 (PL 95-452).
- Earmarked $3 million for the Nazi War Criminal Special Litigation Unit and transferred it from the INS to the Justice Department's Criminal Division.
- Increased the funding authorization by $14.4 million for the purpose of increasing Border Patrol personnel by 495 positions.
- Authorized an estimated $72 million in open-ended funding for non-discretionary increases in employee salaries and benefits.
- Set aside $5.7 million to improve medical services within the federal prison system. Of that amount, $3 million would go to the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners at Springfield, Mo., to ensure that the center continued to meet medical and psychiatric accreditation standards.
- Authorized an additional $30,000 to improve legal services for inmates within the federal prison system.
- Authorized $2.6 million for planning and site acquisition for a federal detention facility in Los Angeles County.
- Required the attorney general to develop a plan to assure the closing of the U.S. penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., by

Sept. 1, 1984. The committee report said it was the members' intention that the Atlanta facility, which was built around 1900, never be used in any way as a correctional facility by state and local governments after it was closed as a federal institution.

House Floor Action

The House Oct. 16 passed a $1.95 billion Justice Department fiscal 1980 authorization (HR 3303). The vote was 386-24. *(Vote 511, p. 148-H)*

Passage was subsequently vacated and S 1157 was passed after being amended to contain the language of the House bill.

As passed by the House, the measure authorized $70 million more than the administration's amended fiscal 1980 budget request and $22 million more than approved for the department by the Senate in S 1157.

A major difference between the Senate and House bills was the authorization level provided for the much criticized Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The House bill authorized $319,762,000 for the agency, some $6.4 million more than the Senate bill and $15.4 million more than the administration's budget request.

The House bill also authorized $10 million more than S 1157 for U.S. attorneys and marshals, and $8.4 million more than the Senate bill for the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Floor Amendments

The House approved by voice vote two amendments offered by the Select Committee on Intelligence, one to increase by $7,250,000 the authorization for general department administration, and the second, to increase the authorization for general legal activities by $5,148,000.

The following amendments also were adopted on voice votes:

- By Don Edwards, D-Calif., to increase the FBI's authorization by $8.8 million and earmark $12.1 million for FBI efforts to combat terrorism in the United States.
- By Edwards, to require the Justice Department to notify Congress when it reprogrammed funding and the money involved was at least $250,000.
- By Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis., to authorize the acquisition, lease, maintenance and operation of aircraft for U.S. attorneys, marshals and trustees.
- By Kastenmeier, to increase the authorization for U.S. attorneys, marshals and trustees by $7.9 million.
- By Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., to require the Justice Department to report to Congress when the department decided not to enforce any provision of a law the department deemed unconstitutional.
- By Lester L. Wolff, D-N.Y., to increase the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) authorization by $8.5 million.
- By Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., to amend the Controlled Substances Act (PL 91-513) to authorize DEA to pay tort claims arising in foreign countries in connection with DEA operations abroad.
- By Robert F. Drinan, D-Mass., to authorize the purchase of insurance for aircraft operated on official government business in foreign countries.
- By Drinan, to authorize dependents of Justice Department personnel stationed overseas one round trip to the United States per year for the purpose of education.
- By Phillip Burton, D-Calif., to authorize California to use proceeds of previously awarded LEAA block grants to help fund the 1980 Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders.

By a 4-17 standing vote, the House rejected an amendment by Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., requiring a study of alternate uses for the 1980 Winter Olympics buildings at Ray Brook, N.Y., scheduled to become a federal prison.

Provisions

As passed by the House, S 1157 (HR 3303):

- Authorized an estimated $72 million in open-ended funding for non-discretionary increases in employee salaries and benefits.
- Earmarked $7.1 million for automation of the INS's record-keeping facilities, of which $2.1 million would be set aside to update controls over non-immigrants, including foreign students, tourists and visiting businessmen.
- Required the Justice Department to obtain an independent management analysis of the INS.
- Created an Office of Inspector General for the INS, empowering the inspector general to, among other things, conduct audits and investigations.
- Earmarked $3 million for the Nazi War Criminal Special Litigation Unit.
- Set aside $5.7 million to improve medical services within the federal prison system.
- Authorized an additional $30,000 to improve legal services for inmates within the federal prison system.
- Authorized $2.6 million for planning and site acquisition for a federal prison in Los Angeles County.
- Required the attorney general to develop a plan to assure the closing of the U.S. penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., by Sept. 1, 1984.

House-Senate Comparison

As passed by the Senate and House, the bills authorized the following amounts for fiscal 1980:

	Senate-passed Authorization	House-passed Authorization
General Administration	$ 31,417,000	$ 33,168,000
U.S. Parole Commission	5,555,000	5,555,000
General legal activities	111,748,000	106,267,000
Antitrust division	48,592,000	46,915,000
U.S. attorneys and marshals	232,573,000	242,573,000
Support for U.S. prisoners	25,100,000	25,100,000
Witness fees and expenses	27,052,000	27,052,000
Community relations	5,428,000	5,428,000
FBI	584,408,000	584,408,000
Immigration and Naturalization Service	313,317,000	319,762,000
Drug Enforcement Adminstration	193,836,000	202,366,000
Federal prison system	349,790,000	352,390,000
Total*	$1,928,816,000	$1,950,984,000

** Totals do not include funding for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, which is authorized in separate legislation.*

Bankruptcy Loophole Closed

President Carter signed a bill into law Aug. 14 to close a loophole in 1978 legislation overhauling federal bankruptcy laws.

HR 2807 (PL 96-56) reinstated the prohibition on discharging federally guaranteed student loans in bankruptcy proceedings for a five-year period after repayment is owed except where an undue hardship would occur.

Final action came Aug. 1, when the House accepted a Senate amendment extending coverage of HR 2807 to loans made, insured or guaranteed by the government, government-funded programs or non-profit higher education institutions.

Before the Senate amendment was adopted, the bill would have applied only to loans repayable directly to the federal government or to a non-profit educational institution.

The Bankruptcy Reform Act (PL 95-598) repealed the prohibition on discharging student loans effective Nov. 6, 1978, and would not have reinstated it until Oct. 1, 1979. *(Bankruptcy Act background, 1978 Almanac p. 179)*

HR 2807 took care of the 11-month gap.

Several members of Congress said HR 2807 was needed to prevent students from declaring bankruptcy soon after they graduated from college — thus discharging their obligations to repay their student loans.

The prohibition on discharging federally guaranteed student loans in bankruptcy proceedings originally was passed by Congress in 1976. *(Background, 1976 Almanac p. 569)*

HR 2807 was passed by the House May 7 on a voice vote under suspension of the rules. It was amended by the Senate July 11 after being reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee June 21 (S Rept 96-230). ▮

Civil Rights Commission

Congress Sept. 27 cleared a fiscal 1980 authorization (S 721 — PL 96-81) for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. President Carter signed the measure into law Oct. 6.

S 721 authorized $14 million in fiscal 1980 for the commission, an independent fact-finding body. It also required the commission to study discrimination against Southern and Eastern European ethnic groups to determine if they were adversely affected by affirmative action programs.

The Senate gave its final approval to the measure Sept. 25, and the House cleared it Sept. 27. Both actions were voice votes.

In approving House amendments to the bill, the Senate agreed to put a $14 million limit on the commission's authorization. When the Senate first passed S 721 (S Rept 96-167) on June 7, the bill authorized "such sums as are necessary."

A House bill (HR 2641 — H Rept 96-109) passed June 8 had placed the $14 million ceiling on the authorization.

The Senate also agreed to drop an amendment by Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., that would have required the commission to report to Congress and the president by April 1980 on the legal implications of the Supreme Court's June 5 decision in *Davis v. Passman*.

In that case, the court ruled that members of Congress can be sued for sex discrimination by their employees. *(Davis v. Passman case, p. 22-A)*

Senate Action

Committee. The Senate Judiciary Committee, which reported S 721 (S Rept 96-167) May 15, recommended "such sums as are necessary" to fund the activities of the Civil Rights Commission in fiscal 1980.

The Congressional Budget Office estimated the cost of running the commission at $11.4 million for fiscal 1980, the same amount as requested by the administration.

Floor. The Senate passed S 721 June 7 by a 91-5 vote. Rather than authorizing a specific dollar figure for the commission, the Senate bill authorized whatever funds would be required for agency activities. *(Vote 124, p. 23-S)*

Before passing S 721, the Senate defeated attempts by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to attach anti-busing and constitutional convention procedures amendments to the bill.

The first Helms amendment would have required a constitutional convention to consider amendments to the Constitution only on the single subject specified in the states' petitions to Congress. Under Article V of the Constitution, two-thirds of the state legislatures must petition Congress before it is required to call a convention.

After extracting a promise from Constitution Subcommittee Chairman Birch Bayh, D-Ind., that the panel would hold hearings on the issue by the end of the year, Helms agreed to withdraw his amendment.

A second amendment by Helms to prohibit court-ordered or voluntary busing to achieve public school desegregation during an energy emergency was tabled by a vote of 49-46. The amendment would have prohibited such busing during any academic year following a calendar year in which oil imports were at least 40 percent of U.S. petroleum consumption. *(Vote 123, p. 23-S)*

The Senate approved by voice vote an amendment by Leahy to require the commission to report to Congress and the president by April 1980 on the legal implications of the Supreme Court's June 5 decision in *Davis v. Passman*.

A key question left unresolved by the court in the *Davis* case was whether the "Speech or Debate" clause of the Constitution, which shields members of Congress from court suits for actions under taken as official duties, would render members immune from employees' sex bias suits.

The Senate also voted 91-1 to approve a Helms amendment requiring commission studies of discrimination against Southern and Eastern European ethnic groups. *(Vote 122, p. 23-S)*

House Action

Committee. Rebuffing its conservative bloc, the House Judiciary Committee approved a $14 million authorization for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for fiscal 1980.

The House bill (HR 2641), approved by a voice vote, represented an increase of $2.6 million over the amount requested by the Carter administration. The committee report on the bill was filed May 1 (H Rept 96-109).

By a 12-15 vote, the committee's conservative wing lost an attempt to reduce the authorization to $11 million. Advocates of the cut included nine Republicans and three southern Democrats.

A dissent filed by five committee Republicans said that when "every single federal department and agency is being asked to curtail its spending and try to operate at last year's funding levels [there is] no reason for a substantial increase for an agency which has no enforcement responsibilities."

The committee report said the $14 million authorization was needed to handle the expanded jurisdiction of the commission to monitor discrimination toward the elderly or handicapped.

The additional duties were included in legislation (PL 95-444), passed by Congress in 1978, that extended the life of the commission for five years to September 30, 1983. That legislation, however, authorized "such sums as are necessary" only for fiscal 1979. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 789)*

HR 2641, as introduced, would have authorized "such sums as are necessary" in fiscal 1980 and 1981.

Floor. The House June 8 overwhelmingly approved its version of the Civil Rights Commission authorization (HR 2641 — H Rept 96-109) by a 276-14 vote. *(Vote 181, p. 58-H)*

As passed, the bill authorized $14 million for the commission in fiscal 1980.

Before voting to pass the bill, the House beat back an attempt by F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., R-Wis., to reduce fiscal 1980 funding for the commission to $11,372,000, the same amount requested by the administration.

The House first agreed to the amendment on a 20-19 division vote, but later defeated it on a roll call vote of 130-168. *(Vote 180, p. 58-H)*

After passing HR 2641, the House agreed by voice vote to a Don Edwards, D-Calif., motion to substitute the provisions of the House bill for those of Senate-passed S 271. The House then adopted S 271 as amended. ▮

JFK, King Assassinations

The House Assassinations Committee concluded in its final report July 17 that conspiracies probably played a role in the deaths of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The committee, which spent two years and $5.4 million investigating the deaths, was unable to pinpoint any specific conspiracy, and its report criticized agencies involved in earlier probes for not pursuing information that could have uncovered such plots.

The findings of the report of the 12-member panel were no surprise. Preliminary findings were made available earlier in a summary report.

The committee's 511-page final report was the culmination of 170 hearings and meetings, 4,924 interviews and testimony from 335 witnesses.

The committee's work was delayed for six months in 1976 when a rift over tactics developed between then-Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Texas, and his chief counsel, Richard Sprague, a former assistant district attorney in Philadelphia.

Gonzalez eventually resigned and was replaced by Louis Stokes, D-Ohio. G. Robert Blakey, a law professor and director of the Cornell Institute on Organized Crime, became chief counsel. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 210)*

Kennedy Findings

The committee agreed with the Warren Commission's conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald killed Kennedy Nov. 23, 1963, by firing three shots at the president from the Texas School Book Depository Building in Dallas.

However, the panel said scientific acoustical evidence indicated a fourth shot was fired and "establishes a high probability that two gunmen fired at [Kennedy]."

Kennedy "probably was assassinated as a result of a conspiracy," the report stated, but committee members were "unable to identify the other gunman or the extent of the conspiracy." They ruled out involvement by the Soviet or Cuban governments, the Secret Service, CIA or FBI.

But the report said there was a possibility that individual members of anti-Castro Cuban groups and organized crime might have been involved, although the committee concluded the groups themselves were not involved.

The report had few kind words for the agencies that had conducted investigations of Kennedy's death. It said the Secret Service was "deficient in its performance of duties" by failing to properly analyze, investigate or use information it had about Kennedy's trip to Dallas. And it criticized the FBI and the CIA for being "deficient" in not sharing enough information with other investigating agencies and departments.

Concerning the Warren Commission, the committee said that while it conducted its endeavors in "good faith, competently and with integrity" the commission's final report was not "in some respects an accurate presentation of all the evidence available to the Commission . . . particularly on the issue of possible conspiracy in the assassination."

Four members dissented from the committee's report: Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., Samuel L. Devine, R-Ohio, Robert W. Edgar, D-Pa., and Harold S. Sawyer, R-Mich. They did not believe the committee had sufficient evidence to say a probable conspiracy existed, and Edgar said the committee demonstrated a "rush to conspiratorial conclusion."

King Findings

The committee concluded that James Earl Ray killed King on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tenn. But the committee said there was "substantial evidence to establish the existence of a St. Louis conspiracy to finance the assassination of Dr. King."

The report said there was evidence indicating Ray was motivated by a standing $50,000 offer from a right-wing St. Louis businessman who wanted King slain.

The committee acknowledged, however, that it had no direct evidence that Ray was offered money before the assassination or that he accepted money after King's death.

The committee criticized the Department of Justice and the FBI for failing to pursue information about the probable conspiracy in 1968 "when principals were still alive and witnesses' memories were more precise."

The report said it was "highly probable" that Ray stalked King immediately before the assassination and that Ray's alibi for the time of the killing and his story about "Raoul," an alleged accomplice, were not worthy of belief.

The committee found no evidence that any federal, state or local government agency had been involved in the King assassination. However, the report chastized the FBI for the conduct of COINTELPRO, the agency's counterintelligence program that had King as one of its targets.

The report said that in its "campaign against King," COINTELPRO "grossly abused and exceeded its legal authority and failed to consider the possiblity that actions threatening bodily harm to Dr. King might be encouraged by the program."

Dodd said that while he agreed with the "likelihood" of a conspiracy, he dissented from the majority's effort to identify the co-conspirators. Devine and Edgar said a conspiracy was "more plausible" in the King case than in the

Kennedy death, but both said the evidence was "not conclusive" on the issue.

Sawyer said he believed testimony about a $50,000 offer to kill King was "unreliable" and that Ray obtained needed finances by participating in a series of bank robberies before King's death.

Recommendations

The committee made several recommendations, urging enactment of:

- Legislation to make the assassination of a chief of state of any country a federal offense if the offender is an American citizen or could be located in the United States.
- Legislation to codify, revise and reform the federal law of homicide, paying special attention to assassinations.
- Charter legislation for the CIA and the FBI. *(Story, p. 404)*

The committee also recommended that the Justice Department review the committee's findings and consider whether further investigation were warranted in either case. ▮

Lottery Materials Shipments

Congress cleared for the president Oct. 10 a bill (HR 1301) to permit the overseas shipment of lottery materials. President Carter signed the bill into law Oct. 23 (PL 96-90).

Final action came when the Senate passed HR 1301 by voice vote. The House, after failing to approve the bill under suspension of the rules March 20, passed the measure April 24 by a 269-121 vote. *(Vote 84, p. 30-H)*

The bill had been reported by the House Judiciary Committee March 15 (H Rept 96-45).

HR 1301 authorized American manufacturers to ship lottery tickets and other lottery materials to foreign countries where lotteries were permitted. Under existing law, if an American manufacturer wanted to sell lottery materials in a foreign country, the manufacturer had to set up a plant in that country.

Backers said the bill would create additional jobs for Americans, but opponents argued that HR 1301 would unwisely encourage both the establishment and expansion of lottery services companies in the the United States.

HR 1301 was similar to HR 11580, which was passed in 1978 by the 95th Congress, but pocket vetoed by the president. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 215)* ▮

Carter Warehouse Probe

President Carter and his brother, Billy, were cleared Oct. 16 of criminal wrongdoing in connection with bank loans to their family peanut warehouse business.

Ending a six-month investigation, federal special prosecutor Paul J. Curran said no criminal charges would be brought against the Carters. "Every nickel and every peanut have been traced," he said in a statement accompanying a 180-page public report.

More than $9.8 million in loans in 1975 and 1976 were made to the Carter warehouse by the National Bank of Georgia, then headed by Bert Lance, who later served as Carter's budget director before he was forced to resign.

Lance was later indicted on charges of bank fraud unrelated to the peanut warehouse investigation. *(Story, p. 374)*

Curran was appointed March 20 by then-Attorney General Griffin B. Bell to find out if any of the loan money had been illegally diverted to Carter's 1976 presidential campaign. He also looked into whether any federal crimes had been committed in the handling of the loans.

While Curran discovered several irregularities in the the loan financing, he said indictments were not justified.

Curran added, however, that President Carter may owe additional income tax for 1975, 1976 and 1977 due to faulty bookkeeping on the purchase and sale of peanuts.

There was virtually no public reaction on Capitol Hill to the special prosecutor's report. The president expressed his pleasure at Curran's findings, telling newsmen, "I knew it all the time."

Curran Role

The appointment of Curran, a Republican former U.S. attorney, initially generated a flap because of concerns in Congress, especially among GOP members, that he would not have a free hand.

In response, Bell upgraded Curran's authority by allowing him to seek indictments without first getting Justice Department permission. This stilled the criticism.

During the course of the inquiry, Curran and his investigators queried the president under oath for four hours. The investigation cost the government an estimated $360,000. Curran discovered numerous errors in warehouse records, overdrafts on a warehouse checking account by Billy Carter and periodic failures by the bank to obtain sufficient collateral for loans.

For seven weeks in 1975, for instance, the warehouse owed $1,150,000 to the bank without having any peanuts under bond as security, which was required in the loan agreement. Further, the bank did not process a number of loan repayment checks written by the Carter firm evidently because it lacked funds to cover the checks.

On July 12, 1976, the bank reduced the amount of the loan outstanding to $204,064 due to "customer paydown." Yet Curran found no documents to show that the warehouse had made the required payments.

No evidence was uncovered to support allegations that Billy Carter had pledged the same collateral twice and falsified company records. Nor was there evidence of clandestine payments in the 1976 Carter campaign's relations with Gerald Rafshoon Advertising Inc., Curran said.

The warehouse suffered from financial problems at least since 1975, when the first loan was made. Then, Carter had turned over control of the business to his brother so he could campaign for president. Billy Carter stopped running the warehouse in September 1977. The president, through a trust, owned 62 percent of the warehouse, with the rest held by his brother and his mother.

Curran's inquiry was an offshoot of the Justice Department investigation that led to the May 23 indictment of Lance and three associates.

Apart from the public report, which was sent to Congress, Curran submitted a confidential 239-page report to Attorney General Benjamin R. Civiletti. It was kept secret because it contained information from testimony given before a grand jury in Atlanta. But the special prosecutor said Congress could act to release the report.

The White House declined to release a transcript of the president's sworn deposition to Curran. ▮

Computer Fraud

A bill to make computer fraud a federal crime and provide stiff penalties for the offense was approved by the Senate Criminal Justice Subcommittee, but was not acted upon by the full Judiciary Committee in 1979.

S 240, approved Nov. 6, would make it a crime to use or attempt to use a computer with the intent to execute a fraudulent scheme, obtain property by false pretenses, embezzle, steal or convert another's property.

Possible penalties would include a fine of not more than two times the amount of gain or $50,000, whichever were higher, five years in prison, or both.

The bill also would make it a crime to intentionally damage a computer. The penalty for this offense would be a fine of up to $50,000, imprisonment for not more than five years, or both.

The federal government would be given authority to prosecute either crime if the computer involved were owned or operated by the United States or a federally insured financial institution. The government also could prosecute if the computer were operated in interstate commerce or used "a facility of interstate commerce."

The bill would not require that the illicit computer penetration be accomplished by interstate facilities such as telephone lines to consider the act a federal offense.

The federal government would not have to prosecute a case if a state also had jurisdiction over the matter.

Paralleling a provision in a proposed new federal criminal code (S 1722), S 240 listed guidelines federal prosecutors would consider in determining whether they or state officials should prosecute. *(Criminal code, p. 363)*

Background

Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., chief sponsor of the bill, said present laws were not written specifically to combat computer fraud. Federal prosecutors have been handicapped in building cases on statutes not designed for computer abuses, he said.

S 240 was the product of a year-long inquiry conducted by Ribicoff's Governmental Affairs Committee. An earlier version of S 240 (S 1766) was introduced in 1977. Two days of hearings were held but the Senate did not take any action on the measure.

Ribicoff said his committee's inquiry showed the government was unable to protect its 12,000 computers against fraud, manipulation and physical assault.

In one past incident involving alleged theft, the senator said, part of the government's case was dismissed because a court found the electromagnetic impulses that transmitted the computer data were not "property" as defined in the theft law used to prosecute the case.

"Crime by computer is relatively new. But when it strikes it is not shy," the senator said. "Violators with even a limited amount of technical knowledge can literally steal hundreds of thousands of dollars. . . ."

Subcommittee Action

S 240 was almost completely rewritten by the Criminal Justice Subcommittee, although the basic offenses remained the same.

To parallel existing law and sentencing revisions in the proposed criminal code, the panel reduced the maximum sentences for computer fraud and damaging a computer to five years, from 15 years.

At the suggestion of staff members, representatives of industry and the Justice Department, technical computer jargon in the bill was simplified.

In addition, the basis for federal jurisdiction was more clearly defined by the subcommittee. And at the urging of Republicans Paul Laxalt, Nev., and Orrin G. Hatch, Utah, the subcommittee added a section specifying the criteria the government should use when deciding whether to prosecute a case or leave the matter to state officials.

Provisions

As approved by the subcommittee, S 240:

- Made it a federal crime to use or attempt to use a computer operating in interstate commerce, or owned or operated by the government or a federally insured financial institution, for the purpose of fraud, obtaining property by false pretenses, embezzlement, stealing or converting another's property for personal use.
- Set the penalty for computer fraud at a fine of up to twice the gain or $50,000, whichever were higher, a maximum five-year prison term, or both.
- Made it a federal crime to intentionally damage a computer operating in interstate commerce, or owned or operated by the government or a federally insured financial institution.
- Set the penalty for intentionally damaging a computer at a fine of up to $50,000, a maximum five-year prison sentence, or both.
- Defined computer to include devices performing logical arithmetic and storage functions by electronic manipulation, but excluded from the definition automated typewriters or typesetters or any computer designed, manufactured and used exclusively for routine personal use.
- Specified the criteria the federal government should use when determining whether to prosecute or leave a case to state officials. Factors to be considered included the relative gravity of the federal offense and the state or local offense, and the relative resources available to prosecute. ▮

Foreign Claims Settlement

The Senate and the House passed nearly identical bills during 1979 to place the independent Foreign Claims Settlement Commission under the Department of Justice.

Both bills also would abolish three small agencies: the Annual Assay Commission, the U.S. Marine Corps Memorial Commission and the Low Emission Vehicle Certification Board.

S 1419, passed by the Senate Dec. 20 on a voice vote, was nearly identical to legislation (HR 4337) approved by the House Sept. 17, also by voice vote. The bills differed only in the numbering of some paragraphs and the date of effectiveness.

S 1419 would be effective upon enactment, while HR 4337 would be effective Oct. 1, 1979.

Established in 1954, the settlement commission decided claims of U.S. citizens whose properties in foreign countries had been destroyed by military action or expropriated by foreign governments. *(Background, Congress and the Nation Vol 1, p. 1465)*

HR 4337 had been reported by the House Government Operations Committee Aug. 2 (H Rept 96-407). S 1419 was reported by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee Dec. 18 (S Rept 96-509). ▮

Senate Judiciary Approves 'Illinois Brick' Bill

Legislation (S 300 — S Rept 96-239) to overturn the Supreme Court's controversial 1977 "Illinois Brick" decision and allow indirect consumer purchasers to sue price-fixers for triple damages under the Clayton Act was ordered reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee May 8.

But the threat of a filibuster thwarted efforts to bring the bill to the Senate floor.

The House Monopolies and Commercial Law Subcommittee later approved a companion bill, but the full House Judiciary Committee failed to act on the measure.

Background

Early in the session, legislation (S 300 and HR 2060) was introduced by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and Rep. Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., the House Judiciary chairman, to overturn the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Clayton Act in *Illinois Brick v. Illinois.*

In that case, the state of Illinois and 700 state and local governmental agencies charged that a price-fixing conspiracy by 11 concrete block manufacturers had resulted in more than $3 million in overcharges.

In a 6-3 decision the Supreme Court ruled that only the first purchaser of the concrete blocks — and not the state of Illinois, which made its purchases through a middleman — could recover damages. The limitation of suits to first or direct purchasers excluded others in the chain of distribution — indirect purchasers — from seeking damages even if they could show they suffered financial losses.

According to advocates of the House and Senate bills, the *Illinois Brick* ruling virtually nullified the 1976 *Parens Patriae* Act (PL 94-435), under which Congress gave state attorneys general authority to sue on behalf of consumers victimized by price-fixing schemes. *(1976 Almanac p. 431)*

In its June 1977 ruling the Supreme Court acknowledged that its decision might not be the last word on the subject because it involved the court's interpretation of what Congress intended. "Should Congress disagree with this result, it may, of course, amend the section to change it," the court said in a footnote to its decision.

Several members of Congress eagerly took up the court's invitation.

Both the House and Senate Judiciary committees in 1978 passed bills (HR 11942 and S 1874) that would have allowed individuals or groups to sue for treble damages resulting from price fixing, monopolies or bid rigging, even if they were not in a direct relationship with the alleged antitrust violators. The prospect of a filibuster prevented consideration of the bill in the Senate. *(1978 Almanac p. 194)*

Senate Committee Action

After making major concessions to gain the vote of a key member, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., won a narrow victory in the first test of his leadership as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

By a 9-8 vote, the committee May 8 narrowly approved S 300, that had been revamped but was still ardently opposed by business groups. The legislation was reported to the floor July 10 (S Rept 96-239).

Opponents were considered likely to launch a filibuster on the floor, and at the time of committee action one Kennedy aide conceded that the chance of gathering the 60 votes needed to end a filibuster was uncertain.

The committee battle over S 300 was significant not only for the changes the bill would make in U.S. antitrust law. It also was the first major challenge to Kennedy's legislative agenda since he became head of the Senate Judiciary Committee in January.

Kennedy avoided an embarrassing defeat, but he was forced to retreat from his original legislation in order to barely accomplish that.

The bill became a sharp confrontation between business lobbying interests fighting the legislation and a coalition of consumer groups, unions and some state officials supporting the bill.

Charles McC. Mathias, R-Md., the pivotal vote on the 17-member committee, said the legislation took on "symbolic importance" greater than its actual impact.

Mathias joined eight Democrats to provide a majority for a revised S 300. Six Republicans and two Democrats voted against reporting the bill.

At a committee meeting April 23, Kennedy saw that he did not have Mathias' vote in favor of the original bill. Fearing a defeat, Kennedy postponed a vote until May 8. In that two-week interlude, Mathias was the object of intense lobbying from both business groups and backers of the legislation. Mathias sought major changes in the bill and Kennedy acquiesced in a virtual rewriting of S 300 to gain Mathias' support. Mathias and Kennedy met May 7 on the eve of the committee session to draft details.

Lobby Battle

Lobbying pressure on Mathias reached an extreme degree. Mathias told the committee May 8 that a friend had received a telephone call concerning the *Illinois Brick* bill.

"You tell Mathias if he doesn't vote our way in the Judiciary Committee, he won't get a penny of our PAC [political action committee] money," Mathias said his friend was told.

"I'm not sure whether that was meant as a threat or a bribe," said Mathias, who was up for re-election in 1980. "I don't take it as either. It is illustrative of the way people are viewing this issue."

Mathias did not tell the committee the source of the telephone call to his friend and declined to identify it when questioned later. He said that if the incident had occurred in his office, he might have referred the matter to the U.S. attorney.

The Maryland Republican and his staff described that incident as the only unusual *Illinois Brick* lobbying he encountered. Mathias dealt with a steady stream of lobbyists from both sides of the issue prior to the May 8 vote.

Among the business groups contacting Mathias were the Business Roundtable, an association of executives of many of the country's largest corporations; Maryland chambers of commerce and business executives from his home state.

Backers of the legislation lobbying Mathias included consumer groups and Esther Peterson, the president's special assistant for consumer affairs.

Opposing Forces

The Business Roundtable and its member corporations were a principal element in the lobbying against S 300.

The Roundtable published an information packet opposing the bill, called the "The Illinois Brick Issue: An Examination of Public Policy on Antitrust Enforcement," and distributed it to members of Congress and staffs on Capitol Hill. It also was used to inform member companies about the issue, according to James Keogh, the Roundtable's executive director for public information.

Keogh said the material was prepared by the Columbia, S.C., public relations firm of Cook, Ruef, Spann and Weiser, under the direction of the Roundtable's antitrust task force. Partners in the Cook firm previously had worked for Democratic congressional candidates and for the government of Saudi Arabia.

Also working against S 300 was the National Association of Manufacturers.

One of the main supporters of S 300 was the National Association of Attorneys General. The *Parens Patriae* Act (PL 94-435), passed by Congress in 1976, gave state attorneys general authority to sue on behalf of consumers victimized by price-fixing schemes. The Supreme Court's *Illinois Brick* decision virtually nullified that authority.

Support for overturning the *Illinois Brick* decision also came from President Carter, who wrote Kennedy April 23 on behalf of S 300. Administration lobbying was carried out by Peterson and the Justice Department's antitrust division.

Other proponents of S 300 included the National Governors' Association, the National Association of Home Builders and the Consumer Federation of America.

Committee Action

The Senate Judiciary Committee tried to mark up S 300 April 9 and 10, but all of the Republicans and most of the Democrats failed to show up for the sessions.

After a day of parliamentary maneuvering April 23, Kennedy postponed a vote when he saw that Mathias was seeking major changes in the bill.

Approval of S 300 was made possible when the committee adopted May 8 by a 9-8 vote a proposal made by Mathias and Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., to make five significant alterations in the bill. The lineup of that vote was identical to the final vote to report S 300 out of committee.

The principal change was a provision to overturn the Supreme Court's 1978 decision in *Pfizer Inc. v. Government of India* that foreign governments could sue for triple damages in price-fixing cases under U.S. antitrust laws.

Also, the Mathias-DeConcini amendment deleted a section of S 300 that would have facilitated class action lawsuits. While that change received little discussion, it was an important alteration that resulted in John C. Danforth, R-Mo., supporting the bill. Danforth was a cosponsor in 1978 of *Illinois Brick* legislation, but did not join in sponsoring S 300 because the class action provision was included by Kennedy.

The Mathias-DeConcini amendment also would authorize a court to set the plantiff's attorney's fee in class action cases and to award to a winning defendant attorneys' fees if the court found that the plantiff had acted in bad faith in bringing the suit.

The amendment also changed the effective date of S 300, which as introduced was the date of enactment.

Although Kennedy and several other committee liberals had opposed the *Pfizer* provision in the past, they were willing to accept it and the four other changes as the price of winning Mathias' crucial vote for S 300. It also helped guarantee that DeConcini would vote for S 300. But unlike Mathias, DeConcini had not said he would oppose S 300 if the changes were not made.

Several advocates of overturning the *Pfizer* decision, such as Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., and Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, made it clear that they would oppose adding the *Pfizer* provision to S 300. If they had succeeded in defeating the Mathias-DeConcini amendment, which included the *Pfizer* provision and the four other changes, they would have kept S 300 in the form most objectionable to Mathias.

On a 5-9 vote the committee defeated an amendment offered by Thad Cochran, R-Miss., that would have prevented indirect sellers from bringing suit for damages in price-fixing cases. That amendment was sought by some food chains and independent grocers.

The Cochran proposal would have assured that pending litigation by beef producers, who alleged price-fixing by the firms to whom the producers sold their beef, would be dismissed because of the lack of standing.

Provisions

As reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee July 10, S 300:

- Overturned the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Clayton Act in the 1977 case of *Illinois Brick v. Illinois* and allowed indirect purchasers or indirect sellers to sue price-fixers for triple damages. This would restore the power of state attorneys general under the 1976 *Parens Patriae* Act to sue on behalf of consumers victimized by price-fixing schemes.

- Partly overturned the Supreme Court's 1968 decision in *Hanover Shoe Inc. v. United Shoe Machinery Corp.* In that case the court refused to excuse a defendant who used a "pass-on" defense — that the direct purchaser plaintiff was not injured because he passed on the overcharges to indirect purchasers. S 300 would allow a "pass-on" defense to prevent duplicate liability for a defendant.

- Overturned the Supreme Court's 1978 decision in *Pfizer Inc. v. Government of India* that foreign governments could sue for triple damages in U.S. courts to recover financial losses resulting from violations of U.S. antitrust law. S 300 would permit foreign governments to sue for actual — but not triple — damages if its laws prohibited the same act and if the country's laws allowed the U.S. government to sue in that country for recovery of damages.

- Authorized a court to set the amount of the plantiff's attorney's fee in class action cases.

Illinois Brick Vote

Following is the Senate Judiciary Committee vote on approving S 300 that would allow consumers and other indirect purchasers to sue price-fixers. The committee May 8 voted 9-8 in favor of the proposal.

For. Democrats: Kennedy, Mass.; Bayh, Ind. (by proxy); Byrd, W.Va. (by proxy); Culver, Iowa; Metzenbaum, Ohio; DeConcini, Ariz.; Leahy, Vt.; Baucus, Mont.
Republicans: Mathias, Md.

Against. Democrats: Biden, Del.; Heflin, Ala.
Republicans: Thurmond, S.C.; Laxalt, Nev.; Hatch, Utah; Dole, Kan.; Cochran, Miss.; Simpson, Wyo.

• Allowed a court to award a reasonable attorney's fee to a prevailing defendant if the plaintiff acted "in bad faith, vexatiously, wantonly or for oppressive reasons."

• Provided for S 300 to apply to all court cases that are pending at the time of enactment, except that the right to use a "pass-on" defense would be available only in cases filed after enactment.

House Subcommittee Action

The House Monopolies and Commercial Law Subcommittee approved a bill to overturn the *Illinois Brick* decision Sept. 18 by a 7-5 vote.

The bill approved was a compromise between legislation sponsored by Rodino (HR 2060) and a bill sponsored by Robert McClory, R-Ill. (HR 2204). It was similar to legislation reported by the House Judiciary Committee in 1978 (HR 11942), but not acted on by the full House.

A clean bill, reflecting subcommittee actions, was to be introduced before consideration of the matter by the full Judiciary Committee.

Those voting for the proposal Sept. 18 were Rodino, McClory, John F. Seiberling, D-Ohio, William J. Hughes, D-N.J., Herbert E. Harris II, D-Va., Jack Brooks, D-Tex., and Robert T. Matsui, D-Calif. Brooks and Matsui voted by proxy through Rodino.

Those opposed were Romano L. Mazzoli, D-Ky., Harold L. Volkmer, D-Mo., Tom Railsback, R-Ill., Hamilton Fish Jr., R-N.Y., and M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va.

Although several amendments were proposed during markup only one, by Seiberling, was adopted.

Seiberling's amendment, adopted by voice vote, affected a section of the bill concerning proof of damages in class action suits. His amendment dropped a sentence that would have allowed both damages resulting from price fixing and the amount of overcharges passed on to subsequent purchasers — a defense to reduce damages — to be proved on a classwide basis.

The bill was silent on how damages may be proved on a classwide basis. However, it contained a section that specified how the damages of each individual member of a class would be computed.

Under the bill, any class member's damages would correspond to the percentage of that member's purchases or sales in relation to the purchases and sales of the entire class. In other words, if a member of the class made purchases that accounted for 10 percent of the purchases by the entire class, then he would be entitled to 10 percent of the damages awarded the entire class.

Mazzoli had proposed that the measure be prospective in effect only from the date of enactment. Rodino offered a substitute that would make the measure prospective except for cases pending in court on Sept. 1, 1979. The substitute was adopted, but Fish successfully moved to have the amendment reconsidered, and it failed when the second vote was a tie.

As a result, the proposal was silent as to effective date. Subcommittee staff members said that under existing case law the bill, if enacted, would be applied prospectively except for cases pending in court at the time of enactment.

Determination of whether the bill applied to pending lawsuits would be determined by a judge on a case-by-case basis.

The Clayton Act requires that a lawsuit be filed within four years of the time an injury is allegedly sustained because of a Clayton Act violation.

By an 8-4 vote, the subcommittee rejected an amendment by Railsback that would have permitted only government indirect purchasers to sue alleged price fixers. The amendment would have barred individual or class action suits by indirect purchasers.

Provisions

As approved by the House subcommittee, the proposal:

• Overturned the *Illinois Brick* case, thus allowing indirect purchasers to sue alleged price fixers. Class action suits by consumers would be allowed, as would suits on behalf of consumers brought by state attorneys general under their *parens patriae* power.

• Required that any indirect purchaser be "in the chain" of distribution or production. This codified existing case law that prevents suits by parties too remote from the original price fixing.

• Allowed a defendant in certain instances to claim as a defense that the party bringing the price fixing suit had passed along overcharges to others. The plaintiff, however, could attempt to deny the "pass-on defense" by several methods specified in the bill. ▮

Expediting Antitrust Suits

The Senate passed a bill July 20 designed to speed up antitrust trials and make them less costly, but the House failed to act on the measure.

S 390 would expand the authority of judges to control delays by attorneys and also expand the Justice Department's authority to obtain company documents for antitrust investigations.

Passed by voice vote, the Antitrust Procedural Improvements Act was the outgrowth of recommendations made in January 1979 by the National Commission for the Review of Antitrust Laws and Procedures.

In the House, the legislation was referred to the Judiciary Committee July 24.

Committee Action

S 390 was reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee July 9 (S Rept 96-238). The panel found that improvements in antitrust law procedures were needed because the "excessive length and cost of antitrust cases is undermining effective enforcement of the antitrust laws."

During two days of hearings in February, the bill received support from the Department of Justice, federal judges and law professors. Opposition came from David L. Foster, a practicing antitrust attorney and chairman of the Civil Practice and Procedure Committee of the American Bar Association's Antitrust Section.

John H. Shenefield, assistant attorney general in charge of the antitrust division, supported a provision to give the Justice Department authority to issue civil investigative demands for items that were part of pre-trial discovery in private litigation. Civil investigative demands are similar to broadly drawn grand jury subpoenas.

Shenefield said the provision would give department lawyers access to analyses and indices of discovery materials a company had prepared in connection with a private lawsuit. By having these items available, the government would not have to sift through voluminous company records to find the important documents, he said.

On a motion by Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., the Judiciary Committee's Antitrust Subcommittee deleted a provision that would have expanded the Clayton Act to cover anti-competitive mergers of companies that only "affect" interstate commerce but did not participate directly in the sale of goods in interstate commerce.

In 1975 the Supreme Court ruled that the Clayton Act did not cover mergers involving a company that only "affected" interstate commerce.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 390:

• Granted the Justice Department the authority to issue civil investigative demands for items that were part of pretrial discovery in private litigation.

Existing law did not expressly authorize the department to issue civil investigative demands for materials parties produce during discovery in private litigation.

• Granted judges the discretion to penalize attorneys who intentionally engage in conduct for the purpose of delay or increasing litigation expenses by assessing them the cost of the excess expenses and attorneys' fees incurred because of their dilatory conduct.

The judge could impose the sanctions if he determined the attorney's conduct was "primarily" for the purpose of delay. Existing law allowed such sanctions only when the attorney's practices were "solely" for the purpose of delay.

The new section also required that before sanctions were imposed, a judge must warn a lawyer that continuation of certain conduct would result in penalties.

• Made unsuccessful defendants in antitrust damage suits liable, in the judges' discretion, for interest on the plaintiff's actual damages from the date of the filing of the complaint to the date of the judgment. The interest rate would be the commercial rate in effect at the time of the judgment.

Interest could be awarded to private plaintiffs, to the U.S. government when it was suing a business or to a state attorney general bringing a lawsuit in federal court on behalf of citizens of his state.

The judge could award prejudgment interest if he "finds that the award of such interest is just in the circumstances."

Generally, interest on judgments for unliquidated damages did not begin to accrue until the time of judgment.

• Broadened coverage of the Clayton Act to include the mergers of "persons" instead of simply "corporations." Under existing law, mergers involving large businesses that were unincorporated, such as partnerships, were beyond the scope of the Clayton Act.

Such unincorporated associations were covered, however, under the Sherman Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act.

• Granted courts the authority in private antitrust cases to resolve issues against a defendant in the same way the issues were decided in a government case against the same defendant with no repetition of evidence.

Currently, court judgments in antitrust cases were given only "prima facie" effect in subsequent private litigation. Thus, if the defendant contested the issues resolved in a suit against the defendant by the government, the issues must be retried in the later private suit. ▮

Antitrust Damages

Legislation to give defendants in price-fixing lawsuits the right to seek proportionate damages from other alleged price-fixers was reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee Nov. 27 (S 1468 — S Rept 96-428).

S 1468 would amend the 1914 Clayton Act to provide that such defendants have the right to file a claim for "contribution" in paying damages against other members of the price-fixing conspiracy.

S 1468 was approved by the Judiciary Committee July 31 on a voice vote. In its report, the committee said the bill was intended to protect small businesses from paying disproportionately high damage awards.

The report said that in many instances plaintiffs settle "relatively inexpensively" with large businesses, forcing smaller companies to agree to larger settlements rather than risk a trial in which they could be found liable for damages caused by all possible defendants.

The Clayton Act, which provides for treble damage suits against price-fixers, is silent on the question of contribution and federal courts have held that defendants have no right to contribution under it.

Under existing law, an alleged price-fixer was considered liable not only for treble the damages he caused, but for treble the total damages attributed to all members of the price-fixing conspiracy.

Under S 1468, any defendant who did not settle with the plaintiff would be able to file a claim in court against other non-settling defendants — or other price-fixers who were not sued — to share the damages.

A price-fixer who settled out of court in good faith would be insulated from contribution claims of other defendants. Each defendant would remain liable for all the damages, as in existing law, subject to his right to seek contribution. Contribution from an individual price-fixer would reflect his proportionate share of benefit derived from the price-fixing conspiracy.

A second feature of S 1468 would require a judge to subtract from the total damages awarded a successful plaintiff an amount representing any settling defendant's proportionate share of liablity — even if the actual settlement was less.

Under existing law, only the amount actually paid by a price-fixer in an out-of-court settlement was deducted. ▮

Soft Drink Bottlers

The Senate Judiciary Committee approved a bill (S 598) to insulate from antitrust challenge certain exclusive territorial franchises owned by soft drink bottlers.

S 598, which was approved by the Antitrust, Monopoly and Business Rights Subcommittee Nov. 27, was ordered reported by the full committee Dec. 18 on a 14-2 vote, with only Judiciary Chairman Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., and Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, voting against the measure.

As approved by the committee, the bill would make lawful exclusive licenses to bottle and distribute a particular brand of soft drink within a specific geographical area where "substantial and effective" interbrand competition existed.

The bill also preclude treble damages against defendants operating under a license found to be unlawful.

Treble damage awards would be allowed, however, if licensing arrangements continued in effect after they were determined to be illegal.

A bill similar to S 598 (HR 3567) was pending in the House Monopolies and Commercial Law Subcommittee.

Background

S 598 was the direct outgrowth of a July 1971 action instituted by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) against seven national-brand soft drink syrup manufacturers. Charges were filed against an eighth in 1972.

The FTC alleged that it was illegal for the manufacturers to issue licenses that restricted soft drink bottlers of a particular syrup to sales in a particular area. The agency said the licenses violated the Sherman (Antitrust) Act of 1890 and the FTC Act of 1914 because such exclusive territorial franchises prohibited competition among brands, raised the cost to consumers and harmed small bottlers.

An administrative law judge found in October 1975 that the licenses were not anti-competitive, but the FTC voted 2-1 on April 25, 1978, to overturn the decision.

The case was appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, where it was still pending in 1979.

Prior to the FTC proceeding, exclusive territorial licenses had been used in the soft drink industry for more than 75 years on the assumption that they were legal.

Since the FTC action, a number of bills designed to protect bottlers holding such franchises were introduced in Congress. None, however, had won final approval. *(Background, 1976 Almanac p. 438)*

Opposition

In introducing S 598, cosponsors Birch Bayh, D-Ind., and Thad Cochran, R-Miss., said the FTC's position was actually anti-competitive. The two senators said a high degree of competition existed between independent, local bottlers of different soft drinks.

If the exclusive licensing arrangements protecting the independent bottlers were scuttled, Bayh and Cochran warned that small bottling enterprises would be "swallowed up by large regional bottlers" and competition would be reduced.

Metzenbaum disagreed. The Ohio Democrat argued during the subcommittee markup that S 598 would simply create a new exemption to federal antitrust laws and open the way for other industries to seek exemptions. ▮

Carter Patent Law Proposal

In an effort to spur U.S. businesses to develop and commercialize new products and processes, President Carter proposed legislation Oct. 31 to establish a uniform policy for patents developed with federal research money.

Carter's patent law proposal was part of a package sent to Congress that also called for clarification of antitrust laws and new grants for companies and universities that collaborated on research. *(Carter text, p. 63-E)*

The package was designed to perk up U.S. industry, which some observers said had lost its creative spark in recent years.

Carter's plan was greeted with criticism from business lobbyists and some congressmen, who faulted the president for failing to include any tax breaks for business.

But Stuart E. Eizenstat, Carter's chief domestic affairs adviser, said during a White House briefing on the plan that officials were studying the potential economic impact of new tax breaks in connection with preparation of the fiscal 1981 budget.

Patent Law Reform

As part of his overall package, Carter asked Congress to pass legislation enacting a uniform government policy for patents developed with federal research money.

Under Carter's proposal, the government would retain title to the patent, but the contractor who developed the product would be given an exclusive license to commercialize the invention within a specific field.

An exception would be made if the agency backing the product research determined that an exclusive license would be inconsistent with the agency's goal or the public interest.

Currently, some sponsoring agencies gave inventors a license allowing exclusive rights to market a product created with the federal money.

But other federal agencies gave patent applicants non-exclusive marketing rights, a policy that had been criticized as discouraging product development.

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported a bill (S 414 — S Rept 96-480) Dec. 12 that would allow small businesses, universities and non-profit organizations — rather than the government — to retain the title to patents on inventions resulting from federally funded research. *(Story, p. 390)*

Carter's proposal also would authorize the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office to revamp its classification system to better determine what items should be given patents.

A White House statement accompanying Carter's plan noted that a U.S. patent currently had less than a 50 percent chance of surviving a court challenge.

The president also called for creation of a new court to handle patent appeals. This proposal was part of a wide-ranging court reform package (S 1477) that passed the Senate Oct. 30. *(Story, p. 400)*

Carter's proposed reform was the latest effort in recent years to revise U.S. patent laws. In 1976, the Senate, after years of controversy and debate, passed a major patent reform bill, but the legislation died after the House failed to act on the measure. *(Patent reform background, 1976 Almanac p. 501)*

Other Proposals

In addition to the patent law changes, Carter's industrial innovation plan included the following elements:

- The Justice Department was asked to write guidelines clarifying when firms legally could collaborate on research and development. However, Carter did not seek to alter federal antitrust laws.
- New federal procurement policies were to be developed so that the government would not be barred from purchasing innovative products. Efforts were to be made to use performance specifications instead of design criteria wherever feasible.
- To encourage industry-university research projects, an existing National Science Foundation (NSF) program was to be expanded from $5 million a year to $25 million in fiscal 1981. A Commerce Department spokesman said the funding was expected to continue at this level in future years.

Similar programs to encourage industry-university research were to be started in the Departments of Defense and Energy, the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Aerospace and Science Administration.

A total of $150 million was to be be available on a yearly basis for these programs, but the Commerce Department spokesman said it would be several years before enough projects were generated to require that much money.

• A $2.5 million NSF program for small businesses developing new products was to be expanded to $10 million in fiscal 1981.

To further encourage product innovation, new money was to be made available to states or multi-state regions that established a "Corporation for Innovation Development (CID)."

CID's are intended to help new businesses raise start-up capital and to provide management assistance. Under Carter's plan, the Department of Commerce would support two regional CID's in 1981 with $4 million in loans for each, with the regions having to provide matching funds.

Money for additional CID's was to be made available in future years.

• A new center within the National Technical Information Service was to be established to improve the flow of information from federal laboratories to private industry. The fiscal 1981 cost of the program was estimated at $1.2 million and the cost for the following years would not exceed $2 million per year, according to the White House.

In addition to the new center, the NTIS was to make foreign technical literature available to industry. This program was expected to cost $1.8 million.

• To improve the regulatory system, Carter ordered all executive branch environmental, health and safety agencies to prepare a five-year forecast of what rule changes they expect. Carter also ordered the administrators of agencies responsible for clearing new products to establish a speedy process for innovative products.

• A Labor/Technology Forecasting System was to be created to help labor and management adjust to changes — such as the increase or decrease of workers — created by new development. ▮

Small Business Patents

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported legislation (S 414) Dec. 12 to encourage invention by small businesses, universities and non-profit organizations conducting federally funded research.

Under the bill, the organizations would be allowed to retain title to patents resulting from such federally funded activity. Existing law generally gave the patent to the federal agency that provided money for the invention.

According to the committee report (S Rept 96-480) filed Dec. 12, the current policy was "one of the greatest discouragements" to participation in federal programs because small companies might lose lucrative patent and "background rights."

S 414 was one of several efforts in recent years to reform the patent laws. In 1976 the Senate, after years of controversy and debate, passed a major patent reform bill, but the legislation died when the House failed to act. *(Background, 1976 Almanac p. 501)*

On Oct. 31, President Carter included his own patent law proposal in a larger package to spur industrial development. Unlike S 414, which focused on small businesses, the Carter proposal would cover large businesses, as well. *(Carter proposal, story, see previous page)*

Provisions

As reported to the floor, S 414:

• Gave small businesses, universities and non-profit organizations the right to retain patents on federally funded inventions. The firm or organization must advise the government of its decision within a "reasonable time" after the invention was disclosed.

Exceptions to permit government ownership of the patent would be allowed in specified circumstances, including if the government determined that its ownership was necessary for intelligence activities.

• Defined "small business" to included firms defined under the Small Business Act (PL 85-536) and implementing regulations of the Small Business Administration, and defined university and non-profit organization according to the Internal Revenue Code.

• Allowed the government to require small business firms or non-profit organizations to license their inventions for exploitation by others, in certain circumstances.

• Allowed the government 15 percent of a company's yearly profits in excess of $70,000 that came from licensing a federally funded patent.

• Allowed the government up to 5 percent of a company's gross sales over $1 million each year that came from the sale of products using a federally funded patent. ▮

Housing Discrimination

A House subcommittee approved legislation (HR 2540) to substantially strengthen federal authority to eradicate housing discrimination. If enacted, the bill would mark the first major change in the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

Sponsored by Reps. Don Edwards, D-Calif., and Robert F. Drinan, D-Mass., HR 2540 was approved Aug. 2 by the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights. Edwards chaired the panel.

The full House Judiciary Committee did not consider the bill during 1979. A companion bill (S 506) was before Senate Judiciary's Subcommittee on the Constitution, but was not acted on.

As approved in the House subcommittee, HR 2540 would make four major changes in existing law to:

• Empower the Department of Housing and Urban Development to bring administrative actions on its own or on behalf of individuals filing complaints with the department.

The bill would change existing law under which the Housing and Urban Development Department (HUD) had no authority to institute administrative actions against those charged with discrimination. It could only attempt to settle disputes between aggrieved persons and alleged violators.

Under the bill, after a hearing on a complaint, an administrative law judge could order a violator to cease discriminatory practices and compensate the victim. A fine of up to $10,000 could also be levied against the violator.

• Authorize the Justice Department to bring housing discrimination lawsuits in federal court on behalf of individuals. HUD would have to request the suits be filed.

Under existing law the attorney general could not initiate suits on behalf of individuals claiming discrimination. The department could only bring lawsuits if it found "a pattern or practice" of housing discrimination.

- Codify court cases that had interpreted the Fair Housing Act as covering discrimination in selling, brokering and appraising real estate, securing first and second mortgages, and securing repair loans and insurance.
- Include discrimination based on a handicap within the scope of the law. Existing law covered discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

The proposed legislation would not affect the right of individuals to bring private suits in federal court against an alleged violator. It would, however, lengthen the time period for bringing such suits from 180 days to two years.

Background

The Fair Housing Act (PL 90-284), Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, passed April 10, 1968, and was designed to prohibit discrimination in the sale or rental of housing on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin. *(Background, Congress and the Nation Vol II, p. 378)*

The law was amended in 1974 to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex. *(1974 Almanac p. 352)*

Both HR 2540 and S 506 were based on HR 3504, which was considered but not acted on in the 95th Congress.

Discrimination Patterns

Edwards said the move to strengthen the Fair Housing Act was prompted by national and regional surveys that found a pattern of discrimination still existed against minorities.

A recent HUD survey, for example, found that when blacks tried to rent housing there was an 85 percent chance they would face discrimination. When blacks tried to buy a home, the survey found a 48 percent chance they would be discriminated against.

Edwards called the existing fair housing law a "toothless tiger" because HUD had no enforcement power.

Department View

HUD Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris told the Edwards subcommittee April 6 that the 1968 law was "less than half a loaf."

"It identified the problems but supplied only the most pallid of solutions. It defined and prohibited discriminatory housing practices but failed to include the enforcement tools necessary to prevent such practices and provide relief to victims of discrimination," she said.

HR 2540 and S 506 had the support of HUD, the Justice Department and President Carter.

Subcommittee Action

Despite objections from the insurance industry and real estate appraisers, the subcommittee voted to amend HR 2540 to specifically include both groups within coverage of the bill.

Charles S. Osenbaugh, international president of the Society of Real Estate Appraisers, told the panel the bill would limit appraisers' First Amendment rights by prohibiting them from considering certain factors, such as race, in appraising real estate.

Arthur C. Mertz, president of the National Association of Independent Insurers, said the Fair Housing Act was not intended to cover the insurance industry and that the 1945 McCarran Act, which left insurance regulation to the states, was the paramount law.

Mertz said 42 states already had procedures to guard against discrimination in obtaining insurance.

As introduced, HR 2540 would have allowed the HUD secretary to grant temporary or preliminary relief to an aggrieved person pending completion of the hearing process.

In response to concerns raised during the hearings about giving the secretary too much power, this provision was changed to allow the attorney general, at the request of the secretary, to seek preliminary relief in court.

After subcommittee markup was completed, a clean bill was introduced (HR 5200) reflecting changes voted by the panel. ▮

Veterans' Court Appeals

The Senate Sept. 17 passed legislation (S 330) that would authorize former servicemen denied benefits by the Veterans Administration (VA) to appeal the adverse decision to federal court.

The Senate passed S 330 by voice vote. It had been reported by the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee May 15 (S Rept 96-178).

The House did not act on the measure. It was referred to the Veterans' Affairs Committee Sept. 19.

The bill would amend existing law, which did not allow court review of benefits decisions by the VA.

Present Law

Under existing procedures, a veteran's eligibility for disability and pension benefits, education assistance or access to VA medical care was determined by a panel of three VA employees in a local office.

An unfavorable decision by the panel could be appealed to the Board of Veterans Appeals in Washington, D.C. No further appeal was possible.

S 330 would allow a veteran to file suit in federal district court within 180 days of the final denial of a claim. The court could reverse VA decisions if it found them to be arbitrary and capricious, in violation of a constitutional or specific statutory right, or in violation of required procedures.

S 330 also would change the existing $10 limit for attorneys' fees and allow the VA or a judge, if a case were appealed, to award "reasonable" attorneys' fees.

Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., a co-sponsor of the bill, said that the existing $10 limit "effectively precludes any meaningful attorney representation of veterans or other claimants in VA claims matters."

Budget Impact

The Congressional Budget Office estimated S 330 would, if passed, require $2.9 million in additional outlays in fiscal 1980, increasing to $11.4 million in fiscal 1984.

The bill also included a "sunset provision" that would terminate authority for federal court appeals of VA decisions after five years.

When the bill was ordered reported 9-1 by the Veterans' Affairs Committee, only Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., dissented. He said there was no need to allow court appeals, and cautioned the committee not to "loose a potential flood of cases onto an already overloaded federal docket." ▮

Senate and House Pass Refugee Entry Bills

The House and Senate passed differing bills (S 643 — HR 2816) in 1979 to nearly triple the number of refugees allowed to enter the United States annually.

The House asked for a conference Dec. 20 on S 643 and the Senate agreed to one Dec. 21. Conference committee action was expected in 1980.

Both bills would raise from 17,400 to 50,000 the number of refugees allowed into the United States each year and would allow the president to increase that quota if conditions warranted.

The quota frequently had been exceeded by the attorney general under his existing legal authority, and the new figure would provide for more orderly entry procedures, both under normal conditions and emergency situations, backers said.

Both bills also would raise the annual number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States from any part of the world from 290,000 to 320,000.

Refugees generally were defined as persons forced to leave their countries because of racial, religious or political persecution. Immigrants leave their native lands voluntarily.

The proposed legislation would replace the Indo-Chinese Refugee Assistance Act (PL 94-23) and a number of other temporary refugee assistance programs. *(1975 Almanac p. 315, 1978 Almanac 198)*

The House and Senate bills differed in some details, chiefly in the administration of refugee programs and the length of time for federal reimbursement to states of certain forms of refugee assistance.

Senate Committee Action

S 643 was ordered reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee July 23. A report was filed July 23 (S Rept 96-256).

As reported to the Senate, S 643:

- Increased the number of refugees and immigrants allowed to enter the country annually from any part of the world to 320,000 from 290,000.
- Raised from 17,400 to 50,000 the number of refugees allowed into the country annually.
- Allowed the president to set the number of refugees to be admitted at higher than 50,000 prior to each fiscal year in consultation with Congress, if such action were justified by "urgent humanitarian concerns" or the national interest.
- Allowed additional refugees of "special concern" to be admitted conditionally to the United States in the case of unforeseen emergencies after the president consulted with Congress.
- Created a new definition of "refugee" that would include persons from any part of the world, not just communist countries or the Middle East, who could not live in their homeland because of religious, racial or political persecution.

The bill also included as refugees any person displaced by military or civil disturbance, or uprooted "because of arbitrary detention."

- Allowed refugees to be admitted to the United States as lawful residents rather than under the existing two-year conditional entry requirements.
- Made permanent temporary refugee assistance programs covering cash assistance, medical services, employment programs and social services (including day care, family planning, cultural counseling, English language training and vocational training).
- Provided states with 100 percent reimbursement for cash, medical and employment programs for two years after a refugee's entry into the United States.

Federal funds could be used indefinitely for other programs, such as special education, day care and cultural counseling.

- Authorized $40 million annually — primarily for private, non-profit agencies or state or local public agencies — to administer programs including English, vocational and technical training and recertification services.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate Sept. 6 passed S 643 by an 85-0 vote. As passed, the bill would raise from 17,400 to 50,000 the number of refugees who could be admitted into the U.S. each year. *(Vote 257, p. 44-S)*

The bill also would increase the number of immigrants allowed to enter the country annually from any part of the world to 320,000 from 290,000.

Backers said S 643 would create a stable mechanism for admitting and resettling refugees, both during normal conditions and in emergency situations.

Judiciary Committee Chairman Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., chief sponsor of S 643, characterized existing refugee laws as "inadequate, discriminatory and totally out of touch with today's needs." Under existing law, Kennedy said, refugees were "admitted in fits and starts, and after long delays and great human suffering."

A number of amendments were added on the floor by voice votes:

- By Alan Cranston, D-Calif., and S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, R-Calif., to postpone implementation until Oct. 1, 1980, of a two-year limit on federal reimbursement to states for cash, medical and employment programs.

As reported out of the committee, S 643 would have made the two-year time limit begin running upon enactment. It would have covered those refugees who arrived on or after Oct. 1, 1979.

- By Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky., to terminate authority to admit up to 50,000 refugees each year after three years and provide that the level of admission would be reevaluated.

Kennedy told Huddleston he thought the sunset provision was unnecessary but that he would not oppose it.

- By Huddleston, to provide that if the president wished to increase the yearly refugee flow he must provide a detailed statement of the reasons and potential impact to Congress. Under the amendment, the House and Senate Judiciary committees would have to hold hearings on the president's request.
- By Huddleston, to change the definition of what refugees could be considered for admission beyond the 50,000 limit from refugees of "special concern" to the United States to refugees of "special responsibility."

Huddleston said "special concern" was too broad while his term would narrow the class of eligible refugees to those

having "a close social, economic, cultural or political association [with the United States]."

• By Sen. Lawton Chiles, D-Fla., to remove the Cuban Refugee Assistance program from the coverage of S 643.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 643:

• Increased the number of refugees and immigrants allowed to enter the country from any part of the world to 320,000 from 290,000.

• Raised from 17,400 to 50,000 the number of refugees regularly allowed into the country annually.

• Allowed the president to raise the yearly limit of refugees above 50,000 prior to each fiscal year in consultation with Congress.

• Allowed the president to admit refugees on an emergency basis, when needed, after consulting Congress.

• Created a new definition of refugee that would include persons from any part of the world, not just communist countries or the Middle East, as under existing law.

• Allowed refugees to be admitted to the United States as lawful permanent residents rather than under the existing two-year conditional entry requirements.

• Made permanent temporary refugee assistance programs covering cash assistance, medical services, employment programs and social services.

• Provided states with 100 percent reimbursement for cash, medical and employment programs for two years, beginning Oct. 1, 1980, after a refugee's entry into the United States. Federal funds could be used indefinitely for other programs, such as special education, day care and cultural counseling.

House Committee Action

The House Judiciary Committee ordered HR 2816 reported Sept. 19 by a 20-6 vote. A report was filed Nov. 9 (H Rept 96-608).

As reported, the bill would increase the number of refugees and immigrants allowed to enter the nation each year, extend the Indochinese Refugee Assistance Act (PL 94-23), which was to expire Sept. 30, and make permanent a number of other temporary refugee assistance programs.

During two days of committee markup, Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., chairman of the Immigration and Refugee Subcommittee and sponsor of HR 2816, was able to defeat several amendments.

The following amendments were rejected:

• By Carlos J. Moorhead, R-Calif., to allow either the House or Senate to veto a presidential decision to raise the annual flow of refugees above 50,000 in non-emergency situations, rejected 8-21.

• By Harold S. Sawyer, R-Mich., to include a three-year sunset provision on the authority to admit up to 50,000 refugees each year, rejected 10-17.

• By Sawyer, to include a three-year sunset provision on the president's authority to seek admission of refugees beyond the 50,000 annual limit, rejected 13-14.

• By Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill., to establish priorities for admitting refugees, allowing former U.S. government employees, or those refugees with relatives in the United States or another "close association" with the United States, to enter first, rejected 8-19.

• By Sawyer, to reduce the number of immigrants allowed entry each year by one for every two refugees admitted annually over the 50,000-a-year limit, rejected by voice vote.

• By F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., R-Wis., proposed as a substitute to Sawyer's amendment, to delay the effect of Sawyer's proposal *(see above)* for one year, rejected 10-18.

• By George E. Danielson, D-Calif., to extend current refugee programs for two years instead of one year before a four-year limit on federal reimbursements to states for cash and medical refugee assistance programs took effect, rejected 9-16.

During debate on the Danielson amendment, Holtzman called HR 2816 a "generous" bill and noted that while it set a four-year limit on federal reimbursements to states for cash assistance to refugees, it provided states with aid for other programs, such as education, without a cutoff of reimbursements.

Provisions

As ordered reported, HR 2816:

• Increased the total number of refugees and immigrants allowed to enter the country annually from any part of the world from 290,000 to 320,000.

• Raised from 17,400 to 50,000 the number of refugees regularly allowed into the country each year.

• Admitted refugees as refugees, unlike the Senate-passed bill, which would admit refugees as lawful permanent residents. Under HR 2816, once a refugee was granted lawful permanent residence status, the status would operate retroactively to the date of the refugee's arrival in the United States.

• Allowed the president to authorize admission of more than 50,000 refugees annually prior to each fiscal year in consultation with Congress.

• Allowed the president to admit refugees "of grave humanitarian concern" on an emergency basis, in consultation with Congress, for up to one year only.

• Created an office of Refugee Resettlement within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to administer all domestic assistance programs. (S 643 had no similar provision.)

• Authorized 100 percent reimbursement to the states for cash and medical assistance refugee programs, for up to four years after a refugee entered the United States. (S 643 allowed federal reimbursements for up to two years after a refugee's entry.)

• Allowed the director of the Office of Refugee Resettlement to provide medical assistance for up to one year for refugees not eligible for the cash assistance program, which included medical care. (S 643 had no similar provision.)

• Required states to submit statewide resettlement plans and reports on the use of federal funds in previous fiscal years as a condition of receiving assistance.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 2816 by a 328-47 vote Dec. 20. *(Vote 670, p. 198-H)*

Following passage, the proceedings were vacated and the House passed S 643, amended to reflect the House action on the bill.

During floor consideration, the following amendments were adopted:

• By M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., to limit to three years the authority to admit up to 50,000 refugees per year, by voice vote.

• By Carlos J. Moorhead, R-Calif., to allow a congressional veto of a determination by the president to admit more than 50,000 refugees per year, except in emergency situations specified in the bill, by voice vote.

• By Hyde, to provide for a hearing before the appropriate congressional committees after the president initiated consultation on raising refugee admissions beyond 50,000 each year, by voice vote.

• By Danielson, to extend current refugee programs for two years instead of one before a four-year limit on federal reimbursement took effect, by a 9-3 standing vote.

The Senate bill would continue current programs for one year and place a two-year limit on federal reimbursement.

• By Hamilton Fish Jr., R-N.Y., to modify the requirements of plans a state must submit to receive federal assistance and to require the labor and education secretaries to make yearly reports to the Judiciary Committee on job and education programs, by voice vote.

• By Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla., to delay for one year the transfer of domestic refugee resettlement programs from the State Department to the new Office of Refugee Assistance, which would be in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, by voice vote.

• By Fascell, to increase the ceiling on the Emergency Migration and Refugee Fund, which was used by the State Department, from $25 million to $50 million, by voice vote.

• By Fascell, to consider people living in their homelands and facing persecution to be refugees under "special circumstances" specified by the president, by voice vote.

Normally, a refugee was one who had fled his homeland.

• By Fascell, to apply the provisions of HR 2816 to aliens who had requested asylum prior to Nov. 1, 1979, by voice vote.

• By Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., to take the Office of Coordinator of Refugee Affairs out of the State Department and place it in the White House, by voice vote.

The following amendments were defeated.

• By Hyde, to require House and Senate Judiciary committee approval before the president could exceed the 50,000 annual level for refugees, by voice vote.

• By Hyde, to eliminate the Office of Refugee Resettlement, by voice vote.

• By Sensenbrenner, to reduce the number of immigrants allowed entry each year by one for every two refugees admitted annually over the 50,000 per year limit, by 7-26 standing vote.

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 2816 (S 643):

• Increased the annual number of refugees and immigrants from any part of the world from 290,000 to 320,000.

• Raised from 17,400 to 50,000 the number of refugees regularly allowed into the country each year.

• Admitted refugees as refugees, unlike the Senate bill, which would admit refugees as lawful permanent residents. Under HR 2816, once a refugee was granted lawful permanent residence status, the status would operate retroactively to the date of the refugee's arrival.

• Allowed the president to authorize admission of more than 50,000 refugees annually prior to each year in consultation with Congress.

• Allowed the president to admit refugees of "grave humanitarian concern" on an emergency basis, in consultation with Congress, for up to one year only.

• Created a new definition of refugee to include persons from any part of the world, not just communist countries or the Middle East, as under existing law, who could not live at home because of religious, racial or political persecution.

• Created an Office of Refugee Resettlement within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to administer all domestic assistance programs.

• Authorized 100 percent reimbursement to states for cash and medical assistance programs for up to four years after a refugee entered the United States.

• Allowed the director of the Office of Refugee Resettlement to provide medical assistance for up to one year for refugees not eligible for the cash assistance program.

• Required states to submit statewide resettlement plans and reports on the use of federal funds in previous fiscal years as a condition of receiving assistance. ▮

Dispute Resolution Act

The Senate and the House passed differing versions of a bill (S 423) designed to help citizens resolve minor legal disputes — such as consumer complaints and landlord-tenant disputes — without going to court.

The House asked for a conference Dec. 12, but the Senate did not respond before adjourning.

Both the House- and Senate-passed versions of the legislation contained two primary provisions that would:

• Establish within the Justice Department a dispute resolution resource center to exchange information among state and local governments about dispute resolution methods, and

• Authorize a federal grant program to provide states with funds to develop new dispute resolution systems and strengthen existing programs.

The House, however, approved significant cuts in authorization levels for the dispute resolution resource center and federal grant program from the version passed by the Senate.

In June 1978 the Senate passed a dispute resolution bill, and a similar proposal received a majority vote in the House in October 1978. However, the House version failed to receive the two-thirds vote needed to pass the bill under suspension of the rules. *(1978 Almanac p. 535)*

S 423 had the backing of the American Bar Association and several consumer and business groups, including the Consumers Union, the Consumer Federation of America, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Council of Better Business Bureaus Inc. and the National Retail Merchants Association.

Senate Floor Action

S 423 was ordered placed on the Senate calendar Feb. 9 without committee action. The Senate passed the bill by voice vote April 5.

It was the third time in recent years that the Senate had approved legislation to help persons resolve a wide range of small legal problems without going to court.

As passed by the Senate, S 423:

• Established within the Justice Department a dispute resolution resource center, which would exchange information among states and local governments about dispute resolution methods, including arbitration and mediation. The bill authorized $3 million a year for the resource center.

• Created a federal grant program that would provide funds to states to develop and strengthen dispute resolution systems. The legislation authorized $15 million a year for the grant program.

As introduced the legislation would have authorized federal assistance to the states to help them establish procedures for resolving minor disputes for four years, from fiscal 1980 to 1983. On a voice vote, the Senate adopted an amendment offered by Wendell H. Ford, D-Ky., the bill's principal sponsor, to authorize the program from fiscal 1981 to 1984. The Ford amendment also shifted the authorization period for the resource center to fiscal 1980-84 from fiscal 1979-83.

Ford told the Senate that the bill was needed to ensure that "the average citizen will be able to adequately resolve minor consumer disputes without a great deal of difficulty and expense."

Other supporters pointed out that many consumers lack easy access to the courts. Establishing mediation and arbitration services would provide an alternative to litigation in court to settle minor disputes, advocates said.

The Justice Department, through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, in 1979 funded three experimental centers for dispute resolution, in Los Angeles, Atlanta and Kansas City, Mo.

Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., argued that the bill was an unjustified expense. "It is not fiscally sound for the federal government to become involved in dispute resolution when no federal law or interest is present," Simpson said.

House Committee Action

In the House, S 423 was referred jointly to the Judiciary and Commerce committees.

It was reported by the Commerce Committee Sept. 28 (H Rept 96-492, Part 1) and by the Judiciary Committee Oct. 23 (H Rept 96-492, Part 2).

The Judiciary Committee ordered S 423 reported on Sept. 25 by a 23-7 vote. On Sept. 16, the Commerce Committee ordered the bill reported by a 19-7 vote.

As reported by the two committees in nearly identical form, S 423 contained two main provisions to:

• Establish within the Justice Department a dispute resolution resource center to exchange information among state and local governments about dispute resolution methods, including arbitration and mediation. S 423, as reported, authorized $3 million a year for the center from fiscal 1980 through 1984.

• Create a federal grant program to provide states with funds to develop new dispute resolution systems and strengthen existing programs. As reported, the bill authorized $15 million a year for the grant program from fiscal 1980 through 1984.

Judiciary Committee Action

By voice vote the Judiciary Committee adopted an amendment by Robert T. Matsui, D-Calif., giving the U.S. attorney general discretion in certain instances to cut off a state's grant.

The Commerce Committee version and the bill passed by the Senate had similar provisions, but their wording was different.

By voice votes, the Judiciary Committee rejected the following amendments by M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., to:

• Cut the yearly authorization for the dispute resolution resource center from $3 million to $1 million.

• Cut the yearly authorization for the grant program from $15 million to $10 million.

• Authorize funds for the center and grant program only through 1982 instead of through 1984.

Butler and fellow Republicans Dan Lungren of California and F. James Sensenbrenner Jr. of Wisconsin expressed reservations about the federal government providing states money for resolving minor disputes. The three said the matter should be left to the states.

House Floor Action

The House passed S 423 by a 207-195 vote following three days of debate and after voting to significantly cut authorization levels for both the dispute resolution resource center and the federal grant program. *(Vote 640, p. 190-H)*

Through two floor amendments, Butler succeeded in trimming the cost of the bill by $7 million for each of the four years it would be in effect through fiscal 1984.

By a 238-156 vote, the House adopted a Butler amendment to cut the yearly authorization for the dispute resolution resource center from $3 million to $1 million. The amendment previously had been defeated by an 8-12 standing vote. The Senate version of S 423 authorized $3 million annually for the center. *(Vote 638, p. 190-H)*

By a 203-197 vote, the House adopted a second Butler amendment to reduce the yearly authorization for the grant program from $15 million to $10 million. *(Vote 639, p. 190-H)*

The Senate bill authorized $15 million annually for the grant program.

The second Butler amendment initially had been defeated on a voice vote. But through a procedural maneuver allowed by the House rules, Butler was able to get a second vote on the proposal. He moved to have the bill sent back to the Judiciary and Commerce committees with instructions to report the bill back with the $10 million per year authorization for the grant program.

Butler succeeded on the 203-197 vote, and the bill was then approved as amended.

Like several other Republican critics, Butler argued during markup and floor debate that S 423 amounted to federal meddling in state affairs and was a waste of money.

Other Amendments

In addition to the two Butler amendments, a number of other amendments were considered. The following were adopted:

• By James T. Broyhill, R-N.C., to make resolution of consumer complaints a major consideration in developing dispute resolution systems and awarding grants, by voice vote.

• By Thomas N. Kindness, R-Ohio, requiring that local officials be given notice and an opportunity to comment on grants to be awarded in their areas, by voice vote.

• By Kindness, requiring that audits of dispute resolution programs by the attorney general be used for statistical purposes only, by voice vote.

Kindness said this amendment was intended to protect the privacy rights of persons who participate in dispute resolution programs.

The House defeated the following amendments:

• By Butler, to delete creation of a dispute resolution advisory board that would advise the attorney general on administering the grant program and operating the center, by a 170-208 vote. *(Vote 636, p. 188-H)*

The Senate version of the bill had no advisory board.

• By Kindness, to define a minor dispute to exclude criminal matters and to include civil matters only when the amount in controversy was no more than $300, by an 11-29 standing vote.

• By Kindness, to bar non-profit organizations from receiving funds under the program, by voice vote. ▮

Supreme Court Jurisdiction

The Senate passed a bill (S 450) April 9 to eliminate the Supreme Court's mandatory jurisdiction in virtually all cases after first adopting a floor amendment designed to return prayer to the nation's public schools.

Adoption of the school prayer amendment turned the Supreme Court jurisdiction bill, which previously had only limited opposition, into a more controversial item. The Senate passed the amended S 450 by a 61-30 vote, but the House Judiciary Committee failed to act on the measure and it thus did not reach the House floor. *(Vote 40, p. 10-S)*

The school prayer amendment, designed to stop federal courts from hearing challenges to state laws permitting voluntary prayer in public schools, initially had been added April 5 to a bill (S 210) to create a Department of Education. *(S 210, p. 465)*

After nearly six hours of stormy debate and wild parliamentary maneuvering, the Senate by a 53-40 vote stripped the school prayer amendment, sponsored by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., from S 210. *(Vote 44, p. 10-S)*

Earlier, by a 51-40 vote, the Senate added the text of the Helms school prayer provision to the Supreme Court jurisdiction bill. *(Vote 39, p. 10-S)*

The move reflected the view that the Supreme Court bill was less important politically than the Education Department bill and could more easily be scuttled by the House than the other measure.

Helms warned the Senate, however, that he planned to offer his school prayer amendment to "every available piece of legislation coming through the Senate until both the House and Senate get a chance to vote on it."

The Carter administration strongly supported the Education Department bill and was concerned that the Helms amendment jeopardized its passage. The removal of the Helms amendment was brought into position for a vote April 9 by a series of three parliamentary votes, all of which were carried by amendment foes. *(Votes 41-43, p. 10-S)*

Court Decisions

Under the Helms amendment, the Supreme Court would be barred from reviewing any state law that related to "voluntary prayers in public schools," and federal district courts would be prevented from hearing such cases.

The language was aimed at undoing the effect of two Supreme Court decisions which held that state-sponsored prayers in public schools violated the Constitution's ban on the establishment of religion by government.

In the 1962 case of *Engel v. Vitale*, the Supreme Court invalidated a requirement of the New York state board of regents that each class begin the school day with a 22-word prayer prescribed by the state. In the 1963 case of *Abington School District v. Schempp*, the Supreme Court struck down a Pennsylvania law requiring the reading of at least 10 verses from the Bible and the saying of the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of each school day.

Since those rulings, repeated efforts had been made in Congress to allow voluntary school prayer by statute and by constitutional amendment.

Legislative Shift

Majority leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., proposed to the Senate April 9 shifting the school prayer provision from the Education Department bill to S 450, sponsored by Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz.

Byrd noted that he voted for Helms' prayer amendment April 5. However, the majority leader said he believed that the Helms amendment would be a liability to passage of the Education Department bill and that S 450 was a "more appropriate vehicle."

Helms rejected Byrd's proposal as a ploy that would let senators go on record in favor of school prayer on a bill which had little chance of passage and then would allow them to take the Helms amendment off the president's Education Department bill.

"I would not want any senator to labor under the impression that he has done his duty on behalf of restoring voluntary prayer in the schools of this country simply by voting for the amendment which was attached to S 450," Helms said.

Helms warned senators who voted to strip the school prayer language from the Education Department bill, even though they voted for adding it to S 450, that they would have "to go back home and try to explain it."

"I can go back home and tell my constituents I voted to support the prayer amendment, as the senator from North Carolina [Helms] can do," Byrd replied.

Although Helms opposed Byrd's move to delete the school prayer provision from the Education Department bill so that it could be added to the Supreme Court jurisdiction bill, he made no effort to block its inclusion in the latter measure.

Thirteen senators who voted April 5 to add the school prayer amendment to the Education Department bill and who voted April 9 to include it in S 450 turned around and cast ballots later on April 9 to remove the prayer language from the Education Department bill.

They were Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas; Byrd, W.Va.; Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev.; Lawton Chiles, D-Fla.; DeConcini; David Durenberger, R-Minn.; Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky.; John Melcher, D-Mont.; Sam Nunn, D-Ga.; Larry Pressler, R-S.D.; Jennings Randolph, D-W.Va.; Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo.; and Richard Stone, D-Fla.

White House Role

Helms noted during the Senate debate that the Carter administration was attempting to persuade senators to switch their votes and delete the school prayer language from the Education Department bill.

The North Carolina Republican said he knew of at least three senators who had been called personally by Carter on April 9 — one as early as 7:30 a.m.

Helms also contended that Vice President Walter F. Mondale, who presided at part of the April 9 session, was "collaring" senators near the Senate floor and urging them to strike the prayer amendment from the Education Department measure.

A White House spokesman acknowledged that Carter had called a few senators. Both Helms and the White House declined to identify the senators contacted by the president.

Carter publicly stated his opposition to school prayer legislation in any form.

"I personally don't think that the Congress ought to pass any legislation requiring or permitting prayer being required or encouraged in school," Carter said at a news conference April 10.

Floor Debate

Supporters of Helms' school prayer provision argued that it was a legitimate means of reinstating in the schools a religious aspect that permeates virtually all other aspects of society and government-sponsored institutions.

Advocates of the amendment also contended that there was a legal basis for the school prayer provision in the 1869 Supreme Court case of *Ex Parte McCardle*, in which the court held that Congress could withdraw the appellate jurisdiction of the court in a case in which the court already had heard arguments.

Article III of the Constitution allows Congress to make exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

However, foes countered that unlike the *McCardle* case, the Helms amendment withdrew a constitutional question from the review of the Supreme Court and barred all federal courts, not just the Supreme Court, from considering the case.

Foes also argued the Helms amendment was unwise.

Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md., labeled the Helms proposal an attempt to amend the Constitution without using the constitutionally prescribed amendment process.

"What the [Helms] amendment is really trying to do is find a backdoor for changing the organic law of the country," Mathias said.

Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, a Helms amendment supporter, acknowledged that the provision might be unconstitutional, but argued it should be passed so its constitutionality could be tested by the Supreme Court.

Opponents noted that in the 1872 case of *United States v. Klein*, the Supreme Court held that Congress could not alter the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to determine the outcome of a specific case. Helms responded that his amendment did not dictate the outcome of a Supreme Court decision.

Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., told the Senate that the Helms amendment was a bad precedent because it could open the way for Congress some day to pass plainly unconstitutional legislation and then prevent the Supreme Court from reviewing it.

"If the Congress of the United States is prepared to exclude jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in one particular area, in the area of voluntary prayer, why cannot the Congress of the United States . . . virtually establish a religion in the United States of America and provide for the Supreme Court exclusion from ruling on the appropriateness of that enactment."

Kennedy also argued that the Helms amendment represented a threat to the principle of separation of powers.

"The Helms amendment reaches the foundation of this nation in one of the most important decisions that our Founding Fathers made. That is on the separation of powers," Kennedy said.

Foes also argued that the Helms amendment would result in the 50 states having 50 different interpretations about what prayer law was permissible. Also, the federal courts still might be asked to determine whether a particular school prayer program was compulsory or voluntary and, thus, whether it was covered by the Helms provision.

Other Prayer Proposals Failed

Senate passage April 9 of legislation designed to return voluntary prayer to schools represented the resurfacing of an issue that had been volatile during the 1960s and early 1970s.

After the Supreme Court's first school prayer decision in 1962, more than 150 measures to overturn the court's school prayer rulings were introduced in the 88th Congress. The focus of attention was the House Judiciary Committee, which bottled up the proposals. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 1675)*

In 1966 a proposed constitutional amendment to strike down the Supreme Court's school prayer decisions, sponsored by Senate Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen, R-Ill (House 1933-49, Senate 1951-69), fell nine votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority. That was the first vote in either chamber of Congress on the school prayer question. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. II, p. 410)*

A school prayer provision was tied to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate in 1970 and helped contribute to the defeat of the ERA that year.

The House turned down a proposal to amend the Constitution in 1971. The school prayer proposal fell 29 votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority. The 1971 House vote occurred after a discharge petition forced the measure from the House Judiciary Committee. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. III, p. 486)*

The 1971 House vote followed a nationwide grassroots drive, headed by an Ohio housewife, for a school prayer constitutional amendment.

When Congress failed to submit a constitutional amendment, some school prayer advocates tried to promote a drive for a constitutional convention. But in the decade following the Supreme Court's 1962 prayer decision only four state legislatures asked Congress to call a constitutional convention on the prayer question.

In 1976 the Senate overwhelmingly rejected a proposal by Sen. Bill Scott, R-Va. (House 1967-73, Senate 1973-79), that would have removed all cases involving public schools, including school prayer questions, from the jurisdiction of the federal courts. *(1976 Almanac p. 426)*

Supreme Court Jurisdiction

The provisions of S 450 itself received only limited attention on the Senate floor.

As passed by the Senate, the provisions of S 450 were identical to the version approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee except for the Helms school prayer amendment and a minor amendment offered by DeConcini, which was approved by a voice vote.

The DeConcini amendment would permit cases involving the Alaska Pipeline to go directly to the Supreme Court from a district court, but pipeline cases no longer would be in the mandatory jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

S 450 had been reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee March 14 (S Rept 96-35).

As reported, the bill would eliminate the mandatory jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and give the court virtu-

ally complete discretion to decide which cases it would review.

According to the report, cases brought to the Supreme Court under its mandatory jurisdiction accounted for less than 10 percent of all cases brought in the 1976 term, but they made up almost half of those argued and decided with full opinions.

S 450 would delete sections of federal law that obligate the court to decide cases:

- Where a federal district judge had struck down an act of Congress in a case in which the U.S. government, its agencies or employees were involved.
- Where an appeals court held invalid a state law as conflicting with the Constitution, treaties or federal law.
- Where the highest available court in a state or in Puerto Rico struck down a federal law or treaty or upheld a state law against a challenge that it conflicted with the Constitution, federal law or federal treaty.
- Involving the Federal Election Campaign Act, California Indian lands or construction of the Alaska Pipeline.

These cases would remain reviewable by the Supreme Court, but the court would no longer be required to hear them.

Similar legislation was reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1978, but no action was taken on the Senate floor. *(1978 Almanac p. 205)* ▮

Constitutional Convention

The Senate Judiciary Committee's Constitution Subcommittee held a day of hearings Nov. 29 on two bills to establish procedures for states to follow in calling a constitutional convention.

S 3, introduced by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and S 1710, introduced by Orrin G. Hatch Jr., R-Utah, would provide procedures for state legislatures to adopt convention resolutions, for transmitting the resolutions to Congress and for determining how long the resolutions would remain effective. The proposed bills also would cover delegate selection and procedure for running the convention.

The 1979 effort to enact a convention procedure bill was spurred largely by states seeking a convention to propose an amendment requiring a balanced federal budget.

By the end of 1979, according to the National Taxpayers Union, 30 states had called for a balanced budget convention. This was four short of the necessary two-thirds of the states required under the Constitution to call a convention.

Article V of the U.S. Constitution provides two basic methods for originating constitutional amendments. The first method, under which all 26 amendments to the Constitution had been proposed, is for two-thirds of both chambers of Congress to submit amendments to the states.

The second method allows two-thirds of the states to call for a constitutional convention that would then submit proposed amendments to the states.

The Constitution also provides for two methods of ratification of amendments — either by legislatures in three-fourths of the states or by special conventions in three-fourths of the states. The convention ratification method has been used only once — to approve the 21st Amendment that repealed Prohibition.

Previous congressional efforts to enact convention procedure legislation have been unsuccessful.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (House 1946-47, Senate 1954-74) introduced procedure bills in 1967, 1969, 1971 and 1973. Although the Senate passed bills on the subject in 1971 and 1973, the House took no action on them. ▮

Customs Court Revision

The Senate passed a bill (S 1654) by voice vote Dec. 18 to clarify procedures and expand federal court powers to resolve international trade disputes.

In the House, the measure was referred to the Judiciary Committee Dec. 20, but not acted upon.

Known as the Customs Court Act of 1979, the legislation was reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee Dec. 7 (S Rept 96-466).

S 1654 would rename the existing U.S. Customs Court the U.S. Court of International Trade and expand its powers. The court would have jurisdiction over civil actions involving imports and any statute, constitutional provision, treaty or executive agreement or order that "substantially" involved international trade.

According to the committee report, there was confusion over what cases belong exclusively in the Customs Court and what cases belong in the federal district courts, which are courts of more general jurisdiction.

The existing Customs Court judges would continue to serve on the new court, under the bill.

However, the current requirement that no more than five of the nine judges be from one political party would be dropped and party affiliation would not be considered in making future appointments to the court.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 1654 renamed the U.S. Customs Court the U.S. Court of International Trade, and empowered it:

- To review procedures of the International Trade Commission in advising the president on actions to protect domestic industry against injury from imports.

There was no existing procedure for judicial review.

- To review decisions of the secretaries of labor and commerce on certifying workers, businesses and communities as eligible for assistance under the Trade Act of 1974, because of economic injury resulting from imports.

Currently, the labor secretary's decisions were subject to review by the federal appeals courts. There was no existing authority for review of decisions by the commerce secretary.

- To hear lawsuits initiated by the United States to recover a civil fine or penalty or enforce a forfeiture imposed under specified provisions of the 1930 Tariff Act.

These suits were heard in federal district courts.

- To enter money judgments for or against the United States.

Currently, the Customs Court could not enter a money judgment for the United States. In cases in which a judgment was entered against the United States, the winning party must take the court decision to the Customs Service, which then refunded the money.

Under S 1654, the court would simply enter its judgment, and the judgment would be paid by the government in the same manner as any other judgment against the United States. ▮

Judicial Discipline Bill

The Senate passed a bill Oct. 30 to provide procedures for disciplining federal judges short of removing them from office by impeachment, but the House failed to act on the measure.

S 1873 (S Rept 96-362) was passed by the Senate 56-33 after a lengthy debate over its constitutionality. *(Vote 374, p. 62-S)*

Following passage, the bill was added by prior agreement to S 1477, a wide-ranging court reform bill. S 1477 then was passed by voice vote. *(Story, p. 400)*

S 1477 — with the judicial discipline section — and S 1873 both were then sent to the House where they were referred to the Judiciary Committee.

As passed by the Senate, S 1873 authorized the judicial councils of the 11 federal circuits to investigate and rule on complaints against judges. It did not provide a mechanism for removing judges, however.

A judicial council could request a judge's voluntary retirement or take other disciplinary action if it found the judge unable to perform his duties because of mental or physical disability, or if the judge engaged in conduct "inconsistent with the effective and expeditious administration of justice."

A council's decision could be appealed to a new Court of Judicial Conduct and Disability, which would be made up of five federal judges appointed by the U.S. chief justice.

S 1873, as passed, applied only to judges on the appeals, district and bankruptcy courts, and to magistrates.

In 1978 the Senate passed a bill (S 1423) providing a new method to remove judges, along with other sanctions, but the House failed to act on the measure. *(Background on S 1423, 1978 Almanac p. 198)*

S 1873 was an amalgamation of three proposals introduced earlier in the year. One of the bills, S 295, sponsored by Sam Nunn, D-Ga., was the same as S 1423, which Nunn introduced in 1978.

Another bill (S 678) was introduced by Judiciary Chairman Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., and Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz. Birch Bayh, D-Ind., offered a third bill (S 522).

Senate Committee Action

S 1873 was ordered reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee Oct. 2 on an 11-2 vote. It was reported Oct. 10 (S Rept 96-363).

DeConcini, chairman of the Improvements in Judicial Machinery Subcommittee, said the bill provided a procedure where "judges will be judging judges. This is not a meat ax approach."

DeConcini noted that the bill specifically ruled out complaints based on the merits of a judge's decision in a particular case.

But Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., who opposed the measure, said it could "open up the federal judiciary to the ire and fire of special interest groups. I fear this is going to politicize the judiciary."

The following amendments were adopted by voice votes:

- By Bayh, to delete a provision that would have allowed discipline for conduct "bringing the judicial office into disrepute." Bayh said this was too vague.
- By Thad Cochran, R-Miss., to specifically allow judicial councils to dismiss "frivolous" complaints.
- By Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., to provide for an open hearing if the Court on Judicial Conduct and Disability decided to hold a new proceeding on a complaint instead of simply reviewing the judicial council's record.

Senate Floor Action

During floor debate, Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md., and Howell Heflin, D-Ala., argued that S 1873 was unconstitutional. They said the Constitution provided for removal by impeachment as the sole method of disciplining judges.

If a new procedure is created, they said, it should come through an amendment to the Constitution.

Heflin, a former Alabama Supreme Court chief justice, noted that most states with judicial discipline procedures have created them through amendments to their state constitutions.

"I do not think it wise to pass a bill on the hope that it is constitutional," Heflin said.

Mathias said S 1873 would have a "chilling effect on federal judges" because it would allow "disgruntled litigants" to harass judges with claims of misconduct.

DeConcini, chief sponsor of S 1873, contended the bill was constitutional. He said it was "very unlikely that the intent of the Constitution was to leave federal judges unaccountable for their behavior."

The impeachment process is too cumbersome, and a simpler procedure is needed to handle problems, such as an alleged disability or misconduct short of an impeachable offense, DeConcini said.

"We have had tyrants on the bench in this country and we basically have been unable to do anything about it," said Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah. "I think it is time we consider the enlightenment this bill may bring to the judiciary."

By a 30-60 vote, the Senate rejected a substitute bill offered by Nunn that would have provided for the removal of judges in addition to other sanctions. *(Vote 373, p. 62-S)*

Nunn's proposal, similar to the bill that passed the Senate in 1978 (S 1423), would have covered Supreme Court justices in addition to magistrates and district and appeals court judges.

Nunn said S 1873 was "only half a loaf" because it did not provide for removal.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 1873:

- Authorized any person to file a written complaint against a judge with the judicial council of the federal circuit in which the judge served. The complaint must allege that the judge either was unable to discharge his duties because of physical or mental disability or had engaged in conduct inconsistent with expediting the court's business.
- Authorized the council to investigate the complaint and either dismiss it or exercise one of five options: request the judge's voluntary retirement; temporarily withhold new cases from a judge; privately censure or reprimand the judge; publicly censure or reprimand the judge, or take other "appropriate" action short of removal.
- Allowed the complainant or judge to appeal to a new Court of Judicial Conduct and Disability. The court could render a decision upon review of the council's record or

could conduct a new hearing. Its options for action would be the same as the judicial council.

• Required the court to submit to the House of Representatives any case indicating conduct that "constitutes sufficient cause" for removal by impeachment. ▮

Court Improvement

The Senate passed a bill (S 1477) to create a new federal appeals court for patent cases and a new trial level court to hear suits involving claims against the government, but the House failed to act on the measure.

The legislation also contained a controversial provision by Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., that would make it easier to challenge federal regulations in court.

Under the Bumpers amendment, the burden of proving a federal regulation was invalid no longer would rest with the party contesting the rule. The proposal would force an agency to prove the validity of the regulation being attacked.

S 1477 (S Rept 96-304) was passed Oct. 30 by voice vote. It had been reported Aug. 3 by the Judiciary Committee (S Rept 96-304). The bill had been debated Sept. 7, but it was agreed final passage would be put off until completion of S 1873, a bill to create a new procedure for disciplining judges.

S 1873 was passed by the Senate Oct. 30, and under the agreement, its provisions also were added to S 1477. Both bills were sent to the House and referred to the Judiciary Committee. *(Story p. 399)*

No Tax Appeals Court

When S 1477 was reported by the Judiciary Committee Aug. 3, it included a controversial provision to create a national appeals court for all tax cases.

The section was removed from S 1477, however, and referred to the Senate Finance Committee as a separate bill, S 1691.

Under an agreement between Finance Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., and Judiciary Chairman Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., the Finance Committee was to finish work on S 1691 by Dec. 31.

The tax court envisioned under S 1691 would have authority to hear all appeals in civil tax cases from federal district courts or the U.S. Tax Court. S 1691 also would strip the U.S. Court of Claims of its jurisdiction over tax cases.

The U.S. Tax Court hears cases involving a dispute between a taxpayer and the government when the disputed tax has not been paid. Federal district courts hear cases when the disputed tax has been paid, and the taxpayer is suing for a refund.

Currently, an appeal from either of these courts can be heard in any one of the 10 U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeal or the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

A national tax appeals court has the support of the U.S. Judicial Conference and a number of prominent lawyers, including former U.S. Solicitor General Erwin N. Griswold.

The proponents argue that a central tax appeals court is needed to end the confusion that results when different appeals courts reach divergent results in similar tax matters.

Opponents, including the tax section of the American Bar Association, counter that the tax appeals court is unnecessary. They say it is better to have several judges rule on complex matters rather than just one court.

Bumpers Amendment

The Bumpers amendment was approved by voice vote during floor debate Sept. 7 after an attempt to kill it failed, 27-51. *(Vote 258, p. 44-S)*

It was opposed by the Carter administration and several liberals. If enacted into law, it would amend the Administrative Procedures Act (PL 89-554), which determines how regulations are made and enforced.

"At least, the American citizen seeking to challenge an agency action would be placed on an even level with the bureaucracy," Bumpers said.

According to Bumpers, if agency rule-makers know they must assume the burden of proof for a proposed regulation, "they will be much more careful and circumspect in writing it."

Further, an individual harmed by a regulation would no longer be intimidated at the prospect of suing to overturn it, Bumpers contended. "[He] will be more inclined to resist abuse, knowing that he does not have to rebut presumptions that have no authority in law, and never should have been placed in law in the first place," the senator said.

Bumpers argued that regulatory agencies have overstepped their bounds in many cases.

To counter the administration's opposition to his proposal, Bumpers claimed that former Attorney General Griffin B. Bell supported it. He quoted Bell as telling him: "That is the greatest idea since night baseball. . . . If you are waiting for the president and Congress to do this, they are not going to do it."

He also noted that his proposal, which he had introduced earlier in the year as a separate bill (S 111), had been endorsed by the American Bar Association.

Opponents

Fears that under the Bumpers proposal stronger challenges could be mounted against environmental and safety regulations prompted several senators to oppose the move strenuously.

"The amendment . . . could stop the federal government in its tracks," warned Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine.

Muskie said that the authority for vital existing regulations would be undercut by the amendment.

"Regulations promulgated by the Department of Agriculture, the Internal Revenue Service and the Small Business Administration will not be accorded legal respect at all," Muskie predicted, "until a court of law says they are worthy."

Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., the Judiciary Committee chairman, attacked the amendment as leading to a further overloading of judicial calendars. "This amendment might . . . impose a serious burden on courts which are already suffering from the legal explosion," he said.

Kennedy produced a 1976 letter on the floor from Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren E. Burger in which the jurist also opposed changing the legal burden of proof required for challenging federal regulations.

While Republican objections to the amendment were few, Robert Dole, R-Kan., joined Kennedy and Muskie by protesting that judges were ill-qualified to rule on technical regulations.

"What ultimate benefit do we reap as a society from expert agencies if their actions can be completely second-guessed by non-expert judges?" Dole asked.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 1477:

• Created the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit by merging one section of the existing Court of Claims and the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals. These two courts would be abolished.

The new court, which would have 12 judges, would be on the same level as the 11 circuit courts of appeal. The court would have nationwide jurisdiction over patent appeals and appeals in cases involving claims against the government.

The judges would be appointed for life with the Senate's consent. However, as a transitional measure, judges currently serving on the U.S. Court of Claims and the U.S. Court of Customs and Patent Appeals would be elevated to the new appeals court.

• Created a new trial court, the U.S. Claims Court, to hear suits involving claims against the government. The 16-member court would assume the functions of the trial division in the existing Court of Claims. Currently, cases are heard by "trial judges" who are authorized only to hear evidence and then make recommendations to Court of Claims judges, who decide the cases.

There is no right of appeal from the Court of Claims. However, a discretionary appeal may be taken to the U.S. Supreme Court. The new Claims Court judges would try cases and issue final orders. Their decisions could be appealed to the new federal circuit appeals court.

The first judges would be the existing trial judges, who would serve until 1985. After that, the president would appoint new judges for 15-year terms.

• Allowed courts to strike down a federal regulation if a judge finds that an agency incorrectly interpreted the law under which the regulation was issued. The bill requires the government to prove the regulation is valid.

Under existing law, a regulation is presumed to be valid and the challenger must prove its invalidity. A court may block a regulation only if it finds the agency acted arbitrarily or capriciously in issuing it.

• Allowed courts for the first time to order interest payments on claims for the pre-judgment period where a defendant knew of his potential liability. This section is aimed primarily at commercial litigation.

The interest rate would be determined according to the Internal Revenue Code, which establishes a rate based on a composite of prime rates throughout the country.

• Required that the interest rate on judgments be determined according to the Internal Revenue Code. Currently, the rates vary according to the laws of states in which the parties reside.

• Allowed appeals of intermediate district court rulings — normally not appealable until the end of a case — where an appeals court determines the appeal is "required in the interests of justice and because of the extraordinary importance of the case."

• Allowed parties to transfer to a proper federal court a case that was filed in the wrong court. The case would be treated in the new court as though it had been initially filed there so that a party would be not be penalized for missing a filing deadline or violating the statute of limitations.

• Limited the tenure of the chief judge of a federal district court or appeals court to seven years, and barred designating anyone over age 65 as chief judge.

• Restructured the judicial councils of the 11 judicial circuits, making them smaller. ▮

Drug Loophole

The House July 23 passed a bill (HR 2538) designed to close a loophole in U.S. drug laws that backers of the legislation said had severely hampered U. S. Coast Guard efforts to curb international drug trafficking.

In the Senate, the bill was referred to the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee July 24.

HR 2538, reported by the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee July 10 (H Rept 96-323), would make it illegal for any person to manufacture, distribute or possess with the intent to manufacture or distribute any controlled substance on the high seas that are under the United States' jurisdiction.

Possession of narcotics on the high seas was not prohibited under existing U.S. law. Conspiracy to import drugs into the U.S. is prohibited, but that crime is harder to prove. ▮

Prosecution Diversion Bill

A bill that would set up procedures for diverting selected federal offenders from prosecution to education and counseling programs was approved by the Senate but not acted on by the House.

S 702 (S Rept 96-502), known as the Federal Diversion Act of 1979, was reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee Dec. 14 and passed by voice vote in the Senate Dec. 20.

In the House, it was referred to the Judiciary Committee Dec. 31.

The bill had four major components:

• **At the time of arrest** or the issuance of a summons, a person would be screened by federal authorities to determine eligibility for the diversion program.

Regulations for determining eligibility would be established by the attorney general, and guidelines for local programs would be created by U.S. attorneys, who would select participants in their districts.

Persons accused of offenses involving the threat or infliction of serious bodily harm and "habitual offenders" would not be eligible for the program.

A plan for individuals selected for the program would be developed by a local "diversion administrator" appointed by the attorney general in consultation with local planning groups to be established under the bill.

The diversion plan — which could include educational, counseling and medical assistance — could not exceed one year, except to permit a person to make restitution to a victim.

• **Once a plan had been agreed upon,** an eligible offender would waive in court his right to a speedy trial and the statute of limitations covering his offense. The offender would have the right to an attorney during this proceeding.

Once a waiver were made, the U.S. attorney would request that the indictment, information or complaint be continued for the period of the diversion program.

• **The local agency** administering the diversion program would supervise the person's performance under the plan. If the plan were successfully completed, the indictment, information or complaint would be dismissed.

• **The U.S. attorney** could resume prosecution if an offender failed to complete the plan, voluntarily withdrew or if the U.S. attorney found new information suggesting the

offender should not be in the program. The offender and his lawyer would have the right to contest the facts before the U.S. attorney and then appeal any finding to a judge.

As passed by the Senate, S 702 authorized $3 million annually for the program from fiscal 1981 through fiscal 1984. The Congressional Budget Office estimated that actual outlays would be $2 million in 1981, $2.5 million in 1982, $3.1 million in 1983 and $3.8 million in 1984.

A bill almost identical to S 702 (S 1819) passed the Senate in 1978 but died in the House. A House Judiciary Committee staffer said it was doubtful S 702 would get very far in 1980. "The consensus on the bill in the Senate never seemed to be developed in the House," the source said.

Since 1974 the Justice Department had its own diversion program, which was established by administrative order.

During 1978 consideration of S 1819, Assistant Attorney General Patricia M. Wald told the Senate Judiciary Committee that diversion could be expected to account for only about 5 percent of the federal caseload each year.

The Justice Department was lukewarm about writing a diversion program into law, according to a spokesman in the department's Office of Legislative Affairs. He said that the department believed the existing administratively established program was adequate. ▮

Attorneys' Fee Awards

The Senate passed a bill (S 265) July 31 to encourage legal challenges to "unreasonable" government action by permitting successful plaintiffs to recover attorneys' fees, but the House did not act on the measure.

S 265, passed by a 94-3 vote, would permit certain prevailing private parties to recover attorney fees and other expenses, such as expert witness fees and the cost of technical studies, in lawsuits against the government. *(Vote 233, p. 39-S)*

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported S 265 July 20 (S Rept 96-253).

The legislation would make two changes in existing law:

- It would permit a court in its discretion to award attorneys' fees and other expenses to prevailing parties in civil litigation involving the U.S. government to the same extent that courts awarded fees in cases involving private parties.

Such cases would include instances where the government acted in bad faith or failed to follow federal rules for pre-trial discovery of evidence.

- It also would entitle certain parties who prevail either in administrative adjudications or in civil actions brought by or against the government to attorneys' fees and related costs unless the government could prove its action was "substantially justified."

Parties eligible to recover fees under this provision would include individuals whose net worth was less than $1 million and sole owners of unincorporated businesses, partnerships, corporations, associations or other organizations whose net worth was less than $5 million. Agricultural cooperatives would be eligible regardless of worth. Net worth would be measured at the time the suit in question was initiated.

The bill, which included a three-year sunset provision, would not apply to personal injury suits against the government.

If the government lost and costs were awarded, the award would come directly from the operating budget of the offending agency. The Congressional Budget Office estimated that in fiscal 1980 the U.S. would pay $108 million in fees for cases it lost or could not "substantially justify."

Floor Action

During floor consideration of S 265, the Senate approved two amendments:

- By S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, R-Calif., to allow agricultural cooperatives to collect fees even if their net worth exceeded $5 million, by voice vote.
- By Max Baucus, D-Mont., to delay the effect of the act for six months on tax cases, by voice vote.

Baucus, who had introduced a separate bill (S 1444) to cover court costs in tax cases, said his proposal would supersede S 265 if S 1444 were enacted. ▮

Rights of Institutionalized

The full House and the Senate Judiciary Committee approved legislation (HR 10 — S 10) during 1979 that would allow the federal government to sue to protect the rights of persons confined in state institutions.

Similar legislation passed the House and a Senate committee in 1978, but as in 1979 the full Senate never took action on the measure. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 206)*

Both HR 10 and S 10 would allow the attorney general to file suit in federal court to protect the rights of persons confined in state prisons, mental institutions, juvenile facilities and centers for the chronically ill. Under both bills, suits could be filed only if the attorney general found a "pattern or practice" depriving institutionalized persons of their rights.

Suits on behalf of prisoners would be allowed only for alleged violation of constitutional rights.

Before filing suit, the attorney general would have to notify state officials of the alleged violations, specifying dates and times, the persons allegedly involved and possible remedies.

Unlike the House-passed bill, S 10 would allow the attorney general to intervene in existing federal lawsuits that allege violations of institutionalized persons' rights.

House Committee Action

The House Judiciary Committee ordered HR 10 reported on a 26-2 vote March 20. A report (H Rept 96-80) was filed April 3.

As reported, HR 10 authorized the U.S. attorney general to initiate lawsuits in federal courts to safeguard the rights of persons confined in state prisons, mental institutions, nursing homes, juvenile centers and facilities for the chronically ill.

Drew S. Days, assistant attorney general in charge of the civil rights division, told the House Judiciary Committee's Courts and Civil Liberties Subcommittee Feb. 14 that the Justice Department supported granting the attorney general authority to institute civil actions in federal courts to redress deprivations of constitutional rights.

Opposition to the bill had been voiced by the National Association of Attorneys General and by the National Association of State Mental Health Program Directors.

In the affected state-run institutions, with the exception of prisons, the bill allowed the attorney general to file a civil suit when he believed the rights of an institutionalized person guaranteed under the Constitution or under federal laws were violated. In the case of state prisons, the attorney general would be allowed to act only when he believed a prisoner's constitutional rights were violated.

A subcommittee staff member said the different treatment of prisoners in the bill was an effort by the committee to reflect the sentiment of the House. Last year the House deleted prisoners from coverage of the bill, but later adopted an amendment allowing the government to bring suits in behalf of prisoners if a court determined the conditions in a correctional facility warranted the attention of the attorney general.

To commence a civil suit, the attorney general must find a "pattern or practice" of deprivation of rights and must conclude that his action was of general public importance.

The House Judiciary Committee's bill differed from the measure the committee approved in 1978 in two respects. It omitted a section approved in the 1978 legislation giving the attorney general specific authority to intervene in any action seeking relief from conditions that deprive an institutionalized person of his rights. It also required the attorney general to certify to state officals the alleged deprivation of rights before he intervened.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 10 on May 23 by a 342-62 vote. *(Vote 151, p. 48-H)*

Support for the bill crossed party and ideological lines. Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill., told the House that he normally resisted federal intervention in state affairs, but believed HR 10 was necessary to help correct "a disaster" in state institutions.

Advocates of HR 10, including Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis., chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Courts Subcommittee, said the bill provided safeguards for the states from unnecessary federal intervention.

Before filing suit the attorney general must notify state officials that a "pattern or practice" of deprivation of rights had occurred, supporters said.

Also, the attorney general must consult with state officials about possible federal assistance available to correct the problem and must give state officials "a reasonable time" to remedy the problem themselves.

But Thomas N. Kindness, R-Ohio, an opponent, asserted that the bill gave the Justice Department power over the states without giving them any substantial aid to correct problems in their institutions.

Floor Amendments

As passed by the House, HR 10 was identical to the version approved by the Judiciary Committee with one exception. On a voice vote, the House adopted a Kastenmeier amendment which set an effective date of Oct. 1, 1979.

On non-record votes, the House rejected three amendments by Kindness intended to restrict the scope of the proposal.

The Kindness amendments would have:

- Eliminated from the coverage of the bill private facilities that provided services "on behalf of any state."
- Deleted from the bill's protection facilities where juveniles resided "for any other state purpose." Kindness said the amendment was necessary to ensure that public schools did not come under federal scrutiny. However, the committee report stated that the bill was not intended "to cover non-residential elementary or secondary schools, or public colleges and universities."
- Eliminated from the scope of the bill prisons and jails. Although that amendment passed when the House considered similar legislation in 1978, Kindness was unable to gather enough support to demand a roll call vote on the proposed change.

The drafters of HR 10 attempted to mollify opponents with a limitation on the protection of prisoners. In the affected state-run institutions, with the exception of prisons, the bill would permit the attorney general to file a civil suit when he believed the rights of an institutionalized person guaranteed under the Constitution or under federal laws were violated.

But in the case of prisons, the attorney general would be permitted to act only when he believed a prisoner's constitutional rights were violated.

Unlike the House bill passed in 1978, HR 10 did not grant the attorney general specific authority to intervene in any suit alleging a deprivation of rights. The Justice Department could intervene as permitted by federal civil procedure rules and by federal courts.

Provisions

As passed by the House May 23, HR 10:

- Defined "institutions" that could be subjected to action by the attorney general as homes for the mentally ill, retarded or handicapped; jails or prisons; pre-trial detention facilities; or juvenile facilities and nursing homes.

  In each case, the institution would have to be owned by the state or operated on behalf of the state.
- Authorized the attorney general to sue for equitable relief (but not monetary damages) when he found "a pattern or practice" of deprivation of rights. Complaints would require the attorney general's signature.
- Required the attorney general, when filing suit, to certify to the court that, at least 30 days previously, he had notified the governor and state attorney general of the "pattern or practice" of rights deprivation, of the evidence of the practice and of the measures which might remedy the alleged "pattern or practice" of deprivation.
- Required the attorney general also to certify that he had consulted with state officials about possible federal assistance to correct the problem, that the state officials had "reasonable time" to remedy the rights deprivation and that the action by the Justice Department was of "general public importance."
- Required the attorney general, no later than 180 days after the bill was enacted, to issue minimum standards for grievance procedures for adults confined in a prison.

  The standards would take effect 30 legislative days after they were announced unless either chamber of Congress adopted a resolution of disapproval.
- Allowed courts, in any individual suit brought by an inmate, to postpone the case for up to 90 days to allow exhaustion of administrative remedies.

  Exhaustion would be required unless the court determined that a prisoner had access to a grievance system that complied with the minimum standards.
- Required the attorney general to make an annual statement to Congress about the number and outcome of all suits brought under the act and about the effect of minimum grievance procedure standards.

Senate Committee Action

S 10, the Senate companion bill, was ordered reported 12-4 by the Senate Judiciary Committee Nov 2 A report (S Rept 96-416) was filed Nov 15

The bill was approved after members sent their votes in writing to the committee staff Under a committee agreement, members considered several amendments and final passage of the bill through paper votes rather than at a regular committee meeting

The Judiciary Committee approved a version of a rights of the institutionalized bill in 1978, but Robert Morgan, D-N C, placed a "hold" on the bill and refused to reach a time agreement limiting debate with sponsors of the bill

As a consequence, the bill never reached the Senate floor

During markup, the committee adopted a number of amendments, including the following

- By Orrin G Hatch, R-Utah, to make clear that privately owned and operated institutions would not be subject to suit unless they had a substantial relationship with the state, by voice vote
- By Thad Cochran, R-Miss , to require the attorney general to issue minimum standards for grievance procedures for state jails, prisons and pre-trial detention facilities, by voice vote
- By Cochran, to require adult inmates in jails, prisons or pre-trial detention facilities to exhaust administrative remedies before filing a lawsuit against the state, by voice vote

Exhaustion of remedies would not be required where either the attorney general or a judge determined that the administrative remedies did not comply with the attorney general's standards

- By Robert Dole, R-Kan , to specify procedures the attorney general must follow to intervene in an existing case, by a 13-2 vote
- By Strom Thurmond, R-S C , to require the attorney general personally to sign a complaint against a state or a motion to intervene in an existing case, by voice vote

A number of weakening amendments that were opposed by Birch Bayh, D-Ind , the bill's chief sponsor, were rejected, including the following

- By Thurmond, to require the attorney general to refrain from filing a suit or intervening in a suit if other federal agencies had filed actions against a state, rejected by a 4-11 vote
- By Thurmond, to prevent the attorney general from bringing a suit or intervening in a suit to challenge state law or procedures for institutionalizing a person, rejected by a 4-11 vote
- By Paul Laxalt, R-Nev , to require a judge to grant relief only for the specific problems the attorney general cited in his notice to state officials, rejected by a 6-9 vote

Provisions

As ordered reported by the Judiciary Committee, S 10

- Authorized the attorney general to sue a state after finding a pattern or practice that deprived institutionalized persons of their rights

The attorney general would have to notify state officials of the alleged deprivations (including supporting evidence and possible corrective measures) at least 56 days before filing suit. The House bill provided for notification 30 days prior to filing suit

- Required the attorney general to certify to a court that he had consulted with state officials about federal assistance, given the officials a "reasonable time" to solve the problems, and determined the suit was of "general public importance."
- Authorized the attorney general to seek equitable relief only — such as an injunction — and not monetary damages.
- Authorized the attorney general to intervene in an existing lawsuit in federal court against a state when the attorney general determined that intervention was of "general public importance."
- Defined "institution" as any facility owned, operated or managed by a state for the mentally ill, disabled, or retarded, or a jail, prison or pre-trial detention facility for adults, or a juvenile facility.

Privately owned institutions would not be subject to suit unless they had a substantial relationship with the state beyond mere licensing or use of federal money disbursed by the state.

- Required the attorney general to issue guidelines within 180 days of the bill's enactment for grievance procedures for adults confined in prison. ■

FBI Charter Proposal

President Carter sent Congress July 31 a proposed charter for the FBI intended to be the first comprehensive statement outlining the agency's investigative and law enforcement authority. (*Carter message, p 48-E*)

Although the charter was the subject of hearings in both the House and Senate during 1979, bills (HR 5030, S 1612) to enact the measure were not reported in either chamber.

Criticisms

Civil liberties groups criticized the proposal for not going far enough to restrict FBI activities. Conservatives expressed concern that investigations by the agency would be unduly restricted by the new rules.

The proposal had bi-partisan backing and the support of the Justice Department.

Charter Outline

The charter generally would codify the FBI's existing authority However, it would expand the agency's authority in two respects

First, it would give the FBI authority to obtain access to information about investigative targets held by third parties, such as telephone, bank, insurance and credit company records, through "civil investigative demands," written by the agency, itself

Also, the charter would give the FBI authority to investigate patterns of terrorist acts that involve violations of state criminal laws even though no federal law were violated

The charter would limit the director of the agency, who is appointed by the president with the Senate's consent, to one 10-year term

Foreign intelligence and counter-intelligence functions of the bureau would be governed by a separate charter to be proposed for the government's entire foreign intelligence community.

Major Issues

In 1979 hearings on the proposed charter before the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, a number of controversial issues emerged, including:

- Should the charter provide civil remedies for persons injured as the result of an agent's violation of the charter.
- Should the charter explicitly ban activities designed to discredit individuals or to disrupt political organizations.
- To what extent should the FBI have access to information about investigative targets that is held by third parties such as banks, insurance companies and telephone companies.
- How much latitude should the FBI have in investigating alleged terrorism.
- What restrictions should be placed on the FBI's recruitment and use of informers and undercover agents.

Provisions

As proposed by the president, the FBI charter:

- Required the attorney general to promulgate guidelines to define the the limits of investigative techniques to "protect constitutional rights and personal privacy."
- Established a specific procedure for using informants on a continuing basis.
- Required approval of undercover operations by "an appropriate supervisory official of the FBI."

Undercover agents generally would be prohibited from violating federal, state or local laws except in three instances — to obtain information or evidence for "paramount prosecutive purposes," to establish and maintain credibility or cover with the participants of the criminal activity under investigation, or to avoid death or serious bodily injury or danger to himself or another.

- Required a written report and specific approval for participation in "serious criminal activity," if such participation were not "an integral part of the undercover operation or was not authorized at the time the operation was approved."
- Allowed physical surveillance "against an identifiable individual" only for the purpose of and within the scope of an investigation authorized by the charter.
- Authorized mail openings only pursuant to existing statutes. Such openings must be conducted according to U.S. Postal Service regulations.
- Gave the FBI access, without court order, to financial information held by third parties such as banks, insurance companies and credit institutions, and to telephone toll records. The FBI may obtain these records by a "civil investigative demand," which is similar to a broadly drawn grand jury subpoena.
- Permitted the FBI to disseminate information obtained during an investigation to another federal agency or to a state or local criminal justice agency only in specified circumstances.
- Required destruction or storage in the U.S. Archives (for historical purposes) of information compiled during an investigation, except under certain specified circumstances.
- Authorized the FBI to conduct investigations of civil disorders and public demonstrations "requiring federal assistance." The attorney general was required to create

The agency specifically would be prohibited from using criminal investigation techniques such as mail and electronic surveillance and use of third party records "except in exigent circumstances."

- Prohibited the FBI, in the case of peaceful public demonstrations, from using mail and electronic surveillance and third-party records for investigative purposes. The agency also could not use informants or undercover agents to infiltrate such groups, or to recruit a person within the group as an informant.
- Authorized the FBI director to impose a civil penalty up to $5,000 on any FBI employee who intentionally used investigative techniques he or she knew violated the charter, in addition to sanctions available under existing law.

Oil Company Mergers

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported Dec. 4 a highly controversial bill (S 1246) designed to block 18 major U.S. oil companies from acquiring other large corporations.

The committee's 9-8 vote Nov. 20 to send the bill to the floor was split along party lines. All Democrats except Howell Heflin, D-Ala., voted for the measure. Heflin and the panel's seven Republicans opposed it.

Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, a key proponent of the bill and chairman of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, noted the significant opposition to S 1246 and said it would take an uphill battle to win passage.

As approved by the committee, S 1246 (S Rept 96-444) would prohibit 18 major U.S. oil producers and their affiliates from acquiring or merging with another corporation in the energy industry if the other firm had total assets of $100 million or more.

In the case of an acquisition, purchase of a majority of a company's assets would be prohibited if at least $100 million of assets were to be purchased.

An acquisition of or merger with a non-energy business would be prohibited if the business had total assets of at least $50 million. In the case of an acquisition, purchase of a majority of the assets would be barred if at least $50 million of assets were to be acquired.

Exceptions would be allowed for acquisitions or mergers that would "substantially enhance competition" or whose effect "would be materially to increase or substantially to promote" energy exploration and production.

A "major producer" was defined in the bill as any corporation that was publicly traded and produced worldwide in 1978 an average of at least 150,000 barrels per day of crude oil and natural gas liquids.

The definition would exclude the Arabian American Oil Co. (Aramco), a consortium of eight oil companies based in Saudi Arabia.

The companies covered would be Amerada Hess, Atlantic Richfield, Cities Service, Continental, Exxon, Getty Oil, Gulf, Marathon Oil, Mobil, Occidental Petroleum, Phillips Petroleum, Shell Oil, Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of Ohio, Standard Oil of Indiana, Sun Oil, Texaco and Union Oil of California.

Foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms would be covered by the bill, but foreign parent corporations such as British Petroleum and Royal Dutch Shell would be excluded.

Background

The bill was intended to encourage the majors to invest profits from decontrolled oil prices in new oil and gas development. At the same time its sponsors hoped to thwart the

majors from taking over other large energy companies and non-energy firms, such as department stores and insurance companies, which oil companies had purchased in recent years.

Major oil companies insisted the bill was another congressional effort to make "big oil" the scapegoat for the energy crisis. They warned it might actually lessen energy development, and could result in greater concentration in the domestic petroleum industry.

The industry was joined in its attack on the bill by the major national business associations — the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Business Roundtable and National Association of Manufacturers — which viewed the measure as a harbinger of a more generalized assault on conglomerate mergers by big business.

The "Energy Antimonopoly Act," as S 1246 was titled, was the orphan of S 600, the "Small Business Protection Act," a broader proposal aimed at limiting conglomerate mergers, that is, mergers of companies from different industries.

S 600, which would have banned all mergers of corporations with assets or annual sales of more than $2 billion, died a quiet death earlier in 1979 when it became evident to its chief advocates that it had little chance of being reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Apparently willing to settle for less than the full loaf, bill sponsors Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., the Judiciary chairman, and Metzenbaum sliced off the leading oil companies for special attention, hoping to capitalize on increasing public disapproval of the oil industry to win support for the bill.

But if sponsors hoped this change in direction would lead non-oil business interests to abandon the major petroleum producers, they were wrong. "This is not an oil company problem, it is a general business problem," said Fred Byset of the Chamber's Committee on Antitrust and Trade Regulation.

Byset said sponsors of the oil merger bill had simply "changed their strategy. The real objective is something like S 600 . . . to prohibit all mergers in all industries. . . . They're singling out an industry that's vulnerable now with the objective of picking the others off one by one."

Byset and others in the business community argued it would be easier to gain approval for a more general anti-merger bill if S 1246 were passed.

Senate aides working on the oil merger bill did not deny business' assessment. Said one aide: "We see it as a precedent, too. We didn't expect S 600 to pass this Congress . . . and we recognized that in light of the energy crisis that if [the oil merger] bill went through we might have a vehicle to accelerate S 600."

Opponents of S 1264 said diversification by the major oil companies had been modest and had not prevented the companies from making major investments in exploration.

A. Robert Abboud, chairman of the First National Bank of Chicago and a director of Standard Oil of Indiana, told the Judiciary Committee that the big oil companies had to retain the ability to form conglomerates. "The inability of the major oil companies to diversify could affect their capacity to attract the outside capital needed for substantial investment in domestic petroleum."

Abboud and other oil executives insisted the amount of cash available for investment was contingent on the rate of return energy concerns were able to offer stockholders. Abboud denied that the oil companies had "huge amounts of idle cash with which to acquire large segments of U.S. industry."

Oil company officials said prohibiting diversification would not guarantee that oil companies would invest in oil and gas exploration. The companies might instead decide to return surplus cash to stockholders in the form of dividends, make foreign acquisitions, small domestic acquisitions or simply invest in stocks and bonds.

S 1246 supporters acknowledged that their bill would not force the majors to make new oil and gas investments, only encourage them. They said that extraction and processing of fuels were the majors' area of expertise and it was likely the companies would make additional investments in these areas if restrictions were placed on mergers.

Committee Action

Debate on S 1246 was unusually lively. At one point, Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., said that although he had reservations about the bill, "I'd be willing to go this way just to stick it in their left ear. I'm so angry with the way the oil companies treat us up here."

Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, a chief opponent, said, "In my opinion the opponents have failed miserably to justify the legislation on antitrust principles." He said the bill was based on "patchwork premises."

Hatch said he had "a couple hundred" amendments he intended to bring up on the Senate floor.

By a 7-8 vote, the committee defeated an amendment by Robert Dole, R-Kan., that would have allowed an oil company to acquire another corporation, regardless of size, if the major producer in the previous year had made investments in energy that exceeded its net income.

Dole said his amendment was intended to guarantee that oil companies reinvest their profits in energy production.

But Metzenbaum called the proposal a "killer amendment" that would gut the bill. He and Kennedy said that because there was no uniform accounting standard within the oil industry, it would be too difficult to accurately measure profits to determine whether Dole's "plow-back" criterion had been met.

Provisions

As reported by the Judiciary Committee, S 1246:

- Prohibited major oil producers from acquiring or merging with an energy-related company with assets of at least $100 million. An acquisition of a majority of a company's assets would be barred if at least $100 million of assets would be acquired.
- Prohibited major oil producers from acquiring or merging with a non-energy related company with assets of at least $50 million. An acquisition of a majority of assets would be prohibited if at least $50 million of assets would be purchased.
- Defined major producers as those that were publicly traded and produced in 1978, worldwide, an average of 150,000 barrels or more per day of crude oil and natural gas liquids.
- Included in the bill's coverage foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms but excluded foreign-owned companies such as British Petroleum and Royal Dutch Shell.
- Covered proposed acquisitions between Nov. 20, 1979, and Jan. 1, 1991, when the bill, if enacted, automatically would expire.
- Excepted mergers that would substantially enhance competition or would materially increase or substantially promote energy production and exploration.

• Excepted joint ventures designed for energy exploration and production.

• Allowed only the attorney general to file lawsuits to enforce the law, prohibiting privately initiated merger challenges.

• Required the attorney general to bring an action challenging a proposed merger or acquisition within 120 days of its completion.

In the case of transactions covered by the Hart-Scott-Rodino Act (PL 94-435) — requiring advance notification of proposed mergers to the Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission and a waiting period of 30 days — the attorney general would be required to institute an action challenging the proposed transaction with 90 days after the expiration of the waiting period.

• Required the Federal Trade Commission, in consultation with the Departments of Justice and Energy to file an interim report on the effect of S 1246 by Oct. 31, 1984, and required a final report by Oct. 31, 1989. ▮

Jordan Cocaine Probe

A federal court panel Nov. 29 appointed a special prosecutor to investigate allegations that Hamilton Jordan, the White House chief of staff, used the illegal drug cocaine during a 1978 visit to a New York discotheque.

Jordan had repeatedly denied the charges.

The prosecutor also was be authorized to look into the possible perjury by witnesses during the Justice Department's preliminary investigation of the allegations.

The process leading to the prosecutor's appointment was established by the 1978 Ethics in Government Act (PL 95-521). *(Details, 1978 Almanac p. 840)*

Named as special prosecutor in the case was Arthur H. Christy, a former U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York. Christy, a private attorney in New York, was known for his prosecutions of organized crime figures Frank Costello for income tax evasion and Vito Genovese on narcotics charges.

Civiletti Recommendation

Appointment of a prosecutor had been recommended by Attorney General Benjamin R. Civiletti in a Nov. 19 report to the special three-judge panel.

Allegations that Jordan had used cocaine were brought to light in mid-August, as two owners of New York's Studio 54 discotheque tried to strike a plea bargain in a case in which they were accused of income tax evasion and other federal offenses.

The owners, Steven Rubell and Ian Schrager, were indicted June 28. They pleaded guilty Nov. 2 to tax evasion charges after the Justice Department agreed to drop other charges.

In his report to the court panel, Civiletti dismissed as "frivolous" three additional allegations that Jordan used cocaine on occasions other than at the New York club. He said his preliminary investigation of the alleged New York incident showed that "the matter is so unsubstantiated that prosecution is not warranted."

But he added, "I am unable to find that this matter is 'so unsubstantiated that no further investigation . . . is warranted.' " The 1978 ethics law required that a special prosecutor be appointed unless the attorney general determined that the charges did not warrant further investigation. ▮

Newsroom Search Bills

Congress failed to act in 1979 on several bills designed to protect journalists and others from surprise police searches.

A 1978 U.S. Supreme Court decision allowing surprise police searches of newsrooms brought howls of protest from the media and spawned the introduction of 14 bills in Congress in 1979 to overturn the ruling.

Despite the initial furor over the issue, however, Congress was slow to move on the bills and no action was expected until 1980.

House Judiciary's Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties and the Administration of Justice had 10 bills pending before it and held five days of hearings on the issue.

Senate Judiciary's Constitution Subcommittee did not hold hearings during 1979 on the four search bills pending before it, although it held hearings on the general subject of newsroom searches in 1978, following the Supreme Court decision. Three of the bills pending before the Senate panel were identical to bills under consideration by the House.

Background

The case that generated the controversy was the Supreme Court's 5-3 decision in *Zurcher v. Stanford Daily*. The court ruled that the Constitution did not prevent police officers from obtaining warrants and then making unannounced searches of newspaper offices for evidence, even though neither the newspaper nor its reporters were suspected of criminal activity. *(1978 Almanac p. 5-A)*

The case stemmed from a 1971 police search of the Stanford University student newspaper office. Armed with a warrant, police searched the office for unpublished photographs they believed would help identify the assailants of police officers injured at a demonstration.

After the police search — which turned up no unpublished photographs — the student newspaper sued the local district attorney and the law officers, arguing that a subpoena should have been issued instead of a search warrant.

Subpoenas, unlike search warrants, can be challenged in court before they are enforced.

A federal district court and appeals court agreed with the newspaper's position, but the Supreme Court did not.

Pending Bills

While all of the bills introduced in 1979 would overturn the *Stanford* decision, they differed in scope.

Legislation proposed by the Carter administration (S 855 and HR 3486) would bar federal, state and local law enforcement officers from obtaining search warrants to seize notes, photographs and tapes of newspapers and broadcast reporters, academicians and novelists — except in two circumstances. One would be when authorities wanted a hostage note or other material whose seizure might prevent harm to a person. The other would be when the journalist or writer was suspected of a crime.

Law enforcement officials still would be able to use subpoenas to obtain information covered in the bill.

Identical bills introduced by Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md., and Rep. Tom Railsback, R-Ill. (S 115 — HR 4181), and bills by Sens. Birch Bayh, D-Ind., (S 1790) and Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., (S 1816) were considerably broader than the administration's proposal.

These bills generally would protect all "third parties" not suspected of a crime — not just those covered by the

First Amendment. Under the four bills, an individual subjected to an unlawful search would be allowed to sue the government and officials responsible for the search.

The Mathias-Railsback bill would prohibit a state, federal or local government official from obtaining a warrant to search for and seize any matter in the possession or control of a person not suspected of a crime related to a proposed warrant. A person not suspected of a crime would be required to produce material only after an adversary hearing, and then only if the information were not privileged under state, local or federal law. A warrant could be issued to seize contraband or evidence likely to be destroyed.

The Nelson bill would require a subpoena to be used if law enforcement authorities wanted information belonging to persons not suspected of a crime. A warrant would be allowed if there were reason to believe the matter were contraband, would be destroyed or hidden, or if the identity of the person controlling the material could not be determined "within a reasonable time with reasonble effort."

The Bayh bill, the most detailed of the four, would protect three categories of persons — those engaged in First Amendment activity, those covered by a privilege under local, state or federal law, and all others who would not be covered in the first two categories. This third section of Bayh's bill was termed "Citizens Privacy Protection," and would prohibit local, state or federal government officials from searching or seizing "any documentary or work product materials possessed by any person."

Searches in all three categories would be allowed if the person were suspected of a crime, or to prevent the death or injury of another person or the possible destruction of the materials. A search would also be allowed where the person holding the material failed to obey a court order directing compliance with a subpoena.

The Courts and Civil Liberties Subcommittee narrowed its focus to three bills for markup, the Mathias-Railsback bill, the administration bill and Bayh's bill.

"The subcommittee seems to want to expand beyond press protection only, but how far? That's the question," said Timothy A. Boggs, a committee staff member.

The National Association of Attorneys General and the National District Attorneys Association criticized all three proposals during hearings on the bills.

Six press groups, the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Psychiatric Association called for protection of all persons not suspected of a crime. ▮

National Security

By the end of 1979 — six years after the last U.S. troops had left Vietnam — a senior official in the Carter White House could tell reporters that the "post-Vietnam syndrome" finally was at an end. He meant that Washington's hesitancy in the mid-1970s to commit American arms and military personnel in overseas trouble spots had been replaced by expressions of willingness by senior officials to protect U.S. interests around the world and to speed up spending on defense. Several developments in 1979 were the basis for that assessment:

- After several years in which Congress had cut heavily — up to several billion dollars — from the annual Pentagon budget requests, the fiscal 1980 budget of $131 billion was cut by less than $1 billion.
- Carter's 1976 election campaign pledge to cut defense spending by $5 billion to $7 billion had been supplanted by a plan to boost defense appropriations in fiscal 1981-85 by nearly 5 percent each year. The Senate already had approved the plan in principle, and it appeared headed for easy congressional approval in 1980.
- Another campaign promise — a pledge to withdraw U.S. ground troops from South Korea — was shelved in 1979, two years after he announced the proposal. And an early goal of the Carter administration, that of reaching an agreement with Moscow on demilitarizing the Indian Ocean, was abandoned soon after the Iranian revolution in February. After Iranian militants seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in November, large U.S. naval groups were stationed in the Arabian Sea, and after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in December, administration officials announced that such deployments would continue on a nearly permanent basis.

Authority for U.S. planes and warships to use certain bases was being sought in several countries in the Persian Gulf region and in northern Africa. And during the December preview of his fiscal 1981 budget, Carter announced a $10 billion plan to organize and equip a sizable U.S. force to move into countries in these regions at the request of local governments.

Initially, some Pentagon officials named this plan "the Unilateral Corps." But that was changed to the less politically sensitive "Rapid Deployment Force."

- While the administration persisted through the summer and fall in its effort to win Senate approval of the SALT II strategic arms control treaty, two weapons that arms controllers long had fought — a mobile ICBM and a long-range nuclear missile that could strike Soviet territory from Western Europe — were by mid-year solidly ensconced in Carter's future defense plans.

The administration's campaign for the treaty had, at least since mid-1978, been based almost entirely on what it said were the military advantages that would accrue to the United States under the pact. But even in that context, SALT II was to join the list of unrealized Carter defense goals in December after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan.

Collapse of Detente

The collapse of the post-Vietnam aversion to U.S. military intervention and of the accompanying skepticism toward Pentagon spending requests had been building for nearly six years.

The first Soviet move to seriously jar anti-Vietnam War sentiment in the United States was Moscow's assistance to Arab forces attacking Israel in October 1973. And in 1975, tens of thousands of Moscow supported Cuban troops intervened to support one side in the Angolan civil war. But "no more Vietnams" sentiment in Congress still was strong enough that both houses voted overwhelmingly against covert CIA assistance to the other Angolan factions in that war.

Iranian militants' seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in November provided a powerful emotional boost to a growing perception of U.S. impotence. And widespread turmoil on both sides of the oil-rich Persian Gulf — some of it apparently Soviet sponsored — put the idea of U.S. military intervention in a new context.

The final blow to the "post-Vietnam syndrome" on defense policy came with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

SALT Debate

Despite the impact of Soviet actions on U.S. attitudes, it was the administration's effort to win Senate approval of the SALT II treaty that led Congress and the administration to take a markedly harder line on defense issues than had been the case in the first two years of Carter's presidency.

Whether out of conviction or political expediency, the administration in 1978 had begun to tout SALT II almost exclusively on the argument that military advantages would accrue to the United States if the pact were ratified.

Far from arguing that the treaty would have a stabilizing effect on the broader range of U.S.-Soviet relations — a central premise of the Nixon administration's campaign to win congressional approval of SALT I — the Carter administration insisted that the treaty be weighed only in terms of its impact on the military balance between the two nuclear superpowers. Considered on those terms, SALT backers argued, the treaty clearly was advantageous to the United States since it limited several ongoing Soviet weapons programs while imposing no significant limits on any planned U.S. programs.

So the Senate hearings on SALT II became a forum for reviewing the U.S.-Soviet military balance and assessing the adequacy of Carter administration military plans. The relatively small number of senators who were conversant on detailed military issues set the direction of the hearings. Defense Secretary Harold Brown and the Joint Chiefs of Staff carried the brunt of the administration's defense of the treaty.

The Joint Chiefs were firm in their endorsement of SALT II. But because the widespread interest in the treaty,

the chiefs had a much wider audience than usual for their warnings of gaps in the U.S. arsenal. And defense hard-liners seized on the chiefs' recommendation of a 5 percent annual real increase in defense spending as evidence that the the 3 percent increase proposed by Carter early in the year was inadequate.

By mid-December, Carter was committed to a 5 percent growth rate for fiscal 1981 and similar increases over each of the four succeeding years. What little Senate opposition there was to that policy was swamped by the public and congressional perception of U.S. military weakness in the face of the disclosure in late August that Soviet troops were stationed in Cuba.

The Soviet troops issue soon was overshadowed by an even more disquieting event: the seizure in November by Iranian militants of the U.S. Embassy staff in Tehran.

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December, it became a question of how much would be added to the next year's (fiscal 1981) already ballooning defense budget request of $158.2 billion. And SALT II was left in the debris: On Jan. 4, 1980, Carter asked the Senate to defer indefinitely further action on the pact.

The Weapons Battles

The tough congressional stance on defense was evident in the two major weapons issues that were fought out in Congress in 1979: Whether to build another giant nuclear-powered aircraft carrier and whether to go ahead with a new, mobile intercontinental missile, the M-X.

Nuclear Carrier. The carrier fight provided the most dramatic evidence of the changing congressional mood. In 1978 Congress had added the $2 billion nuclear carrier to that year's defense procurement bill; Carter had vetoed the bill to kill the project; and the House had sustained the veto by a comfortable margin. In 1979, by contrast, when Carter requested a smaller ($1.6 billion) oil-powered ship, both houses voted by margins much larger than two-to-one in favor of the more expensive nuclear version.

The second time around, the big carrier appeared to have picked up political support because of the generally increased congressional concern over the U.S.-Soviet military balance. But another important factor was the nuclear carrier's versatility that was dramatized by Carter's decision to deploy naval forces in the Indian Ocean early in 1979 after the Iranian revolution.

M-X Missile. Although there was no dramatic reversal of congressional votes, the M-X fight was an even more severe blow to the arms controllers who had supported Carter's early positions on nuclear weaponry. M-X long had been anathema to these groups for three reasons:

- Since the new ICBM would be mobile, arms controllers feared it would make much more difficult the inspection techniques that would be needed to verify such weapons in any future strategic arms limitation agreement.
- The mobile missiles were needed only if one accepted a scenario of a relatively "limited" nuclear war in which Soviet missiles would be used to attack U.S. missiles. Arms controllers argued that plans for "limited" nuclear conflict could only increase the risk of a war, which inevitiably would escalate out of control.
- The 10 large, accurate warheads that would be carried by each M-X would make the force theoretically capable of decimating the Soviet ICBM force in the same way the Soviet missiles would be able to destroy existing U.S. ICBMs. Critics worried that in a crisis, Russian planners might feel that if they did not use their missiles, they would be destroyed in a U.S. attack.

But by mid-1978 the Carter administration was committed to preserving the option for a new, mobile ICBM in SALT II. And in mid-1979 the president decided to proceed with the mobile M-X missile.

In late 1979 large majorities in both houses of Congress voted against efforts to kill the program, which it was estimated would cost more than $30 billion ultimately.

—By Pat Towell

World Events End Chances for SALT Approval

President Carter Jan. 3, 1980, asked Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., to defer Senate action on the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II), which occupied the attention of the administration, the Senate leadership and the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees for much of 1979.

In the most direct sense, the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II) was a casualty of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan Dec. 27.

But both SALT II supporters and opponents agreed that Carter's decision simply reflected the political reality that the pact would not even come close to winning the necessary two-thirds Senate majority in the wake of the Soviet invasion and other international developments.

The president nevertheless continued to express support for SALT on its merits, reiterating that it did not depend on Soviet trust. He delayed, but did not formally withdraw, the treaty.

Administration Arguments

Through nearly six months of Senate committee action on the treaty, beginning July 8, the administration had presented three parallel lines of argument for the treaty:

- Most closely linked to the argument made for SALT I in the early 1970s was the view that partial limits on expansion of the strategic arms race (within which limits the race would continue) were of such vital importance that they should be considered on their own merits, regardless of various ongoing U.S-Soviet conflicts.
- Beginning about 1978 the administration had argued that the treaty would be militarily advantageous to the United States since it would halt some Soviet arms programs and at the same time not interfere with planned U.S. weapons programs.
- Late in 1979 SALT backers concentrated on forging a coalition in the Senate that included some conservatives. The strategy was to win the votes of some key Senate conservatives for SALT by agreeing to support substantially higher defense spending.

On the other side, treaty opponents had mounted a two-pronged attack against the pact since mid-1977.

They maintained that SALT II would not prevent a substantial Soviet strategic arms buildup, and thus would leave Moscow capable theoretically of destroying the entire U.S. intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) force by 1982.

On broader, political grounds, they argued that the treaty would be dangerous to the United States by anesthetizing Congress and the public to the need for increases in U.S. defense efforts at home and for American resistance to Soviet adventurism abroad.

Soviet activity in Africa and the Middle East through Cuban and East German proxies lent force to the anti-treaty arguments. And those developments undermined the possibility of a political deal to save the treaty: By late 1979 it became evident that hard-liners in Congress would get all the extra defense funds they wanted without having to trade their votes on the SALT II treaty.

Even before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, it was questionable whether the treaty could win the support of two-thirds of the Senate because of Carter's inability to win support from two quarters:

- The administration's insistence that SALT II was militarily advantageous to the United States never was endorsed by some of the Democrats having strong reputations as defense specialists. Armed Services Chairman John C. Stennis, Miss., hinted that he eventually would support the pact during his panel's hearings on the treaty. But Henry M. Jackson, Wash., kept up an unremitting drumfire of attack against SALT. Sam Nunn, Ga. — widely regarded as a key senator, whose decision would sway many of his Southern colleagues — witheld his endorsement, even after the administration met Nunn's demand for a long-term commitment to real annual increases of almost 5 percent in the Pentagon budget.
- GOP support had been crucial to President Carter's major legislative victories on foreign affairs and defense issues — most notably in the 1978 battle over the Panama Canal treaties. Republican liberals such as Jacob K. Javits, N.Y., and Charles H. Percy, Ill. were among the strongest Senate supporters of SALT II. But Senate Minority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., Tenn., announced his unequivocal opposition to the treaty in its present form in June, and the administration was unable to find any other conservative Republican to lend a bipartisan flavor to the treaty.

Treaty Debate: Prologue

On May 9 the U.S. and Soviet governments announced that agreement had been reached on all but a handful of technical provisions of SALT II and that the treaty would be signed by President Carter and Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev at a summit meeting in Vienna June 15-18.

But public debate in the United States over the treaty's basic provisions had been underway for nearly two years at that point. And on the eve of Carter's departure for the summit meeting, Jackson, in his sharpest attack up to that point on Carter's defense policy, expressed the views of many hard-liners against the treaty: It was inequitable, allowing Moscow significant military advantages; and it was politically dangerous, signaling U.S. "appeasement" and distracting Americans from the Soviet threat.

Jackson's charge of appeasement was made in a June 12 speech before the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, a Democratic group favoring a more forceful U.S. stand against Soviet foreign policy.

Jackson listed the treaty as one more in a long list of gratuitous concessions made to Moscow by an administration that was too eager to maintain the appearance of U.S.-Soviet accord. "In the areas of trade and technology, the right to emigrate and strategic arms, the signs of appeasement are all too evident."

In the seven years since SALT I, he said, Moscow had built up a vast strategic arsenal and developed significant numerical advantages in conventional arms as well. "And all of this is taking place in a misty atmosphere of amiability and good fellowship under a policy of detente. This is appeasement," said Jackson. *(SALT chronology, p. 430)*

Among the treaty's inequities, he argued, was the Soviet Union's retention of more than 300 launchers for very large missiles (SS-18s) that the United States could not match, and the exclusion of the Soviet Backfire bomber from the treaty's limits. But he lamented that many Americans dismissed the military strength of the United States

vis-a-vis the Soviet Union as irrelevant in an age of nuclear war.

"The real danger ahead is the Kremlin's political use of strategic superiority as an umbrella under which to pursue a series of probes to expand Soviet power and weaken the position of the United States. . . . Can we bargain confidently and stubbornly, can we stand up to Soviet blackmail, can we hold our ground in crisis situations from a position of relative military weakness?"

Vienna Summit

The administration had been moving for months to counter any impression that its arms control policy was founded on assumptions of Soviet trust and goodwill. And the effort reached new heights during the Vienna summit. In contrast to the three Nixon-Brezhnev summits, there were fewer champagne toasts. And there were no routine agreements on peripheral subjects, signed in great ceremony to convey the appearance of broad agreement on issues. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 398, 1975 Almanac p. 379, 1972 Almanac p. 589)*

To the contrary, administration spokesmen kept the press informed of sharp exchanges between the two leaders over spiraling defense budgets and Soviet support of Cuban military intervention in the developing world. Both issues had helped undermine U.S. political support for the 1972-style detente. The SALT process had lost much of its allure to congressional moderates, who claimed they had accepted SALT I as part of a package deal that promised a ban on Soviet global adventurism.

Besides highlighting Carter's challenges to Brezhnev on issues of power politics, administration sources also told the press that Carter had wrested concessions from a reluctant Brezhnev on the issue of the Soviet Backfire bomber. Included in the SALT documents was a separate agreement in which the Soviet Union agreed to limit the production and the operations of the Backfire bomber.

To hard-line critics of Carter's defense policies, the plane had become one symbol of the treaty's technical inequities. Although it could strike U.S. targets under certain conditions, the Backfire was not included in the treaty limits because Moscow insisted it would be used only to attack targets in Eurasia and neighboring seas.

Moscow agreed to a separate statement to freeze the plane's production rate and limit its use in ways that might threaten U.S. targets. But congressional hard-liners dismissed the separate agreement as vacuous and unenforceable.

Treaty Highlights

The treaty set basic numerical limits on intercontinental missiles and bombers that would be in effect until 1985:

- Of 2,250 weapons allowed each country (after 1982), no more than 1,320 could be missiles with multiple warheads (MIRVs) or bombers carrying long-range cruise missiles.
- Of those 1,320, no more than 1,200 could be missiles.
- Of those 1,200, no more than 820 could be land-based missiles (ICBMs).

Additional restrictions on mobile land-based missiles and cruise missiles launched from land or ships would run only until 1982. *(Guide to SALT terms, p. 7-A)*

Joint Session Appearance

In a June 18 speech presenting the treaty to a joint session of Congress, Carter emphasized the treaty's constraints on Soviet strategic programs. "Under this new treaty, the Soviet Union will be held to a third fewer strategic missile launchers and bombers by 1985 than they would have simply by continuing to build at their present rate," he said. *(Texts, speech, p. 5-A; treaty, p. 8-A)*

On the other hand, he said, the agreement allowed development of the new mobile, M-X intercontinental missile. The Pentagon maintained that a movable missile was necessary to thwart an all-out Soviet missile attack, which in a few years would be able to wipe out the existing stationary U.S. missile launchers, acccording to U.S. defense officials. And the treaty ensured that the M-X would be militarily viable. "Without the SALT II limits," Carter said, "the Soviet Union could build so many [missile] warheads that any land-based system, fixed or mobile, could be jeopardized."

Senate Opposition

Sen. Baker announced his opposition to SALT II at a press conference June 27 where he charged that the treaty would give "substantial strategic superiority" to the Soviet Union. He would oppose it, he said, unless the Carter administration and the Soviet government demonstrated a willingness to consider "reasonable amendments." He said there had to be a formal Soviet acknowledgement of the U.S. right to deploy the M-X missile and make improvements in the treaty's verification procedures.

Baker said the treaty should be revised to equalize the nuclear firepower allowed each country. The Russians should be required to reduce their force of SS-18 missiles, for which the United States had no counterpart.

For months press reports had speculated that Baker's ultimate support would be as vital to Senate approval of the SALT II treaty as it had been to the 1978 Panama Canal treaties. And SALT II supporters were dismayed at the extent of his attack on the treaty.

Senate Committee Hearings

Foreign Relations

SALT and the Soviet Threat. As the Foreign Relations Committee's hearings on the arms limitation treaty got underway in July, administration witnesses and their hard-line critics agreed that the Soviet threat to U.S. strategic forces would increase during the six-year life of the treaty.

But the administration argued that SALT had not caused the increase in Soviet power, and that the treaty would materially aid Pentagon plans to counter that threat.

The administration presented its case on July 9, the first day of the hearings. The focus of its arguments was evident immediately. Although Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance was the leadoff witness, Defense Secretary Harold Brown spoke twice as long. And even in Vance's prepared statement, nine of the 21 pages dealt with the military advantages of SALT II.

Brown stressed repeatedly that the treaty was no substitute for beefed up strategic arms programs. Partly on the basis of a Carter commitment to increase defense spending, the Joint Chiefs of Staff endorsed the treaty as a "modest but useful" contribution to U.S. security, in the words of Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. David C. Jones. Its principal danger, they warned, was that the treaty would "tranquilize" the country and prevent it from paying for the strategic arms buildup that the treaty would permit.

Highlights of SALT II Agreement*

Provision	Effect on Announced U.S. Programs	Effect on Reported Soviet Programs
Treaty (effective through 1985)		
Ceiling of 2,250 on all strategic launchers (effective as of 1982 — limit is 2,400 until then).	By 1982 must scrap 33 older B-52 bombers not in service. Ceiling does not cover 66 FB-111 bombers.	By 1982 must scrap 254 older launchers. Backfire bomber limited in separate agreement to about 300 by 1985.
Ceiling of 820 on ICBMs with MIRVed warheads. No increase in number of MIRV warheads on current ICBM types.	None. Limits MIRVed warheads to 1,650.	If ICBM production continues at rate of about 100-150 annually, replacement of older missiles with new MIRVed ICBMs would have to stop about 1982. Limits MIRVed warheads to 6,176.
Ceiling of 1,200 on ICBMs and SLBMs with MIRVed warheads.	None until the 7th Trident submarine goes to sea (1984-85). Then, it would force retirement of Minuteman IIIs or Poseidons to allow for more Tridents.	Apparently would prevent replacing SSN-6 sea-based missile with MIRVed missile.
Ceiling of 1,320 on all MIRVed missiles plus bombers carrying cruise missiles with a range of 600km. or more.	Could limit to 120 the number of B-52s modified to carry cruise missiles unless MIRVed missiles are retired to allow more. The 120th plane would be modified at about the same time the treaty expired.	None. Soviet cruise missiles are not limited because of short ranges. These include one type transported by air, one-to-a-bomber, and about 300 of another type carried on 45 older submarines.
No new land-based launchers for missiles larger than the Soviet SS-19.	None. M-X is projected to be slightly smaller than the SS-19. U.S. will have no missiles the size of the Soviet SS-18.	Limits SS-18 launchers to 314.
Only one new ICBM tested or deployed that differs from current types by more than 5% in size, weight or throw-weight.	None. Only M-X is under development.	Allows only one of four new missiles under development (unless others do not exceed 5% threshold).
No circumvention of treaty through third countries.	Administration says no bar to planned cooperation with NATO. Critics say would bar U.S. aid to develop NATO cruise missile.	None. No Soviet allies have ever been given nuclear launchers with a range of more than a few hundred miles.
No coding of radioed missile test data that would be needed to verify compliance with treaty.	None.	Administration and critics disagree over whether U.S. can determine whether coded data is needed.
Protocol (effective through 1981)		
No test or deployment of mobile ICBM.	None. M-X would not be tested until after 1982.	Prohibits deployment of mobile version of SS-16, testing of which has been completed.
No deployment of ground-launched or sea-launched cruise missiles with more than a 600km. range.	Would delay by a year or less deployment of a 1,600km.-range cruise missile to offset Soviet SS-20 missile.	None. Does not cover 5,000km.-range SS-20 missiles.

* A guide to SALT terms, p. 7-A.

During the committee's first week of hearings, the administration's military-oriented arguments, coupled with the Joint Chiefs' endorsement, placed at a disadvantage the committee's declared treaty opponents, none of whom had a reputation as a military authority.

But the pro-treaty momentum was checked by the forceful attack July 12 of former SALT negotiator retired Lt. Gen. Edwin L. Rowny. Rowny had represented the Joint Chiefs on the U.S. SALT II team during the entire period of the negotiations. He retired from the Army June 30 because of his objections to the final form of the treaty.

Strategic Buildup. Brown and Vance rejected a key arms control premise by declaring that the United States could not allow the Soviet Union to have an advantage in ICBMs. Because of its large number of accurate ICBM warheads, the Soviet Union by about 1982 would be able to destroy approximately 90 percent of the 1,054 U.S. land-based missiles in a surprise attack, they maintained.

For more than a decade, U.S. arms controllers had ridiculed this scenario, pointing out that even after such a strike, the United States could destroy Soviet society with thousands of nuclear warheads launched from submarines.

But Brown and Vance told the Foreign Relations Committee that the United States had to maintain "essential equivalence" with Moscow. It needed forces that could destroy protected military targets, such as intercontinental missiles in underground silos.

If the Russians were able to destroy U.S. military targets, they argued, Soviet decision-makers might be emboldened. In the event that an international crisis got out of hand, they might be able to destroy U.S. military targets while holding American cities hostage to prevent U.S. retaliation. American officials would become more hesitant to defend U.S. interests against Soviet pressure tactics.

"Essential equivalence" depended on the U.S. land-based missile force, the administration officials agreed. If those missiles became vulnerable to Soviet attack, other weapons would be relied on to destroy armored Soviet military targets, according to Brown:

- For a few years after 1982, B-52 bombers would play that role. Soviet defenses could not cope with the plane's radar-jamming equipment, Brown said. And he quoted the assessment of bomber chief Gen. Richard Ellis that in case of a war, 75 percent of the bombers would reach their targets.
- By the time Russian radar could cope with the B-52s, they no longer would have to penetrate Soviet defenses because each plane would carry a dozen long-range cruise missiles that could destroy protected military targets.
- And by the late 1980s, when Soviet defenses might be ready to deal with a massed attack of hundreds of hard-to-find cruise missiles, the mobile M-X missile would be replacing existing U.S. ICBMs, which could be launched only from fixed launchers.

But former SALT negotiators Paul Nitze and Rowny insisted that intercontinental missiles were uniquely suited to offset the Soviet missile threat. Bombers and cruise missiles that would take hours to reach their targets would not suffice. It was most important to protect the current fleet of U.S. missiles, they stressed, and thus they seemed to dismiss as irrelevant any SALT treaty that did not halt the increase in Soviet missile warheads.

And Nitze contended that since the SALT treaty would ban testing of mobile intercontinental missiles through 1981, it would bar any interim solution to the missile vulnerability problem. He recommended that existing Minuteman missiles be adapted for use on mobile launchers. The Pentagon had dismissed this proposal because conversion would take almost as long as development of the M-X missile.

Warhead Limit. One provision of SALT II was essential to the eventual success of M-X, according to the administration witnesses: the so-called "fractionation cap" that limited the number of warheads that could be carried on each type of Soviet missile. Since there was a ceiling on the total number of Soviet missiles, the treaty indirectly set a ceiling on the number of Soviet missile warheads.

Protecting the 200 M-X missiles from a Soviet attack depended on their being dispersed among several thousand possible launch sites. Since Moscow could not be sure which of the sites held the real missiles, it would have to attack all of the several thousand sites to destroy the missile force. If there were more sites than Russia had warheads, an attack could not wipe out the U.S. missile force.

According to this argument, the fractionation cap limited the number of M-X launch sites that would be needed to make a Soviet attack futile. Without that cap, the huge Soviet SS-18 missile could carry 20 or 30 warheads — each aimed at a different target — instead of the 10 allowed by the treaty.

But Nitze and Rowny argued this would not protect M-X since SALT II would expire at the end of 1985, before the first M-Xs were deployed. Within less than a year of the treaty's expiration, Rowny said, the Russians could add enough warheads to their SS-18s to swamp the M-X system.

But Brown insisted that since Russia could not test missiles with more than the permitted number of warheads under SALT II, the effects of the cap would outlast the treaty.

Defense Costs. Catching up with the Soviet strategic pace would not come cheap. Secretary Brown estimated that if the treaty were approved, annual spending on strategic arms would have to rise about 25 percent to $12.5 billion (before inflation). Without the treaty, it would cost $15 billion annually to offset an unrestrained Soviet program, he said.

Brown's figures were inadequate, according to the Joint Chiefs. They recommended a real annual increase of 5 percent in the defense budget, covering conventional forces as well as strategic arms.

And Nitze insisted that even if SALT II were ratified, spending on strategic arms would have to go up to $15 billion annually.

Looming over the debate about whether the country would accept that burden were memories of 1972. That year, the Joint Chiefs of Staff endorsed the SALT I agreements on condition that the Nixon administration begin a vigorous program to develop various strategic weapons that were allowed by those pacts. But the planned strategic buildup was a casualty of some defense contractors' problems and the declining defense budgets (in constant dollars) during the mid-1970s.

Thus in 1979 the Joint Chiefs were "seriously concerned lest the nation repeat earlier mistakes through complacency, an incomplete understanding of the Soviet buildup, or an insufficient appreciation of the broader consequences," Gen. Jones told the committee.

Nitze predicted that another arms control treaty would have the same narcotizing effect as the 1972 agreements. After ratification of SALT II, "I think it unlikely that the executive branch would request or Congress appropriate"

funds beyond the $12 billion annually in Brown's program. And that program, he insisted, was not enough.

But Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., demurred: "I don't see why we shouldn't take little steps [toward arms control] so long as we believe that we have the will and volition" to keep up U.S. strength. And he told Nitze: "On the issue of our minds and wills, we're just as expert as you."

Javits left no one in doubt as to his own state of mind on the need for a beefed up U.S. strategic weapons program: "We've been goofing off for 10 years," he said. "We haven't put our money where our mouth is."

And despite his warning about the precedent of 1972, Gen. Jones told the panel he did not think it was necessary to kill the treaty in order to shock the public into supporting increased defense spending: "I sense a change in the belief of the American public as to the adequacy of our defense," he said.

Another Treaty? Gen. Rowny repeatedly predicted that if the treaty were rejected, another SALT pact, more favorable to U.S. interests, eventually could be negotiated. He based that judgment on his six and one-half years as a member of the U.S. SALT negotiating team.

The Soviet Union would try to score some propaganda points if the treaty were rejected, he conceded. But he maintained that Moscow wanted a SALT treaty too badly to refuse indefinitely to reopen the negotiations. The Russians wanted the international prestige that would come from formally being recognized as a superpower equal to the United States, he said. And its economy already was stretched to the limit with its present defense programs.

The final treaty turned out badly, in Rowny's view, because it was poorly negotiated by the United States. "We gave concession after concession," he lamented, partly because U.S. negotiators did not understand the difference between the American and Russian temperaments.

"We're problem-solvers and they're competitors, adversaries," he said. As a result, U.S. negotiators looked for even-handed agreements, while their Russian counterparts sought unilateral advantages at every turn.

But beside the problem of cultural differences, Rowny said, the United States simply had used bad negotiating tactics "in our zeal for the treaty and in telegraphing that zeal" to the Russians.

The proper course would have been to hang tough on the March 1977 U.S. proposal to cut severely the number of ICBM warheads, thus increasing the stability of the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance. Instead, according to Rowny, "the Soviet Union bluffed, and we folded. . . . My own view is, they were trying the new [U.S.] president."

Administration witnesses simply maintained that SALT II was the best one that could have been negotiated. The Russians rejected the March 1977 proposal because it was too radical a break from the 1974 Ford-Brezhnev agreement at Vladivostok that set much less restrictive limits than SALT II ultimately contained.

Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, bristled at Rowny's certainty that a more favorable bargain could have been struck. "If for 10 years we've been represented by people who overlooked an obviously better bargain in terms of our national security, that's a serious charge," he told Rowny.

Liberal Critics. On the opening day of the hearings, Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., repeated his earlier warnings that he might oppose the treaty on grounds that it did not prevent vast increases in U.S. and Soviet nuclear arms.

He acknowledged that it probably was taken for granted that he could not really bring himself to vote against an arms control treaty. But he insisted that he was one of four or five senators who "will not vote for the illusion of arms control."

McGovern cited the administration commitment to build M-X as evidence that Carter was risking future arms control efforts in order to win hard-line support for SALT II. But he never conditioned his support for the treaty on setting substantially lower arms levels or canceling the M-X. He demanded only that the treaty leave "a realistic hope" of future weapons reductions.

During the hearings, the administration suggested that M-X would make it safer to negotiate future reductions in the number of intercontinental missiles. According to this argument, if the number of missiles were cut while the number of launch sites remained unchanged, the remaining M-Xs would be no more vulnerable to attack than the larger M-X force.

Reservations Weighed. Church indicated early in the hearings that the committee would adopt a reservation or understanding formally conditioning Senate approval of SALT II on various documents that technically were not contained in the treaty. These included the Agreed Statements and Common Understandings that explained in detail the meaning of various treaty provisions, and the separate Soviet agreement to limit Backfire bomber production.

Non-circumvention Clause. Article 12 of the treaty provided that neither country would circumvent the treaty through another country.

Critics warned that this could be construed as preventing U.S. transfer of some weapons technology to its NATO allies. The issue was more than theoretical since the United Kingdom and France reportedly had expressed keen interest in the possibility of modernizing their strategic forces with cruise missiles.

The administration denied that traditional U.S. dealings with its allies would be constrained by the provision, arguing that it had established this principle during the negotiations by explicitly rejecting a treaty provision to bar the transfer of treaty-controlled weapons technology.

Secretary Brown told the committee that even Trident submarine missiles could be transferred to Britain under SALT II. But he cautioned that aside from SALT considerations, the United States would decide on a case-by-case basis whether to provide any given weapon to an ally.

But several committee members, insisted that if the U.S. position were not explicitly linked to the treaty, SALT could drive a wedge between the United States and its allies. So they appeared inclined to support a reservation explicitly linking the administration's interpretation to ratification of the treaty.

Administration witnesses and Joint Chiefs Chairman Jones warned against any reservation stating that allied cooperation on one or two specific types of weapons would be consistent with the treaty. This could be construed to limit allowable cooperation to only the specified items.

"Where the decision is up to the United States, we ought to be able to make the decision without having to negotiate with the Soviet Union," said Jones.

But Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md., was dubious about that line of reasoning: "If [the Russians] can argue from a different view of the language, we've sown seeds for a future conflict."

M-X Missile. The administration had announced that for protection against a Soviet missile attack, each of the

M-X missiles to be deployed in the late 1980s would be shuttled at random among 20 to 40 hidden launch sites. But it maintained that the new U.S. missile should be designed so that if Moscow deployed a similar weapon, the United States would be able to count the number of actual missiles in the field.

Partly for that reason, the administration pushed the Air Force to develop an M-X plan in which each missile would rest horizontally in a launch site so that reconnaissance satellites could, under certain conditions, count the number of missiles deployed. The Air Force originally had proposed a cheaper, vertical launch version in which the missile would be ready for instant firing. Nitze and others had insisted that the vertical model was far superior, but that Moscow claimed it would violate SALT II. Nitze and Sen. Richard Stone, D-Fla., appeared to agree that the treaty should be amended to ensure that a vertical M-X was permitted.

Protocol Extension. A portion of the treaty — referred to as a protocol — barred through 1981 deployment (though not testing) of ground- and sea-launched cruise missiles with a range of more than 600 kilometers. The Pentagon was developing a nuclear-tipped, ground-launched cruise missile with a range of nearly 2,000 kilometers.

Supporters of this project maintained that since cruise missiles could reach Soviet territory from Western Europe, they would offset Soviet long-range missiles that could strike anywhere in Western Europe from Soviet bases.

However, treaty critics warned that since SALT III negotiations presumably would be under way when the protocol limits formally expired at the end of 1981, the United States would be under intense diplomatic and domestic political pressure to continue observing the limits, thus killing off the cruise missile project.

But Secretary Vance told the committee July 10 that any future limitation of U.S. weapons intended for use in Europe should be linked to limits on Soviet systems having the same purpose.

Nevertheless, several senators proposed that the ratification resolution be amended to stipulate that any presidential decision to extend the protocol limits would require approval by a two-thirds majority of the Senate.

Arms Reduction Proposals. Complaints that the treaty would allow both countries — but especially Russia — to substantially increase their strategic arsenals had emerged as a central theme of the foreign policy hard-liners' attack on the pact, with Jesse Helms, R-N.C., referring to SALT II as an "arms escalation treaty."

Noting that arms control liberals, including McGovern, were unhappy with the treaty for the same reason, Helms, an avowed Senate conservative, observed that this Helms-McGovern coalition represented "the widest political wingspread in history."

As the panel began its second week of hearings on the treaty July 16, McGovern challenged Helms and like-minded critics of the treaty to join him in support of an arms reduction amendment to the resolution of ratification. His amendment called for immediate negotiations for a SALT III agreement with the goals of:

- Establishing a one-year moratorium on the development or deployment of new strategic weapons.
- Requiring each country to reduce its strategic arsenals by 10 percent a year for three years.
- Scheduling a summit meeting after three years to consider whether these or similar annual percentage reductions should continue.

These were to be goals for bilateral negotiation, not unilateral U.S. commitments.

The same day, arms controller Jeremy Stone endorsed McGovern's proposal for an annual reduction in strategic arms by some fixed percentage. Stone, executive secretary of the Federation of American Scientists, had published a similar proposal in December 1978.

Stone emphasized that reductions were most essential in the arsenals of MIRVed ICBMs — the biggest threat to each country's strategic forces.

But although McGovern referred to an "emerging consensus" of arms controllers and hard-liners, the coalition appeared to have little basis for cohesion except to force a substantial reduction in Soviet strategic arms. The most obvious difference was that McGovern seemed prepared to support SALT II, however reluctantly, if it were linked to a commitment to seek reductions in SALT III. Helms and his allies favored killing the pending treaty or demanding that it be renegotiated at a lower level of armaments.

Military Support and Opposition. On July 17 five retired generals and admirals testified before Foreign Relations, splitting 3-2 in favor of the SALT treaty. Opposing the pact were two admirals who had been members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff when SALT I was negotiated in 1972: Thomas H. Moorer, at that time the chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., then the chief of naval operations.

Moorer charged that the treaty had several technical flaws, such as omitting the Soviet Backfire bomber from the treaty limitations; allowing Moscow to keep its 300 or so large SS-18 missiles; and omitting from the treaty a medium-range Soviet missile, called the SS-20. This missile was a threat to Western Europe, but SALT critics charged that it could reach the United States under some circumstances.

And Moorer argued that ratification of SALT II would be diplomatically disastrous for the United States. Already, he said, the country projects an image of "full retrenchment," unwilling and unable to protect itself or its allies. The treaty would "freeze the United States into a position of inferiority and simply serve to augment and reinforce this growing perception which other countries — friend and foe — have of us," he warned.

Zumwalt added that the pact would formally acknowledge Soviet nuclear superiority. And he charged that the Carter administration unilaterally had abandoned several weapons supported by preceding administrations, thus undermining U.S. ability to bargain with Moscow.

He proposed that the Senate return the treaty to Carter to be renegotiated with substantially lower weapons ceilings that would reduce the Soviet missile threat to U.S. ICBMs. And at the same time, he said, the Senate should demand that the president submit to Congress a new strategic arms program that would redress the military imbalance.

The position of the other three retired officers was similar to that taken by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in their July 11 appearance before the committee. They lamented various facets of the treaty, such as exclusion of the Backfire from the ceilings. And they supported the pact principally because it would give the United States time to catch up to the Soviets on weaponry. But the three were unswerving in their insistence that the United States would be far better off with SALT II than without it.

"The treaty offers a time-out, as it were, for us to catch up," said Adm. Isaac C. Kidd, former commander of U.S.

forces in the Atlantic. If the United States rejected the equivalent weapons ceilings set by the treaty, he continued, "Heaven forbid we be so naive as to assume that when we start building up to redress the imbalance, they would be accommodating good chaps and allow this to occur."

Similar appraisals were offered by Gen. Russell E. Dougherty, former chief of the Strategic Air Command, and Adm. Noel Gayler, former chief of the National Security Agency.

Dougherty and Kidd warned that Moscow's support of the treaty might rest on an assumption that the United States would not carry out the military options open to it under SALT II.

Independent Judgments? Challenged to explain the current Joint Chiefs endorsement of the treaty, Zumwalt warned the committee not to underestimate "the awesome, raw, naked power of the presidency to bring people into line." The Joint Chiefs understood, he said, that their future budget requests depended on "whether you are a member of the team."

Zumwalt suggested they had been told by the president that the White House and Congress would not support them if they called for a much larger defense buildup without the treaty.

"I have never suffered any of the pressures described," Gayler later told the committee. And he urged the panel to respect the professional military advice of "the people who have the present responsibility." Dougherty concurred.

Verification. On July 18 Defense Secretary Brown laid out the administration's view that Soviet compliance with SALT II could be "adequately" verified by U.S. intelligence. Soviet weapons development was a continuing process that U.S. intelligence agencies monitored at many stages, he said. The design, flight testing, crew training and deployment of a Soviet ICBM took years, and U.S. intelligence never had failed to detect such a missile before it began flight tests, according to Brown.

"We have missed some data on some [missile test] firings, and will in the future," he conceded. "But we have not erred significantly in our assessment of any Soviet ICBM."

From this perspective, Brown argued, the only Soviet violations that could go undetected would be so minor as to be of no military significance.

Brown admitted the loss of U.S. intelligence sites in Iran had cut off information on certain kinds of information about Soviet missile tests. But the whole panoply of intelligence gathering provided enough information to catch any militarily significant Soviet violations.

Brown was sharply challenged by John Glenn, D-Ohio, who for nearly two years had been concentrating on SALT verification issues. Glenn's questions implied a much more literal view of the meaning of "verification," — that Washington should be confident that U.S. monitors would catch any individual Soviet violation of certain provisions of the treaty.

Soviet Loophole? The disagreement between Glenn and Brown was highlighted by committee queries about a *New York Times* story alleging that Moscow could deploy more than one new ICBM during the life of the treaty, despite a provision to the contrary.

The treaty defined a "new type" ICBM as one differing from any existing missile by more than 5 percent in length, width, total weight or throw-weight (the weight of the nuclear warheads that could be carried by a missile). Unnamed government sources reportedly had maintained that the 5 percent threshold would allow the Soviets to build substantially improved missiles under the guise of modified versions of existing missiles.

But Brown told the panel that changes of that magnitude would be militarily insignificant. Improvements in the reliability and accuracy of existing missiles would not be barred by SALT II.

Changes in missile size large enough to be significant could be detected, he argued. And the treaty's most important limitations on Soviet missile improvements were the freeze on the number of warheads per missile and the weight of each warhead, Brown added. These, he insisted, could be monitored with a high degree of accuracy.

But Glenn dismissed as "weasel words" Brown's distinction between "militarily significant" violations and other violations.

The limitation on new missile types would be unverifiable because U.S. monitors could not measure changes of 5 percent in the specified missile characteristics, Glenn maintained. "We will not even come close to 5 percent," he said, adding that for some characteristics the error would be 50 to 75 percent.

According to several reports, the loss of the Iranian monitoring sites had severely reduced U.S. ability to monitor the weight of Soviet test missiles during launching.

Armed Services Hearings

Senate Armed Services began its hearings on the treaty July 22.

Defense Secretary Brown and the Joint Chiefs held fast to the basic administration case for the treaty during three days (July 22-24) of intense questioning by the panel. A much larger number of senators on this panel was hostile to the treaty than was the case on Foreign Relations.

SALT II would constrain the Soviet strategic buildup, which was threatening the U.S. nuclear arsenal, according to Brown and the JCS. And it would pose practically no obstacles to going forward with U.S. defense programs, such as development of the M-X missile, they said.

Both of those arguments were challenged by some committee members. The limitations on Soviet weaponry were only nominal, they said, because Moscow would have no reason to exceed the very high weapons ceilings permitted by the pact.

And treaty critics argued that U.S. weapons still in the testing stage would be feeble bargaining chips when U.S. and Soviet negotiators began work on SALT III.

Joint Chiefs' Support. Air Force Gen. David C. Jones, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, repeated to the Armed Services panel the group's collective judgment that the treaty was a "modest but useful step," meriting the senators' support. But it was essential that the pact be accompanied by a national commitment to boost military spending substantially to offset the ongoing Soviet military buildup.

Jones reiterated the Chiefs' principal fear: That approval of an arms control treaty would so "tranquilize" the American public that political support would not be forthcoming for the necessary U.S. defense effort.

The service chiefs expressed the same view with individual differences in emphasis. Jones' insistence that U.S. strategic modernization not be paid for by cutting back on conventional forces was heavily underscored by the Army and Navy chiefs, Gen. Edward C. Meyer and Adm. Thomas B. Hayward.

And Meyer was more convinced than his colleagues that the treaty was technically inequitable: It allowed Mos-

cow, but not the United States, to have very large missiles, and it excluded the Soviet Backfire bomber from the weapons limits. But he added that these items did not pose a risk serious enough to undermine his concurrence in the JCS endorsement of the treaty.

Jones and Hayward agreed that Russia would surpass the United States in most measures of strategic nuclear power in the early 1980s, with or without the treaty. But Jones stressed that Moscow could not necessarily use this advantage for political blackmail of the United States or its allies if U.S. countermeasures were pursued vigorously.

In a somewhat convoluted argument, Jones insisted the chiefs' support for the pact was not a *quid pro quo* for Carter's commitment to build the M-X missile. M-X and other new U.S. strategic programs would be needed to offset Soviet advances with or without SALT II, he insisted.

In a series of exchanges, Jones did not say clearly whether or not he would back the treaty if he knew that the various new strategic arms programs — particularly M-X — eventually would be canceled. But he told John Warner, R-Va., that he would oppose the pact if he were convinced it had caused so much public euphoria over the adequacy of U.S. defenses as to jeopardize the new arms programs.

Chiefs Challenged. Treaty critics raised two issues that implied a suspicion that the Joint Chiefs' SALT II endorsement had political overtones.

In a sharp exchange, Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., charged that Gen. Jones had failed to secure any new strategic weapons programs during his four years as Air Force chief of staff and his one year as chairman of the JSC. How then could he be confident that the country would back the new programs that the JCS said the country needed alongside SALT II? Jackson also suggested that Brown had not fought hard enough to save the B-1 bomber program canceled by President Carter in June 1977. *(B-1 background, 1978 Almanac p. 57)*

Jones countered that he was satisfied that Carter was irreversibly committed to the M-X missile. And he maintained that he had fought down to the wire to save the B-1. What some congressional hard-liners had demanded, he implied, was that he challenge Carter's B-1 decision in the political arena. "I do not think that the American public and the Congress want us in the military to go out and work with the Congress back-door or go out and make speeches that something is wrong," said Jones.

Jackson and Jones had clashed over the question of Jones' political independence in almost the same terms during the May 1978 hearings on Jones' nomination as Joint Chiefs chairman.

Joint Chiefs' Memos. In a related issue, Jackson and William S. Cohen, R-Maine, demanded that the Pentagon turn over to the Armed Services Committee the memos and position papers in which the Joint Chiefs discussed the U.S. negotiating position during the SALT II negotiations. "We're concerned about what your position was a while back and what it is today," Jackson told Jones.

In a letter to committee Chairman John C. Stennis, D-Miss., Defense Secretary Brown declined to turn over the documents, but assured the panel that the information they contained would be made available to the committee.

Jones backed Brown's position saying that, if the decision were his, he would not turn over the documents for fear of establishing a precedent. He warned that Pentagon staff officers might be inhibited from giving frank advice to military and civilian superiors if they thought that their memos might wind up in the public domain.

But Cohen insisted that the unique importance of the SALT II treaty made this an extraordinary case justifying congressional access to the staff papers. "You have to ask the right questions in order to get the right answers," he said. "And you have to have the right information to ask the right questions."

ICBM Vulnerability. Conceding a point argued by hard-line critics of U.S. strategic policy for more than a decade, Brown agreed with John Tower, R-Texas, that Moscow would gain an unacceptable degree of political leverage if its nuclear forces were perceived as being superior to U.S. forces.

But Brown maintained that even though U.S. land-based missiles would be vulnerable to Soviet attack, U.S. submarine missiles could retaliate against important Soviet military targets that were not armored, such as airfields, supply depots and troop concentrations. And heavily armored Soviet missile silos and headquarters could be destroyed by accurate cruise missiles that U.S. bombers would be carrying by 1982, he said.

Brown also said that since a hypothetical Soviet first strike likely would kill 10 million Americans, U.S. retaliation logically should include some Soviet urban areas.

But Tower and other treaty opponents insisted that only ICBMs, which could immediately destroy the remaining Soviet missiles, would deter a Soviet first strike. Cruise missiles would not be an adequate deterrent, Tower said, since it would take more than 10 hours for them to hit a Soviet target. Meanwhile, Moscow would have ample time to threaten to use its remaining missiles on U.S. cities if U.S. bombers came within range of Soviet targets, he argued.

SALT III Bargaining. Cohen argued that the treaty would leave U.S. negotiators at a terrible disadvantage in negotiating SALT III. New U.S. weapons programs that the administration intended to develop to offset Soviet advances would not be in production for years. And the M-X missile would not even be deployed by the time SALT II expired.

On the other hand, Soviet ICBM production lines would be in full swing. And their huge SS-18 missiles could carry two or three times the 10 warheads allowed by SALT II. These facts gave Moscow great potential to "breakout" of the SALT II limitations when the pact expired at the end of 1985, Cohen warned. Soviet negotiators could use that threat to extract U.S. concessions to limit the number or range of the new U.S. weapons systems in SALT III, thus maintaining the Soviet advantages likely to emerge during the 1980s.

The basic response of treaty supporters was that SALT II neither caused nor cured the problem, but it would put useful restraints on Moscow's buildup. "I'd rather, if they're going to 20 or 30 [warheads for the Soviet SS-18 missiles], that they do it in 1985 rather than in 1980," Gen. Jones told Cohen.

And treaty supporters insisted U.S. negotiators could counter a Soviet threat of a breakout with Moscow's fear of the U.S. air-launched cruise missile that would be in mass production by 1981.

An underlying issue was how rapidly Moscow could exploit its breakout potential. The administration's position was that it would take years for Moscow to deploy any militarily significant new weapon, such as a 20-warhead version of the SS-18 missile. Since SALT II would ban even flight tests of such a weapon until 1985, the pact would effectively block a Soviet breakout until U.S. deployment of M-X was well under way.

Nunn Demands. The administration's campaign for SALT II suffered its first serious setback since the signing of the treaty at the Vienna summit in June with the announcement by Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., on July 25 that he could not support the treaty unless President Carter personally tried to mobilize public support for a substantial increase in defense spending.

Although he avoided conditioning his eventual support for the treaty on any specific military program, he indicated that an annual increase in defense spending of 4-5 percent beyond the cost of inflation was absolutely essential.

According to government projections of inflation, this would require nearly $7 billion more in new Pentagon budget authority in fiscal 1981 than the $147 billion previously projected by the administration.

Nunn's announcement was significant because he had acquired a formidable reputation as an analyst of military issues. It was assumed that many moderate and conservative senators would take their cue on SALT from him. More fundamentally, the announcement move was important because Nunn had tried to broaden the framework in which members judged the treaty.

Treaty supporters had been emphasizing that SALT II would permit a U.S. strategic arms buildup to offset the continuing improvements in the Soviet's strategic arsenal. Hard-line critics on the Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees had failed to expose any obvious flaw in the administration's line.

But Nunn insisted the real issue was whether the Carter administration would come forth with a big enough defense budget to pay for all the new programs that the treaty allowed.

Citing Pentagon data, Nunn pointed out that the administration's defense spending requests for fiscal 1979 and 1980 would fall far short of the promised real annual increase of 3 percent.

He noted that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had testified that the Pentagon budgets projected over the next five years would fall short of what they said was needed. This was because the prospect of an arms control treaty was lulling the administration into a false sense of confidence about the adequacy of the U.S. defense effort, he charged.

"The Carter administration is not yet prepared to compete effectively with the Soviet Union in the military arena," he concluded. "In the absence of such a commitment and of a demonstrated willingness of this administration to make the hard political choices necessary to undertake and sustain that commitment, I could not, in good conscience, support ratification of the SALT II treaty."

Nunn emphasized that he might eventually support the pact if the administration showed evidence of mending its ways. And he expressed the hope that the Senate could find such evidence in the fiscal 1981 defense budget and the associated five-year budget projections before voting on SALT II.

Nunn suggested that Carter's personal commitment to mobilize the American public to offset the Soviet military buildup would be more important than a commitment to a specific dollar figure.

Haig Testimony. Former NATO commander Gen. Alexander Haig told Armed Services July 26 the Senate should defer action on SALT II. The treaty could be assessed only after a consensus had been reached on a U.S. nuclear strategy that did not rely exclusively on being able to devastate Soviet cities, he said.

Secretary Brown had said repeatedly during the hearings that Soviet military targets were included in U.S. bombing plans in the event of war. But Haig said some administration officials seemed inclined to a "cities-only" strategy and that the country might be driven to that as the result of the increasing vulnerability of U.S. ICBMs.

After U.S. strategy was agreed on, Haig said, the Senate should demand evidence that the administration would recommend the budget increases to pay for the new weapons that were needed. Only then, he concluded, could the Senate reasonably decide what to do about SALT II's flaws.

Haig told the panel it should take no comfort from the endorsements given SALT II by other NATO governments. The allies were motivated in part, he said, by fear that if the treaty were not ratified and a U.S.-Soviet confrontation ensued, "the American leadership will perhaps not be up to the challenge and [the Europeans] will pay the price."

The shift of the military balance toward Moscow, and U.S. failure to challenge Soviet intervention in Africa and Asia, bred among the allies "a fear that a post-Vietnam America no longer has the will to stand up to the Soviet Union," Haig said.

Under questioning by John C. Culver, D-Iowa, and Gary Hart, D-Colo., Haig repeatedly refused to say whether U.S. security would be better off with or without SALT II. That was not a relevant question, he insisted, until the administration made basic commitments about future nuclear strategy and weapons production.

"I don't like to come in here and pop off to leading questions," said Haig.

But that response appeared unsatisfactory to committee Chairman Stennis, whose questions during the hearings seemed to indicate a basic sympathy for the treaty. "One hundred people here have got to make a decision, and they can't vote maybe," he told Haig. "They've got to say yes or no."

Defense Spending Increase. In the fourth week of Senate hearings on SALT II, the spotlight swung back to the Foreign Relations Committee. Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said July 31 he would support ratification, but only after the Carter administration and Congress undertook a formal commitment to significantly boost defense spending in the next five years.

Kissinger hedged his support for SALT II on three conditions:

- An "obligatory commitment" binding the president and Congress to a beefed-up defense program that would redress what Kissinger called an "ominous tilt" in the U.S.-Soviet military balance.
- Amendments to the resolution of ratification — which would not require renegotiation of the treaty with Moscow — specifying what the administration insisted was its interpretation of the treaty.
- Legislative action that would link continuation of the SALT process after SALT II with Soviet good behavior in the underdeveloped world.

Five-Year Defense Plan. Kissinger urged the Senate to defer action on the treaty until the administration had formally proposed and Congress approved a defense budget that would mark the start of a new five-year plan to keep pace with the Soviet defense effort.

Kissinger noted that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had maintained that a real growth rate of 4 to 5 percent above the cost of inflation would be needed. If the administration supported a smaller increase, it must be able to prove that a lower level would suffice, he said.

Among the programs Kissinger said were needed were: 1) an M-X missile that could destroy armored Soviet missile launchers; 2) anti-bomber defenses that could protect the United States against the Soviet Backfire bomber; 3) long-range nuclear missiles that could hit Russia from Western Europe; 4) a strengthened Navy; and 5) improved air and sea transport that could carry U.S. forces overseas during international conflicts.

Kissinger suggested that the White House propose a supplemental defense budget for fiscal 1980 that would mark a first step toward implementing the new defense plan.

If no such program were available in September, Kissinger said, the Senate should defer action on SALT II until the fiscal 1981 budget was submitted.

Several committee members insisted that no presidential or congressional action could bind the action of future presidents or Congresses. But Kissinger maintained that a formal undertaking jointly endorsed by President Carter and Congress inevitably would weigh heavily on future U.S. policy-makers.

Treaty Reservations. Kissinger explicitly rejected amendments to the treaty or to the resolution of ratification that would require renegotiation. But he recommended the following reservations or understandings:

1. Language specifically prohibiting any extension of the 600 km.-range limit on ground-launched and sea-launched cruise missiles after the 1981 expiration date.

Those missiles were to be based in Western Europe to offset Soviet nuclear missiles that could strike targets on the continent. Kissinger stipulated that future limits on the number or range of cruise missiles would have to be linked to corresponding limits on Soviet weapons aimed at Europe.

2. Language stipulating that SALT III would have to allow the United States to possess any weapon the Soviet Union was permitted to have.

Kissinger agreed with the SALT critics' contention that it was important to establish the principle of complete equity in future treaties.

3. Language specifying that the treaty's clause barring circumvention of the treaty through third countries would not interfere with U.S. military cooperation with its NATO allies. Kissinger said no U.S. military technology should be barred to the NATO allies by the treaty.

Soviet Adventurism. On the broader issue of U.S.-Soviet relations, Kissinger said the Senate should use the process of ratifying SALT II to put Moscow on notice that the SALT process would come to an end unless Soviet global adventurism were greatly restrained.

The Soviet actions that Kissinger insisted must be limited included: "Soviet supply or encouragement of intervention by proxy military forces; the use of Soviet forces on the territory of its allies, such as Cuba, to free Cuban forces to fight in Africa; the support, financing or encouragement by any member of the Warsaw Pact of groups and activities seeking to undermine governments friendly to the United States; or the exacerbation of regional conflicts."

The former secretary of state proposed a modification to the resolution of ratification that would declare that continuation of the SALT process would depend on Soviet restraint in those areas.

Kissinger emphasized the unacceptability of Cuban troops serving as Soviet military proxies in Africa. He did not directly explain what sanctions the United States could impose to prevent that, but he hinted that the United States should assist local forces resisting a Cuban expeditionary force.

Vance Testimony. When Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance appeared before the Armed Services Committee July 30, treaty critics pressed him on several technical military issues on which Vance clearly was not well conversant. In trying to answer their questions, Vance conceded arguments made by opponents that Defense Secretary Harold Brown and other administration witnesses previously had disputed.

Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., attacked the administration's claim that the treaty would significantly hinder Soviet efforts to deploy several new intercontinental missiles currently under development.

Under questioning by Jackson, Vance agreed that SALT would not bar improvements in the engine power, accuracy, reliability, or explosive power of a modified missile. And he conceded under Jackson's questioning that such improvements on existing missiles would be militarily significant.

Culver was forced to make the administration's counterargument against Jackson's position. Culver went through the arguments step-by-step, allowing Vance to agree that the improvements mentioned by Jackson were militarily significant in the abstract, but not in practice because such improvements in the Soviets' already very accurate missiles would not substantially increase the military threat to the United States that already existed.

U.S. Strategy. Vance also lent some corroboration to the critics' claim — vehemently denied by Brown — that the administration was moving toward a nuclear strategy that relied on being able to destroy Soviet cities as a deterrent to Soviet attacks on U.S. interests.

This claim had been repeated throughout the Armed Services hearings by Tower, Kissinger and Haig. It was based on U.S. intelligence estimates that by 1982 the Soviet Union would have enough accurate intercontinental missiles to destroy 90 percent of the U.S. ICBM force in a surprise attack with only a fraction of its own missiles.

According to this argument, the United States then could retaliate only by unleashing submarine-launched missiles at Soviet cities. But since U.S. cities would be hostage to the remaining Soviet missiles, such a U.S. counterstrike would be deterred.

In a confused exchange, Vance appeared in some cases to concede that the administration was planning to rely on an urban annihilation strategy. But in other answers he stood by Brown's earlier testimony that the United States would retain several options for destroying Soviet military targets without wiping out Russian cities, even if the U.S. ICBMs were lost. Brown had argued that U.S. submarine missiles could attack unprotected Soviet military targets, such as airfields and supply depots, and that U.S. bombers with cruise missiles would be able to destroy even the most heavily armored Soviet military targets, including missile silos.

Nunn Letter. After the administration had spent several days indicating its general willingness to go along with Nunn's demand for a substantial defense budget increase, Nunn moved Aug. 2 to pin down the commitment.

In a letter to Carter, Nunn and two anti-treaty irreconcilables, Jackson and Tower, endorsed the Joint Chiefs recommendation of an annual increase in defense spending of 4 to 5 percent, after taking inflation into account. Combined with proper Pentagon management, this would lead to a real growth rate of 12 percent, they said.

Specifically, the three said they wanted Carter to inform Congress after its August recess whether he would submit a supplemental budget request for fiscal 1980 to compensate for higher-than-anticipated levels of inflation. That inflation had cut the promised 3 percent rate of real growth to less than 1 percent.

And they asked Carter to list the levels of new budget authority and outlays he proposed to request for the fiscal 1981 budget and for the following four years. They asked him to specify the inflation rates assumed for each year and the rate of real growth in each of several weapons categories.

Soviet Troops in Cuba. During the Foreign Relations hearings on the SALT treaty in July, Richard Stone, D-Fla., had pressed administration witnesses to comment on rumors that a Russian combat force was present in Cuba. The administration denied there had been any substantial change in the Soviet presence on the island. But on Aug. 29, Committee Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, told reporters that stepped-up surveillance of Cuba confirmed earlier indications — which the administration said had been ambiguous — that a Soviet brigade was present.

Secretary of State Vance said at a Sept. 5 press conference the force numbered 2,000 to 3,000 men and about 40 tanks. He noted that the force had no airlift or sealift capability that would enable it to attack any other Latin American country. And he said the force had been in Cuba since the mid-1970s, with parts of it there perhaps since the early 1970s.

The brigade's presence was "a very serious matter" running contrary to "long-held American policies," Vance said. He emphasized that it did not pose a direct threat to the United States as had the Russian nuclear missiles sent to Cuba in 1962. But he said: "I will not be satisfied with maintenance of the status quo."

On the other hand, he said that Senate hearings on the SALT treaty should continue since the pact was "a matter of fundamental importance."

In a brief televised statement Sept. 7, Carter reiterated Vance's position that the status quo was "unacceptable." And he stressed the need for "calm and a sense of proportion" in formulating the U.S. response. U.S. negotiations with Moscow over the issue would require "firm diplomacy, not panic and not exaggeration," he said, and the public and Congress could aid the process by staying "calm and steady."

Vance had hinted Sept. 5 that the administration might be satisfied with Soviet actions demonstrating that the force was not a threat to U.S. interests. Administration sources cited various roles for which the brigade might be intended, including the training of Cuban troops and guarding Soviet intelligence installations in Cuba.

But Tower expressed confidence that the treaty could not be ratified unless the Soviet combat troops were removed from Cuba.

And Church, a treaty backer, concurred in Tower's assessment. "There is no likelihood whatever that the Senate would ratify the SALT treaty as long as Russian combat troops remain in Cuba," he told reporters Sept. 5. The Cuba issue seemed to derive much of its political potency from the fact that Church, a SALT supporter who had disclosed the discovery, stated flatly that the treaty could not be ratified while the combat troops remained.

Other SALT supporters bitterly accused Church of grandstanding on the issue to better his political standing in Idaho, where conservatives had mounted a vigorous challenge to his 1980 re-election. But Church insisted he was simply assessing political realities in the Senate.

Opponents Gain the Momentum. Majority Leader Byrd indicated that he might not call up the treaty until November or December if necessary to ensure that the Cuba issue was defused. "I do not want the treaty brought up in an atmosphere in which peripheral matters or emotions may discolor the judgment of the Senate," he said Sept. 6.

The issue gave SALT opponents a dramatic opportunity to drive home three basic arguments:

- Moscow apparently had gone to great lengths to conceal the fact that their military establishment in Cuba — which was known to U.S. intelligence to number several thousand advisers — included a unit that was organized, equipped and trained to perform combat missions. This demonstrated the Russians' fundamental untrustworthiness, SALT foes maintained. They insisted that Moscow's behavior violated a basic premise of the SALT negotiations, namely, that both superpowers would be more secure if each knew what the other was up to.
- The Soviet brigade had been operating at least since the mid-1970s, according to administration officials (although former President Ford and officials of his administration insisted there had been no Soviet combat unit in Cuba through 1976). This called into question the quality of U.S. intelligence, SALT critics maintained. If it could not detect a Soviet unit 90 miles from Key West, Fla., how could U.S. intelligence detect relatively subtle improvements in Soviet missiles test-fired in the middle of Asia, they asked.
- Even more important, according to SALT opponents, was that the deployment demonstrated the unremitting Soviet campaign for political advantage through the use of its military forces. It was that basic premise of Soviet policy that made it dangerous to sign SALT II. Because the treaty did not preclude emerging Soviet advantages in strategic weaponry, it would in effect ratify Soviet military superiority and enhance Moscow's worldwide political leverage, they argued.

Direct U.S.-Soviet negotiations over the status of the Russian combat unit in Cuba began Sept. 10 when Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin returned to Washington from Moscow. But several meetings apparently produced no significant developments at week's end. And the difficulty of reaching a solution that would ensure that neither government lost face was increased by an editorial in *Pravda* the day the talks began that insisted the Soviet unit was in Cuba at Havana's invitation and that Washington had no right to object to the situation.

Press reports Sept. 13 quoted an unnamed U.S. official as speculating that the Soviet brigade's mission might be merely to train Cuban forces. Sen. Jackson and other hardliners denounced this as a trial balloon to test congressional acceptance of the continued presence in Cuba of the Soviet force under another label, but administration spokesmen denied the charge.

Defense Budget Debate. While the Cuba issue festered, the Senate on Sept. 18, had demonstrated dramatically its shift toward a harder line on military issues. By a vote of 55-42 it supported a 5 percent growth rate in defense spending for fiscal 1981-82. This was unexpected since the Budget Committee previously had voted down even a 3 percent increase for fiscal 1980. The vote was on the second budget resolution (S Con Res 36). *(Second budget resolution, Economic Policy chapter)*

During the debate, Nunn detailed a long list of equipment deficiencies facing U.S. conventional war units in Europe and at sea. He argued that a 3 percent increase would not pay for the Pentagon's announced plans to remedy these shortages. "Even a 5 percent growth will not be sufficient," he said, "but if we make this commitment [5 percent increase for each of fiscal 1980-82] and fulfill it we will begin making great strides."

Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., who proposed the increase, had already declared his opposition to the SALT treaty. But he articulated the challenge presented to Carter by Nunn: "The country's defenses are so weakened and imperiled that. . . only a president can reawaken it and give the proper leadership. It is very difficult [to do so] through senators and amendments," Hollings said.

Brown Testimony. On Sept. 19 Defense Secretary Harold Brown told Senate Foreign Relations the administration's defense plans for the next five years could be paid for with annual increases after inflation of 3 percent in defense spending. But this assumed the Pentagon would realize certain management efficiencies and that NATO members would better coordinate their programs.

But Brown indicated that Carter was not permanently wedded to the 3 percent figure. "The door is open in fiscal 1981-82 for more than 3 percent [growth]. . . if we conclude it is needed to carry out the major objectives of the five-year plan," he said. Brown also repeated the administration's case that SALT II was militarily advantageous to the United States, apart from the issue of defense spending.

If the treaty were rejected and the defense budget increased by 5 percent, the added 2 percent would be absorbed by the additional strategic weapons that would be needed to offset the Soviet arms program, he warned.

In any case, Brown maintained, there was no way the administration could give the Senate an advance peek at its fiscal 1981 defense plans before the federal budget was submitted in January.

But Nunn insisted that if the administration hoped to win his support for SALT, it would have to demonstrate in its fiscal 1981 request a commitment to higher defense spending. "I am adamant against voting affirmatively on SALT before I see [the 1981 budget]," he said.

SALT Delay Proposed. In addition to Byrd's statement earlier in the month that he would not schedule debate on the treaty until the Cuba issue was defused, Sen. Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., Sept. 17 introduced a resolution to block Senate consideration until a select committee reported to the Senate by March 1, 1980, on long-term U.S. defense needs.

Bellmon stressed he was not convinced that more defense spending was the answer to declining U.S. global influence, a position he demonstrated the next day by voting against the Hollings 5 percent spending amendment. But he insisted the Senate could not judge SALT II until it could assess future U.S. security needs.

With Sen. Baker firmly against the treaty, Bellmon was one of the moderate-conservative Republicans the administration had counted on to give bipartisan backing.

Carter Cuba Speech. Carter addressed the nation on the Cuba issue Oct. 1. His earlier remark about the unacceptability of the status quo set an objective by which hard-liners could criticize his speech. *(Text, p. 61-E)*

Far from removing its troops or any of its equipment from Cuba, Moscow apparently would not even agree to any cosmetic moves that Carter could claim represented a change in the makeup of the brigade.

The only progress announced by Carter affecting the Russian troops there was Moscow's assurance that the existing character of the force would not be changed. The effect of this commitment was less than clear since the Soviets insisted the unit was merely a training force.

But Carter said the United States would insist, based on the understanding with the Russians, that the brigade not be enlarged nor its equipment improved, and that it not be provided with air and sea transport that would make it a threat to other Caribbean countries.

On every other count, Carter's speech was a flat rejection of hard-liners' demands that Carter strike back at Moscow, especially by subordinating SALT II to the U.S.-Soviet political competition. He announced various military moves aimed directly at the Caribbean military balance. But none had any concrete effect except to demonstrate the existing U.S. capability to intervene in the region.

To counter the broader problem of Cuban military forces acting as Soviet proxies in the Third World, he announced that there would be an increased emphasis on plans to beef up airlift and sealift capability to carry U.S. combat forces to global trouble spots. This emphasis already was a part of the administration's long-term defense plan.

He called the Soviet brigade a political challenge to the United States. But he insisted that the two superpowers' common interest in fending off the threat of a nuclear war was far more important than the two nations' continuing competition for political advantage around the globe. From that perspective, he argued, "the greatest danger to American security tonight is certainly not the two or three thousand Soviet troops in Cuba. . . . [It] is the breakdown of a common effort to preserve the peace and the ultimate threat of a nuclear war."

There were few surprises in Senate reaction to Carter's speech. Baker and Tower dismissed Carter's reaction to the Soviet troops as inadequate even by his own declared statement that the status quo was unacceptable. "The surest way to nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union is to convince them, by design or otherwise, that America no longer has the will for leadership; that we no longer will define our vital interests in the Caribbean or the Western Hemisphere," said Baker. He and Tower maintained that the treaty could not be ratified at present.

But treaty supporters said the speech had put the Cuba episode in its proper perspective — separate from, and less important than, SALT II. In almost daily debates over the Carter speech, SALT backers became progressively more combative in belittling the significance of the Soviet brigade: "It is time to put aside childish things and childish ways," said Alan Cranston, D-Calif.

On Oct. 4 Senate Democratic leaders moved dramatically to refocus the SALT II treaty debate on the question of U.S. long-range defense spending plans and away from the issue of the Soviet troops in Cuba.

Majority Leader Byrd and Cranston demanded that the administration inform Congress by early November of its defense spending plans for the next five years. Byrd announced that he would not begin floor debate on SALT II until the spending projections were in the hands of senators.

In a letter to Defense Secretary Brown on Oct. 5, Byrd in effect gave the administration a deadline of early November to produce a preview of the fiscal 1981 Pentagon budget request and of the five-year spending projection.

Foreign Relations Markup

First Week: Radical Changes Rejected

The pattern for the Foreign Relations Committee's consideration of the treaty was set in the first week of markup. The committee without difficulty turned back amendments by treaty critics that would have altered the terms of the treaty itself rather than the Senate resolution of ratification. Treaty backers argued that amendments to the treaty's provisions would have killed SALT II since they required renegotiation of the treaty.

However, the committee approved amendments setting guidelines for the executive branch on implementing SALT II. Several of these changes, offered by John Glenn, D-Ohio, were based on U.S. efforts during the SALT II negotiations to define more specifically practices that would be violations of the treaty. Russian negotiators had either rejected such efforts or had not responded to them.

SALT critics had charged the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations with laxity in enforcing Soviet compliance with the first arms control treaty (SALT I).

The so-called "killer amendments" rejected during the first week were:

- By Minority Leader Baker, to require the Soviet Backfire bomber to be counted in the treaty's numerical limits. The committee vote was 5-10.
- By Richard Stone, D-Fla., to require the Soviet Union to include within its numerical limits about 60 missiles presently deployed on old, diesel-powered submarines. The vote was 6-9.

Backfire Bomber. Baker's Backfire amendment, which had been drafted by Jake Garn, R-Utah, proposed to make the Russian bomber count as three-fourths of a strategic weapon under the treaty's numerical ceiling on such weapons. (The treaty would allow each country 2,250 strategic weapons, beginning in 1982.)

The Soviets already had about 200 Backfire bombers, and, at the production rate of 30 per year agreed to by Brezhnev, Moscow would have another 210 planes by 1985 when the treaty was set to expire.

Baker's amendment also required the United States to count as one-half of a nuclear weapon its 66 FB-111 medium bombers, which were not counted under the treaty.

Baker observed that there was no doubt that Backfires could "reach and destroy any city in the United States" and were, therefore, strategic weapons regardless of Soviet claims to the contrary. "We must stick to a definition of 'strategic' that is linked to capabilities," he argued.

Church and Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., argued that if that criterion were used, Moscow could demand limits on several hundred U.S. fighter-bombers based in Europe or on aircraft carriers that were capable of striking Soviet targets.

"The real issue is whether we want to return SALT II to the negotiating table on such an issue," Church said. Biden warned that the treaty would be delayed for years in that case and that, in the meantime, the European NATO members would refuse to approve modernization of the alliance's nuclear weapons. But Baker insisted the Backfire issue was too important for the Senate to be swayed by that consideration. "It would be a lifetime, a century, a millennium-type mistake" to ratify a SALT treaty giving Russia strategic superiority, he maintained.

Submarine Issue. Stone's amendment would have counted the missile launchers currently used on the type of Soviet submarines NATO called the Golf class, a diesel-powered ship launched in the early 1960s that carry three to five missiles having a range of less than 800 miles. It was a sunken submarine of this type that the CIA secretly attempted to salvage from the Pacific Ocean floor in 1974. Stone pointed out that the SALT ceilings covered missiles of the same type if carried by nuclear-powered submarines.

The administration argued that the Golf-class submarines were stationed in the Western Pacific and the Baltic Sea regions, where they were aimed at targets adjacent to Soviet territory. They would be a relatively small and inefficient addition to the striking power of Moscow's large fleet of nuclear-powered missile submarines, U.S. officials maintained.

Stone retorted that the ships could be a much greater danger to the United States if they were refueled in Cuba, where a Golf-class vessel docked once in 1972 and again in 1974. But the administration countered that Moscow could not supply missile submarines from Cuba without violating the 1962 and 1970 U.S.-Soviet agreements not to base offensive weapons in Cuba.

Baker and other treaty critics protested that the majority's viewpoint barred any meaningful change in the treaty. And Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., charged that the panel's pro-SALT majority was, in its review of the treaty, performing a charade by approving merely cosmetic changes.

Amendments Approved. But the committee majority, led by Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, and Jacob K. Javits, N.Y., ranking committee Republican, insisted that the amendments they had offered to the resolution of ratification — rather than to the treaty text — should relieve the most serious doubts of treaty skeptics.

Some of these changes made legally explicit the positions the administration had insisted Moscow already accepted. And they required Moscow's explicit concurrence, the majority pointed out.

Other changes backed by the committee leadership instructed the executive branch how to implement certain parts of the treaty. The committee first adopted three amendments stipulating that the documents accompanying the SALT treaty had the same binding force as the treaty text.

Legal Status Defined. The first Church-Javits amendment stipulated that the document containing SALT II's "Agreed Statements and Common Understandings," which was signed at the same time as the treaty, had the same force as the treaty. (This document defined certain terms used in the treaty and interpreted the treaty's application to certain specific weapons deployed by the two countries.) In the terminology used by the Foreign Relations Committee during the markup, this was a "Category 3" amendment — it required formal concurrence by the Soviet government. The amendment was adopted 14-0.

Backfire Bomber. The second Church-Javits amendment — also in Category 3 — specified that the Soviet Union was legally bound by its written and oral statements to limit the production rate of the Backfire bomber and to restrict improvements in the plane.

In the four years following the 1974 Vladivostok agreement, SALT II negotiations had become stalled partly because Moscow refused to include this bomber in any strategic arms agreement. It insisted the plane was designed for use against land and naval targets in Europe and Asia.

The Backfire, however, could reach U.S. targets under certain circumstances. When the treaty was signed June 18, Soviet President Brezhnev handed Carter a memorandum

saying the Soviet Union would not increase the plane's production rate nor "increase the radius of action of this airplane in such a way as to enable it to strike targets on the territory of the USA."

U.S. intelligence agencies agreed that the Backfire bomber already had enough range to hit U.S. targets. Thus the United States could not accept the Russian assurances without collaborating in Soviet duplicity, according to treaty opponents. But the committee adopted the Church-Javits amendment stating that, whatever the meaning of Moscow's agreement not to increase the plane's range, it should be legally binding. The amendment was adopted 11-3.

SALT I Experience. The Church-Javits amendments specifying that the Soviet Union formally had to approve various understandings arose out of the SALT I experience.

During the negotiations over SALT I, U.S. officials made unilateral statements describing their interpretation of various provisions in ways that would bar certain Soviet weapons programs. The Nixon administration had assured Congress that Moscow concurred because it did not specifically object to the U.S. interpretations. But the Russians subsequently ignored some of the U.S. positions.

In the first few weeks after SALT II was signed, the Carter administration argued against incorporating any Senate amendment that would require Soviet concurrence.

It warned that such changes would invite Moscow to reopen other issues that would be disadvantageous to the United States.

In the face of overwhelming support on the committee for specific Soviet concurrence in some Senate changes, however, the administration reluctantly agreed to ask for Soviet acceptance of some Senate interpretations.

Presidential counsel Lloyd Cutler, the administration's field marshal in the effort to win approval of the treaty, continued to express concern about amendments that would require the United States to inform Moscow of the U.S. interpretation of certain treaty provisions, but would not require Soviet consent. Any formal statement that could be construed as reopening negotiations would risk Soviet countermoves, Cutler warned.

Church was sympathetic to the administration's position. He announced that before the committee took final action on the treaty, he would try to recast some of the amendments so they no longer would require formal communication to the Soviet government.

SALT III Goals. Before turning to the treaty, the committee approved, 11-2, an understanding by George McGovern, D-S.D., providing that the Joint Statement of Principles for subsequent arms control negotiations would be the basis for future negotiations "for the further limitation and reduction of strategic arms."

This document, signed by Carter and Brezhnev at Vienna, set goals for future U.S.-Soviet negotiations, including reductions in the number of strategic arms and qualitative improvements in strategic weapons. The McGovern amendment was in Category 2 — it was to be formally conveyed to the Soviet government, but did not require their assent.

Second Week: Verification Issue

In the second week of the committee's markup of SALT II, the administration's position prevailed over Glenn's on the question of whether U.S. intelligence agencies could adequately verify Soviet compliance with the treaty.

After several hours of secret discussion of U.S. intelligence capabilities, the committee Oct. 25 turned down two Glenn amendments to require Soviet cooperation with U.S. verification efforts.

Glenn argued that because the United States had lost the use of certain intelligence bases in Iran, it no longer could verify Soviet compliance with certain SALT II provisions. The administration position was that U.S. intelligence could catch any Soviet cheating that was so extensive as to give Moscow a militarily significant edge.

Although the committee continued to reject all amendments to the treaty text and those amendments to the resolution of ratification opposed by the administration, two crucial proposals were defeated by one-vote margins (7-8).

One of those was an amendment to the text of the treaty by Minority Leader Baker. It would have allowed the United States to build 308 very large ICBMs to equal the large missile force Moscow was allowed to retain under SALT II.

Baker maintained that the treaty's ostensibly even-handed treatment of the U.S. and Soviet arsenals was vitiated by provisions that had the effect of allowing Moscow to retain weapons denied the United States. In the first week of markup, Baker stressed the Soviet Backfire bomber as one of those; in the second week, the 308 large missiles, the SS-18s.

Verification Standards. Glenn's controversial verification amendments would have:

- Required both the United States and the Soviet Union to continue using radio telemetry to send flight data to earth from their test missiles. This would ensure that U.S. intelligence agencies could monitor Soviet compliance with various treaty limits on changes in the size and power of missiles.
- Required both countries to waive a treaty provision requiring Washington to give the Soviet Union prior notification of all U.S. ICBM test flights, but requiring the Soviet Union to give the United States prior notification of only 5-10 percent of Soviet tests.

The treaty exempted from the prior notification clause all missile tests that did not extend beyond the launching country's borders, a condition covering most Soviet tests.

After rejecting the original Glenn proposals, the committee unanimously adopted weaker amendments addressing the two issues.

After the votes were announced, Glenn reiterated to reporters his often stated position that he could not support SALT II until he was satisfied that the United States had regained its ability to monitor Soviet compliance with the treaty's limits on missile improvements.

Until late February 1979, U.S. intelligence had kept tabs on those aspects of Soviet missile development through huge radio receivers in Iran that monitored flight telemetry from missiles launched from the Soviet test center at Tyuratam, in south central Russia. Those Iranian listening posts were lost when the shah's regime fell in February. Glenn insisted that alternative monitoring facilities be in operation before the Senate approved the treaty.

Like many other aspects of the verification issue, these efforts to replace the Iranian sites were highly secret. The eventual replacement, apparently, was to be a new satellite that could listen in on Soviet missile tests. But this would not be ready until the early 1980s. In the meantime, it was thought that the United States would have to rely on radio receivers carried in aircraft orbiting at high altitudes outside the Soviet border.

A plan to use U-2 planes over Turkey was stalled over the Turkish government's demand that Moscow give its consent.

Glenn's proposal to require each country to give the other data on its test flights would have made the alternative monitoring plans more acceptable since it was impractical to keep a succession of planes in the air 24-hours a day. Soviet notification of test launch times would allow the United States to schedule the reconnaissance flights during the Soviet tests.

NATO Allies, 'Heavy' Missiles. Glenn also proposed one of the two amendments the committee rejected by a single vote. Strenuously opposed by the administration, this proposal would have required Carter to formally notify the Soviet government that the United States considered planned improvements in NATO's nuclear weapons in Europe to be consistent with the treaty.

Glenn's proposal would have been added to an understanding — subsequently adopted unanimously — that simply affirmed that policy without formally communicating it to Moscow.

The administration's other close call during the week was Baker's amendment to give the United States the right under the treaty to convert 308 of its "light" intercontinental ballistics missiles (ICBMs) to "heavy" (more powerful) ICBMs.

Baker conceded that the United States had no plans to build such a missile. (The planned M-X would be a light missile.) But he insisted the United States should demand the right to the same forces as the Soviet Union in order to improve the chances of negotiating a reduction in heavy missiles in SALT III.

Baker preferred to do away with heavy missiles altogether, arguing that it would take just a fraction of them to destroy most of the U.S. land-based missile force. But two other amendments that would have outlawed heavy missiles were rejected on 6-9 votes.

Baker's opponents countered that the U.S. missile force would be vulnerable to Soviet missiles even if the heavy SS-18s were replaced by the smaller SS-19s. And they argued that his amendment surely would kill SALT II, increasing the threat from the Soviet heavy missiles. The treaty limited heavy missiles to a payload of 10 warheads, a fraction of the number they were capable of carrying.

Byrd Support for Treaty. On Oct. 25 Majority Leader Byrd announced his support for the treaty, a move that had been anticipated.

Byrd's announcement contained a comprehensive summary of virtually the whole range of arguments the administration made for the treaty: it would constrain Soviet weapons developments; put no significant limits on U.S. programs; and reassure U.S. allies about the reliability of U.S. leadership.

Byrd for months had emphasized that he was reading every word of the Armed Services and Foreign Relations hearings as well as the Select Intelligence Committee's report on SALT verification. Byrd said he completed this review on Oct. 20 and then decided to announce his position after he received assurances from Carter on two points:

- That the United States would proceed on schedule with deployment of the M-X mobile missile and the long-range ground-launched and sea-launched cruise missiles.

The administration had stressed that the SALT II restrictions on these weapons would expire before they could have any impact on their development. Byrd said he wanted Carter's assurance that those weapons programs would not be delayed in anticipation of future SALT agreements.

- That U.S. intelligence programs would receive enough funding to adequately monitor and analyze Soviet compliance with the treaty.

Third Week: Arms Reduction Issue

Future SALT Goals. Acting in the third week of its markup of the SALT II treaty, the committee unanimously adopted Nov. 1 an amendment drafted by George McGovern, D-S.D., instructing United States negotiators to seek "a sustainable and effective process" of strategic arms reductions in future SALT talks.

The amendment urged the president to "make exceptional efforts" to reduce the number of ICBMs equipped with multiple warheads (MIRVs). It also expressed the "conviction" that the Senate would not approve any SALT III treaty that did not include significant nuclear arms reductions.

McGovern told the committee his vote for SALT II depended on Senate approval of the amendment.

The key to acceptance of the McGovern proposal both by the administration and the Foreign Relations panel seemed to be the flexibility it provided future SALT negotiators.

The amendment asked the administration to seek "continuous year-by-year reductions" in strategic weapons systems, but set out no rigid formula to follow.

This flexibility was in contrast to the position staked out earlier by other members. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., for example, had offered an amendment freezing the superpowers' arsenals at existing levels. SALT II, by contrast, allowed each power to build several hundred new nuclear missiles.

An even harsher position had been taken by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., who offered an amendment terminating SALT II if deep reductions had not been agreed to by the end of 1981.

Majority Whip Alan Cranston, D-Calif., failed in an effort to get Moynihan and McGovern to agree on future strategic arms reduction goals before the completion of the committee's markup. So McGovern went ahead with his more flexible proposal.

In other actions during the third week, the Foreign Relations Committee Oct. 31 accepted four reservations to the treaty:

M-X Missile. An amendment by Baker declaring that regardless of SALT II it was the intention of the United States to go ahead with development of the M-X mobile missile system was adopted 11-1 after being redrafted by a team of administration and committee staff lawyers.

As originally written by Baker, the amendment would have required the approval of the Soviet Union and might have limited U.S. options in developing the M-X missile, according to presidential counsel Cutler. Cutler said that asking Soviet permission for something the U.S. already intended to do was "a losing proposition."

McGovern, who opposed the M-X system altogether, was the only senator to vote against the Baker amendment.

Uncoded Radio Telemetry. An amendment by Glenn, adopted 13-0, instructed the administration to press in future talks for increased Soviet use of uncoded radio telemetry in its missile flight tests. This was intended to make it easier for the United States to verify Soviet compliance with future limitations on the power and accuracy of strategic missiles.

Dr. Strangelove Returns to Television

"Quick cuts of rows of tanks coming from different locations. Artillery guns fire. Migs fire. Tanks fire. . . . Ships fire guns. Planes fire guns. Explosions."

These descriptions of Soviet armaments in action were from the script of a film, "The Price of Peace and Freedom," that was shown across the nation in 1979 as part of the effort to kill the SALT II treaty.

The message: The United States is in imminent danger of annihilation by the Russians.

The half hour documentary, which cost about $75,000, provided a weapon-by-weapon comparison of NATO and Warsaw Pact armaments. It was produced by the American Security Council (ASC), one of the largest conservative, pro-military membership groups in the country and a leading opponent of SALT II.

Also shown around the country was "Survival. . . or Suicide," a $70,000 film put out by the American Committee on East-West Accord, a pro-treaty group. It pictured victims of Hiroshima. The consequences of atomic weapons were decribed by the narrator — "A person who has received fatal amounts of radiation from direct exposure to the bombs, or from fallout, will appear relatively normal the first few weeks. . . . Then small hemorrhages will appear in the skin, and there's spontaneous bleeding from the mouth and intestinal tract. The hair will begin to fall out. Eventually the cells that normally control bleeding and fight infection are destroyed, resulting in hemorrhage, overwhelming infection and death."

The message: Controlling nuclear weapons is a life or death matter.

Living Room Wars

Several other SALT-related films were flashed into the living rooms of Americans during the year. Among them were:

- "Soviet Might, American Myth: The United States in Retreat," produced by the American Conservative Union (ACU), another major conservative group. It argued the case for increased U.S. weapons spending. The ACU spent more than $400,000 to produce the film, and it was aired on more than 370 stations.
- "War Without Winners," by the Center for Defense Information (CDI), a liberal research group that supported arms reductions.

The pro-SALT films received limited exposure since supporters of the treaty relied entirely on the good graces of station managers to air their productions. About 125 stations requested "War Without Winners" and several dozen had aired it by the time the treaty was signed in June, according to the CDI sponsors.

The anti-SALT groups bought air time to get their message across. John M. Fisher, chairman of the American Security Council, said "Peace and Freedom" had been shown 852 times on television as of June. The anti-SALT groups used their film showings to help finance their efforts to defeat the treaty. In "Soviet Might, American Myth," the viewer was asked four times in less than a half hour to call a toll-free number and pledge money to the ACU.

Mushroom Cloud Images

While both sides' films reached diametrically opposed conclusions — increased military spending versus greater arms reductions — they had several elements in common.

Each was frightening. The all-or-nothing choice asked of the viewer was repeatedly punctuated by images of atomic bombs exploding.

Each presented reasoned arguments to strategic arms questions while appealing to the viewer's most deeply rooted instincts, emotions and prejudices.

The anti-SALT films operated on the premise that more weapons provided greater security and that Americans stood to lose the most in a nuclear confrontation. Military experts and well-known politicians were relied on heavily to make the case for Soviet superiority.

In the pro-SALT pieces the message was that more weapons provided greater instability and a better chance for a war in which the costs to each side would be unthinkable. These films quoted defense experts, too, although CDI relied heavily on more mundane man-in-the-street interviews in the United States and in the Soviet Union. Those interviewed expressed their concerns about basic human survival in the event of nuclear war. The films argued that both sides were well-equipped to destroy the other and that negotiated arms reduction was a necessity.

The anti-SALT films, on the other hand, built a case for fearing the Soviet Union, implicitly rejecting any possibility of successful negotiation for arms reduction.

In "Soviet Might, American Myth," Rep. Philip M. Crane, R-Ill., arguing along Cold War lines, warns of the "threat of world communism." He charged the president and the State and Defense departments with "weaving a web of self-deception," and failing "to recognize and act upon the unmistakable threats to our freedom and survival as a nation."

The pro-SALT "Survival. . . or Suicide," on the other hand, gave the viewer a different impression of the Soviets. According to the film not one of 14 nuclear weapons agreements with the Soviet Union had been broken, and Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev was quoted as calling for an end to the arms race.

Cold warriors were attacked by former Deputy CIA Director Herbert Scoville. "(T)he myth of U.S. inferiority is being spread to try and panic the public. . .," Scoville said in "War Without Winners." "The taxpayer is being raked off on this deal for the benefit of a very few corporations and individuals and in the meantime he's increasing the risk that he is going to be wiped off the face of the earth."

Finally, the two sides reached back in history to find different mentors to preach their respective gospels. In the anti-SALT films, President John F. Kennedy, the spirit of liberalism, addresses the need for nuclear superiority. In the pro-SALT pieces, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the embodiment of military strength, discusses food for the world's hungry.

Treaty Extension. Two other amendments that were adopted asserted the Senate's right to a voice in the extension of existing agreements.

Church, Javits and Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., offered an amendment stipulating that the treaty "protocol" — which placed limits on certain weapons and expired at the end of 1981 — could not be extended without Senate concurrence by a two-thirds vote. The amendment also stated that SALT II was not to be considered a precedent for any future arms limitation proposals. It was adopted 14-0.

An amendment by Church and Javits, adopted 13-0, required Senate approval by a two-thirds vote for extension of SALT II. Church said the Soviet and American governments had by executive action "in effect extended SALT I beyond its expiration by making statements that SALT I would continue to be observed."

Committee Vote

The Foreign Relations Committee vote Nov. 9 approving the SALT II treaty (Exec. Y, 96th Cong., 1st Sess.) was as follows:

In favor (9): Frank Church, D-Idaho; Claiborne Pell, D-R.I.; George McGovern, D-S.D.; Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del.; Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md.; Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine; Edward Zorinsky, D-Neb.; Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y.; and Charles H. Percy, R-Ill.

Against (6): John Glenn, D-Ohio; Richard Stone, D-Fla.; Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn.; Jesse Helms, R-N.C.; S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, R-Calif.; and Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind.

Fourth Week: Committee Approval

The committee voted 9-6 on Nov. 9 to report the pact to the Senate. But serious obstacles to the administration's campaign to gain some conservative support for the pact was evident in the vote of two committee Democrats whose ultimate position on the treaty still was uncertain. Edward Zorinsky, Neb., voted "aye" and Glenn voted "nay." But both emphasized that their vote did not necessarily reflect their final position on the resolution of ratification.

McGovern, who repeatedly had complained that the treaty did very little to significantly slow the arms race, voted for it. And he announced he would work for ratification since the committee adopted his amendment to committing the United States to seek significant arms cuts in future SALT negotiations.

But other liberals reiterated their threat to oppose the pact if the administration went too far in increasing the defense budget to attract conservative support.

Further Amendments. Before the final vote in committee, Glenn repeated his insistence that he wanted to back the treaty, but could not do so until the United States had regained the ability to monitor Soviet compliance with certain treaty provisions restricting the modernization of Soviet missiles.

Glenn praised administration efforts to develop new intelligence equipment that would replace the Iranian sites, and expressed optimism that they would succeed before the Senate finally voted on the treaty. But until the replacements actually were in operation he could not back the treaty, he said.

In a related development, Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., on Nov. 8 reversed his earlier judgment that the treaty was adequately verifiable. He said the earlier assessment had assumed the development of certain new intelligence technology, but he said such equipment had been delayed. Unlike Glenn, however, Goldwater said he was not optimistic that the new gear would be ready in the near future.

While voting to send the treaty to the floor, Zorinsky announced that SALT was too favorable to the Soviet Union. He said he would not vote for the treaty unless it were mended to make it more equitable.

Policy Declarations. In the final week of the committee's markup, the panel approved three changes in the resolution of ratification that clarified U.S. policy in implementing the treaty. None required the United States to formally notify the Soviet Union.

By a vote of 13-2, the panel Nov. 2 adopted a Zorinsky amendment asserting that it was the intention of the Senate to approve all nuclear weapons programs needed to assure "essential equivalence" with the Soviet Union.

The committee rejected, 2-13, an amendment by McGovern that would have deleted from Zorinsky's proposal a list of the programs the Senate would support. This included the M-X mobile missile, the Trident I and II submarine missiles, an improved version of the FB-111 bomber and a new bomber to replace the B-52.

An amendment by Church, approved 13-2, provided that ratification of the treaty would be deferred until President Carter affirmed to Congress that the Soviet forces in Cuba were not engaged in a combat role and were not a threat to any Western Hemisphere country.

A Biden amendment, approved 15-0, stated that U.S. nuclear weapons based in the European NATO countries could be restricted in a SALT III treaty only if corresponding limits were placed on Soviet nuclear weapons aimed at Western Europe.

This understanding was intended to reassure the NATO allies that Washington would not bargain away weapons that could strike Russia from Western Europe in return for some Soviet concession that would reduce the Soviet threat only to the United States.

The long-range U.S. nuclear weapons stationed in Europe were intended to counterbalance Soviet weapons that threatened Western Europe, the administration argued. Therefore, they should be limited only in return for limits on those Soviet arms.

Other 'Killer' Amendments. As it had done consistently during the markup, the committee rejected proposals the administration opposed on grounds they would require renegotiation of the treaty. The panel flatly rejected one amendment to the treaty and altered two revisions to the ratification resolution so they would not require Soviet concurrence.

Missile Limit. By a one-vote margin (7-8), the committee rejected a Helms amendment to the treaty. The proposal would have limited the number of intercontinental missiles each country could have to the number of ICBM launchers each had at the end of 1978, plus an additional 200.

Helms wanted to dramatize the fact that the SALT treaty limited the number of strategic weapons launchers — bombers and missile silos — rather than the number of weapons. He maintained that Moscow had at least 1,000 spare ICBMs that could be used to reload launch silos after the first salvo was fired.

This would permit the Soviet Union to nearly double its missile force despite the SALT limits on missile launchers, Helms argued.

Administration officials argued that it would require a huge amount of equipment and personnel to prepare and launch the spare Soviet missiles and that the very complicated operation would have to be tested. There was no evidence that such equipment was being acquired or that personnel was being trained to perform such launches, they said.

The Helms amendment was rejected, 7-8, with Percy and Zorinsky supporting it and Glenn voting against.

Backfire Range Limit. By a vote of 7-8, the committee rejected a Glenn amendment that would have required the Soviet Union to agree not to increase the range or payload of the Backfire bomber or to increase its production rate.

But the panel did approve by a 15-0 vote the same provision as a declaration of U.S. policy, which would be formally communicated to the Soviet Union, but would not require Moscow's concurrence. This revision also stated that a Soviet violation of these limits would be grounds for U.S. withdrawal from the treaty.

Anti-satellite Weapons. The panel rejected 6-9 a Percy proposal that would have required the Soviet Union to agree that use of an anti-satellite weapon to knock out satellites used to verify the treaty would violate SALT II. It then adopted the same proposal, 15-0, as a formal declaration of U.S. policy.

Reconsideration of Amendments. On Nov. 7-8 the committee voted not to reconsider seven amendments it previously had rejected:

- Lugar amendment to allow each country to establish intelligence sites in the test ranges of the other. Reconsideration rejected, 6-9.
- Glenn amendment to bar any actions that would block either country from gaining access to the missile test flight telemetry of the other. Reconsideration rejected, 6-9.
- Baker amendment to count the Soviet Backfire and U.S. FB-111 bombers under the treaty limits. Reconsideration rejected, 6-9.
- Baker amendment to allow the United States to build very large ICBMs (such as those allowed the Soviet Union under the treaty). Reconsideration rejected, 7-8.
- Stone amendment to count some 60 missile launchers on the Soviet Golf-class submarines under the treaty limits. Reconsideration rejected, 5-10.
- Two slightly modified Baker amendments to bar the Soviets from using its very large Soviet missiles. Reconsideration rejected, 6-9.
- Glenn amendment to require each country to notify the other in advance when it planned to conduct missile test flights. Reconsideration rejected, 6-9.

Treaty Reported

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee filed its report (S Rept 96-14) on the SALT II strategic arms control treaty Nov. 19.

The pro-treaty arguments of the committee's nine-member majority paralleled the Carter administration's emphasis on the military advantages to the United States of the treaty.

In a joint statement accompanying the report, the four committee Republicans who voted against reporting the treaty argued that SALT II was inequitable and should be rejected. They called on the president to renegotiate the treaty with the Russians.

The two committee Democrats who also voted against the treaty, Glenn and Stone, filed individual views.

Armed Services Report

With seven members voting "present," the Senate Armed Services Committee Dec. 20 adopted a report concluding that the SALT II treaty "as it now stands, is not in the national security interests of the United States."

The report was approved by a 10-0 vote of the 17-member committee. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash. — a moving force behind the report — Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev., Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., and all seven committee Republicans voted for it. Seven committee Democrats abstained.

One of those signing the report, John W. Warner, R-Va., said he shared some of the concerns in the report, but that he voted for it because he felt the committee majority had a right to present its views to the Senate.

Some of the seven committee members who abstained were leading SALT supporters, but not all of them necessarily disagreed with the report's extremely negative assessment of the treaty's impact on the U.S.-Soviet nuclear balance.

Jurisdiction Issue. The committee battle over the report focused almost exclusively on the question of whether the panel had a right to adopt a formal report on the treaty, which was under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Relations Committee. The committee majority insisted the report was appropriate since it discussed only the pact's military implications.

The Armed Services report implied that approval of SALT II would breed a euphoria about the U.S.-Soviet military balance, and that this would hinder Pentagon efforts to catch up with Moscow militarily.

Equality Mandate Questioned. Moreover, it argued that the treaty did not meet the criterion of equality established by an amendment to the 1972 resolution (PL 92-448) approving the first SALT agreement. That amendment, sponsored by Jackson, "urged and requested" the president to seek a future SALT agreement that "would not limit the United States to levels of intercontinental strategic forces inferior to the limits provided for the Soviet Union." *(1972 Almanac p. 622)*

SALT II failed in this regard, according to the report, because it:

- Allowed Moscow to retain its large ICBMs, and prohibited the United States from developing similar missiles.
- Excluded from the treaty's numerical ceilings the Soviet Backfire bomber.
- Allowed Soviet ICBMs to carry more warheads than U.S. ICBMs, since under the treaty each missile already operational was restricted to the number of warheads it already carried.

The report acknowledged that the United States had no plans to build the weapons only the Russians were permitted to have under the treaty. But it argued that by codifying unilateral Soviet rights to these weapons, the treaty could weaken the U.S. hand in future arms control negotiations. It also projected a political image of military inferiority, they contended.

The report called for amending the treaty to remove the alleged inequalities favoring the Soviet Union, and it called for agreements to clarify ambiguities in the treaty, such as the extent to which Moscow could modify the Backfire bomber and its existing ICBMs.

Nunn-Warner Letter. According to SALT supporters, a much more important development was the delivery to President Carter Dec. 15 of a letter drafted by Armed Ser-

vices members Warner and Sam Nunn, D-Ga., and co-signed by 17 other senators, many of whom were still uncommitted on the treaty. The letter said the signers had some concerns about the treaty, but that their final decision would be based on other aspects of the U.S. defense posture.

SALT-backers, including Majority Whip Alan Cranston, D-Calif., called the letter a favorable development since it, in effect, defined an agenda on which the 19 senators could bargain with the White House for their support of the treaty.

The signers clearly were not a cohesive bloc, and the letter stressed that each senator assigned different significance to the several points discussed. Some, including Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., had insisted publicly that the treaty would be acceptable only if it were substantially amended by the Senate.

The Nunn-Warner letter was delivered to the White House Dec. 15. The other 17 signers included seven Democrats in addition to Nunn: Lawton Chiles, Fla.; Zorinsky, Neb.; David L. Boren, Okla.; Lloyd Bentsen, Texas; J. James Exon, Neb.; DeConcini, Ariz.; and Stone, Fla. Republican signatories in addition to Warner were: John C. Danforth, Mo.; Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, N.M.; Alan K. Simpson, Wyo.; Bellmon, Okla.; Rudy Boschwitz, Minn.; Pete V. Domenici, N.M.; John Heinz, Pa.; S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, Calif.; Larry Pressler, S.D.; and David Durenberger, Minn.

It cited five aspects of the treaty as sources of concern:

- The ban (through 1981) on deployment of ground-launched and sea-launched cruise missiles with a range of more than 600 miles.

- Soviet retention of their 308 SS-18 large intercontinental missiles, while the United States was prohibited from building missiles of similar size.

- U.S. ability to verify Soviet compliance with the treaty.

- Limits on missile launching systems such as those that might be used for the M-X mobile intercontinental missile.

- The Soviet Backfire bomber.

Global Balance. The letter also expressed concern over the "ongoing slippage" in U.S. military power relative to Moscow's. While acknowledging that SALT II was not directly responsible for the shifting military balance, the letter argued that "during the seven years that the agreement was in negotiation, the hopes for significant arms control did influence our force planning and the support for defense initiatives. Thus, efforts that may have been needed to counter the mounting Soviet threat were delayed, curtailed, or even abandoned."

The signers applauded Carter's announced plans to increase defense spending over the next several years. But they said their vote on SALT II would take account of six factors (several of which were described only in the most general terms):

- Administration plans to offset the increasing vulnerability of most U.S. intercontinental missiles to Soviet missile attacks. The M-X mobile missile, designed to circumvent this threat, was not scheduled for large-scale deployment until about 1986.

- The adequacy of Carter's proposed budget increases to reverse the trend in the military balance toward the Soviet Union. The letter called for a review of manpower procurement policy, a longtime goal of Nunn's. The senator argued that only resumption of the military draft could produce enough soldiers of sufficient talent to meet Pentagon needs.

- Administration plans to improve U.S. intelligence, including its sophisticated spy equipment and its staff of information analysts.

- A firm date for deployment of the ground-launched cruise missile in Europe. Pentagon witnesses told Congress earlier in 1979 that the first full-scale test of the weapon would be in November 1980 and that the Pentagon's final decision to begin full-scale production would be made in April 1982.

- Administration plans to deter and counter the expansion of Soviet power in the Third World.

- The effect of the treaty on long-term arms control prospects for SALT III and for other ongoing arms control negotiations. "The SALT process so far has failed to restrain the momentum of the Soviet Union's ongoing military buildup," the letter said.

SALT Delay. In the event there were enough votes to kill needed changes, but not the two-thirds majority needed for final approval of the treaty, the letter urged Carter to postpone further action on SALT until after the 1980 elections.

Warner had previously urged postponement on grounds that turmoil in Iran and the 1980 election campaign would distract senators from the thorough consideration the treaty required.

Although the two documents struck similar themes, the Armed Services report was narrower in scope and far more specific in its criticisms than the Warner-Nunn letter.

The Armed Services Committee's report made a series of highly detailed arguments that the treaty was militarily unequal, citing, among other provisions, those applying to the Soviet's "heavy" missiles (the large SS-18s) and the Backfire bomber.

The Nunn-Warner letter also mentioned several of these alleged disparities in the treaty, but it dealt primarily with administration defense plans outside the scope of SALT II, such as projected improvements in U.S. intelligence capabilities and plans to counter Moscow's use of Cuban proxies to intervene militarily in developing countries.

The Armed Services report's focus on the technical aspects of the treaty was consistent with the position held by many SALT foes who had fought the treaty for years. They were of the opinion that its inequalities were so glaring that the arguments against Senate ratification would be compelling even to senators who usually paid little attention to detailed military questions.

Armed Services deleted from its report a recommendation that SALT II be amended to "remedy" the alleged inequalities and loopholes, and that Moscow concur in at least some of those changes. It did not propose any specific changes, but developed highly detailed arguments why specific parts of the treaty were unacceptable.

In contrast, the wording of the Nunn-Warner letter left wide leeway for the administration to negotiate various ways of alleviating the concerns of some or all of the 19 signers. Although it expressed hope that the treaty could be "strengthened," the letter did not suggest specific amendments. Many of the questions raised in the letter about the U.S.-Soviet military balance appeared to be designed to elicit commitments from Carter. ▮

Chronology of SALT II Treaty Negotiations

1972

May 25 — *President Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev sign the SALT I agreements: a treaty limiting each country to a few anti-ballistic missiles and an interim agreement limiting for five years the number of offensive intercontinental missiles each side could possess.*

May 31 — *The administration announces it will inform Congress of all "private understandings" that accompany the SALT I agreements.*

Some of these understandings were definitions jointly agreed to by the U.S. and Soviet negotiators, but others were unilateral U.S. interpretations to which the Soviet negotiators never assented. Over the next seven years, several Soviet violations of SALT I were alleged that were Soviet actions contrary to unilateral U.S. positions.

June 5 — *Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Adm. Thomas Moorer tell congressional committees their support for SALT I agreements is contingent on major U.S. investment in new strategic weapons.*

Among the new weapons being considered were the B-1 bomber, the Trident submarine-launched missile and the cruise missile. The cruise missile would emerge as a major stumbling block in negotiating SALT II.

Sept. 14 — *The Senate votes 88-2 to endorse interim agreement after adopting 56-35 amendment by Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., requiring that future SALT agreements limiting ICBMs allow each country an equal number of missiles. The Senate had agreed to the ABM treaty Aug. 3.*

Senate action on the interim agreement had been delayed for nearly six weeks by intense debate over the Jackson amendment.

The administration argued that the larger number of strategic missiles allowed Moscow under the Interim Agreement was offset by a U.S. lead in multiple warheads (MIRVs). Jackson argued that the U.S. advantage was transitory because it was only a matter of time until Moscow too had MIRVed missiles.

1973

July 17 — *Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger announces Soviet test of ICBM with several separately aimed warheads (MIRVs).*

U.S. MIRVs already were nearing production. But the much larger carrying capacity of Soviet ICBMs meant that as soon as Russian MIRVs achieved a certain level of accuracy, a fraction of that force could be used to destroy most of the U.S. ICBM force.

Over the next five years, much of the debate over U.S. strategic weapons policy revolved around the question of how soon this would happen and what action, if any, Washington should take to prevent it.

Oct. 25 — *U.S. places its military forces on alert because of "ambiguous" Soviet actions in support of Arab states during Middle East War.*

Several clashes between U.S. and Soviet interests eroded support for "detente" in the years after the 1972 summit, but the October 1973 war highlighted the continuing tensions between the two countries. U.S. foreign policy hard-liners charged that Soviet material support for the Arab attack on Israel demonstrated Moscow's untrustworthiness.

1974

Jan. 10 — *Schlesinger announces that some U.S. missiles have been aimed at Soviet military targets rather than at cities.*

This was a key development in the debate on U.S. strategic policy. Most traditional arms controllers held that the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals could be used only to deter each other's use of such weapons by threatening to devastate an attacker's economic and population centers. Any effort to fight a "limited" nuclear war inevitably would escalate to total war because whichever side was losing at one level of conflict would up the ante.

Schlesinger embraced the counterargument, which conceded that each side would have to avoid massive population attacks because that would invite an all-out response from the victim. But he argued that Moscow might threaten a "limited" nuclear war for specific political purposes. Only a U.S. capability for limited retaliation that would not cause massive Soviet casualties would be credible enough to deter such a move, according to this view.

March 28 — *Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger completes three days of talks with Soviet officials in Moscow. The talks fail to achieve a "conceptual breakthrough" to get the stalled SALT talks moving again.*

According to many observers, Moscow had concluded that President Nixon was losing ground in the Watergate battle and wanted to await a more propitious U.S. political climate before breaking new ground.

In the 10 weeks remaining before the scheduled summit meeting in Moscow, Sen. Jackson warned repeatedly that Nixon might sign a vacuous agreement, or even make unwise concessions, to shore up his political image at home.

April 11 — *The Senate rejects by a 48-37 vote an amendment by Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre, D-N.H., that would have deferred development of more accurate U.S. ICBMs capable of destroying Soviet missiles until the president certified the SALT talks had failed to limit MIRVs.*

During the 10 years (1969-78) in which Congress had debated strategic arms issues in the annual Defense Department bills, traditional arms controllers failed repeatedly to slow development of various strategic weapons by arguing that they could foreclose future arms control agreements.

June 20 — *The Senate Armed Services Committee is told by former U.S. SALT I negotiator Paul Nitze that Congress was not informed of some interpretations of SALT I agreed to by Secretary Kissinger and Soviet officials.*

As the glow of "detente" began to fade, conservatives stepped up their attacks on Kissinger's detente policy and on his method of operation. They charged that he discounted the political importance of perceived Soviet superiority in strategic arms and, therefore, was too ready to give Moscow military advantages for the sake of reaching an agreement.

Kissinger also was coming under increasing attack from foreign policy liberals, who charged he was too willing to involve the United States with the policies of authoritarian governments for reasons of diplomatic expediency.

June 27-July 3 — *Nixon-Brezhnev summit is held in Moscow.*

The only progress made on substantive SALT-related issues was an agreement on amending the 1972 treaty limiting each country's anti-ballistic missile defenses. The amendment reduced from two to one the number of bases from which such missiles could be fired.

Aug. 9 — *President Ford sworn in after Nixon resigns.*

Nov. 24 — *Ford and Brezhnev sign agreement at Vladivostok setting overall numerical limits on strategic weapons to be incorporated in a SALT II treaty running through 1985. Each country is permitted to have 2,400 nuclear delivery vehicles (bombers, ICBMs and submarine-launched missiles in any combination), of which 1,320 could be MIRVed missiles.*

The United States gave up efforts to retain its advantage over the Soviets in numbers of MIRVed missiles in return for Soviet acceptance of equal overall totals, thus adhering to the 1972 Jackson amendment.

The United States also accepted relatively high limits on the number of MIRVs, which made it only a matter of time until the Soviets had a first-strike capability against U.S. missiles. As it had done in SALT I, Moscow backed off from its position that the SALT ceilings included U.S. attack planes in Europe, which could strike Soviet territory.

It would take nearly four more years for the two countries to agree on how to treat two weapons that were not explicitly included in the Vladivostok ceilings: the Soviet bomber, which NATO calls the Backfire, and the U.S. cruise missile.

1975

June — *Former Defense Secretary Laird charges the Russians have violated the SALT I treaty.*

In the context of continuing U.S.-Soviet tension, repeated allegations of Soviet cheating fueled critics' charges that the administration was too eager to get an agreement with an unreliable partner.

Nov. 2 — *President Ford dismisses Schlesinger as defense secretary.*

This enraged conservative Republicans supporting Ronald Reagan's challenge to Ford for the 1976 GOP presidential nomination. They regarded Schlesinger as a hard-liner on nuclear strategy and a counterweight to Kissinger, who, they charged, discounted the political importance of the U.S-Soviet military balance.

Dec. 19 — *Senate votes 54-22 to bar U.S. assistance to anti-Soviet factions in the Angola civil war.*

Although the Senate rejected even the most limited U.S. involvement by a large margin, the Soviet role in Angola and later in East Africa would give a major boost to many senators' concern about new Soviet adventurism.

1976

Jan. 20-22—*Kissinger confers in Moscow with Soviet officials on SALT and other issues.*

The Soviet Union is reported to have proposed to set a weapons ceiling slightly lower than the Vladivostok number of 2,400. It insisted on having an additional 250-300 Backfire bombers, but agreed to limit their operation in ways that would make it difficult to use them against the United States.

Bombers carrying long-range cruise missiles would fall under the ceiling.

Late in February, the Ford administration proposed instead to sign a treaty setting the Vladivostok limit on ballistic missiles and bombers and deferring the cruise missile and Backfire issues until SALT III.

The January trip marked Kissinger's final effort to wrap up a treaty embodying the Vladivostok agreement before the 1976 election. Ford was boxed in by Ronald Reagan's campaign for the GOP nomination and by Pentagon insistence that the treaty limit the Soviet Backfire bomber, but not the U.S. cruise missile.

April 26 — *President Ford asks Congress for funds to continue production of the Minuteman III MIRVed missile and the more powerful and more accurate Mark 12A warhead.*

The Mark 12A, twice as powerful and twice as accurate as the current Minuteman warhead, would enable the Minuteman to destroy some Soviet ICBMs.

Liberals charged that this amendment to Ford's fiscal 1977 defense budget showed that Ford was panicking over Reagan's hard-line attacks on administration foreign and defense policies.

Aug. 30 — *U.S. arms control chief Fred C. Ikle warns that Moscow endangers the strategic balance with a new MIRVed missile, the SS-20, that could reach all of Western Europe from Russian territory.*

The SS-20 became a prime element in the SALT critics' argument that a new agreement would expose U.S. allies in Europe to a Soviet military threat of unprecedented magnitude. According to the charge, the treaty left the SS-20 uncontrolled while restricting the range of a corresponding weapon that NATO might use: the ground-launched cruise missile.

Dec. 26 — *The press reports that a team of hard-liners reviewing U.S. intelligence on the Soviet Union had concluded that Moscow was driving for military superiority.*

The team included Paul Nitze and retired Air Force intelligence chief Maj. Gen. George Keegan. The group highlighted heavy Soviet spending on civil defense and argued that it revealed a Russian belief that nuclear war might occur and that Moscow would be prepared to fight it and win. The study contrasted this with the assumption of U.S. arms controllers that nuclear war was unthinkable and that preparation for one would be dangerous.

1977

Jan. 20 — *In his inaugural address President Carter calls for the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons.*

Many of Carter's statements on strategic policy reflected a profound personal abhorrence of nuclear weapons. This infuriated conservatives, who concluded that Carter would make militarily unwise concessions to achieve arms control agreements because he discounted the potential diplomatic effect of Soviet nuclear superiority.

Jan. 24 — *Sens. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., and Dewey F. Bartlett, R-Okla., release report detailing Soviet military buildup in Eastern Europe since 1968.*

The Nunn-Bartlett report encapsulated evidence of an across-the-board military buildup, which contributed to the growing skepticism of ultimate Soviet motives. Those arms controllers who argued that peace was threatened by a runaway arms race rather than by Soviet military policy increasingly were placed on the political defensive.

Feb. 2 — *President Carter nominates Paul C. Warnke as U.S. arms control chief and SALT negotiator.*

The nomination concluded a three-month battle for the soul of the administration's national security policy.

During his campaign, Carter had publicly sought advice from hard-liners, such as Nitze and Schlesinger, and traditional arms controllers, including Warnke.

Carter picked as defense secretary nuclear physicist Harold Brown, who had been involved with defense policy for most of his professional life. Brown had voiced skepticism of the hard-liners' premise that a nuclear war might be kept limited and that U.S. defenses should be designed to fight one.

With the choice of Warnke, hard-liners charged that their point of view was being shut out by the administration in favor of traditional arms controllers, who tended to discount the political importance of the U.S.-Soviet military balance.

The critics mounted a vigorous campaign against the Warnke nomination, but he was confirmed by the Senate March 9 by a 58-40 vote.

March 1 — *Carter meets with Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky in the White House.*

The Nixon administration had emphasized that SALT I was an aspect of "detente" — a lessening of tensions — in U.S.-Soviet relations. By the end of the Ford administration, however, that policy was under fire both from liberals who found it cynical and from conservatives who wanted to present a more vigorous ideological challenge to Moscow.

Carter administration officials had hoped his forceful defense of human rights would buy broad domestic political support for his foreign policy without derailing the arms control negotiations with Moscow.

March 30 — *SALT talks break down as Brezhnev denounces two alternative proposals carried to Moscow by Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance.*

One of Carter's proposals departed radically from the Vladivostok agreement to include 1) substantial reductions in the number of strategic weapons, 2) a freeze on the number of MIRVed missiles and 3) a moratorium on the development of new missiles. The other proposal simply embodied the Vladivostok limits in a treaty and deferred action on the Backfire bomber and the cruise missile.

The more far-reaching proposal won broad support both among U.S. arms controllers and hard-liners because it prevented either country from developing a missile force that could destroy the other's ICBMs. Much of the domestic debate over SALT focused on whether an agreement of more modest scope would leave U.S. missiles vulnerable to Soviet attack.

But Moscow insisted on remaining within the Vladivostok framework. U.S. observers speculated that the sharpness with which Vance was turned down was due in part to administration attacks on Soviet human rights policy and to its detailed public discussion of the proposals before they were offered to the Soviets.

The only lasting effect of the far-reaching proposal was to give hard-line U.S. critics of SALT II a benchmark against which they could attack the less comprehensive agreement that finally emerged.

May 21 — *Secretary Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko meeting in Geneva agree on the basic structure of SALT II: Overall numerical ceilings are to be embodied in a treaty that would run through 1985; limitations on various new weapons, including mobile ICBMs and cruise missiles, would last only for three years; and a statement of principles would identify subjects to be addressed in SALT III negotiations.*

June 30 — *Carter announces decision to cancel production of the B-1 bomber, arguing that the cruise missile will do the same job more effectively.*

Cancellation of the B-1 was the most dramatic of several Carter moves which SALT opponents charged ignored the military dimension of international politics by unilaterally reducing U.S. military power. Other defense decisions criticized by SALT opponents included the withdrawal of U.S. ground troops from South Korea and the reduction in the defense budget below the levels projected by the Ford administration.

The B-1 decision also left Carter wedded to the cruise missile, which had emerged as one of the stumbling blocks to completion of SALT II. Many arms controllers opposed the new missile for fear its very small size would make numerical limits hard to verify. Moscow had insisted that the missiles be limited in number and in range.

Oct. 3 — *The 1972 interim agreement limiting offensive weapons expires. The Carter administration and the Soviet government each stated — in what the administration insisted were unilateral decisions rather than formal agreements — that each would continue to observe the SALT I limits pending completion of SALT II.*

Although the administration insisted that these parallel, unilateral declarations did not require congressional approval, it eventually agreed not to oppose a resolution agreeing to the Carter position. But the resolution was delayed in the Senate by conservative efforts to append amendments that would have imposed conditions on the extension. The resolution was passed by the Senate Oct. 19, but the House took no action.

Nov. 2 — *Nitze makes public a detailed critique of the SALT II treaty as negotiated so far.*

Through 1978, Nitze's periodic briefings and criticisms of the emerging treaty were the press' chief source of detailed information about the draft treaty.

The administration's position was that it could not discuss publicly in detail a treaty that still was being negotiated. And it insisted that the treaty had to be assessed as a total package rather than considering individual points in isolation.

Whatever the diplomatic merits of the administration position, its practical effect was that news about SALT was defined, to a considerable extent, by Nitze, who was widely respected, technically expert and totally opposed to the administration's strategic weapons policy.

Dec. 16 — *The Carter administration claims that Cuban military personnel aiding Ethiopia in its war with Somalia had increased in strength.*

Two years after Cuban military intervention in Angola had heightened concern in Washington about Soviet-sponsored global adventurism, the role of Cuban troops and a Soviet arms airlift into the politically turbulent Horn of Africa region created similar concern.

1978

Feb. 2 — *Defense Secretary Brown concedes that U.S. ICBMs theoretically will be vulnerable to a Soviet missile attack by the "early-to-mid-1980s."*

The debate over how soon U.S. missiles would be vulnerable antedated the 1969 Senate debate over the anti-ballistic missile system. Defense hard-liners warned that after such an attack, Moscow would retain enough warheads to level U.S. cities, and this fact would deter U.S. retaliation against the Soviet Union.

Arms controllers denied that Moscow would risk a first-strike, which Brown called "a single cosmic throw of the dice." But as a matter of political tactics, many of them emphasized that the attack would be technically impossible because of Soviet missile inaccuracy.

But Brown's statement undercut the argument that U.S. missiles were technically superior to the larger Soviet counterparts. And it increased pressure for a mobile U.S. missile that could avoid the impending threat.

April 7 — *White House announces decision to defer production of "neutron bomb," a small nuclear weapon designed to destroy Soviet tank columns while minimizing damage to surrounding territory. The ultimate decision on production would depend on Moscow taking some commensurate step to limit its military buildup in Eastern Europe.*

The "neutron bomb" debate gave hard-line critics one more argument for their charge that Carter ignored military advice and was squeamish about nuclear weapons. And they also cited it as another Carter blow — alongside his acceptance of a limit on the range of ground-launched cruise missiles — to NATO solidarity.

Although the West German government was willing to support U.S. deployment of the weapon, neither it nor any other continental member of NATO would oblige U.S. hard-liners by publicly asking Carter to develop it.

April 18 — *By a 68-32 vote, the Senate approves the treaty that would transfer to Panama control of the Panama Canal by the year 2000.*

Although many hard-line critics of SALT II supported the canal treaty, the 1978 battle was indirectly related to the SALT debate in two ways.

Since the treaty was the first foreign policy issue on which public opinion split with Carter, the Senate debate may have aroused widespread public suspicion that Carter was generally "soft" in defending U.S. interests.

And the floor fight over the canal treaties gave both supporters and opponents of the administration a dry run in the procedural maneuvers over amending and making reservations to treaties. This procedural sparring determined the outcome of the final vote on the canal treaties, and by late 1978 it was clear that the SALT fight would follow the same pattern.

April 22 — *Vance and Brezhnev conclude Moscow talks at which agreement reportedly is reached on a treaty provision that neither party would circumvent SALT limits through a third country.*

At the heart of domestic debate over this "non-circumvention clause" was the question of whether it would bar U.S. transfer to NATO allies of guidance technology that would allow them to build cruise missiles.

July 10 — *Soviet Union begins treason trials of dissidents Anatoly Scharansky and Alexandr Ginzburg.*

The widely publicized trials and the harsh sentences handed out despite President Carter's personal plea for clemency increased anti-Soviet sentiment in Congress.

July — *Test data radioed to earth from a Soviet ICBM is in code, thus denying the information to U.S. monitoring instruments.*

This opened the issue of whether such encryption violated the SALT provision prohibiting either side from interfering with the other's efforts to verify compliance with treaty limits. The SALT II treaty would allow each side to develop only one new ICBM through 1985.

Missile test data is used to verify compliance by ensuring that test missiles do not incorporate various changes such as more powerful engines.

But the encryption issue was flawed by the fact that if the practice were banned, there were other ways for Moscow to conceal missile test data. For instance, data could be recorded on tape to be ejected from the missile in a capsule and parachuted to earth. Encryption was an easily explained example for critics who contended that Soviet violations could too easily escape detection.

Aug. 22 — *Defense Secretary Brown announces U.S. position that SALT II will allow eventual U.S. deployment of any mobile ICBM presently under consideration.*

Hard-liners had for months been arguing that SALT II would not protect the existing U.S. ICBM force against a Soviet attack, which would strip the country of any ability to deter limited Soviet aggression.

The administration announcement countered that argument, but it was opposed by arms controllers. They had long opposed mobile missiles, maintaining such weapons would make it impossible to verify future agreements limiting the number of missiles. They especially opposed the version favored by the Air Force in which each of the new M-X missiles would be shuttled at random among 20 hidden launch sites like the pea in a carnival shell game.

For another nine months arms controllers in the administration — reportedly including the president — searched for other ICBM basing systems that would pose fewer complications for future negotiations.

Aug 23 — *Arms control director Warnke says the administration may submit SALT II as an executive agreement (requiring approval by a majority of each house rather than by two-thirds of the Senate).*

The suggestion angered the Senate Democratic leadership, which informed Carter that any such move would be soundly defeated in the Senate. But the administration continued to dangle the possibility until early 1979.

Sept. 30 — *Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko agrees to drop from SALT II any range limit on U.S. air-launched cruise missiles. Limits would remain through 1981-82 on ground- and sea-launched cruise missiles.*

Since a tentative range limit of 1,500 miles was revealed in 1977, SALT critics had focused great energy on the argument that it would nullify the cruise missile as a replacement for the B-1 bomber. The missiles could reach some Soviet targets only if the carrier planes came within range of Soviet anti-aircraft defenses, they argued.

Nov. 7 — *Five liberal Democratic senators who had supported arms control efforts are defeated in re-election bids.*

This did not necessarily mean a net loss of five SALT supporters since some conservative members were replaced by moderates. But the election did not improve the outlook for SALT ratification.

Dec. 15 — *President Carter announces U.S. recognition of the People's Republic of China.*

Dec. 23 — *Despite widespread predictions about an imminent conclusion to SALT II, Vance-Gromyko talks in Geneva end without resolving the last remaining major issues.*

Observers estimated that the breakdown was due in part to Soviet pique over the terms on which U.S-China relations were normalized. And in part it may simply have been the habitual Soviet tactic of holding out for last minute concessions.

Dec. 26 — *Test flight of a Soviet SS-18 missile simulates the release of more than 10 MIRVed warheads.*

Administration officals had begun to argue that SALT II was essential to the mobile M-X because it would limit each side's ICBMs to no more than 10 warheads. Without such a cap the larger Soviet missiles could carry 30-40 warheads, enough to smother the prospective M-X system.

SALT opponents charged that the controversial test undermined that argument and demonstrated anew Soviet unreliability.

The administration countered that the Russians had not actually tested more warheads than the allowable number. And it said that the detection of the Soviet tests demonstrated U.S. verification abilities.

1979

Jan. 6 — *President Carter concludes four days of talks on the Caribbean island of Guadaloupe with British Prime Minister Callaghan, French President Giscard d'Estaing and West German Chancellor Schmidt. The three European leaders endorsed SALT II.*

Treaty supporters maintained that the continued public support for SALT II by NATO allies refuted the argument of SALT critics that the pact would yield Moscow a politically effective measure of military superiority, thus forcing U.S. allies to heed certain Soviet demands.

But the SALT critics responded that the European governments saw overt support for the treaty as a price of doing business with the Carter administration. They insisted that NATO officials privately were worried that the treaty's non-circumvention clause would block the development of a NATO cruise missile.

Jan. 16 — *The shah of Iran is deposed in the face of widespread civil unrest. The new revolutionary regime withdraws permission for U.S. technicians to monitor Soviet missile tests from bases in Iran.*

The Iran situtation raised the question of whether Soviet compliance with SALT II could be monitored adequately.

Administration sources proposed various stopgap measures to fill the gaps left by the loss of the Iranian listening posts. But Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio, who had begun to concentrate on the verification issue, professed to be unconvinced that the loss could be made good.

Jan. 22 — *President Carter presents his fiscal 1980 defense budget with a request to begin full-scale development of a new mobile ICBM, called the M-X.*

The request for $670 million in fiscal 1980 and $170 million requested in a fiscal 1979 supplemental moved the administration one step closer to building the big missile. But many SALT critics argued the administration would not approve the M-X out of fear of endangering future arms control agreements.

The administration did ask for $75 million in the supplemental to keep alive an alternative version of the M-X, which would be carried around in cargo planes; some arms controllers said this might pose fewer hurdles to SALT verification than the shell-game version.

The administration also requested $145 million in fiscal 1980 (and $42 million in the supplemental) to accelerate development of a 1,000-mile-range version of the Pershing ballistic missile. Since this could strike Soviet territory from NATO bases, administration supporters touted it as proof Carter could shore up NATO's nuclear arsenal despite SALT II's non-circumvention clause.

Feb. 3 — *Republican officals meeting in Easton, Md., say SALT should be judged in the light of overall Soviet global conduct.*

This argument — that a new treaty should be contingent on Soviet good conduct in other fields — was the antithesis of arms controllers' position that the risks posed by a nuclear arms race were so great that SALT should be insulated from the general state of U.S.-Soviet relations.

The GOP view was particularly ominous to the administration cause since Carter's principal foreign policy victories on Capitol Hill, including the Panama Canal treaties, had required the support of many Senate Republicans, including Minority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn.

Since Baker's presidential hopes rested with the conservative Republicans, who already were angry over his canal treaties vote, the Tennessee Republican was under heavy pressure to oppose SALT II.

Feb. 4 — *Three senators who traditionally support arms control measures — George McGovern, D-S.D., Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., and William Proxmire, D-Wis. — tell*

President Carter they may vote against SALT II because it does not impose significant limits on U.S. and Soviet strategic arsenals and because Carter has made unacceptable concessions to the Pentagon and Senate hard-liners to win treaty support. Among these concessions is development of the M-X.

May 9 — *President Carter announces agreement in principle on all provisions of SALT II. Carter and Brezhnev are to sign the agreement at a summit meeting in Vienna June 15-18.*

June 8 — *White House announces that President Carter has decided to develop and deploy a land-mobile version of M-X.*

June 18 — *President Carter and Soviet President Brezhnev sign SALT II at the conclusion of the Vienna summit meeting. Carter returns to Washington the same day and addresses a joint session of Congress on the treaty.*

During the four-day summit (June 15-18) administration sources went to great lengths to portray Carter's firmness in dealing with Brezhnev. Heated exchanges between the two leaders on Cuban troops in Africa and other great-power conflicts were leaked to the press.

June 27 — *Senate Minority Leader Baker announces his opposition to SALT II unless it is amended to remove what he sees as various Soviet advantages, including the Russian monopoly on large, MIRVed ICBMs (the SS-18s).*

Treaty backers had counted heavily on the assumption that Baker eventually would endorse the treaty and thus make it politically easier for moderate Republican senators to do likewise.

They had assumed that Baker first would demand symbolic changes so that during his campaign for the GOP presidential nomination he could take credit for strengthening the U.S. position in the treaty. But Baker's vigorous demand for explicit changes in the limits set by the treaty was much more than they could accommodate. The administration insisted that any substantive revision of the treaty would re-open the arms negotiations, where Moscow would be likely to demand new concessions on points that previously had favored the United States.

Treaty backers began to look for Republican support from other senators — including Robert Dole, Kan., and Henry Bellmon, Okla. — and from former Secretary of State Kissinger.

July 8 — *Senate Foreign Relations begins hearings on SALT II.*

The administration dominated the first two weeks of hearings before the generally pro-treaty panel, laying heavy emphasis on the argument that the pact was militarily advantageous to the United States. Secretary of State Vance was shunted aside as treaty spokesman in favor of Defense Secretary Brown and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

July 25 — *Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., announces that he will oppose SALT II unless Carter commits himself to a larger than planned rate of annual increase in the defense budget.*

Nunn's announcement was the first serious check to the political momentum that had been building for the treaty since it was signed. The Georgian had acquired a formidable reputation as an analyst of military issues, and it was expected that many moderate and conservative senators would take their cues on the treaty from him.

Aug. 31 — *The Carter administration confirms reports that a Soviet combat brigade is stationed in Cuba.*

The administration eventually concluded that the unit had been stationed in Cuba for years and that it posed no threat to the United States or any other Western Hemisphere nation. But the episode further soured some senators on the general state of U.S.-Soviet relations and, therefore, on their willingness to sign a deal with Moscow. To some degree, the friends of SALT created their own problem with the issue by their initial comments: Carter and Secretary Vance insisted that the "status quo" was unacceptable, and Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, said that the treaty would not be ratified until the troops were withdrawn.

Sept. 18 — *The Senate votes 55-42, over Carter's opposition, in favor of increasing the Pentagon budget in real terms by 5 percent in both fiscal 1981 and 1982.*

Carter's defense of the planned 3 percent annual increase infuriated Nunn and defense hard-liners. Treaty opponents charged that it proved that the Senate could not trust administration assurances that if the treaty were approved, U.S. strategic arms would be improved as fast as possible.

The vote also undermined the argument of some treaty backers that they had enough votes to block any defense spending increase unless conservatives supported the treaty.

Oct. 15 — *Senate Foreign Relations begins markup of SALT II treaty.*

Eight of the 15 committee members clearly were opposed to any amendments that would alter the substance of the treaty as signed in Vienna. Treaty supporters succeeded in amending instead the resolution of ratification. These changes addressed some of the criticisms that had been aimed at the treaty. But most of the adopted amendments simply reiterated what the adminstration had insisted all along were U.S. interpretations of the treaty.

But the margin of support on the committee was less than SALT backers had hoped. On Nov. 9 the treaty — with the amended resolution of ratification — was approved by a vote of 9-6.

Nov. 4 — *Iranian militants seize hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.*

Public and congressional rage over the impotence of U.S. military power against such a challenge further eroded support for the arms control treaty, which was unable to shake off the impression that it was associated with "detente."

On Dec. 6 Majority Leader Byrd told reporters the treaty would not reach the Senate floor before year's end because of the crowded Senate schedule. But he conceded that the Iranian crisis created an unfavorable atmosphere for consideration of SALT II.

Dec. 12 — *Carter announces that the fiscal 1981 defense budget will be 5.6 percent higher (in real terms) than his fiscal 1980 request. Increases in each of the next four years (fiscal 1982-85) would be nearly as large.*

Hard-line treaty opponents dismissed the pledge as a last minute effort to save SALT II. Nunn took it at face

value, but witheld any commitment on supporting the treaty.

On Dec. 15. Nunn and 18 other senators, most of them uncommitted on SALT II, demanded from Carter a series of new assurances about his future defense plans.

Dec. 27 — *Soviet troops invade Afghanistan and replace the existing government.*

As a result, prospects for Senate approval of SALT II in 1980 were virtually eliminated, and on Jan. 3, 1980, Carter asked Majority Leader Byrd to shelve the treaty indefinitely.

Pentagon Nuclear Programs

Congress Dec. 19 cleared for the president legislation (S 673 — PL 96-164) authorizing over $3 billion for nuclear weapons programs of the Defense Department for fiscal 1980. The president signed the bill into law Dec. 29.

Nuclear waste disposal — an issue that has long bedeviled the U.S. civilian nuclear power program — was a major issue in the House-Senate conference committee that wrote the final version of the authorization bill.

Conferees warned that the Carter administration was systematically underfunding the nuclear weapons program, which is administered for the Pentagon by the Department of Energy. The conference committee added nearly $100 million to the administration request for weapons development and for manufacturing the raw material used in nuclear bombs.

The final bill authorized $3,053,968,000 for the Energy Department's military programs. This was $30 million less than the Carter administration's request of $3,080,988,000.

The Senate adopted the conference report on S 673 by voice vote Dec. 18. It was adopted by the House Dec. 19 by a vote of 359-32, completing congressional action. *(Vote 662, p. 196-H)*

Nuclear Waste Disposal

The most controversial issue confronting the conference committee was the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant — or WIPP — that had been authorized in 1976 for construction in New Mexico.

The plant had been designed, and authorized by Congress, as a demonstration project to dispose of the types of waste produced by the Energy Department's defense nuclear defense plants. But the project's scope subsequently was expanded to include permanent storage of waste from civilian reactors. At the same time, New Mexico officials demanded a say in the design and operation of WIPP, citing potential safety threats to the surrounding area.

Both the House and Senate versions of the defense nuclear bill insisted that the project be restricted to its original military purposes. But the Senate bill approved $26.5 million of the $55 million requested in additional appropriations for the plant. The House bill rejected the new request and also rescinded $30 million of the $68 million previously appropriated for WIPP. And it barred the Energy Department from giving the New Mexico state government a veto over the project.

The final version of S 673 authorized an additional $20 million for WIPP. It also directed the secretary of energy to agree with New Mexico by Sept. 30, 1980, on a formal system for consulting with state officials on aspects of the project affecting local health or safety.

The bill did not provide any remedy in case state and federal officials proved unable to agree on a consultative procedure. But in their report on S 673, conferees were insistent that WIPP construction proceed on schedule and that the Energy Department not agree to any arrangement giving state officials a veto over the project.

Conference Action

The conference report on S 673 was filed Dec. 13 (H Rept 96-702).

Conferees agreed on substantial increases above the budget request in four areas:

- Weapons testing was increased $38 million, to $236 million.
- Weapons production was increased $29 million, to $761 million.
- Production of nuclear material was increased $31.7 million, to $357.7 million.

The conferees complained that President Carter was not budgeting enough money to manufacture the nuclear material that would be needed for nuclear warheads the Pentagon was planning to acquire. And they ordered a joint report by the secretaries of energy and defense (due Feb. 1, 1980) to demonstrate that nuclear material production would keep pace with Pentagon requirements.

- Development of a system for generating power by a laser-triggered nuclear fusion reaction was increased $17.8 million, to $125.1 million.

These increases were more than offset by reductions in the budget request for long-term nuclear waste storage (cut $27 million) and construction (cut $113 million).

Weapons Laboratories. The bill directed the secretary of energy to draw up contingency plans for replacing the University of California as manager of two of the three national nuclear weapons laboratories: those at Livermore, Calif., and Los Alamos, N.M.

The conference bill expressed the sense of Congress that the defense-related projects should remain the focus of the work at the laboratories. The university's management had been helpful and should be continued as long as possible, it stated, but the bill also took note of pressure within the university to shift more of the laboratories' efforts to non-defense research.

Senate Action

Committee

The Senate committees on Armed Services and Energy and Natural Resources on May 22 filed a single report on S 673 (S Rept 96-193).

Weapons-related programs, which accounted for about 85 percent of the administration request, were considered only by Armed Services, which recommended an authorization of $2.52 billion, about $79 million less than the request.

For defense-related programs that had potential civilian applications, such as research on nuclear power generation, Carter requested $524.8 million, Armed Services recommended $445.9 million and Energy recommended $543 million. Armed Services did not consider a $72.9 million request for the Energy Department's operation of the naval petroleum reserves, thus accounting for most of the difference between the two committees' recommendations.

'Neutron Bomb.' In 1978 Carter decided to defer production of high-radiation warheads, the so-called neutron bombs, for tactical nuclear weapons. And instead, he ordered production of warheads for these tactical weapons that would incorporate various safety improvements not in the current warheads. Components that would convert these weapons to high-radiation weapons also would be manufactured, but they would not be installed in the new warheads. *(Neutron bomb background, 1978 Almanac p. 370)*

The high-radiation weapons were designed to produce a large dose of lethal radiation from a relatively small nuclear blast. Thus they could kill the crews of a Soviet tank force invading Western Europe without devastating the invaded territory.

But in its report on S 673, the Senate Armed Services Committee condemned as useless the procedure Carter had adopted for manufacturing the high-radiation components. Because of the method in which the components were produced, the panel said, there was not enough time to attach them in the new warheads before NATO forces were overrun in a surprise Soviet attack.

The committee also repeated its demand, first made in 1978, that Carter announce firm criteria by which he eventually would decide whether or not to install the high-radiation components in the new warheads.

Floor

By voice vote, the Senate June 18 agreed to a motion by Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., to consider the bill as reported by the Armed Services Committee. The motion also called for accepting $15 million of the additional authorization added by the Energy Committee. In this form, the bill authorized $2.98 billion for military nuclear programs.

This motion set aside other Energy Committee recommendations that would have increased the bill by another $84 million. Most of that was accounted for by the naval petroleum reserve funds, which were being handled in separate legislation. *(Story, Energy chapter)*

The Senate adopted two amendments by voice votes:

- By Frank Church, D-Idaho, adding $20 million to the $265 million in the bill for nuclear waste management associated with weapons production.

- By Jackson, adding $28.3 million for projects, including two additional nuclear weapons tests, the administration had requested in its supplemental budget request for fiscal 1979.

The Senate then passed the bill by voice vote.

House Action

Committee

House Armed Services reported a companion bill (HR 2603 — H Rept 96-162) May 15. The committee recommended authorizations totaling $2,946,000,000, $107.5 million less than the administration request.

Floor

The House passed the bill Nov. 9 by a 304-28 vote. *(Vote 572, p. 170-H)*

The House approved the committee amendments to the administration request by voice votes. Also adopted by voice votes were the following floor amendments:

- By Melvin Price, D-Ill., adding $18 million to the authorization for nuclear material production.

- By Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y., adding $15.5 million to the authorization for fusion power research.

- By Butler Derrick, D-S.C., adding $3 million for a solidified nuclear waste disposal project.

- By Price, adding $5 million to begin constructing a manufacturing plant for nuclear warheads for the new Pershing II missile and adding $25 million for a waste treatment facility first authorized in 1975.

- By Price, stipulating that the WIPP waste treatment plant be constructed in New Mexico solely as a pilot project to test disposal of waste produced by the defense nuclear program. The amendment further barred any veto over the project by New Mexico officials.

- By Bob Wilson, R-Calif., directing the secretary of energy to draw up contingency plans for removing the Livermore and Los Alamos weapons laboratories from the administration of the University of California. ▮

1979 Defense Supplemental

Controversy over the M-X missile and various weapons ordered by the shah of Iran influenced congressional consideration of the fiscal 1979 supplemental Defense Department authorization bill (S 429 — PL 96-29).

President Carter signed the bill into law June 27.

The weapons orders were canceled by the new Iranian revolutionary government, which came to power after the shah was deposed.

Congress decided to purchase for the U.S. Navy four destroyers originally ordered by the shah. After the shah was deposed Jan. 16, the purchase was canceled by the government headed by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. *(Background on Iranian situation, pp. 97, 160)*

The administration and the House originally had recommended that two of the ships be bought in fiscal 1979 and the other two in fiscal 1980. But the Senate had approved $1.3 billion for the purchase of all four ships through the fiscal 1979 supplemental, and its view ultimately prevailed.

Congress also agreed to purchase several anti-aircraft, anti-ship and air-to-air missiles purchased and then canceled by the Iranians.

Besides the Iranian destroyers, the bill authorized $190 million to begin work on prototypes of the controversial M-X mobile intercontinental missile.

A controversy between the president and many members of Congress over how to base and protect the new missile was averted at the last minute when the administration agreed to land-based system in which the missiles would be shuttled at random among a large number of underground launching sites.

The administration had originally favored a system that would launch the missiles in mid-air from specially designed cargo planes.

The measure also authorized $80.1 million for the initial U.S. contribution to a fleet of AWACS radar-warning planes for NATO.

The final version of S 429 authorized a total of $2 billion, about the same amount as President Carter's supplemental request for weapons procurement and military research. But both the House and Senate Armed Services

committees had dropped requests for military construction projects costing another $139 million. There was no urgency for these projects, they agreed.

Provisions

Major projects authorized by S 429 were:

	Amended Carter Request	Final Authorization
M-X missile	$ 190,000,000	$ 190,000,000
B-52/cruise missile-related projects	84,000,000	60,000,000
Destroyers	628,000,000	1,353,000,000
Tactical missiles	219,900,000	143,700,000
NATO radar plane (AWACS)	85,100,000	80,100,000
Pershing II missile	42,000,000	30,000,000
Construction	138,860,000	—
Other	753,200,000	163,200,000
Total	$2,141,060,000	$2,020,000,000

Senate Committee Action

Senate committee action on S 429 was delayed first by uncertainty over the status of the canceled Iranian arms orders and then, in mid-March, by a controversy over the M-X missile.

As approved by the panel by voice vote April 3, S 429 authorized $46 million less than the administration requested. The committee reported the bill April 6 (S Rept 96-62).

Canceled Weapons

Before the committee acted, President Carter substantially revised his defense supplemental request. The supplemental originally was intended to use up the money in the fiscal 1979 budget that Congress had earmarked for construction of a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. After Carter vetoed the carrier in 1978 and Congress sustained the veto, the administration and the Armed Services committees were anxious to spend the money on other projects to avoid a reduction in the overall level of defense spending. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 321)*

When Iran canceled its orders for military equipment, the administration decided to use the supplemental to authorize purchases of some of that equipment for the U.S. military.

Of the weapons canceled by Iran, Carter sought authorization to buy two destroyers, 55 F-16 fighter planes and several anti-ship, anti-aircraft and air-to-air missiles.

The administration initially requested $543 million for one additional destroyer for the Navy. But because construction was already underway on the Iranian vessels, the Navy was able to buy two of those ships for an estimated $628 million.

The revised request also included $460 million for the fighter planes and $220 million for the various missiles.

In order to buy the Iranian ships while holding the supplemental authorization to $2.16 billion, the administration dropped more than 40 items, at a cost of $734.3 million, from the revised request. More than half of these were relatively small items, costing less than $10 million each. The most expensive item cut was a missile frigate estimated at $194 million.

Warships. The committee's largest single change in the administration's revised request was the addition of $725 million to buy the second pair of *Spruance*-class anti-aircraft ships that had been ordered by the shah. The administration had requested $628 million for two of the four ships and planned to include the second pair in the fiscal 1980 budget.

The committee's action adding the other two ships to the supplemental brought the ship authorization to $1.3 billion.

Iranian Planes and Missiles. With administration approval, the committee dropped a request for $425 million for purchase of the 55 F-16 fighter planes. After the supplemental had been revised, the administration agreed to sell these planes to Israel as part of the political arrangements that led to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

The panel approved less than half the amount requested to buy up the various missiles ordered by the shah. Approved was the $26 million requested for anti-aircraft missiles and $59 million (of $117 million requested) for anti-ship missiles. But the committee disallowed the entire $77 million requested to buy Phoenix air-to-air missiles for the F-14 fighters that were still used by the Iranian air force and by the U.S. Navy. The panel noted that the Navy was developing a newer version of the missile. Moreover, it feared that the type sold to Iran might be ineffective if its technical data reached Soviet agents.

M-X Controversy

By the early 1980s, Soviet missiles were expected to be able to destroy most stationary U.S. missiles in their underground silos. To avert that catastrophe, the Pentagon developed plans for — and Congress authorized construction of — the M-X, an intercontinental missile housed in a movable launcher that would be less vulnerable to attack. The project was expected to cost $30 billion before it was completed.

An issue that arose during consideration of S 429 was whether the missile's movable launcher should be shuttled around on the ground or in the air. The initial consideration was how best to protect the missile from Soviet attack, but the larger question concerned arms control. The missile was a key component of the administration's strategem to win the support of moderate senators for the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation agreement (SALT II). *(SALT II debate, p. 411)*

The Air Force and many members of the Senate Armed Services Committee backed a plan to protect the M-X by using huge trucks to shuttle each of the 200 or 300 missiles at random among 20 or 30 holes in the ground. The Pentagon called this plan "multiple protective structures" or MPS. Because the Soviets could not tell which holes held the missiles, they would have to shoot at all of them. The United States would dig enough holes to exhaust the total number of warheads available to the enemy, the Pentagon reasoned.

Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Lew Allen proposed in 1978 that any arms control pact setting a ceiling on the number of actual missiles could be verified if each superpower were able to require the other on short notice to uncover all 20 or 30 holes at each of a number of launch sites. Since the missile launchers were extremely large and required a lengthy construction period, they could be counted during construction just as missile submarines were under existing arms control agreements.

But some administration officials, apparently including President Carter, feared the Air Force plan would hopelessly complicate future arms control negotiations. The plan would require each superpower to cooperate with the other's efforts to verify compliance with the agreement.

The administration ordered the Air Force to review the feasibility of carrying the M-Xs in cargo planes designed to take off and land on short airstrips. During a period of international tension, the planes could be dispersed at random among thousands of potential landing strips. In case of actual attack, the planes would launch the missiles in mid-air.

Supporters argued that this approach avoided the arms control problem because planes big enough to carry and launch the M-X could not be concealed from reconnaissance satellites.

During January hearings, the airborne plan came under intense attack from defense hard-liners. They claimed that missile planes could be destroyed on the ground in a surprise attack. And communications problems could lessen the ability of the United States to carry out the precisely aimed, limited counterattacks for which intercontinental missiles were uniquely suited.

Some legislators also suspected that the administration wanted to delay a choice between the two launching modes so it could win middle-of-the-road support for the SALT II treaty by hinting that it eventually would choose the ground-launched version. After the treaty fight in the Senate, the administration might pick the airborne version or abandon the M-X altogether, they maintained.

Nonetheless, Defense Secretary Harold Brown insisted the airborne version had advantages, and that he needed more time to weigh the alternatives.

The Senate Armed Services Committee approved $190 million to begin work on test models of the M-X missile. Although most members of the committee supported the Air Force plan for shuttling the missiles about on land, it also approved $75 million to develop the airborne system. Rather than require the administration to make an immediate choice between the two alternatives, the committee included language requiring Secretary Brown to inform Congress of his preference in time for the panel's deliberations on the fiscal 1980 defense authorization.

Other Issues

On other items in the supplemental, the committee took the following actions:

Cruise Missiles. To modernize B-52 bombers and equip them with long-range cruise missiles, $64 million, the amount requested, was approved. Of this amount, $12 million was earmarked to modify aircraft to carry cruise missiles. Only these planes then would be counted under the proposed SALT II treaty limits on cruise missile carriers.

But the panel turned down as premature a $10 million request to begin development of a newer cruise missile that would be much faster than the current version.

NATO Missile. Also approved as requested was $42 million to accelerate development of a 1,500-mile-range version of the Pershing missile. This missile would be capable of striking the Soviet Union from launch sites in West Germany. Critics had attacked the SALT agreement for not placing any limits on Soviet nuclear weapons that could reach Western Europe. The administration cited the Pershing as an offsetting U.S. weapon.

Shipyard Disputes. Also approved was $97.7 million to settle contract disputes between the Navy and civilian shipyards. If approved by Congress, this would mark the end of a set of contract disputes between the Navy and its three largest contractors — Newport News, Litton Industries and the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics — that had involved claims of more than $2 billion. The long-drawn-out battles had seriously handicapped the Navy's efforts to persuade the Carter administration to approve a larger shipbuilding budget.

NATO Readiness. For the U.S. share of a NATO fleet of 18 U.S.-built radar warning planes, called AWACS, the panel approved $80.1 million. The committee said another $5 million requested for administrative costs did not need to be authorized.

A cost-sharing arrangement for the AWACS fleet that was negotiated among the NATO members required waivers of certain U.S. procurement procedures. The committee approved a more narrowly drawn set of waivers than that sought by the administration.

The committee rejected a $21 million request to modify commercial airliners to allow them to be converted quickly to military transports to fly reinforcements to Europe during an international emergency.

But it added to the revised request $42 million initially requested (but later dropped to pay for the Iranian arms cancellations) to increase purchases of replacement jet engines for Air Force fighters. The replacements would allow more planes to stay in combat during wartime while damaged engines were being repaired, according to the committee.

The committee decided not to add back another item suggested by Brown: $122 million for additional spare parts so planes could be overhauled and returned to service more quickly.

Military Construction. The entire amount requested ($138.9 million) for military construction was dropped on grounds that it was not urgent.

Also dropped was $43.6 million to cover the increased cost, due to dollar fluctuations, of the U.S. share of NATO-wide construction projects. Brown had named this project as his highest priority for the funds initially set aside for the F-16's.

Carrier Overhaul. The committee added a provision requiring that the overhaul of the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* be carried out at the commercial Newport News, Va., shipyard rather than at the Philadelphia Navy Yard.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate adopted three amendments before passing S 429 May 3 by a 77-12 vote. Senate liberals opposed to the M-X missile provided most of the "nay" votes. *(Vote 81, p. 16-S)*

Anti-aircraft Destroyers

The Senate split along liberal-conservative lines on an amendment by Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., backed by the administration, that would have deferred until fiscal 1980 purchase of two of the four destroyers canceled by the new Iranian government. The vote was 32-56. *(Vote 80, p. 15-S)*

The vote suggested that, despite the financial complexities of the issue, most senators treated it as a simple question of budget priorities: In a year when domestic programs were being cut to the bone, should the Navy be given four ships it had not requested, they asked.

The partially completed ships were similar to the 30 *Spruance*-class anti-submarine ships now entering the U.S. fleet. The only difference was that the Iranian ships carried long-range anti-aircraft missiles. Each ship would cost the Navy $340 million — $200 million less than if it were just ordered. So the Navy argued that purchase of the ships offered a bargain approach to beefing up the fleet protecting the Navy against the Soviet arsenal of anti-ship guided missiles.

Riegle charged they were being bought simply to prevent layoffs at the Litton Industries shipyard, in Mississippi, the home state of Armed Services Committee Chairman John C. Stennis, D. Riegle said the second pair of ships should be funded in future years after they were modified to U.S. Navy specifications.

The administration supported Riegle without notifying Stennis, infuriating the chairman. But that support seemed to have little impact on the Senate. The vote on the amendment was similar to an April 25 vote in which the Senate rejected a Riegle amendment to the first concurrent budget resolution that would have, in effect, disallowed purchase of the two additional destroyers in fiscal 1979. *(First budget resolution, p. 163)*

Carrier Overhaul

While the Senate spent no time debating the $30 billion M-X missile project, it wrangled for more than five hours over a pork barrel issue involving 3,000 civilian jobs.

At issue was a 30-month rebuilding of the 25-year-old aircraft carrier *Saratoga* to give it 15 more years of service. Three sister ships would be given similar overhauls later, at a total cost for all four of $2 billion.

The Navy wanted the work done at Newport News, Va. If it were done at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, 1,100 of the ship's crew would have to stay on the drydocked carrier to help with the overhaul. But the Navy wanted to use the crew to alleviate temporary manpower shortages on other ships.

According to the General Accounting Office, the Newport News contractor could perform the work for $80 million less.

The Carter administration nonetheless assigned the project to Philadelphia, arguing that the cost estimates were too speculative to control the decision. Members of the Virginia congressional delegation charged that the decision was made to redeem Vice President Walter F. Mondale's 1976 campaign promise to retain thousands of civilian defense jobs in Philadelphia.

The Armed Services Committee, on which both Virginia senators, Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind, and John W. Warner, R, served, approved an amendment requiring that the overhaul be done at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company in Virginia.

But on the Senate floor, the Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey senators offered a substitute amendment giving the administration discretion on where to send the carrier.

A motion to table the pro-Philadelphia amendment was rejected, 33-59, and the discretionary amendment then was adopted by voice vote. Subsequently, a routine procedural motion confirming the earlier voice vote was approved 52-39.

A fallback amendment by Warner, which would have required President Carter to certify publicly that he was accepting the higher costs of a Philadelphia overhaul, failed 41-50. *(Votes 77-79, p. 15-S)*

Missile Submarines

The Senate approved by voice vote without debate an amendment by Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, to keep in service through fiscal 1980 the 10 oldest nuclear missile submarines.

The Navy had planned to begin retiring those ships, which were almost 20 years old. But Bentsen pointed out that production problems had delayed delivery of the Trident missile submarines that were intended to replace the older ships. The amendment also ordered the Navy to study the cost of keeping the older submarines in limited service until 1986, when several Trident ships were expected to enter the fleet.

House Committee Action

The House committee reported a companion bill (HR 2575 — H Rept 96-90) April 6. The bill had an overall authorization of $1,458,400,000, an amount $543,800,000 below Carter's revised budget request.

Most of the reduction came from the deletion of 55 F-16 fighter planes. Like the Senate, the committee deferred $138.86 million requested for military construction.

M-X Missile

The House Armed Services Committee deferred a showdown between President Carter and defense hard-liners on the controversial M-X missile. The committee included the $265 million sought by the administration to accelerate development of the new missile.

Language was added in committee that was intended to pressure the administration to design a version of the M-X in which each missile would be shuttled at random among 20 or more underground launch sites.

But the House panel's language, like a similar provision in the Senate bill, did not block efforts to find an alternative way to conceal the missiles and protect them from surprise attack. The administration had under consideration a proposal for an airborne launcher, a proposal unpopular with the Air Force and many members of both Armed Services committees.

The House Armed Services Subcommittee on Research and Development considered amending the supplemental to require the administration to proceed at full speed with development of the land-based M-X launcher, known as MPS. This mandate could have been waived only if the defense secretary certified to Congress that some alternative basing mode was "technologically superior to and . . . more cost effective than the MPS system."

This restriction was vigorously opposed by Secretary Brown, who proposed instead that any mandate be nullified if he certified an alternative was "militarily superior to and . . . more cost effective" than MPS or if the president certified that an alternative was in the interest of national security.

The language incorporated in the committee bill allowed the secretary to waive the MPS requirement by certifying that an alternative was "militarily or technologically superior" or more cost effective. And the president could reject the MPS plan by informing Congress that it "is not consistent with U.S. national security needs." But in its report, the committee argued strongly in favor of the MPS version.

Cruise Missile

Armed Services cut to $10 million the $33 million requested to cover cost increases in the cruise missile development program. According to the panel, the Pentagon had not explained the need for the higher amount.

The committee also dropped the entire $41 million requested to modify B-52 bombers so they could carry cruise missiles. It argued that no urgent need for the funds had been demonstrated.

The House panel, following the Senate's example, dropped as premature some $10 million requested to begin work on a second-generation cruise missile.

Canceled Iranian Destroyers

To acquire the first two of four anti-aircraft destroyers ordered by the shah, the committee recommended the $628 million requested. It urged the Navy to consider modifying at least one of the ships to carry the very complex, and extremely expensive, Aegis anti-aircraft system. The Navy had said this would be technically feasible, but would delay completion of the ship.

Unlike the Senate version, the House committee did not authorize the other two canceled ships.

The administration's request of $220 million to buy up hundreds of anti-aircraft and anti-ship missiles formerly ordered by Iran was approved essentially without change. An $18.3 million reduction affected only a bookkeeping technicality.

NATO Readiness

For the U.S. share of a NATO fleet of 18 U.S.-built radar warning planes (AWACS), the committee agreed to the $85.1 million requested. A cost-sharing arrangement for the AWACS fleet that was negotiated among the NATO members required waivers of certain U.S. procurement regulations. But the House committee followed the Senate's course and approved waivers that were more narrowly drawn than those sought by the Pentagon.

For development of a 1,500-mile-range version of the Pershing missile, which could strike targets in Soviet Union from launchers in West Germany, the panel approved the $42 million requested. Also approved was $18.7 million requested to develop more powerful versions of the TOW anti-tank missile. This was to offset faster-than-anticipated improvements in the Soviet tank fleet.

The committee dropped $60 million requested to enlarge the spare parts inventory for anti-aircraft missiles and airplanes. But it added $101.5 million for systems to protect U.S. combat planes against Soviet radar.

House Floor Action

The House easily turned back several efforts to soften the committee language on the M-X missile before passing HR 2575 May 31 by a 314-71 vote. The administration apparently did not exert much effort to head off the committee's language, which contained various loopholes. *(Vote 163, p. 52-H)*

M-X Alternatives

At issue in the M-X debate was the proposed MPS system in which each of 200 M-X missiles would be shuttled at random among 20 or 30 underground launch sites.

President Carter was searching for an alternative to MPS for fear that if U.S. missiles were deployed in such a system, the Russians would do the same.

In that case, the administration argued, agreements limiting the number of strategic weapons would be unverifiable. This was because U.S. intelligence sources could not be certain that additional Soviet missiles had not been smuggled into supposedly empty launch sites.

To minimize the verification problems, the administration had proposed a system in which the missiles would be carried in and launched from airplanes. Critics claimed, however, that planes on the ground would be vulnerable to a surprise attack.

The administration then came up with another alternative M-X system that it claimed was militarily superior to MPS while still meeting Carter's arms control requirements.

The new concept envisioned that each M-X would be carried by rail among 30 or more armored launch sites in an underground trench. Soviet satellites easily could verify the number of the huge missile trains if the trenches were uncovered periodically.

If radar detected a missile attack on the launch sites where the trains carrying the missiles were located, the trains could move to other sites miles down the trench before the Soviet missiles struck. This would be impossible with MPS, according to high Pentagon officials.

Another option under consideration by the administration would install 400 smaller versions of M-X in existing missile silos. And another 480 missiles would be installed in 20 Trident submarines. Unlike existing submarine missiles, these would be accurate enough to destroy Soviet missile sites.

M-X Amendments

The House rejected by a lopsided 100-291 vote an amendment by Berkley Bedell, D-Iowa, that would have reversed the bill's strong presumption in favor of the MPS basing mode for the M-X. *(Vote 162, p. 52-H)*

As it emerged from committee, HR 2575 required the Pentagon to begin work on MPS unless the secretary of defense certified that another version of M-X was superior or if the president informed Congress that, in his view, MPS was not consistent with the national security interests of the United States.

Bedell's amendment would have replaced that provision with language barring further work on MPS unless the defense secretary certified to Congress that it advanced the national security.

By a vote of 89-311, the House also rejected an amendment by Ronald V. Dellums, D-Calif., that would have banned all further development of an M-X missile system, including a launching mode. *(Vote 161, p. 54-H)*

The House accepted by voice vote an amendment by Richard H. Ichord, D-Mo., deleting $75 million for development of the airborne version of the M-X. A majority on House Armed Services long had been convinced that only the MPS version was militarily acceptable and that further study of the airborne version simply would delay deployment of M-X.

This same amendment deleted $61.5 million for development of an Air Force radar detection device, which was deferred to the fiscal 1980 defense bill.

Adopted by voice vote was an amendment by Virginia Smith, R-Neb., requiring that M-X be deployed on the least agriculturally productive land that would be suitable.

Canceled Iranian Ships

The House rejected by voice vote an amendment by Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., that would have deleted $628 million to purchase for the U.S Navy two of the canceled Iranian destroyers.

Conference Action

The conference report (H Rept 96-282) on S 429 was filed June 18. It was approved routinely by voice votes of the Senate June 18 and the House June 21.

The White House June 8 had announced a partial decision on the M-X missile. The version finally agreed upon was one that would be shuttled at random among a large number of underground launching sites to protect them against a surprise attack. This made moot the debate over the administration's request in the supplemental for $75 million to develop a cargo jet to air launch the missile.

But the conference report was caught up in yet another debate over the M-X basing issue. House conferees were deeply committed to a system favored by the Air Force in which each of 200 missiles would be shuttled among 20-30 launch sites in which the missiles would rest vertically, ready to be fired, the so-called MPS system.

The White House, Pentagon civilians and some Senate conferees favored a system in which each missile would be carried by rail from site to site in a roofed-over trench.

In this version, the missiles would rest horizontally. Lying on their sides, the huge missiles could be photographed more readily from satellites, thus easing the problem of verification under any arms control agreement.

Proponents of the horizontal system also claimed a military advantage. In case Soviet intelligence picked out which M-X launch sites held the missiles and launched an attack, U.S. missiles in a vertical position would have to be fired on a few minutes warning or they would be destroyed. Missiles stored horizontally could be carried to another launch site five or six miles away in the time it would take for the attacking warheads to hit, it was argued.

Strategic hard-liners suspected that the "run and hide" argument for the horizontal system was simply a ploy to cover up the administration's continuing determination to hobble M-X in the interests of the SALT II negotiations.

Maintaining that the horizontal version could cost $10 billion more than the vertical system, some critics charged that Carter might be trying to drive the cost of M-X so high that Congress eventually would kill it.

Conferees on the supplemental bill included in their report a requirement that if the administration chose any version of M-X other than the vertical system, it would have to provide Congress with a complete justification, including cost estimates on alternative M-X systems.

In another conference agreement, $58.8 million was approved for the purchase of 150 Phoenix missiles originally ordered by Iran. The House had approved that amount; the Senate had deleted the $77 million requested. ▮

Defense Procurement

Congress Oct. 26 approved a $41.4 billion authorization for weapons procurement in fiscal 1980.

The final version of the legislation (S 428 — PL 96-107) authorized acquisition of a $2.1 billion, *Nimitz*-class nuclear-powered aircraft carrier capable of carrying 90 planes. President Carter vetoed the fiscal 1979 weapons procurement bill because Congress had insisted on authorizing the ship despite his objection to committing that much money for another nuclear carrier. In both 1978 and 1979, the administration backed a smaller, $1.6 billion conventionally powered vessel.

The measure signed into law Nov. 9 also authorized $670 million for initial development of a movable M-X intercontinental missile. The Defense Department planned to replace the existing U.S. ICBM missile force with the M-X in the mid-1980s.

The total cost of the controversial weapons was estimated at upwards of $33 billion. A controversy over how the new missiles would be based and protected against a Soviet attack was resolved Sept. 7 when Carter announced that each of the 200 missiles planned for the system would be shuttled at random among a network of more than 20 underground launching sites — the so-called "racetrack" plan. *(Carter decision, box, p. 450)*

The fiscal 1980 bill represented a sizable increase over the previous weapons procurement authorization. In 1978 Congress had approved a $35.2 billion bill for fiscal 1979. *(1978 Almanac p. 321)*

Final action on the bill was delayed for over three weeks. House-Senate conferees meeting to resolve differences between the two versions of the bill bogged down over the issue of travel allowances for military dependents, specifically of dependents of junior enlistees, stationed abroad. Conferees eventually reached a compromise that forced a small reduction in the number of overseas military dependents, but travel allowances for dependents of low-ranking enlistees were retained.

Another issue further delayed final action. Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., threatened to raise a point of order against the conference agreement on the question of sanctions against Rhodesia. The bill was returned to conference where a compromise satisfactory to Helms was reached, and the Senate then approved the conference report by voice vote Oct. 24.

The House cleared the bill for the president Oct. 26 when it approved the conference report by a 300-26 vote. *(Vote 547, p. 160-H)*

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 428 authorized:

	Administration Request	Final Authorization
Procurement		
Aircraft		
Army	$ 946,400,000	$ 1,002,600,000
Navy and Marine Corps	3,967,900,000	4,534,900,000
Air Force	7,931,200,000	8,085,440,000
Missiles		
Army	1,250,500,000	1,202,900,000
Navy	1,548,300,000	1,575,100,000
Marine Corps	20,500,000	20,500,000
Air Force	2,288,600,000	2,263,800,000
Naval Vessels	6,173,800,000	6,706,800,000
Tracked Combat Vehicles		
Army	1,692,500,000	1,679,000,000
Marine Corps	13,000,000	13,000,000
Torpedoes	267,200,000	336,800,000
Other Weapons		
Army	196,400,000	170,500,000
Navy	158,000,000	153,000,000
Marine Corps	18,700,000	25,200,000
Subtotal	26,473,000,000	27,769,540,000

	Administration Request	Final Authorization
Research and Development		
Army	2,927,000,000	2,866,461,000
Navy	4,489,341,000	4,542,992,000
Air Force	5,005,100,000	4,994,046,000
Defense Agencies	1,120,000,000	1,110,618,000
Subtotal	13,541,441,000	13,514,117,000
Civil Defense	108,800,000	106,800,000
TOTAL	40,123,241,000	41,390,457,000

[1] *Includes U.S. share of cost to NATO of AWACS radar planes.*

Senate Committee Action

As reported by the Senate Armed Services Committee May 31, S 428 (S Rept 96-197) authorized $40.9 billion for weapons procurement and military research projects in fiscal 1980. This was $37 million less than the administration requested.

The committee incorporated in the bill several provisions aimed at substantially cutting the number of family members allowed to accompany military personnel on overseas assignments.

Under existing law, families could accompany all but first-term enlistees on multi-year assignments abroad. The military services contended that the policy heightened morale, discipline and combat-readiness.

But Senate Armed Services Chairman John C. Stennis, D-Miss., and Manpower and Personnel Subcommittee Chairman Sam Nunn, D-Ga., insisted that the 294,000 U.S. military dependents in Europe were an obstacle to combat-readiness and a drain on the U.S. dollar in peacetime. And in case of war, they maintained, troops could be distracted from their military mission by concern for the safety of their families.

The panel called for specific reductions in military manpower programs that provided services for dependents abroad and an end to the payment of overseas moving expenses for families of low-ranking enlisted persons. And it ordered the Pentagon to formulate plans to cut the number of military dependents abroad by 10 percent at the end of fiscal 1980 and by 30 percent at the end of fiscal 1984. *(Background, p. 250)*

Most weapons programs were approved essentially as requested, but significant committee changes included the following:

Strategic Warfare

M-X Missile. The committee approved the $670 million requested for initial design and construction of the M-X mobile intercontinental missile. *(Background on M-X, p. 437)*

The committee bill provided that after the president settled on an M-X design, no money authorized by S 428 could be spent on missile development for 60 days, during which time either house could pass a resolution blocking the project for the rest of fiscal 1980. The delay would be waived if both houses passed a resolution approving the president's plan.

Cruise Missiles. The committee approved the requested $364 million for 225 air-launched cruise missiles carried by B-52 bombers, the first large production batch. And it approved the $25 million requested to prepare for initial production of a ground-launched version of the cruise missile that would be capable of hitting targets deep in Eastern Europe or European Russia from bases in Western Europe.

As it had done in 1978, the panel insisted on adding money ($19.4 million) for production of nuclear-armed cruise missiles that would be launched from ships and submarines against land targets. The administration had deferred production of the weapon, arguing that it might simply duplicate other weapons. But committee members argued that the weapon could offset a Soviet advantage in long-range nuclear arms deployed in Europe, and they charged that the administration was delaying the project for arms control reasons.

Weapons Modernization. The panel dropped $18 million requested to begin work on a $2.2 billion radar-jamming system for B-52 bombers. The equipment would not be ready until 1984, and the planes would have too few years of service left to make the investment worthwhile, the committee said.

The committee also dropped $5 million that would have started a $650 million program to modernize the DEW line radar warning system.

And it cut $32 million from a $135 million request for various nuclear war communications systems. The committee directed the Pentagon to place more emphasis on communications equipment that could survive the opening rounds of a nuclear conflict.

NATO Preparedness

The panel approved the $666 million requested for production of 352 XM-1 tanks, and earmarked $14.2 million for development of a diesel engine for the new tank. The diesel engine would be substituted for the tank's turbine engine if test problems with the turbine were not cleared up.

The committee cut $217 million requested to produce 251 new models of the M-60, the tank currently used by the Army. The panel authorized instead $117 million to modernize the same number of older M-60s.

The committee approved the $76.3 million requested for a plan to modify commercial jetliners so they could quickly be converted to military transports in case of an international crisis. But it ordered the Pentagon to ensure that the program would recover the government's investment in case a plane became unavailable for military use.

More Aircraft

Like its House counterpart, the Senate panel added to the bill funds for Navy and reserve unit aircraft, including:

- $351.5 million to buy 25 (rather than 15) F-18 Navy fighters.
- $89 million for eight A-6E all-weather Navy bombers. The administration had planned to end production of these planes.
- $149.2 million for 12 trainer versions of the A-7 light bomber used by Air National Guard units.
- $79 million for eight C-130 transports for the Air National Guard.

Warships

As in 1978, the committee recommended that the Navy build one more large aircraft carrier, but also begin experi-

Special House Subcommittee Skeptical of . . .

A continuing debate on defense policy was dramatized in February when a special House subcommittee sharply challenged the Carter administration's efforts to promote cooperation among its NATO allies in the development and production of weapons.

Arms cooperation was not likely to save much money for the United States, according to the House Armed Services Special Subcommittee on NATO Standardization, Interoperability, and Readiness. And the policy could reduce the quality of U.S. combat equipment while undermining American industry's technological edge over its European competitors, the panel said in a report it issued Feb. 18.

The panel concluded that whatever the benefits of cooperation in armaments, it was not a solution to NATO's critical military situation. To counter a Soviet military buildup in Eastern Europe, the panel said, more defense spending rather than greater efficiency was required.

U.S.-NATO Arms Cooperation

For several years, many U.S. defense analysts had argued that combined defense expenditures of the NATO allies would go much further if the allies reduced duplication in weapons development and production.

Beyond the possible economic savings, proponents said standardization of arms would improve NATO's combat effectiveness by ensuring that the equipment of member nations' forces was interchangeable, allowing members to use the same supplies.

Both the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Ford administration embraced the standardization policy. And during his 1976 presidential campaign, Jimmy Carter stressed that it was a good way to beef up U.S. combat capability without spending additional money.

But the House Armed Services Committee was skeptical of some of the specific arms cooperation programs pushed by Pentagon civilians and the Senate panel, a fact reflected in the special subcommittee's charter. The subcommittee, chaired by Dan Daniel, D-Va., was directed to look for specific shortcomings in NATO combat readiness.

Subcommittee Report

In its report, the panel questioned what it considered to be uncritical support for NATO arms cooperation. Adherents of arms standardization often simply assumed that arms cooperation was beneficial, but there were no agreed upon criteria by which to assess the costs and benefits of the policy.

The panel dismissed as unproven one highly publicized estimate that duplication within NATO was costing the alliance $10 billion annually. The Pentagon was just beginning to calculate the costs of duplicative production lines, it said.

The panel's own estimate was that no more than $3 billion, about 2 percent of total NATO defense spending, could be saved by arms standardization. Alliance members would insist on operating their own production lines to save jobs; therefore, the only real savings would come from eliminating duplicate research and development programs, the panel said.

Moreover, the subcommittee said, even if arms cooperation were shown to enhance alliance cohesion and reduce costs, the question remained "whether immediate military benefits to U.S. forces should be sacrificed for political solidarity." And it insisted that U.S. forces, unlike those of other NATO members, had to be equipped to meet military requirements around the globe.

The panel acknowledged the advantages of having combat units of different NATO members use a single communications system and share supplies. But it concluded that these problems could be solved by relatively minor technical changes in equipment.

Arms Procurement Politics

The Carter administration's NATO arms cooperation policy simply was caving in to the European allies' poli-

menting with smaller ships carrying planes that could take off and land vertically.

It recommended $1.76 billion for another oil-powered carrier of the *John F. Kennedy* class, carrying about 90 planes, instead of the $1.62 billion requested by Carter for a smaller ship carrying about 60 planes.

At the same time, it authorized $49.5 million to convert a helicopter carrier into a carrier that could handle short take-off aircraft (V/STOL). Existing helicopter carriers were used to carry a Marine Corps landing force. To replace them, the panel approved $41.5 million to begin work on the first of a new class of Marine landing ships.

The committee also added $25 million to begin designing a new class of smaller aircraft carriers that would carry V/STOL planes.

To continue development of an improved version (the Harrier B) of the British-built Harrier V/STOL currently used by the Marines as a light bomber, the panel added $180 million. Senior Marine Corps officials fervently supported the Harrier, because it could place Marine landing forces in areas not having runways.

Proponents of smaller V/STOL carriers for the Navy, led by Sen. Gary Hart, D-Colo., argued that the plane also could be used to perform some aircraft carrier missions. So the committee included $5 million for the Harrier B plus, a suitably modified version of the Harrier B.

Hart had sponsored a similar set of additions to the fiscal 1979 procurement bill, although House supporters of big carriers eventually gutted several of Hart's key provisions. But Hart also faced strong skepticism from members of his own Senate Armed Services Committee about the military value of V/STOLs.

Although it had backed the program over administration objections in 1978, the committee in 1979 accepted the Pentagon's decision not to continue work on an experimental anti-submarine ship (called an SES) that would skim over the ocean at up to 100 miles an hour atop a bubble of air. The committee ordered the Pentagon to recoup $44 million appropriated in fiscal 1979 but never spent on the project.

... Arms Cooperation Policy with NATO Allies

cies of economic protectionism, the subcommittee charged. "The European defense industries represent an important investment on the part of their governments in financial resources, jobs and national pride," the panel said. These factors "very naturally influence government defense planning and procurement decisions."

The panel was especially critical of the practice, emphasized by both the Ford and Carter administrations, of formally committing the United States to purchase specific products from a NATO ally in return for that country's purchase of some U.S. item.

Congress had no role in negotiating these memoranda of understanding, the subcommittee observed. And given congressional review of defense budgets on a program-by-program basis, "there exist many considerations and forces which could rupture [such] understandings even if they were presented to Congress with complete explanation of the consequences."

Handing out weapons projects on a political basis risked lowering the quality of the weapons by protecting contractors against competition, the panel warned. It suggested that the alliance define its military requirements and then select equipment on a competitive basis. That approach would leave U.S. and European defense industries free to arrange any cooperative steps that might be advantageous technically.

The panel also warned against completely ignoring the fact that military allies of the United States were also its economic rivals. The goal of arms cooperation should not automatically override legal safeguards protecting the confidentiality of proprietary information developed by U.S. firms, the subcommittee insisted. And it complained that no governmental mechanism had been created to weigh the economic costs of exporting a particular technology to advance arms standardization against the military benefits that would result from that standardization.

NATO Buildup Too Slow

NATO's most urgent need was not for arms cooperation, said the panel, but for increased combat capability to offset the continuing Soviet buildup. It was "extremely doubtful" that the alliance now could turn back an attack with non-nuclear forces, the panel said.

Shortages of ammunition and spare equipment to replace equipment lost in combat were among the most serious problems. "Incredibly, after 30 years, NATO now hopes, by 1983, to develop a capability to fight for 30 days," the subcommittee said.

The basic cause of those deficiencies was not that NATO was spending inefficiently, but that it was not spending enough, the panel said. It noted that NATO had made substanial progress in coordinating members' military plans. But it argued that many other shortcomings "can only be corrected if the allies commit themselves to much more substantial increases in the defense budgets than the announced 3 percent goal" for real growth.

Recommendations

In its report, the panel recommended that:

- The secretary of defense report to Congress annually on NATO's combat readiness. Specific weaknesses of national forces should be identified and related to specific plans to rectify them.

- The secretary of state report to the Senate and House Armed Services committees all agreements, other than treaties, between the United States and other NATO allies, touching on national security.

- The secretary of defense report to the Armed Services committees on all ongoing negotiations for NATO arms cooperation.

- All parts of the Defense Department budget dealing with procurement and operations and maintenance costs be subject to prior legislative authorization. That recommendation would extend the Armed Services committees' oversight to these parts of the budget. Existing defense authorizations were required only for major weapons procurements and military research programs.

For the fourth year in a row, the panel rejected a cut to about 50,000 in the size of the Naval Reserve.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed S 428 June 13 after agreeing to defer debate on a proposal to resume registration of males for the military draft.

Passage came on an 89-7 vote. *(Vote 127, p. 23-S)*

After it reported S 428, the Senate Armed Services Committee voted 12-5 in favor of resuming compulsory registration for the military draft. After the conversion to the all-volunteer army in the mid-1970s, registration was abolished in 1975.

Armed Services Chairman Stennis and Manpower Subcommittee Chairman Nunn offered an amendment to S 428 to resume draft registration. Nunn told the Senate such an amendment to S 428 might be the only way to get a Senate debate on registration. The House Armed Services Committee had included a similar provision in its version of the bill, and if registration were incorporated in the conference report on the weapons bill the Senate either would have to accept it or vote down the entire bill.

In either case, senators would have little opportunity to debate the matter, he said.

Registration opponents, lead by Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore, and George McGovern, D-S.D., insisted the issue was far too important and too complex to be dealt with in a few hours of floor debate on an amendment. Registration would be only the first step toward resumption of the draft, they maintained, and lengthy committee hearings and extended floor debate would be necessary.

Nunn eventually dropped his effort to add the registration amendment to S 428 in return for an agreement that the Senate take up the issue in a separate bill (S 109) after the House acted on the weapons authorization bill. (The House subsequently rejected its committee proposal to resume registration. On Sept. 21 the Senate considered S 109, but Nunn agreed not to seek a vote on the bill in 1979. The

bill authorized restoration of registration for a future draft should one become necessary.)

Rhodesia Sanctions

Except for the registration issue, the only major floor fight involved a provision in the committee bill mandating an immediate end to economic sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Administration supporters pushed a compromise that would have given Carter at least until December to decide whether to lift the sanctions. But that amendment was tabled on a 52-41 vote. *(Vote 126, p. 23-S)*

Before the vote, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance said Carter would "quite likely" veto the bill if it required him to lift the sanctions immediately. *(Details of congressional action on Rhodesia, p. 156)*

Other Action

In other floor action on S 428, the Senate approved by voice votes six non-controversial amendments:

- By Hart, to add $11.1 million to the Navy research and development account, $8 million of which was for a program to ensure that the weapons and electronic sensors on future warships would be modularized. Since these items typically became obsolete long before a ship wore out, modular components would allow ships to be more easily modernized.
- By Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., restricting the authority of the defense secretary to transfer to civilian contractors defense jobs currently performed by federal employees.
- By Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., to provide annual cost-of-living increases to those enrolled in the Defense Department's medical school scholarship program.
- By Thad Cochran, R-Miss., to increase the federal contribution for remunerating certain administrators of the high school Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC).
- By Birch Bayh, D-Ind., giving the Pentagon certain leeway in meeting its annual manpower ceiling on civilian employees.
- By Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., extending for another year prohibitions included in the fiscal 1979 weapons authorization bill on use of funds for ELF, a large underground radio antenna for communicating with submerged submarines. The provisions would bar use of any funds for the project until the president decided where it should be located and declared that it was in the national interest.

The Senate rejected, 18-78, a Hart amendment that would have deleted $1.3 billion for the F-18 Navy fighter program. *(Vote 125, p. 23-S)*

House Committee Action

The House Armed Services Committee reported its version of the bill (HR 4040 — H Rept 96-166) May 15, authorizing $42.1 billion in fiscal 1980 for weapons procurement. The amount was $1.2 billion more than the Senate had approved.

The Navy and the reserve forces were the main beneficiaries of the committee's higher total. Major increases proposed in weapons authorizations included:

- $947 million for warships, including the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier instead of the smaller, conventional carrier preferred by Carter, an additional nuclear attack submarine and continued development of an experimental submarine-hunter that could travel at 100 mph.

The panel also added $725 million for two destroyers that originally had been ordered by the shah of Iran, but the administration had planned to include those in the fiscal 1980 authorization bill anyway. The ships had been canceled by the revolutionary regime when it took control of Iran in February 1979. (Congress eventually decided to authorize the ships in the fiscal 1979 defense supplemental authorization bill. *(1979 defense supplemental authorization, p. 437)*

- $882 million for Navy and Marine airplanes, including 27 additional jet fighters and continued development of a V/STOL light bomber for the Marines.
- $283 million for aircraft for reserve and National Guard units, including eight transports, 34 anti-tank helicopters and 12 combat trainers. This brought the total in the bill for aircraft to $13.5 billion.

Other highlights of the committee's recommendations follow.

Draft Registration

The committee's most publicized addition to the bill was a provision to re-establish mandatory registration for the draft by all 18-year-old males, beginning in 1981.

The panel stressed that this step was not intended to lead to a peacetime draft. But registration would shorten the time it took to begin drafting men in case war threatened, the committee said. And it pointed out that such a stand-by draft mechanism had been envisioned when the nation went to the all-volunteer system in 1973.

Technically, the legal obligation of males between the ages of 18 and 26 to register for the draft had never lapsed, but no registration system had been in operation since 1975. That year President Ford suspended the existing registration system pending study of a new, less expensive procedure. No replacement system was ever established.

The committee provision would require the president to recommend to Congress by Jan. 15, 1980, how the new registration would work, whether it should include women, and other details. Congress could then act on those recommendations in time for the system to take effect by the 1981 deadline.

Strategic Warfare

M-X Missile. The committee approved the $670 million requested by Carter for development of the M-X mobile intercontinental missile. But it added to the bill language intended to push the president to select a particular version of M-X in which each missile would be shuttled among several launch sites like the pea in a carnival shell game. This same language had been added to the fiscal 1979 defense supplemental. *(Story, p. 437)*

In the committee-backed version of M-X — called MPS — 200 missiles would be shuttled at random among 4,000 to 5,000 underground launch sites to prevent their destruction by a Soviet surprise attack. The White House feared that Moscow would imitate such a U.S. system and that neither country thereafter would be able to verify that the other was abiding by the proposed SALT II treaty, which would limit the number of intercontinental missiles. But the committee insisted that of the various M-X versions under discussion only MPS would survive long enough to be usable in a prolonged nuclear war.

The committee's mandate for MPS could be waived if another version of M-X were found to be militarily superior or if the president found MPS to be contrary to U.S. inter-

ests. And as a concession to the committee minority who supported Carter's approach to arms control, the bill required a detailed report from the secretary of defense assessing several potential liabilities of MPS.

Bombers, Cruise Missiles. The committee approved the $431.9 million requested for modifying B-52 bombers to carry long-range cruise missiles. Carter in 1977 chose to continue using the B-52s instead of replacing them with the very expensive B-1 bomber.

A majority of the full committee reluctantly acknowledged that no alternative cruise missile carrier except the modified B-52s could be in service for years. But it cut two programs that were oriented toward long-term modernization of the B-52s.

The panel insisted that this interim B-52 force be replaced by planes designed specifically to carry cruise missiles in combat, not by modified wide-body passenger jetliners. It canceled a $30 million program to study the use of wide-body jets and, instead, ordered the money to be used to compare the advantages of a short-takeoff transport and a low-cost version of the B-1 as a future cruise missile carrier.

Submarine Missiles. The requested $1.1 billion for the eighth Trident missile submarine was approved, as were 82 more Trident I missiles ($763 million). But the committee rejected $40.6 million requested for development of a more accurate missile, called Trident II.

The panel said it was deferring approval of the program because there was no clear statement of the Navy's need for it and because the program's eventual cost of $8 billion would shut out other key Navy programs.

Like the Senate, the House deleted $13.5 million requested for a giant underground radio antenna to communicate with submerged missile submarines. Congress had made the fiscal 1979 authorization for the project, called ELF, contingent on the president's certification that the system was in the national interest and on his selection of a location. The president had complied with neither directive.

NATO Warfare

The committee showed no fundamental disagreement with the administration's plans for beefing up U.S. forces in Europe with more sophisticated weapons. But it revised some important details and opposed purchase of a European-designed missile. U.S. purchase of the missile had become an important symbol, politically, within NATO.

Reflecting a suspicion that other NATO allies were not bearing their fair share of the defense burden, the committee added a provision requiring an annual report from the secretary of defense on deficiencies in NATO's combat readiness. The report called for identifying specific items in each ally's budget aimed at remedying the problem.

Anti-aircraft Missiles. The committee revised the authorizations for nearly every missile program in the Army's anti-aircraft network to compensate for its deletion of $283 million for U.S. production of the French/German-designed Roland missile.

Within NATO, the U.S. decision made in 1975 to buy the short-range Roland had become a symbol of U.S. willingness to purchase European equipment. The missile was the focus of the Ford and Carter administrations' campaigns to standardize the military equipment used by NATO members. Standardization was viewed as a significant means of reducing wasteful duplication in each country's defense budgets.

Defense Secretary Harold Brown had strongly opposed the deletion, and the panel's senior Republican, Bob Wilson, Calif., warned that it would be "a body blow to our NATO structure."

But the committee majority countered that estimates of Roland's costs had quadrupled in three years to $3.7 billion and that other missiles in the Army's arsenal could do the jobs assigned to Roland.

The committee was more skeptical of some NATO standardization projects than its Senate counterpart, but the House panel insisted Congress already had indicated its support for the overall policy. "The basic issue is whether Congress should support [NATO standardization policies] even when they are not cost-effective," the committee majority said. *(Related story, p. 248)*

The panel added $16 million (for a total of $38.1 million) to modernize the Chaparral missile that Roland would have replaced; $35.4 million (to $71.9 million) to modernize long-range Hawk missiles; and $25 million (to $106 million) to speed up production of the portable, one-man-operated, Stinger missile.

In other NATO-related actions, the committee approved requests for more than $1,000 tanks and increased the authorization for purchasing 208 IFV troop carriers.

The panel also approved requests for various programs to continue modernization of the airlift capability to carry reinforcements to Europe in event of war. Also authorized was $74 million requested for the program modifying commercial jets so they could be converted quickly to carry military cargo in time of war.

Warships

Nuclear Carrier. Reflecting its longstanding preference for nuclear power for large warships, the panel substituted the $2.1 billion nuclear-powered aircraft carrier for the smaller, conventionally powered ship requested by Carter.

The committee felt the smaller ship, which carried only 60 planes, was part of a Carter policy to relegate the Navy to backwater wars and convoy duty. The nuclear ship's larger capacity and its nearly unlimited range at high speed were military advantages well worth the higher cost, the panel argued.

Some critics of another nuclear carrier — it would be the fifth — maintained the smaller carrier (called a CVV) would be adequate for any military mission. Others argued that even another conventional carrier was unnecessary because the existing fleet would have 11 active carriers through the end of the century.

In 1978 the House committee suffered a humiliating defeat when it tried unsuccessfully to convince the House to override the president's veto of the fiscal 1979 defense authorization bill because it contained the nuclear carrier. *(Details, 1978 Almanac p. 321)*

The committee provision also was at odds with the Senate, which had authorized a large 90-plane carrier, but stipulated that it should be oil-powered.

Sub Hunting. The panel's other major additions to the bill were for ships designed to hunt down the large Soviet submarine fleet. These included $370 million for a second attack submarine and $100 million to continue development of a destroyer-size surface-effects ship (SES). The Pentagon had concluded that the novel ship duplicated missions that could be performed by helicopters carried on conventional anti-submarine ships. The Senate did not authorize funds for the project.

Aircraft

As in previous years, the committee recommended significant increases in the aircraft authorizations requested by the administration.

Authorizations included $556.5 million for 27 fighter planes for the Navy and $266 million for aircraft for the Air Force Reserve and Air National Guard.

The panel also added to the bill $180 million to continue development of the Harrier B, an improved version of the British V/STOL light bomber. The secretary of defense had maintained it would be cheaper for the Marines to use a version of the F-18 as a light bomber. But the Marine Corps insisted that vertical takeoff planes were more adaptable to its needs.

Military Manpower

The committee's most dramatic addition to the bill was its proposal to resume draft registration. But to buttress its support of the all-volunteer military, the panel also proposed several less explosive personnel policies to redress various military manpower shortages.

The committee directed the Pentagon to study more attractive education benefits systems. The only benefit currently available to new recruits was participation in a contributory education benefits plan in which the government matched an enlistee's contribution on a 2-for-1 basis, up to $75 a month. The committee suggested one possibility for further study was a policy of forgiving students' education loans obtained from other federal agencies in return for military service.

The committee also proposed liberalizing the services' education benefits program.

Like the Senate, the House committee rejected the Pentagon's proposal to reduce the Naval Reserve to about 50,000, from the existing level of 87,000. And in an effort to increase the number of doctors entering the military, the panel raised the monthly stipend in the Pentagon's medical school scholarship program to match that of a similar program run by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 4040 Sept. 14 by a 282-46 vote. *(Vote 429, p. 124-H)*

The House-passed bill authorized $41.5 billion for weapons procurement, military research and civil defense in fiscal 1980. This was $1.3 billion more than President Carter had requested.

The largest single committee increase in the Carter request, which the House agreed to, was the additional $477 million to build the $2.1 billion nuclear-powered aircraft carrier.

Registration Issue

During debate on the bill, House members still disillusioned by the Vietnam experience and conservatives opposed to further government interference in the private lives of Americans joined forces Sept. 12 to overwhelm the committee's attempt to resume registration of males for a future military draft.

Included in the bill as reported by House Armed Services was a provision resuming registration of men turning 18 years of age after Dec. 31, 1980. An attempt by committee member G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery, D-Miss., to save the provision failed, 163-252. Democrats voted against registration by nearly a two-to-one margin, and a majority of Republicans also opposed it.

The committee provision subsequently was dropped from the bill through an amendment offered by Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo.

Advocates of immediate registration said the issue was separate from the debate over the future of the all-volunteer Army. They noted that when the draft was ended in 1973 it had been assumed that a standby draft system would remain, ready to be activated in case of a national emergency. But many House members clearly regarded registration as a foot in the door for eventual resumption of a peacetime draft.

For nearly three years, defense hard-liners in Congress had been citing a wide range of Army manpower problems as evidence that U.S. defense needs could not be met by the all-volunteer system.

Registration Debate

Armed Services members defended the committee's registration provision by using Pentagon estimates showing that the existing draft system would be too slow to provide essential reinforcements in case of a war in Europe. Robin L. Beard Jr., R-Tenn., offered some conclusions drawn from a 1978 mobilization exercise code-named Nifty Nugget. "Ninety days into a conflict, we could be more than one million personnel short of the demand. But even more critical are the desperate shortages of soldiers in the infantry, armor, artillery and combat specialties," he said.

Other proponents cited testimony by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Army Secretary Clifford L. Alexander Jr., and former NATO commander Gen. Alexander Haig calling for resumption of peacetime registration.

Armed Services Manpower Subcommittee Chairman Richard C. White, D-Texas, stressed that mobilization readiness was necessary to deter war. "Every day our reserve forces dwindle away, and we fail to have even the minimum backup [of] standby registration," he said. "Our defense posture grows less credible, and we invite intimidation and lightning attack."

White said the committee would accept computer registration based on government files if the president submitted the necessary legislation. "Whatever way is the simplest and least disruptive is fine with us, but we say for God's sake let us get going because this nation is not in a good condition."

Supporters cited Gallup and Harris polls showing public support for registration by margins of more than two to one. And some advocates insisted that registration was not connected to the future of the all-volunteer Army. Even if registration were resumed, Congress would have to pass separate legislation before the draft could be restored.

But other registration supporters did link it to the fate of the all-volunteer system and to the broader question of U.S. military preparedness.

"This entire debate today does not address the substance of the issue," declared Charles F. Dougherty, R-Pa. "The fact is, we do not have the men, we do not have the ships and it is getting obvious from the comments of some people that we do not have the will."

Registration opponents simply did not see the necessity for speedy adoption of so far-reaching a policy. "I see no immediate emergency, and I see no emergency in the foreseeable future that would require. . . such a procedure at this time," said Charles H. Wilson, D-Calif.

Opponents pointed to statements by President Carter and Defense Secretary Harold Brown denying that there was any need at present to resume registration. These legislators contended that the Selective Service System plan for a one-time registration might be preferable to the committee's face-to-face proposal. The central theme of many opposing speeches was that the issue needed more study.

But some liberals took a firmer stance against registration, arguing that compulsory induction would be needed only to fight an unpopular war. "The lessons of the '60s are that we cannot put Americans in uniform and send them out unless they are convinced they are truly defending the future of America and the moral premises America has stood for," said Schroeder.

By the same token, argued John F. Seiberling, D-Ohio, a draft would not be needed if the country faced a direct military threat. "Whenever it is clear that the interest of the United States and our national security are at stake, young people will volunteer by the hundreds of thousands as they did after Pearl Harbor," he added.

Several conservative Republicans who generally took a hard line on defense issues attacked the registration proposal as unwarranted government interference. "I do not believe we as conservatives can defend the marketplace and private property properly if we do not maintain that a man's life is his own and not the government's," argued Ron Paul, R-Texas. Paul chided fellow conservatives who would register their children but not their guns.

On the other hand, liberals such as Paul N. McCloskey Jr., R-Calif., and John J. Cavanaugh, D-Neb., warned that the all-volunteer Army was too poor and too black. Both members called for a system of universal national service, including military service as one option. But none of these critics saw registration in itself as a solution to the Army's problems.

Beard Strategy

Conceding that the committee's registration proposal was doomed, Beard (R-Tenn.) complained that the Pentagon was deceiving Congress and the public about the seriousness of the Army's manpower problems. He hoped to keep that issue alive by offering an amendment to create a 24-member panel made up of Senate and House members and outsiders that would examine all facets of the U.S. capacity to mobilize for war and report back to Congress within nine months.

"When this commission. . . has an opportunity to look at the classified documents, the internal classified documents used by the Department of Defense which they have continued to classify and [cover up], I think there is no doubt about it that this House will be extremely concerned, much more concerned than it is now, with the status of our all-volunteer army," he said.

Ronald V. Dellums, D-Calif., warned fellow liberals against supporting Beard's amendment because it would "simply keep alive an issue that we will literally destroy today."

But Beard's colleagues on Armed Services also vigorously opposed the move, calling it a slur on the committee since it implied that the panel's own recommendations on the issue would not be heeded by the House.

Beard protested that he simply was facing the political fact that the House was very likely to reject the committee's registration provision. But Armed Services Chairman Melvin Price, D-Ill., was not moved. "Just because mem-

Status of Selective Service

Although draft calls ended in January 1973, the Selective Service System continued to register men after their 18th birthday until 1975. That year, President Ford suspended registration pending a study of a new, less expensive procedure and put the draft system into a "deep standby" status.

For some time it had been suspected that the nation's ability to reinstitute the draft in an emergency was too slow. That was confirmed in 1978 when Selective Service estimated it would take 110 days to reconstitute its nationwide staff and deliver the first inductee to the Army. It would take five months for the Army to receive the first 100,000 inductees.

But in October 1977 the Pentagon asked the draft agency to develop the capability to deliver the first inductee in one month, the first 100,000 in two months, and 650,000 within six months. This new timetable was based on the estimated capacity of the Army's training bases.

One-time Registration. In 1978 Selective Service developed plans for mass registration that it said could meet the Pentagon timetable. The draft agency said it would be able to set up a network of field offices within nine days after national mobilization began. On the 10th day all two million males 18 years of age would register at 40,000 locations manned by state election officials. Over the next five days, they would be processed by a new Selective Service computer system. Induction notices would be mailed on the 19th day, and on the 30th day the first inductees would be due at Army training centers.

Culling From Government Files. An alternative to the Selective Service plan, suggested by the Congressional Budget Office, would exploit the extensive government records on U.S. citizens. The raw material for an up-to-date inventory of most of the nation's draft-eligible persons — birth date, sex and current mailing address — was available through several government agencies: the Social Security System, the Internal Revenue Service, and motor vehicle bureaus.

These agencies could prepare such an inventory for the Selective Service System if granted a waiver from current laws barring the use of such files for purposes other than those originally intended. Such an inventory could be prepared before a national emergency and updated periodically.

Face-to-Face Registration. The House Armed Services Committee dismissed as dangerous the Selective Service plan for a one-time registration after mobilization. In its report on HR 4040, the House panel said the plan would entail "massive risks. Conditions in this country within a few days after a national mobilization are at best unknown."

The House panel's language was a modification of existing law that required registration for the draft to be "face-to-face."

Proponents argued that only a face-to-face system would allow immediate classification of the registrants through mental and physical examinations. Some insisted such a system would foster awareness of a general civic obligation to serve the nation.

bers of the House are not ready, perhaps, to support legislation is no reason to throw the responsibility of Mr. White's [Manpower] subcommittee to an ad hoc commission," he maintained.

Liberals voted against Beard in droves, but so did conservatives at the urging of the Armed Services majority, and the amendment was rejected, 144-268. *(Vote 419, p. 122-H)*

The House next voted, 163-252, against the Montgomery amendment that would have reaffirmed the committee position, and then voted, 259-155, in favor of the Schroeder amendment deleting the registration provision from the bill. All but a handful of members voted consistently for or against registration on both votes. *(Votes 420, 421, p. 122-H)*

The Schroeder amendment also required the president to present recommendations to Congress by January 1980 on resumption of registration and several other military manpower problems.

Although the shadow of the Vietnam War lay over the whole debate, the votes of the group of members who had been of draft age or younger during the war did not differ markedly from the House as a whole.

Among the 93 House members under 40, those who voted on the Montgomery and Schroeder amendments opposed registration 60 to 29, a slightly higher ratio than the House as a whole. Young Republicans favored registration 16 to 14, while House Republicans as a whole had opposed it by a narrow margin. Young Democrats opposed registration 46 to 13, a somewhat higher ratio than that of the entire House Democratic membership.

Carrier Issue

The House Sept. 13 rejected, 96-309, an amendment by Vic Fazio, D-Calif., that would have substituted the oil-powered, *Kennedy*-class ship for the committee-backed nuclear carrier. And it voted, 112-286, against an amendment offered by Dellums to drop all carrier funding from the bill. The debate followed the same lines as nuclear carrier debates in earlier years. *(Votes 423, 424, p. 124-H)*

Supporters of the nuclear-powered ship argued that its slightly higher initial cost was more than offset by the cost of providing fuel oil to a conventional carrier over its 30-year life. They insisted that the ship's ability to steam at top speed over virtually unlimited distances was a highly valuable military asset.

Paul S. Trible Jr., R-Va., told the House that Carter would not dare veto the bill in order to prevent acquisition of a fifth nuclear carrier. The country was more sensitive to the Soviet military threat than in 1978, he said, and Carter was forced to take a hard line on defense to win approval of SALT II.

M-X Missile

By a vote of 86-305, the House Sept. 13 rejected an amendment by Dellums to delete the $670 million in the bill to continue development of the M-X mobile intercontinental missile. *(Vote 425, p. 124-H)*

Dellums argued that the prospect of such an attack on existing U.S. intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) was only hypothetical. The Russians would be deterred from such a strike by the knowledge that surviving U.S. missile submarines and bombers would be able to devastate Soviet cities in a counterstrike. He warned that the greater accuracy of the M-X would only fuel the arms race.

Carter Decision on M-X Missile

On Sept. 7 President Carter announced his long awaited decision on how the M-X missile would be based and protected from a Soviet surprise attack.

In 1978 the administration had conceded that by 1982 Soviet missiles would be accurate enough to destroy most U.S. ICBMs in their underground silos. U.S. missile submarines and bombers could survive such an attack, but only the land-based missiles had a long enough range to be able to strike Russian missile silos and other armored military targets.

To ensure that the U.S. missile force would not be vulnerable to a Soviet attack, various versions of a new missile — the M-X — that could be moved secretly among many possible launch sites were designed.

The M-X was to carry 10 warheads, compared to only three on Minuteman, the existing U.S. strategic missile. The greater accuracy of the new version would, according to proponents, match Soviet capabilities for destroying large numbers of armored targets such as missile silos.

Under the plan approved by Carter, each of a planned force of 200 M-Xs would be shuttled at random among more than 20 connected underground launching sites — the "racetrack system." The missiles would lie on their sides in launch shelters and would have to be raised to a 60 degree angle to be fired. Under a future SALT treaty, Soviet reconnaissance satellites occasionally would be able to verify through aerial surveillance that only one missile was deployed on each racetrack.

Defense hard-liners favored another version of M-X in which the missiles would be positioned vertically, ready for firing. They argued that Carter's horizontal system was simply another tactic in the arms controllers' effort to kill M-X in the hope of preserving future arms control opportunities.

These critics said the horizontal system would cost $10 billion more than the vertical plan and charged that Carter might be trying to drive the cost of M-X so high that Congress eventually would kill it.

The administration insisted that the horizontal method had military as well as arms control advantages. If the Russians were able to pick out which launch sites held the missiles and attacked those sites, U.S. missiles in a vertical position would have to be fired within minutes or be destroyed. Missiles stored horizontally could be carried to other launch sites on the "racetrack," and a decision whether or not to launch them could be delayed.

But Carter opponents retorted that the military advantage was merely a rationalization, dreamed up after Carter had selected the horizontal system, for arms control — rather than military — reasons.

The proposed M-X missile would be a much more serious threat than the existing U.S. Minuteman to the Soviet ICBM force, which carried 70 percent of all Russian strategic warheads.

Richard H. Ichord, D-Mo., replied that the M-X was needed so the United States could deter a Soviet attack on U.S. missiles by threatening Soviet military targets without obliterating Russian cities. An attack on Russian cities

would bring immediate retaliatory strikes against U.S. cities, he stressed.

The House then rejected, 84-289, an amendment by Jim Santini, D-Nev., to allow not more than 25 percent of the M-X launch sites to be located in any one state. About 140 of the 200 M-X missiles were to be based in Nevada, and the rest in Utah. *(Vote 426, p. 124-H)*

Santini, Nevada's only House member, claimed the proposed plan placed an unfair burden on his state since M-X construction would bring 20,000-30,000 persons into an area with only 7,000 permanent inhabitants, and the finished system would sprawl over 5,000-10,000 square miles. The Air Force had considered New Mexico and Arizona as additional deployment sites, he said, and the effect of his amendment would be to spread the system among the four states rather than just the two.

Armed Services Chairman Price pointed out that the governors of Nevada and Utah had approved the tentative M-X plan. And Ichord observed that while the M-X sites would spread across 5,000 square miles, only about 25 square miles — the area actually occupied by the launch sites — would be closed to public use.

The House vote came six days after President Carter made known his decision on a basing mode for the M-X. *(Box, p. 450)*

Cruise Missile Carriers

By voice vote, the House approved an Ichord amendment to expand the competition to develop a plane to replace the B-52 bomber as a launcher for the strategic cruise missiles.

The House committee had restricted the competition for the missile carrier to the AMST short-takeoff transport and a simplified version of the B-1 bomber. Rockwell International, the B-1 contractor, for months had been lobbying for the simplified B-1 (called the Strategic Weapons Launcher) as a cruise missile carrier. The new version would fly at less than the speed of sound, have fixed wings and use much more steel and less titanium than the original B-1, thus costing less.

The Ichord amendment provided that other military and commercial transports, as well as the AMST, could compete against the Rockwell plane for the cruise missile mission.

Civil Defense

An amendment by Ike Skelton, D-Mo., to establish a $990 million, five-year civil defense program was approved by voice vote. The new program would be designed to evacuate the U.S. population from major cities in an international crisis, making them less vulnerable to a nuclear attack.

Supporters of the amendment warned that Soviet civil defense plans were far more comprehensive than U.S. plans. They estimated that in a full-scale nuclear exchange 100 million Americans and 10 million Russians would be killed. A civil defense program able to evacuate major cities could save 75 percent of the U.S. population, amendment sponsors said.

But so far-reaching a program could only be developed over the long haul, they added, necessitating the five-year plan.

An amendment by Lucien N. Nedzi, D-Mich., to provide only a one-year civil defense authorization was rejected by voice vote.

Military Dependents' Travel

By a 66-2 standing vote, the House approved an amendment by Les Aspin, D-Wis., requiring that allowances paid for overseas transportation for dependents of military personnel stationed abroad would have to cover families of low-ranking personnel.

The amendment was aimed at the Senate provision prohibiting such payments to low-ranking enlisted personnel. The Senate's language would reduce the number of dependents living abroad.

Other Amendments

The House Sept. 13-14 approved by voice votes the following amendments:

- By Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y., to delete language prohibiting use of funds authorized by the bill to pay for further withdrawals of U.S. troops from South Korea. Stratton, who was a leading opponent of Carter's plan to remove U.S. ground combat troops from South Korea, had sponsored the restrictive language.

But on July 20 Carter suspended the withdrawals until 1981 at the earliest, citing evidence that North Korea was much stronger militarily than had been assumed by the estimates made in 1977 when the policy was announced. Stratton said Carter's reversal made the committee's language superfluous.

- By James M. Hanley, D-N.Y., barring the Defense Department from circumventing statutory limits on the number of civilian Pentagon employees by contracting out projects to civilian firms.

The amendment also required that before the Pentagon could compare the costs of doing a job with federal employees and contracting the job out, the secretary of defense would have to certify to Congress that the Defense Department work force was organized in the most efficient way.

- By Jack Brooks, D-Texas, to delete a ban on the president's use of his government reorganization authority to merge the Selective Service System with any other federal agency.
- By Price, to drop $725 million the committee had added for the purchase of two destroyers for the U.S. Navy that had been ordered by the shah of Iran but subsequently canceled by the new Iranian government. The two ships had been included, together with two sister ships, in the fiscal 1979 supplemental authorization and appropriations bills. *(Defense supplemental, p. 437)*
- By Ichord, adding $15.1 million for continued research on the Viper anti-tank missile. The administration requested funds to begin production of the Viper. But the Pentagon informed the committee that it would delay production pending further development efforts to improve the missile.
- By William J. Hughes, D-N.J., to require the Pentagon to use gasohol for motor vehicle fuel "to the maximum extent feasible and consistent with overall defense needs and sound vehicle management practices."
- By Ken Kramer, R-Colo., barring use of any funds authorized by the bill to cut back on forces or activities at the U.S. Navy's base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

Chairman Price explained that the amendment would have no effect since the bill authorized only weapons procurement and research, not the personnel and operations costs that would be incurred in any cutback at Guantanamo. But Kramer maintained that approval of the amendment would be a signal to the Kremlin that the

United States would not bargain away the Guantanamo base to get the Soviet combat brigade out of Cuba.

• By Herbert E. Harris II, D-Va., extending from Sept. 30, 1979, to March 31, 1980, the deadline for certain military reservists to elect to be covered under the survivor benefit plan.

• By Clarence D. Long, D-Md., delaying from Oct. 1, 1980, to Oct. 1, 1981, the date by which the Pentagon had to complete a 6 percent reduction in the number of senior civilian employees mandated by the fiscal 1978 weapons procurement bill.

• By Dan Glickman, D-Kan., to require the Air Force to investigate and inform Congress of the physical condition of the 54 Titan II ICBMs. Previous accidents indicated the missiles were deteriorating with age, he said.

By a vote of 112-247, the House rejected an amendment by Wilson (D-Calif.) to delete $10 million to provide logistical support for the 1980 winter Olympic games at Lake Placid, N.Y. *(Vote 427, p. 124-H)*

Rejected by a standing vote of 8-11 was an amendment by Leon E. Panetta, D-Calif., providing World War II Philippine Scouts with a lump-sum payment equal to the difference between their pay during the war and the pay of U.S. soldiers of equal rank.

Rejected by voice vote were amendments:

• By Bruce F. Vento, D-Minn., to prevent the Defense Department from providing veterinary care for animals not used by the department in defense-related activities.

• By Vento, to bar Defense Department health personnel from providing cosmetic plastic surgery for dependents of service members or for former service members.

• By Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif., requiring the Pentagon to study the use of additional financial incentives, including the granting of lifetime tax credits, to encourage voluntary enlistments in the armed services.

Dornan also offered but subsequently withdrew an amendment that would have frozen forced discharges or retirements of certain highly trained officers, such as jet pilots, whose performance was above average.

Conference Action

House-Senate conferees filed their conference report on S 428 (H Rept 96-521) Oct. 17. Conferees had reached agreement by late September on all major weapons programs included in the $41.4 billion bill, but a dispute over travel allowances for military dependents delayed the conference report for nearly three weeks. *(Weapons authorizations, box, p. 453)*

Nuclear Carrier

Old-fashioned log-rolling and a new congressional consensus favoring a stronger defense were key factors in the conferees' decision to once again authorize a nuclear aircraft carrier opposed by President Carter.

Senate conferees agreed to the House provision authorizing the $2.1 billion, *Nimitz*-class nuclear-powered carrier opposed by Carter.

Congressional sources offered contradictory explanations for the conferees' decision to challenge Carter on the carrier issue:

• According to some sources, the administration had agreed, at least implicitly, to accept the nuclear carrier if House-Senate conferees dropped the Byrd (Ind-Va.) provision requiring the administration to lift economic sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia from the mid-1960s until 1972, and reimposed in 1977.

The conference compromise replaced the Byrd provision with much weaker language stating that it was the "sense of Congress" that the United States should be able to freely import strategically critical raw materials. Zimbabwe-Rhodesia was a major supplier of chromium ore used in high-strength steel alloys.

• Other congressional sources maintained that the conferees would have settled on the nuclear ship in any event. Fears that Soviet military strength was superior to U.S. strength had increased since Carter vetoed a nuclear carrier in 1978. And Carter could not afford to jeopardize Senate approval of the SALT II treaty by vetoing the defense bill.

• Another source, who advocated the original Senate-passed language requiring the lifting of sanctions, maintained there had been no linkage between the carrier and Rhodesia issues. The Senate conferees simply had yielded to very intense administration pressure to maintain economic sanctions against Salisbury, he insisted.

The House had no provision relating to Rhodesia.

Carter, the secretaries of state and defense, and National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski personally lobbied conferees, warning that approval of the Senate provision would imperil the London conference trying to settle the differences between the warring factions in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, according to this source.

Rhodesia Policy Trade-off?

The key event, according to the view that the Byrd provision was traded for the nuclear carrier, was a Sept. 24 meeting of Carter, Senate Armed Services Chairman Stennis, House Armed Services Chairman Price and House Seapower Subcommittee Chairman Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla.

The administration had informed the Armed Services committees by letter that Carter would veto the authorization bill if it included either the nuclear carrier or language requiring the lifting of sanctions against Rhodesia. At the Sept. 24 meeting, Carter reiterated his warning that the defense bill would be vetoed if it contained the Byrd provision. But when asked whether he would veto the bill just to stop the nuclear carrier, Carter did not directly answer the question, according to one Senate source.

Senate conferees assumed, on the basis of this meeting together with the comments of other administration officials, that Carter would accept the nuclear carrier as the price for dropping the Byrd provision, sources explained.

A large majority on Senate Armed Services agreed with the House committee that the military advantages of the nuclear carrier were worth the extra $500 million. But as a compromise to avert another veto, the committee had recommended a $1.8 billion carrier of the *Kennedy* class. That model carried as many planes as the nuclear ship, but was oil-powered. With the veto threat removed, the Senate conferees were delighted to accept the House-approved nuclear carrier.

Pro-Defense Climate

The other explanation of the conference outcome was that Senate conferees had accepted an argument made by House Armed Services during House debate: That the generally pro-defense political climate in the country by late 1979 and the politics of the SALT II debate would protect the weapons bill against a veto even if it included the nuclear carrier.

Major Weapons Authorizations for Fiscal 1980

(in millions of dollars)

	Carter Request		Senate-passed		House-passed		Final	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
Strategic Warfare								
M-X missile	—	$ 670.0	—	$ 670.0	—	$ 670.0	—	$ 670.0
Trident submarine	1	1,121.1	1	1,121.1	1	1,121.1	1	1,121.1
Trident missile	82	763.0	82	763.0	82	763.0	82	763.0
B-52 modification	—	421.9	—	421.9	—	421.9	—	421.9
Civil defense	—	108.8	—	106.8	—	138.0	—	106.8
Ground Combat								
XM-1 tank	352	647.6	352	633.4	352	647.6	352	647.6
M-60 tank	251	216.8	0	0	251	216.8	64	55.0
M-60 modification	500	117.4	751	177.4	500	117.4	687	162.0
XM-2 troop carrier	208	170.4	208	225.4	208	227.4	208	226.4
Roland antiaircraft missile	410	296.9	410	296.9	0	0	410	296.9
Carrier-related								
Aircraft carrier	1	1,617.1	1	1,760.0	1	2,094.0	1	2,094.0
F-14 fighter	24	580.4	24	580.4	36	815.5	30	763.0
F-18 fighter	15	666.1	25	1,017.6	30	1,151.9	25	1,116.9
A-6E bomber	0	56.7	6	145.6	0	56.7	6	145.6
Advanced Harrier V/STOL bomber	—	0	—	180.0	—	180.0	—	180.0
Other Naval Warfare								
Aegis destroyer	1	820.2	1	820.2	1	820.2	1	820.2
Missile frigate	6	1,204.2	6	1,204.2	6	1,204.2	6	1,204.2
Attack submarine	1	461.5	1	429.6	2	831.5	2	809.6
Surface effect ship	—	0	—	(—44.0)*	—	100.0	—	60.0
Tactical airpower								
F-15 fighter	60	965.5	60	965.5	60	965.5	60	965.5
F-16 fighter	175	1,562.6	175	1,562.6	175	1,562.6	175	1,562.6
A-10 tank-hunter	144	855.3	144	855.3	144	855.3	144	855.3
KC-10 tanker	4	178.5	4	178.5	4	178.5	4	178.5

(Note: Some amounts include funds for spare parts and for advance payments on additional items to be purchased in fiscal 1981.)

** The Senate bill cut $44 million from the Navy's fiscal 1980 research funds to be made up by reclaiming $44 million for the surface effect ship in fiscal 1979.*

SOURCE: House and Senate Armed Services committees

In addition to these broader political considerations, one Senate staffer insisted that recent events had bolstered the military case for the nuclear carrier.

Increasing concern over U.S. access to Middle Eastern oil focused attention on the carrier as the surest way to bring military power to bear in the region. And the escalating price of oil undermined the administration's argument that the operating costs of an oil-powered ship would be cheaper than that of a nuclear ship.

Naval Buildup

With the conference committee's acceptance of another nuclear carrier rather than the conventional model, the total authorization in the conference report for the Navy account was nearly $1.7 billion higher than the administration's request. The increases were concentrated in the Navy's carrier force and in programs to defend against the large Soviet submarine fleet.

Both the House and the Senate Armed Services committees had for years expressed alarm about the declining size of the Navy at a time when the number of powerful, long-range warships in the Soviet fleet was increasing.

Conferees added $560 million for 22 additional fighter planes and bombers for the carrier force. The committees had protested that although the Navy was short of planes, the budget request for 25 new combat planes would not even replace those lost during the fiscal year through accidents or obsolescence. The additional funds were earmarked for:

- Six A-6E medium bombers equipped with sophisticated electronic equipment to pick out targets at night or in bad weather. The administration had asked only for funds

to buy more spare parts for the planes already in the fleet and to shut down the Grumman Corporation's A-6E production line at Bethpage, Long Island, N.Y.

- Six F-14 fighters in addition to the 24 requested for fiscal 1980.
- 10 F-18 fighters (which were cheaper but less capable than the F-14s) in addition to the 15 requested.

Future Small Carriers. Conferees also approved part of a Senate-backed plan to persuade the Navy to develop smaller carriers that would carry vertical takeoff jets. These planes would not need the 1,000-foot-long decks of existing carriers.

Sen. Hart pushed this approach, arguing that the Navy then could build several cheaper carriers to supplement the large ones in the fleet, enabling the United States to cover more potential trouble spots.

The Navy planned to conduct research on V/STOL planes for possible production in the 1990s. The only existing V/STOL warplane, the Harrier bomber used by the Marine Corps, could not match the performance of conventional jets, according to the Navy. But Hart insisted the Navy needed more carriers quickly, that it could afford only the smaller, V/STOL ships in the numbers needed and that modified Harriers would be adequate for certain missions.

House Armed Services saw the Hart plan as a threat to a new large carrier and additional carrier aircraft. But, as they had done in 1978, House conferees accepted components of the Senate-backed V/STOL plan, including:

- $50 million to convert one of the Navy's 12 helicopter carriers (called an LPH) to a light carrier. The ship carried 1,000 Marines and accompanying troop helicopters. The conference report also recommended a $41 million down payment on a new amphibious landing ship that would carry the Marine force displaced by the carrier conversion.
- $5 million to equip the Harrier B plus, an improved version of the Harrier B, to operate from V/STOL carriers. Both houses had added to the bill $180 million for the Marines to continue developing the Harrier B. The $5 million would be used to develop a modified version of this plane (called the Harrier B plus) that would be equipped as a fighter plane for the Navy.
- $10 million to begin designing a new class of V/STOL carriers.

Attack Submarines. Conferees accepted a House provision adding $370 million to buy two attack submarines. The administration had requested only one. These submarines were designed to sink ships with torpedoes and cruise missiles and were regarded by the Navy as especially important weapons against the large Soviet submarine fleet.

The submarines were being built by the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics in Groton, Conn., and the Newport News Shipyard and Drydock Co., a subsidiary of Tenneco, in Newport News, Va.

House members argued that if two of the big submarines were not ordered in fiscal 1980, one of the two shipyards — probably Newport News — would divert its facilities to other projects and thus be unavailable for future submarine construction. That would slow the rate at which submarines could be produced and increase the price per ship by relieving Electric Boat of any competition, they claimed.

Conferees also accepted a Senate provision authorizing $75.1 million to produce another 144 expensive Mark 48 torpedoes carried by the attack submarines. The administration planned to end production of the torpedoes, arguing that an adequate supply already was on hand. But those backing the Senate action pointed out that there would not be enough Mark 48s to reload submarines for more than one mission.

Conferees agreed to authorize $104 million for three ocean-going tugboats (called T-AGOS) designed to tow huge underwater listening devices that could detect submarines hundreds of miles away. Senate Armed Services had recommended that the project be deferred until technical problems with the listening device were resolved.

House conferees agreed to a Senate provision deleting funds for development of the submarine hunter that could skim the surface of the ocean cushioned on an air bubble. The House had authorized $100 million for the experimental ship, even though the Pentagon thought it duplicative of other projects.

M-X Missile

Both chambers authorized the $670 million requested for continued development of the M-X missile. Senate language requiring the president to take certain actions if he chose an airborne basing system for the M-X was made superfluous by Carter's choice of a land-based launching system. Conferees did retain House language that required the secretary of defense to report to Congress by March 1, 1980, on the ability of the land-based M-X system to withstand a Soviet attack.

NATO Warfare

Roland Missile. Conferees approved the $283 million requested to begin large-scale production of the Roland short-range anti-aircraft missile for the Army. The House committee had denied the funds, citing Army studies questioning the usefulness of the French-German designed missile. But the administration made a strong pitch for Roland.

Tanks. To buy 60 more M-60 tanks, conferees agreed to authorize $50 million. The House had backed an administration request for $217 million to build 251 M-60s. This was in addition to $117 million to modernize 500 older M-60s. The conference report also provided $577 million, as requested, for the 352 new XM-1 tanks.

Dependents' Allowance

Under existing law, the Pentagon paid the cost of moving servicemen's families who accompanied them on overseas assignments. In 1978 this travel allowance was extended to the dependents of low-ranking enlistees in their first term of service.

To lower the number of military dependents abroad, the Senate version of S 428 would have made junior enlistees ineligible for the payment. However, House Armed Services members enthusiastically supported the extension to junior personnel. To gain bargaining leverage on the issue in conference, the panel proposed — and the House accepted — an amendment prohibiting the armed services from restricting the moving allowance on the basis of rank.

An initial conference agreement on the issue fell apart in late September when staff members of the two Armed Services committees met to draft the specific langauge on the compromise bill.

Not until Oct. 17 could the conferees finally reach agreement on the issue. When they did, they agreed simply to slightly modify existing law. The effect of this was to force a small reduction in the number of officially authorized dependents overseas (a cut of about 9,000 out of

334,000). But it left unchanged the 1978 action extending the travel allowance to the families of junior enlistees.

Final Action Delayed

Jesse Helms, R-N.C., forced a one day delay in Senate action on the conference report over the issue of U.S. economic sanctions on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

The Senate version of S 428 had incorporated an amendment sponsored by Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., requiring the administration to lift immediately the embargo on importing strategically important raw materials — notably chromium — from Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. The House bill contained no such provision.

The Carter administration lobbied hard to nullify the Byrd language and conferees on the authorization bill replaced the provision with non-binding language stating that it was the "sense of Congress" that the United States should be free to import strategically critical raw materials.

This version of the conference report (H Rept 96-521) was filed Oct. 17 and was scheduled for Senate consideration Oct. 23. But Helms — a staunch backer of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia regime then in place — warned Stennis that he would raise a point of order against the conference report.

The conferees had exceeded the scope of their authority, Helms argued, by writing a provision that was more far reaching than that proposed by either house. The Senate provision had covered only imports from one specific country, while the conference provision covered imports from any country.

On Oct. 23 the Senate agreed, at Stennis' request, to recommit the conference report for revision of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia provision. Within a few hours, the conferees had met and agreed to a new conference report (H Rept 96-546) that made only a minor change in the original conference language: The new report limited the "sense of Congress" language to strategic imports from Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

This revised report was adopted by the Senate Oct. 24 by voice vote and by the House Oct. 26 by a 300-26 vote, completing congressional action. *(Vote 547, p. 160-H)* ▮

Military Construction

Congress Nov. 16 sent to the president legislation (S 1319) authorizing $3.8 billion in fiscal 1980 for military construction.

The relatively uncontroversial measure directed the Pentagon to re-examine its decision to close or cut back the work force at five military bases. The bill also directed the Defense Department to consider solar energy systems for all future military construction projects where solar power might save fossil fuels.

The final authorization of $3,838,846,000 was about $87 million less than President Carter had requested and $6.6 million less than the House had authorized. It was $106.3 million more than the Senate originally approved. But about half of the increase — $57 million — over the Senate-passed amount was for the M-X missile and was not requested by the administration until after the Senate had acted. *(Chart, this page)*

President Carter signed the bill Nov. 26 (PL 96-125).

As signed by the president, S 1319 authorized the following amounts for military construction projects for fiscal 1980:

	Amended Carter Request[1]	Final Authorization
Army	$ 819,924,000	$ 768,145,000
Navy	480,543,000	489,590,000
Air Force	557,267,000	542,705,000
Defense Agencies	232,377,000	245,330,000
Family Housing	1,757,574,000	1,694,925,000
National Guard and Reserves	78,151,000	98,151,000
Total	$3,925,836,000	$3,838,846,000

1 Includes $57 million for the M-X missile system that was not requested until after the Senate initially considered the bill, and $147.5 million originally requested in the first 1979 defense supplemental authorization.

Senate Action

Committee Report

In its June 12 report on S 1319 (S Rept 96-209), the Senate Armed Services Committee expressed its concern with the growing backlog of military construction projects that were not being funded because of very tight federal budgets. "The Defense Department has understandably deferred capital investment in times of tight budgets, but the committee is concerned with the consequences of continued construction deferral. The cost of one F-15 [fighter plane] that might be lost because of a deteriorated runway would pay to resurface several runways," it said.

The committee made the following recommendations on military construction in its report.

NATO Construction. As in earlier years, the committee denied $42 million for certain combat-related projects for U.S. forces in Europe. Since the projects contributed to the common defense of NATO, they should be paid for through the alliance's common construction fund, called the infrastructure program, the panel said.

Compared to previous years' budget requests, which were deeply slashed by Congress, the administration in 1979 significantly reduced the number of NATO projects for which it requested immediate, unilateral U.S. funding.

In line with its position that the alliance as a whole should pay for more of the members' NATO-oriented defense efforts, the committee increased funds for the infrastructure program by $50 million, to a total of $200 million. But the committee complained that under current procedures, Congress was being asked to authorize payments for infrastructure projects only after U.S. obligations already had been incurred.

The panel recommended that Congress instead set a ceiling on the amount of money the United States could incur in any fiscal year for infrastructure projects.

Energy Conservation. The committee congratulated the Pentagon on what it called an "aggressive" energy program that turned military installations into showcases to demonstrate energy conservation techniques.

The panel rejected administration-proposed changes in committee-sponsored provisions in the fiscal 1979 military construction bill that were intended to encourage the use of solar energy in military construction projects.

It said that as a result of these provisions, over 300 architectural firms had received $30 million worth of design contracts, resulting in the installation of $50 million to $150 million in solar energy systems. Since the solar energy in-

'Southern Bias' Charged in Pentagon Plan . . .

Congressional efforts in 1979 to block proposed cutbacks at two military bases illustrated Congress' ambivalance toward budget cutting when members' districts were affected.

On March 29 the Pentagon announced plans to shift various operations among 157 installations, claiming this realignment would cut annual operating costs by $264 million.

Included were major cutbacks at Ft. Dix, N.J., and Loring Air Force Base, Maine.

The New Jersey and Maine congressional delegations challenged the Pentagon's arguments that defense expenditures could be cut by shifting operations to other bases. And they attacked the proposed moves as militarily unsound.

But the major motivation for their opposition was the crushing impact the moves would have on the local economies, which had become heavily dependent on the military bases.

Pentagon Economies

According to the Pentagon, changes in military technology and the sharp reduction in military manpower after the Vietnam War ended left the armed forces with more bases than they needed.

Long-term savings from shutting down an installation — or reducing its payroll by moving some units to other bases — were offset in part by the cost of relocating military units. But the Pentagon usually regarded a cutback as economically justified if the predicted annual savings over seven years equaled the cost of a base transfer.

The Defense Department estimated that the 3,600 base realignments that occurred between 1969 and 1978 saved operating costs totaling $5.6 billion annually. Some 382,000 military jobs and 252,000 civilian jobs were phased out as a result. However, much of this savings and many of the persons phased out of their jobs were transferred to other missions.

The Air Force said it could save $26 million annually by gradually moving to other bases the squadron of B-52 bombers and two squadrons of tanker planes based at Loring. But the Air Force would retain the airstrip for use in case of war. And groups of 10 tankers from other bases would be temporarily assigned to Loring on a rotating basis to continue limited operations there.

But according to Pentagon projections, 3,000 jobs eventually would be lost at Loring, which was located in an already economically depressed area of northern Maine.

Similarly, the Army concluded that it needed only two of its three recruit training centers in the United States and could save $16.2 million annually by closing the one at Ft. Dix. This would remove from Burlington County in southern New Jersey the payroll of the 3,200 permanent staff at Ft. Dix and the purchasing power of the 6,000 recruits in training there at any one time.

Southern Strategy?

Opponents of the two base realignments did not oppose them in principle. But they charged that the Pentagon had protected those military bases located in the districts of the senior members of Congress who oversaw the defense budget.

Thus, it was no surprise, according to these critics, that the training center at Ft. Dix was marked for closing rather than the one at Ft. Jackson, S.C.

One South Carolina senator sat on the Armed Services Committee and the other was a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. Two members of the South Carolina House delegation sat on the Armed Services Committee in that chamber.

No member of the New Jersey congressional delegation sat on any committee dealing directly with the Pentagon budget.

Those arguing that there was a "Southern bias" to the Pentagon's base realignment policies claimed their views had been corroborated by a May 25 letter from Army Secretary Clifford L. Alexander Jr. to Sen. Bill Bradley, D-N.J. According to Alexander, higher Pentagon officials had overturned the Army's recommendation to close the training center in South Carolina rather than the one in New Jersey.

The Northeast-Midwest Congressional Coalition, a group of members concerned about regional balance in the distribution of federal funds, had argued for several years that the Pentagon's base realignments systematically shifted defense jobs from states in those two regions to states in the South and West.

In a study released May 10, the group concluded that states in the Northeast and Midwest would bear nearly two-thirds of the payroll loss from the package of base realignment recommendations that included Ft. Dix and Loring.

dustry's current sales totaled about $200 million, the committee argued that its approach would allow that industry to take advantage of economies of scale that would reduce the cost of commercial solar construction.

Base Closings. The committee included a provision barring any cutback in Strategic Air Command bomber operations at Loring Air Force Base in northern Maine.

The Maine congressional delegation had strenuously objected to a Pentagon proposal to cut back operations at the base. Although the delegation cited military advantages of continued operations at Loring, its emphasis was on the crippling economic effect of the proposed move.

The committee emphasized that its action was based on military considerations and not on the local economic effects of any cutback. In addition to citing certain advantages of Loring for current Air Force operations, the panel said no strategic bomber bases should be closed down until the Pentagon had selected the bases to be used for new strategic weapons to be deployed in the 1980s.

Floor Debate

The Senate passed S 1319 by voice vote July 30. Senate action was delayed nearly two months by conservative efforts to exempt Pentagon projects from the Davis-Bacon

...To Close Ft. Dix, Loring Air Force Base

Military Rationale

The Pentagon conceded that it favored the South in many major realignments. But it insisted that this was because the weather in those regions was less likely to disrupt training schedules.

Members of the Northeast-Midwest Coalition said such a policy was a shortsighted approach. In the two regions where U.S. forces now faced the troops of a potential enemy — Central Europe and Korea — the weather and terrain were far more like that in the northern United States.

And the New Jersey delegation claimed that geography gave Ft. Dix another advantage. About one-fifth of all Army recruits were drawn from the northeastern states, they noted. Recruiting in that region might become more difficult if potential recruits knew they would be sent for basic training to another part of the country, too far for family and friends to visit.

The Defense Department countered that it had plenty of training areas with weather like that in Europe. For basic training, it maintained that similar climatic conditions were less important than an intensive schedule uninterrupted by foul weather. And the Pentagon apparently thought that potential enlistees were little affected by the prospect of visits from home during basic training.

Whose Costs Count?

Apart from questions of military judgment and political favoritism, many of the congressional debates over base realignments turned on a single question: To what extent should the Pentagon consider the economic impact of a base closing on the region affected or the potential cost to other government agencies?

The Loring and Ft. Dix cases highlighted the issue. In each instance, the Pentagon acknowledged that the economic impact of the proposed reductions would be very severe because there was so little diversity in the local economy where the bases were situated.

The Air Force estimated that if it carried out its plans for Loring, other federal agencies would spend $25 million in job retraining, welfare payments and other costs. But Washington consultants hired by the Save Loring Committtee put that figure at $95 million. The committee was sponsored by area residents.

The Pentagon maintained that its responsibility was to provide defense at the lowest possible cost. "I do not think that otherwise ill-placed or un-economic defense installations ought to be maintained primarily to sustain the economic interests of a local community," Deputy Defense Secretary Charles W. Duncan Jr. told a Senate committee May 1.

Moreover, according to Duncan, many of the costs to other federal agencies were one-time readjustment expenses, while the savings in Pentagon operating costs recurred annually.

However, the Office of Economic Adjustment, a Defense Department agency which had a budget of $4.2 million in fiscal 1979, studied economic alternatives for communities suffering increased unemployment because of base closings and cutbacks. A substantial part of the agency's budget was earmarked to study alternative uses of such bases.

In addition, the secretary of defense chaired the president's Economic Adjustment Committee, made up of representatives from 18 federal agencies. The committee coordinated federal assistance to hard-hit communities.

According to the Pentagon, the record of local communities recovering economically from base closings was a bright one, with dozens of examples of abandoned bases turned into industrial parks, college campuses and municipal airports. And it maintained that new jobs brought into affected cities with federal help have more than replaced the civilian jobs — but not the military payrolls — lost through realignments.

But Loring's extreme geographic isolation from raw materials and markets, plus northern Maine's low population density, would be major obstacles to such a recovery by the towns surrounding the air base. "This area was a wilderness when the Air Force decided to build Loring there," declared Maine's senior senator, Edmund S. Muskie, D, at a May 16 Senate hearing. "It will become a wilderness when Loring leaves."

Intense local opposition to the cutback apparently had its intended effect. The Senate version of the fiscal 1980 military construction authorization (S 1319 — PL 96-125) prohibited the cutback, and on Oct. 31, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown withdrew the realignment plan for Loring.

Residents of the Ft. Dix area also won at least a temporary reprieve. Army Secretary Alexander announced Oct. 10 that plans to close the training center "have been placed in abeyance pending a further review of army recruit training needs over the next 12 to 18 months."

Act of 1931. That law required contractors to pay the locally prevailing wage on federal construction projects.

Critics of Davis-Bacon maintained for years that the law actually inflated contruction wages far above actual local rates. Charging that the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee refused to act on proposals to repeal or amend Davis-Bacon, several senators in 1979 attacked the act piecemeal by trying to attach Davis-Bacon waivers to several bills affecting various parts of the federal government's annual construction program.

Senate Armed Services included a Davis-Bacon waiver in its version of the bill.

The Senate first considered the bill on July 12, but after approving three minor amendments by voice votes it agreed by unanimous consent to refer S 1319 to the Labor Committee with instructions to report the bill back to the Senate after it considered the Davis-Bacon provisions. An earlier effort to do the same thing had failed on a 35-63 vote. *(Vote 157, p. 29-S)*

Approved July 12 were amendments:

- By Donald Stewart, D-Ala., to authorize the Army to transfer some land to the state of Alabama for a space science exhibit.

• By Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., to authorize $2.4 million for a water pollution control project at Little Rock Air Force Base in Arkansas.

• By John Heinz, R-Pa., delaying a Pentagon proposal to cut back operations at two bases in Pennsylvania until the secretary of the army analyzed the economic impact of the moves.

The bill was returned to the floor July 30 by the Labor Committee for consideration of the Davis-Bacon waiver. The committee, in a separate report (S Rept 96-259) issued July 26, recommended that the waiver be dropped and, on a series of roll calls, the full Senate complied. No other amendments were brought up. *(Action on Davis-Bacon, see p. 307; votes 228-230, p. 39-S)*

The Senate then passed S 1319 July 30 by voice vote.

House Action

Committee Report

The House Armed Services Committee reported its version of the military construction authorization bill (HR 3947 — H Rept 96-149) May 15.

Panama Canal. By a margin of only two votes, the committee May 10 rejected, 16-18, an amendment that would have deleted from the bill $32 million for the construction of new facilities for U.S. troops in Panama. Under terms of the canal treaties approved by the Senate in 1978, U.S. forces were to vacate certain facilities by Oct. 1, 1979, when the treaties took effect.

The funds requested were primarily for renovation of existing buildings on territory that would remain under U.S. control until the year 2000.

The debate over the amendment, offered in committee by G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery, D-Miss., demonstrated the dilemma facing House members who opposed the treaty. Had the amendment passed, it would have been purely a symbolic protest against the treaties. Its only concrete effect would have been to leave U.S. forces stationed in Panama to defend the canal without adequate facilities.

When the vote was taken on the amendment, Robert H. Mollohan, D-W.Va., seemed to express the frustration of the narrow committee majority that reluctantly opposed it: "No, damn it."

Base Closings. The committee added language requiring the Pentagon to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) before closing or cutting back the work force at any one of four military bases: Goodfellow Air Force Base in Texas; Ft. Indiantown Gap and the New Cumberland Army Depot, both in Pennsylvania; and Ft. Monroe, Va.

The Defense Department had announced plans to close Goodfellow and Ft. Monroe and to transfer large units from the two Pennsylvania sites to other bases. These four bases were among 157 installations that were affected by proposed base closings and "realignments" announced March 29. If the entire package were implemented, the Pentagon estimated it would save $264 million annually in operating costs. *(Base closing, box, previous two pages)*

Existing law required realignments at large military bases to be carried out in conformity with the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act. But the law did not necessarily require completion of an EIS for each proposed move.

NATO Construction. The panel approved most of the funds requested for construction projects in Europe. The request included $150 million for the annual U.S. contribution to NATO's infrastructure program for constructing facilities to be used by members of the alliance. And it included about $34 million for bombproof shelters and other facilities at several emergency airstrips intended for use by reserve U.S. air squadrons that would be flown to Europe in case of an international crisis.

Also approved was a request for about $45 million to cover cost increases resulting from currency fluctuations. But the committee deleted $18.5 million requested by the Army for a high priority guarded parking complex where tanks could be stored safely while carrying their full load of ammunition, ready for battle.

Solar Energy. The panel confessed to "nagging doubts" about the Pentagon's management of a program, strongly supported by Congress, to use the military construction program as an experimental laboratory for demonstrating the uses of solar energy.

Of 107 demonstration projects, 30 had been canceled because of their high cost — an installation cost of $120 per square foot in some cases. The panel attributed the costs to contractors' unfamiliarity with installing the systems and the difficulty of making the necessary architectural modifications.

The panel cautioned against "the indiscriminate use of solar energy where analysis clearly demonstrates that its costs cannot be recaptured within a realistic period."

But the committee also proposed amendments to existing law that could improve the chances that solar energy would be used in military construction projects. The new provisions would require that cost comparisons between solar and conventional energy systems consider the lifetime cost of each system rather than just the installation cost (which was considerably higher for solar models). The provision further required the use of solar energy systems when their anticipated benefits were 80 percent or more of their costs.

Space Shuttle. For construction of facilities for the space shuttle at Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif., the committee recommended $64.7 million of $78.2 requested for fiscal 1980.

The remaining $13.5 million was requested in order to modify the launch pad to accommodate a change in the design of the shuttle's booster rockets. The change was intended to carry very heavy loads into the polar orbits required by some military space missions. But the committee said that modifications to the launch pad were premature because the new rocket design was not yet firm.

Floor Action

The House did not take up the committe bill for several months. It considered and passed the legislation Oct. 24 by a vote of 381-26 after adopting two amendments by voice votes. *(Vote 534, p. 156-H)*

Changes made in the bill were:

• By Melvin Price, D-Ill., adding to the bill $57 million, requested after the Senate had considered the bill, for construction related to development of the M-X missile project.

• By Lucien N. Nedzi, D-Mich., providing that the required environmental impact statement on the Pentagon's proposed civilian personnel cutback at Ft. Dix, N.J., had to emphasize the socio-economic impact of the move. That requirement already applied to the four other bases for which Congress wanted to require impact statements.

Conference Action

House-Senate conferees filed their conference report on S 1319 (S Rept 96-409, H Rept 96-595) on Nov. 8. The final version authorized $3,838,846,000 for military construction for fiscal 1980.

Base Closings. The final version of the bill adopted the House position ordering the Pentagon to reconsider five proposed base closings or personnel cutbacks to assess whether or not the socio-economic impact of any of the base recommendations was so great that an environmental impact statement would be necessary.

The Senate bill had prohibited a proposed cutback at another base — Loring Air Force Base, Maine. The proposed cutback generated intense local opposition, and Secretary of Defense Harold Brown Oct. 31 withdrew the Maine base from the Pentagon list, making the Senate provision unnecessary.

NATO Construction. The conferees agreed to a $3.6 million authorization for supply and maintenance facilities at two Allied airfields in northern Europe.

The House had approved construction projects at other bases costing $9.4 million, but the conference committee acceded to Senate demands that the projects be paid for out of NATO's common construction fund.

Also at the insistence of Senate conferees, the conference committee denied the entire $100 million requested to meet the increased cost of overseas construction programs because of the declining value of the dollar in Europe and Japan. Previously approved authorizations for construction projects had to be supplemented as a result. The House had approved the request; the Senate had insisted that the armed services shift funds from other, lower-priority projects to meet the additional cost.

But this action on the authorization bill was circumvented by the final version of the fiscal 1980 military construction appropriations bill (HR 4391), which provided $100 million to meet dollar devaluation costs.

Final Action

The Senate adopted the conference report Nov. 9 by voice vote, and the House adopted the report Nov. 16 by a vote of 306-33, completing congressional action. *(Vote 599, p. 178-H)*

Arms Control Agency

Congress Sept. 11 completed action on a bill (HR 2774 — PL 96-66) making fiscal 1980-81 authorizations for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA).

The final version authorized $18,876,000 for fiscal 1980 and $20,645,000 for fiscal 1981 for the operations of the agency. It also authorized necessary funds to pay for raises in salaries and fringe benefits mandated by law and increases due to U.S. currency fluctuations abroad. HR 2774 also prohibited the appointment of any military officer on active duty as director or deputy director of the agency.

House Action

As reported by the House Foreign Affairs Committee March 16 (H Rept 96-47), HR 2774 authorized $19.3 million for ACDA operations in fiscal 1980. For fiscal 1981, the bill authorized the same amount as in fiscal 1980 plus whatever amount was necessary to offset the cost of inflation.

The committee added $400,000 to the administration's fiscal 1980 request. The amount was to be used principally to pay for a new program of arms control education grants, but some of the funds were to go for increased ACDA operating costs associated with the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms control treaty (SALT II) negotiations.

The language authorizing the additional funds, sponsored by Paul Simon, D-Ill., stressed that the federal money was intended to stimulate non-governmental support for arms control education centers.

Over administration objections, the panel also extended the ACDA director's authority to hire up to 50 employees without going through the Office of Personnel Management's competitive selection process. The agency had been given this authority — which was intended to simplify the recruitment of technical experts — for a two-year period beginning in fiscal 1977.

Floor

The House passed the bill by a 296-100 vote on March 22. *(Vote 46, p. 18-H)*

During a brief debate, the House rejected by voice vote an amendment by Marjorie S. Holt, R-Md., to delete the $400,000 added by the committee to the fiscal 1980 request. She protested that a year of economic stringency was no time to begin a new federal grants program.

The House approved by voice vote an amendment by Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill., ending the agency's authority to hire employees non-competitively.

Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., agreed to the amendment, pointing out that at the administration's insistence, similar blanket exemptions from Civil Service hiring requirements would expire at the end of fiscal 1979 for the National Security Agency, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and other federal agencies. The ACDA exemption had been intended to put that agency on equal footing with the other agencies, Zablocki said.

Also approved by voice vote was an amendment by Zablocki setting ACDA's fiscal 1981 authorization at $20.6 million. This was the Congressional Budget Office estimate of how much would be needed to provide the same spending power as allowed in fiscal 1980 after anticipated inflation was taken into account.

Senate Action

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported HR 2774 on April 26 (S Rept 96-95), recommending the authorization levels requested: $18.9 million for fiscal 1980 and whatever amount was needed for fiscal 1981 to offset inflation.

The committee added two provisions to the bill that restricted the appointment of active-duty and retired military officers to the two top agency posts. The first provision prohibited any military officer on active duty from being named director or deputy director of ACDA. The other prohibited the two posts from being held simultaneously by persons who had served as military officers in the previous 10 years.

The provisions grew out of the 1978 congressional debate on President Carter's nomination of a retired Army general, George M. Seignious II, for ACDA director.

The committee also adopted a provision requiring ACDA to conduct a comprehensive study of the impact of military expenditures on the U.S. economy. The Senate panel refused to accept any of the House amendments.

The Senate passed the bill on May 1 by voice vote without additional amendments.

Conference Action

A conference report on HR 2774 (H Rept 96-412), filed Aug. 3, authorized $18,876,000 for fiscal 1980 and $20,645,000 for fiscal 1981 for the operations of the arms control agency.

Conferees dropped the $400,000 added by the House for university arms control centers.

Conferees retained the Senate provision forbidding active-duty officers to run the ACDA, but dropped the provision restricting the appointment of retired military officers to the agency. The final version also omitted the Senate provision calling for a study of the impact of military spending on the economy.

The measure was cleared for the president Sept. 11 when the Senate approved the conference report by voice vote. The House adopted the report Sept. 7 by voice vote. ▮

Raw Materials Stockpile

President Carter July 30 signed legislation (HR 2154 — PL 96-41) requiring that the U.S. stockpile of militarily essential raw materials be sufficient for a war or other emergency lasting up to three years.

Similar bills were considered in the 94th and 95th Congresses, but were not cleared.

The bill's most important feature was the establishment of a revolving fund to purchase needed raw materials with the proceeds from sales of surplus materials in the national strategic stockpile. The Senate and House Armed Services committees had been trying since 1976 to establish such a fund to protect the stockpile from potential political manipulation by the White House.

Besides creating the revolving fund, HR 2154:

- Established as the stockpile goal a three-year supply of essential raw materials.
- Required that stockpile purchases conform to federal procurement regulations, especially the use of competitive bidding, to the extent feasible. The bill also stipulated that purchases be made in ways that would not unduly disrupt commercial commodities markets.

Background

The stockpile system was established by the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act of 1939 to ensure that the nation would not run short of essential raw materials in case demand increased or imports were cut off during wartime or other national emergency.

By 1979 some 93 commodities, with an estimated market value of $9.1 billion, were stockpiled. The stocks of 53 of the critical commodities were below the three-year supply target mandated by HR 2154. The stockpiled inventory of the 40 other commodities, with an estimated market value of $4.1 billion, exceeded that target.

Some members of Congress had charged previous administrations with juggling the stockpiles for non-defense-related purposes, specifically to artificially reduce the defense budget requests. In 1975 and 1976, for example, the Ford administration's defense budget was reduced several hundred million dollars by anticipating revenues from sales of stockpiled commodities. It was generally assumed Congress was not likely to approve such sales — and subsequently did not.

In 1976 the Ford administration announced a new stockpile policy with a goal of accumulating a three-year supply of critical raw materials. As a first step toward building up the stockpiles to that level, additional amounts of those commodities considered essential during the first year of a war in Europe were to be purchased.

Recent Action

In September 1977 the Carter administration reaffirmed that policy, but by then the House already had acted to reform the stockpile system.

House Armed Services Stockpile Subcommittee Chairman Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla., in 1976 introduced a bill (HR 15081) to establish a revolving fund for transactions involving the defense stockpile. Because the proceeds of the sales from the stockpile, under his proposal, could be used only for stockpile purchases, he argued that the executive branch would not be tempted to propose stockpile sales for unrelated budgetary reasons. Neither the House nor the Senate passed the bill in the 94th Congress. *(1976 Almanac p. 323)*

Bennett moved early in the 95th Congress on his proposal, and on March 31, 1977, the House passed HR 4895, which established a stockpile transactions fund and required legislative authorization before funds could be appropriated for purchases from the stockpile. Under existing law, congressional authorization already was required for disposals from the stockpile.

The Senate Armed Services Committee reported its version of HR 4895 in May 1977. But Gary Hart, D-Colo., the bill's chief Senate sponsor, refused to bring it to the floor for fear it would become a vehicle for riders mandating the purchase or sale of particular raw materials in order to boost or depress their prices on the open market. *(1978 Almanac p.362)*

1979 Legislative Action

On March 15 the House Armed Services Committee reported HR 2154 (H Rept 96-46), which was substantially the same as the House-passed stockpile bill in the 95th Congress.

The bill was passed March 19 by voice vote under suspension of the rules procedure, prohibiting floor amendments.

Under the House version, the proceeds of stockpile sales were to remain in the revolving fund for stockpile transactions indefinitely, until used for vital commodity purchases.

The administration was willing to accept the revolving fund concept, provided that funds would not remain earmarked indefinitely. It hinted that the president might veto the stockpile bill if there were no time limit on the period funds had to remain committed for future acquisitions.

As in 1978, the Senate's version included a three-year limit on the length of time money would remain in the revolving fund, and the administration agreed to the bill as long as that language was included. That was the only Senate change in HR 2154, which was reported by Senate Armed Services June 6 (S Rept 96-201) and passed June 13 by voice vote.

The House agreed to the Senate amendment on July 13 by voice vote, clearing the bill for the president. ▮

Intelligence Authorization

Congress authorized a secret amount, widely assumed to be on the order of $10 billion, for U.S. intelligence operations for fiscal 1980.

The authorizing legislation (S 975 — PL 96-100) was cleared for the president Oct. 24 when the House approved a conference compromise by voice vote. The Senate adopted the conference report by voice vote Oct. 17.

A detailed breakdown of the amounts authorized for specific intelligence projects was included in a secret annex that had the same force as a committee report for a conventional authorization bill.

The annex was made available to Senate and House members before each chamber considered the conference compromise on S 975.

A similar procedure had been used to keep the intelligence budget request secret when the House and Senate initially considered the legislation earlier in the year.

This was the second year that Congress had authorized funds for the government's intelligence activities. As in 1978, the House voted decisively against making public even the total amount authorized in the bill. There was no effort in the Senate in either 1978 or 1979 to disclose the total amount. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 376, 1976 Almanac p. 294)*

Senate Action

The Senate Select Intelligence Committee filed its report on S 975 (S Rept 96-71) April 18.

All changes in the budget request were discussed in the secret annex to the report. But the Senate Armed Services Committee subsequently disclosed that the intelligence panel had added funds for 200 additional intelligence analysts in the military services.

The Intelligence Committee praised the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) for various procedural reforms that it said would improve the quality of analysis once information had been collected. These included ensuring that the consolidated National Intelligence Estimates would alert intelligence officials to points on which analysts differed in their interpretations.

Senate Armed Services filed a separate report on the bill (S Rept 96-206) June 11. It recommended a 500-person increase, rather than a 200-person increase, in the Pentagon's various intelligence operations. The panel said the steep increase was needed to improve "the ability of our intelligence agencies to analyze the vast amounts of intelligence information collected by modern systems and methods."

The panel cited two areas that it said were in special need of additional analysts: scientific intelligence and intelligence on developing countries.

As evidence of the shortage of analysts for developing countries, it pointed out that a recent reassessment of North Korean military strength, which concluded that Pyongyang's armed forces were substantially stronger than had been estimated two years earlier, came only after the Army set up a temporary team of analysts to digest information that already was available on that country.

The Senate passed S 975 June 20 by voice vote without amendment.

The pefunctory debate on the bill did not indicate how many additional intelligence analysts the two committees ultimately agreed upon.

House Action

The House Permanent Select Intelligence Committee reported its version of the intelligence authorization (HR 3821 — H Rept 96-127, Part 1) on May 8.

A $1.8 million addition to the $11.6 million budget request was recommended. The additional amount was intended for the FBI's anti-terrorism program, specifically to allow the agency to retain 85 members who would be cut under the administration request.

The panel also recommended a $1.1 million cut in the $3.1 million requested for the Intelligence Community Staff to pay for contract research. Noting the speed with which the staff had expanded since its establishment two years ago, the committee questioned the need for so much outside assistance.

The bill then was referred to the House Armed Services Committee, which issued its own report (H Rept 96-127, Pt. 2) on May 15.

The House passed HR 3821 by voice vote on July 10 without amendment. It first rejected, 79-321, an amendment by Romano L. Mazzoli, D-Ky., that would have required the president to disclose the total amount appropriated in fiscal 1980 for national foreign intelligence collection programs — intelligence activities that produce information for use by the president and other high national policy-makers rather than for the military. *(Vote 285, p. 86-H)*

Disclosure Amendment

Mazzoli argued that disclosure of the total appropriation would demonstrate a "presumption of openness" in congressional oversight of the intelligence community. And Don J. Pease, D-Ohio, said it would force Congress to discuss openly the consequences of allocating funds for intelligence rather than for other programs when tough budget choices had to be faced.

But opponents insisted that the total amount would be meaningless to U.S. citizens unless it were broken down into component programs. And they warned that such disclosure would breed strong pressure for additional detail, which, they added, would be useful to foreign intelligence agencies.

Conference Action

The conference report on S 975 (H Rept 96-512) was filed Oct. 12.

Conference action on most issues was described only in the secret annex to the report, but certain issues were discussed openly:

- Conferees agreed with the Senate proposal to add $500,000 to the amount requested for the FBI's intelligence programs to combat domestic terrorism. The House had increased that program by $1.8 million.
- A secret amount was added to the FBI's foreign counterintelligence program, as recommended by the Senate.
- For the Intelligence Community Staff, established to coordinate the operations of the various intelligence agencies, conferees approved the House-passed amount of $11.5 million, $2 million less than the budget request. The reduction was in the amount authorized for private studies done under contract to the staff.
- Both houses had agreed to the requested $51.6 million for the CIA's special retirement and disability program for field agents. ▮

Health/Education/Welfare

1979 was a year of upheaval for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). First, its chief, Joseph A. Califano Jr., was fired by President Carter in a July Cabinet shakeup, reportedly because he had made enemies on the White House staff and because his strong advocacy of controversial desegregation and anti-smoking programs had made him a political liability to the president as the 1980 election approached. He was replaced by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris.

Then HEW, largest of the executive departments in terms of spending and labeled "unmanageable" by many critics, was ordered split up. After an 18-month battle, Congress acceded to the wishes of President Carter and the National Education Association and voted to consolidate the education functions of HEW and several other Cabinet departments in a separate Department of Education. Backers of the move said education was overwhelmed by the massive health and welfare programs that dominated the 27-year-old department, and would get more attention with its own secretary in the Cabinet.

Carter named Judge Shirley M. Hufstedler of the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals to head the new department, and it was scheduled to go into operation in the spring of 1980. HEW would then become the Department of Health and Human Services.

Health

Three years after his campaign promise for an all-inclusive national health insurance plan, President Carter finally came up with a proposal in 1979, but it turned out to be a very limited scheme instead. His plan effectively set the agenda for congressional debate on the issue, undermining his chief political rival, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., who for years had identified himself with the issue.

Kennedy also introduced a new labor-backed health insurance bill in 1979 — a more comprehensive plan than Carter's, but shaped, Kennedy said, to recognize the president's concerns. Kennedy emphasized his plan's cost controls, its major role for the private insurance industry and its gradual phasing-in of benefits — all featured elements of Carter's plan. But by the end of the year it was Carter's policy options, not Kennedy's, which had moved the farthest in Congress, for several reasons.

By focusing on "catastrophic" coverage that would protect the middle class against ruinously expensive illnesses, Carter allied himself with the powerful head of the Senate Finance Committee, Russell B. Long, D-La. He also pinpointed a major constituency, heretofore ignored by public programs. Long had been promoting catastrophic health insurance for years, saying middle-class taxpayers should, finally, get a little help from the government.

Carter's limited "first phase" plan also seemed more appealing to a cost-wary Congress, particularly since both the insurance industry and federal agencies claimed that at least 90 percent of Americans were already covered by either private health insurance or the public programs for the aged, disabled and poor, Medicare and Medicaid.

The bill also targeted women and children, who would be guaranteed prenatal and infant care, and the elderly and poor, whose coverage under Medicare and Medicaid would be broadened under a new, consolidated federal program.

By the end of the year, the Finance Committee had tentatively approved major elements of a mandatory national catastrophic health insurance program for workers, along with improvements in Medicare that would cap the amount elderly beneficiaries would have to pay each year for health care. Legislation to upgrade and expand Medicaid coverage for poor children and pregnant women was passed by the House and reported by the Finance Committee.

There were still major stumbling blocks. The child health bill had picked up several controversial anti-abortion amendments in the House, which could endanger its future. No agreement was in sight on additional improvements in Medicaid, as Finance Committee conservatives insisted on much less help for the poor than the administration and committee liberals wanted. And another critical element of the president's plan, annual revenue limits on hospitals, had been soundly defeated in the House.

Nevertheless, administration and congressional sources were optimistic that political pressures in the 1980 election year could push "something we can call national health insurance" through the Senate and possibly even the House.

Competition

A second major theme of the year's debates on national health insurance and cost controls was the "competitive" or "free market" approach to medical care. Only when health care providers — doctors, hospitals and organized medical services such as health maintenance organizations (HMOs) — had to compete for patients would they begin to moderate their costs, according to some economists.

Americans were said to be so thoroughly insured that neither patients nor providers had any reason to try to save money, since bills were taken care of by "third-party payers." A second major problem was federal regulations, such as restrictions imposed by the health planning system and special requirements for HMOs, which were strangling innovative new health systems, the economists argued.

The solution, they said, was twofold: cut back regulations and force individuals to pay more of their medical expenses out of their own pockets. That could be accomplished by ending special tax treatment for all health insurance except those plans that required a healthy amount of cost-sharing by enrollees.

Another element of the competition theory was the idea that prepaid group medical practices such as HMOs should be encouraged, also through changes in the tax code, to promote enrollment and higher payments from Medicare

or Medicaid. Since these organizations collected fixed annual payments from members in advance, they had a powerful incentive to economize on medical care. And their existence in a community would force traditional "fee-for-service" providers to moderate their charges, the theory went. The "competitive model" was the basis of several Republican bills and a major proposal by House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Al Ullman, D-Ore.

Health Care Costs

Health care spending by public and private programs and individuals was expected to soar beyond $2 billion when the final 1979 figures were in.

HEW, balked by congressional hostility to the president's hospital cost control bill, also ran into flack when it tried to crank down costs administratively. Two of the department's most controversial regulations derived from directions Congress gave it in the 1972 Social Security amendments and the 1977 Medicare-Medicaid Fraud legislation. Regulations to moderate Medicaid and Medicare payments for routine hospital care and to require uniform cost-reporting by hospitals were pulled back and revised in response to vociferous congressional objections that HEW had overreached congressional intention.

Education

The public school systems of some of the nation's largest cities faced growing financial and labor relations problems in 1979.

Probably the most severe were those experienced by the Chicago school system, the third largest in the country. Beset with a deficit estimated at $700 million, and unable to obtain credit from regular commercial sources, the school board failed to pay its 49,000 employees Dec. 21. Although the city of Chicago had a good credit rating, the school board could not get loans after being rated an unacceptable credit risk in November. According to news reports, the board's credit declined after officials revealed that they had been using funds intended to pay off bonds and loans for regular operating expenses since 1973.

As 1980 opened, the Chicago system was teetering on the brink of a complete shutdown, while city and state officials were frantically seeking a way to get local banks to provide money to get the system through the crisis.

A problem of a different sort — a prolonged teachers' strike — afflicted Cleveland's school system. After closing the schools for almost three months, teachers agreed to return to work early in January 1980. They won a 24 percent pay increase, which school officials warned would force cuts in educational services because of budget constraints.

Civil Rights

While the courts continued to order more school districts to bus pupils to achieve racial balance in schools, the federal government was engaged in legal action against two major school systems, seeking to end what officials called continuing patterns of racial segregation and discrimination in schools.

One system was Chicago's. At the request of the Department of HEW, the Justice Department was preparing a suit to force the system to change its policies affecting the racial makeup of its schools. HEW sought the action after a study, released in April, alleged that school board policies had resulted in a high level of racial segregation in schools. The report found that the school board, through location of new schools, establishment of school boundaries and hiring policies, had worked to keep black and white students separated.

HEW also continued its longstanding dispute with North Carolina's state higher education system. The dispute had important political implications, including a possible effect on the firing of Califano, who had vigorously pressed HEW's case against the university system.

The dispute began after HEW asked six states to come up with plans to eliminate segregation and discrimination among various parts of their higher education systems. Five of the states made proposals that were acceptable to the department. But North Carolina did not, even after several tries, chiefly because of what HEW officials considered its failure to eliminate duplication of educational programs among neighboring schools with predominantly black and predominantly white enrollments.

At the end of 1979, HEW was getting ready to begin administrative action to cut off federal funds to the system, under authority of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It also reportedly was considering action against higher education systems in a number of other states.

Sex Discrimination in Sprots

In another area of anti-discrimination efforts, HEW late in 1979 announced its final interpretation of regulations enforcing Title IX of the 1972 Education Act. Title IX prohibits education discrimination on account of sex.

The new interpretation concerned the responsibilities of colleges and universities in ensuring equality for women in athletic programs. An earlier interpretation had attracted strong opposition from university officials because it required that they spend as much on women's athletic programs as they did on big-time money-making sports such as football and basketball. The effect of the new interpretation was to require schools to provide women with scholarship money in proportion to their participation in athletic programs. But it did not require schools to spend as much on women's sports as it did for equipment and travel expenses for men's sports.

Welfare

Rising food prices and an influx of new recipients pushed one of the biggest welfare efforts, the food stamp program, into serious financial problems in 1979. Many new people were brought in by implementation of a new law, passed in 1977, that eliminated the purchase requirement for stamps. Participation in the program set a new high, with 19.4 million people getting benefits at the end of 1979, compared with 15.6 million in July 1978. Average monthly benefits were $32.50 per person per month, up from $28.28 in July 1978.

As Congress considered a major reform of the welfare system, a total of 14 million people — either aged, blind and disabled, or children and their parents — were directly dependent on the other two main welfare programs. There were 9.8 million people on the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, and 4.2 million people receiving Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits. ▮

—By Elizabeth Wehr and Harrison Donnelly

Congress Creates Department of Education

After a long and closely fought battle, President Carter's proposed Department of Education won final congressional approval Sept. 27.

By a 215-201 vote, the House adopted the conference report on the bill setting up the separate department (S 210 — PL 96-88), marking the end of an 18-month effort to create the 13th federal Cabinet-level department. *(Vote 468, p. 136-H)*

The Senate, which had solidly supported the bill all along, had approved the conference report 69-22 Sept. 24. *(Vote 305, p. 51-S)*

The 14-vote margin in the House was relatively comfortable in comparison with the extremely difficult problems the bill had faced there earlier. The bill had survived the Government Operations Committee by only one vote, and the whole House by a four-vote margin. *(Vote 289, p. 86-H)*

Personal lobbying by Carter and the all-out exertions of a coalition of education interest groups, led by the powerful National Education Association (NEA), were crucial to the final victory for the bill. The department was a longtime goal of the NEA, which gave its first presidential endorsement to Carter in 1976 after he promised to push for the legislation. One day after Congress cleared S 210, the board of directors of the 1.8 million-member organization endorsed Carter for re-election.

The bill was opposed by an unusual coalition of liberals — backed by the NEA's rival American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the AFL-CIO — and conservatives, who feared the department would lead to greater federal control over education. A number of colleges and universities also opposed the legislation, fearing it would result in increased federal interference in education.

Controversial Amendments

The Senate passed S 210 April 30 by a 72-21 vote. The House passed its version (HR 2444) July 11, after opponents had succeeded in loading it up with a series of controversial amendments on such subjects as busing, racial quotas, abortion and school prayer. Although they later were dropped in conference, the amendments served two important purposes: they heightened opposition to the bill and they delayed House passage. Thus, opponents managed to reduce what had been a solid margin of support for the Education Department in the 95th Congress to an extremely narrow one. *(Vote 70, p. 14-S)*

The House amendments also posed a dilemma for conferees on the bill. They were highly objectionable to a number of liberal and minority members, who agreed to vote for the bill only on the hope that they would be dropped in conference; the Black Caucus, for example, promised solid opposition if the bill returned from conference with the two civil rights amendments still in it — probably enough to kill the bill. But Education Department opponents warned that dropping the amendments could also lose votes for the bill — a precarious situation for a measure that passed by only a four-vote margin.

However, the success of House bill manager Jack Brooks, D-Texas, in getting the conferees to drop the amendments apparently was the critical factor in the final outcome. The amendments were unceremoniously dropped Sept. 13. Opponents of the bill called the action a sellout, but were unable to offer any effective resistance in the conference committee.

A comparison of votes on passage of the bill and approval of the conference report showed that removal of the amendments more than made up in liberal support what it lost among conservatives. Fourteen Democrats and two Republicans switched from opposing passage to supporting the conference report. On the other hand, eight Republicans and three Southern Democrats changed to opposition, largely because the amendments had been taken out. All told, 185 Democrats and 30 Republicans supported the conference report; 77 Democrats and 124 Republicans opposed it.

Department Structure

The new department was a scaled-down version of the original proposal sent to Congress by Carter in 1978. That bill passed the Senate but was blocked by House opponents in the closing days of the 95th Congress. The proposal was Carter's principal reorganization initiative. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 571; 1979 Carter proposal, text, p. 11-E)*

Unlike the original proposal, which would have included in the new agency a broad range of education-related programs such as Indian education, Head Start and school lunch programs, S 210 established a department composed almost exclusively of programs housed in the Education Division of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

The biggest addition to those programs was the system of overseas schools for military dependents run by the Defense Department — 267 schools serving 135,000 students. More than half of the Education Department's employees would be personnel from that system. The transfer put the department in the position of directly running the nation's 12th largest public school system.

Altogether, 152 existing education-related programs were consolidated in the new department. Although Congress imposed specific personnel and spending limitations on the department, it still was the fifth largest of the 13 Cabinet departments, with more than 17,000 employees. Its annual budget of about $14 billion was the eighth largest. *(Programs transferred, chart, next page)*

HEW was renamed the Department of Health and Human Services.

Provisions

As signed into law Oct. 17, S 210 (PL 96-88):

Title I — General Provisions

- Declared that educational opportunities should not be denied because of race, creed, color, national origin or sex; that parents had the primary responsibility for their children's education, and that the primary public responsibility for education was reserved to the states and local school systems.
- Established the following goals for the Department of Education: to strengthen the federal commitment to equal educational opportunity; to assist states, local governments and private institutions in improving education; to encourage increased involvement by parents, students and the

public; to promote improvements in the quality and usefulness of education through federally supported research; to improve the coordination and efficiency of federal programs, and to make federal education programs more accountable to the president, Congress and the public.

• Made clear that the department was intended to protect the rights of states, local governments and private institutions in educational policy and administration.

• Prohibited the department from increasing federal control over education.

• Prohibited the department from exercising any control over the curriculum, administration, personnel, library resources, textbooks or other instructional materials of any school, except to the extent authorized by law.

• Prohibited the department, during the first eight months of its existence, from withholding funds from a state because of its failure to meet any provision of law requiring administration of a program through a single organizational unit. (The provision related specifically to Florida's vocational rehabilitation program.)

Title II — Department Organization

• Established a Department of Education, headed by a secretary appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate.

• Provided for an under secretary, appointed by the president and approved by the Senate, with the special responsibility for intergovernmental relations, including ensuring that the department consulted with state and local education officials, and that department regulations did not conflict with regulations of other federal departments or agencies.

• Established the following offices in the department, each to be headed by an assistant secretary, appointed by the president and approved by the Senate:

Elementary and Secondary Education.
Postsecondary Education.
Vocational and Adult Education.
Special Education and Rehabilitative Services.
Educational Research and Improvement.
Civil Rights.

• Provided for the following officials, appointed by the president and approved by the Senate: a general counsel, an inspector general and four additional departmental officers to handle congressional relations, public information, public and parental participation, management and budget, policy and planning, and promoting the study of foreign languages and cultures.

• Established an Office of Education for Overseas Dependents, headed by an administrator.

• Established an Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs, headed by a director.

• Gave the assistant secretary for civil rights the authority to make annual reports on civil rights problems and compliance to Congress and the president without clearance or approval by the secretary of education; also gave the Office for Civil Rights the authority to collect data, hire staff, enter into contracts and obtain the services of outside experts and consultants.

• Established an Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education, with the right to report on the impact of federal policies on state, local and private education and to comment on proposed departmental regulations; provided that the council be composed of 20 members, appointed by the president and serving four-year terms, including six elected officials of state and local governments, five representatives of public and private elementary and secondary education, five representatives of public and private postsecondary education, and four members of the public, including parents and students.

• Established a Federal Interagency Committee on Education as a mechanism for ensuring coordination between the policies of the department and other federal departments and agencies with education responsibilities.

Programs Transferred

Programs transferred to the Department of Education by PL 96-88:

Program	Fiscal 1979 Budget (in millions)	Staff
From HEW:		
Education Division	$12,720	4,168
Office for Civil Rights	69	1,771*
Special Institutions	179	1
Telecommunications demonstration projects	1	1
Vocational rehabilitation	873	445
Certain science education programs, National Science Foundation	8	40*
Overseas dependent schools, Defense Department	346	10,864
College housing loans, Department of Housing and Urban Development	**	38
Migrant education, Labor Department	7	2
Law enforcement education, Justice Department	25	19
Total	$14,228	17,350

* *Preliminary estimate.*
** *Revolving fund.*

Source: Office of Management and Budget

Title III — Transfers

Transferred to the department the following agencies and programs:

• From the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW): all the functions of the assistant secretary for education, commissioner of education, the Education Division, vocational rehabilitation programs, special institutions (Gallaudet College, Howard University, the American Printing House for the Blind and the National Technical Institute for the Deaf), telecommunications demonstration projects and education-related functions of the HEW Office for Civil Rights. S 210 specifically excluded transfer of Project Head Start from HEW.

• From the Defense Department, the operation of the school system for overseas military dependents.

• From the Labor Department, programs relating to migrant education.

• From the National Science Foundation, programs relating to elementary and preschool science teacher training and minority institutions science improvement.

• From the Department of Justice, loan and grant programs for law enforcement students.

• From the Department of Housing and Urban Development, college housing loan programs.

Title IV — Administrative Provisions

• Authorized appointment of employees at the GS-16, GS-17 and GS-18 levels, and scientific, professional and technical employees outside of the general schedule, equal to the number of employees in similar positions in programs transferred into the department.

• Limited to 175 the number of scientific, technical or professional employees of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement who were hired outside of regular Civil Service procedures.

• Authorized 15 limited-term appointments to the senior executive service, and required that they be counted in government-wide limits on such appointments and on supergrade positions in general.

• Authorized Congress to include in each annual appropriation for the department a limit on the total number of personnel work-years.

• Required that, within one year after establishment of the department, the total number of employees be 500 less than the number of employees of programs transferred into it.

• Authorized the secretary to reorganize or abolish offices within the department, unless they had been established by statute; gave the secretary specific authority to reorganize or abolish the following statutorily established offices, providing 90 days' notice was given to congressional committees: the Office of Bilingual Education, Teacher Corps, Community College Unit, National Center for Education Statistics, National Institute of Education, Office of Environmental Education, Office of Consumers' Education, Office of Libraries and Learning Resources, Office of Indian Education, Office of Career Education, Office of Non-Public Education, bureau for the education and training of the handicapped, Institute of Museum Services and administrative units for guidance and counseling programs, the veterans' cost of instruction program and the program for gifted and talented children.

• Authorized the secretary to promulgate rules and regulations, subject to the legislative veto provisions of the General Education Provisions Act.

• Authorized the secretary to enter into contracts, establish or abolish regional offices, acquire and maintain property, provide services to employees at remote locations, lease facilities to public and private organizations, acquire copyrights, accept gifts, provide technical assistance to grant applicants, establish a working capital fund, and, when authorized by an appropriations bill, to transfer funds from one appropriation to another, provided that no appropriation be either increased or decreased by more than 5 percent.

• Required the secretary to make an annual report to Congress on:

The department's goals, priorities and plans, and progress toward those objectives.

Efforts to reduce federal regulation and duplication of federal education programs.

An estimate of the number of non-federal personnel employed under contract by the department.

Title V — Transition

• Provided that the act not have any effect on proceedings, applications or lawsuits under way before the department was established.

• Renamed HEW the Department of Health and Human Services.

Title VI — Effective Date

• Provided that the act take effect 180 days after the first secretary took office, or on any date after Oct. 1, 1979, selected by the president.

(President Carter Nov. 14 nominated Judge Shirley M. Hufstedler of the 9th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals as secretary of education. The Senate confirmed her Nov. 30, 81-2, and she was sworn in Dec. 6. *(Vote 437, p. 73-S))*

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee approved S 210 March 14 by a 16-1 vote. Although members expressed varying degrees of enthusiasm for the bill, only William S. Cohen, R-Maine, voted no.

The committee filed its report March 27 (S Rept 96-49). Arguing that there was a "strong and persuasive need for a Department of Education," the committee said it would improve the federal education effort, which was "severely hampered by its burial in HEW, its confusing lines of authority and administration, its fragmentation and its obvious lack of direction."

With the transfers of Indian education, Head Start and school lunch programs dropped in 1978 because of opposition in Congress and from the groups involved, the department as outlined in S 210 centered around the Education Division of HEW, although the majority of its employees would be several thousand miles away, teaching military dependents in Europe and elsewhere.

The bill transferred to the new department all the programs of the Education Division, including the Office of Education, which administered the vast majority of federal education efforts, and the National Institute of Education. It also shifted the education-related functions of HEW's Office for Civil Rights, the Rehabilitation Services Administration (RSA) and several smaller programs from HEW.

The RSA transfer was the only move the administration had not included in its own proposal; however, administration officials did not express strong opposition to the idea. Disabled citizen interest groups supported putting vocational training programs in the new department.

By far the biggest transfer involved the Defense Department's dependent school system. The committee stressed that the Education Department should give increased attention to the concerns of military parents in the running of the schools.

Another of the few remaining controversial transfers in S 210 moved some science education programs run by the National Science Foundation (NSF). The bill moved only those programs that were related to science education of non-specialist students and the public, leaving those that concentrated on graduate and research education with NSF. The move had been opposed by some higher education interests who feared their concerns would be given short shrift in the new department.

The major difference between S 210 and the administration proposal was in the organizational structure of the new department. S 210 was more specific about how the

department should be organized; the administration proposal would have given the secretary more authority to set things up.

S 210 set up two advisory councils to ensure that department policy meshed with that of other federal agencies and state and local governments. The Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education, made up of representatives of state and local governments, public and private education and the public, was intended to provide a forum for those affected by the policies of the department. The Federal Interagency Committee on Education would coordinate policy with the other federal agencies still having education responsibilities.

Federal Control Issue

Responding to widespread concerns that establishment of a separate education department would undermine the traditional independence of locally run public schools, the committee included several provisions aimed at preventing any expansion of federal control. Opponents had focused on fears that the new department would end up running the schools; many supporters had made their acceptance of the bill contingent on strong guarantees against that possibility.

The committee both prohibited expansion of federal control and demanded preservation of local independence. It required that the department "shall not increase the authority of the federal government over education," stated that the duty of the department was to protect the independence of schools and to strengthen the control of education agencies and institutions over their own programs, and said establishment of the department would in no way force states to alter their own education organizational structures to conform to the structure of the federal department.

The committee also emphasized that the Intergovernmental Advisory Council would act as a check on any future expansion of federal control. It would have the right to review department regulations, and the secretary would have to respond promptly to any criticisms or suggestions it made. At the suggestion of state and local government organizations, the committee altered the makeup of the council to give more seats to elected officials and fewer to members of education interest groups and the public.

Bureaucracy

In an effort to cope with the other main criticism of the department, that it would lead to a bigger and more costly federal bureaucracy, S 210 placed limits on the number of high-level employees and gave Congress the right to set annual maximums on the number of all employees.

The department would have the fewest executive-level positions, assistant secretaries, "supergrade" employees and full-time permanent staff of any department, the committee report said.

Using statistics developed by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the committee estimated that the department would ultimately result in a reduction of 350 to 450 employees from the federal payroll. It said elimination of duplicative functions performed by various offices in HEW above the education program level would cut delays in issuance of regulations in half.

A provision which committee staff said had never been applied to a Cabinet department required Congress each year to establish an "end strength" for department employment, setting the maximum number of staff positions; the total number of employees at the end of fiscal 1980 was limited to 17,239. Another provision limited the number of new supergrade positions in the department to 42, thus setting a ceiling of 60 for total department supergrade positions.

Civil Rights

Although S 210 contained some provisions to protect the independence of the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) within the new department, it did not go as far as the administration or civil rights groups would have liked.

The status of the head of OCR was upgraded from the existing GS-18 Civil Service level to that of an assistant secretary, appointed by the president and subject to Senate confirmation. The most important assurance of independence given OCR by the bill was the right to directly submit an annual report to Congress on the progress of civil rights enforcement. The report would not have to be approved by the secretary before being submitted.

The administration proposal would have given the OCR director the right to independently collect data and appoint legal staff. Civil rights groups also had called for giving the office the right to submit an independent appeal to Congress of any reductions in its budget request and the right to contract directly, outside of normal channels, with other organizations and governments.

Additional Views

In additional views to the report, Cohen disputed the contention that taking education out of HEW would cut down on the federal bureaucracy. "Based on our experience with the self-perpetuating nature of federal agencies, it is safe to predict that the Department of Education will inevitably grow even larger," he said. Past experience also indicated that the new department would lead to more federal control of local schools, he said.

Another freshman Republican, David Durenberger, Minn., supported the bill but called for a sunset provision. He suggested the department be authorized for only 10 years, to give Congress a chance to review and revise its operation after its first decade.

Senate Floor Action

After sponsors managed to knock a controversial school prayer amendment out of the bill, the Senate easily passed S 210 April 30. The vote was 72-21. *(Vote 70, p. 14-S)*

The amendment, offered by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., was designed to bar the federal courts from prohibiting voluntary prayer in public schools. It was adopted 47-37 on April 5, the first day of floor debate, and posed a serious problem for the bill, which had been expected to clear the Senate handily, as it did in 1978. Department supporters feared the amendment would jeopardize support for the bill among a substantial group of liberals who were only lukewarm about it anyway.

However, with some fancy parliamentary footwork by Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., sponsors managed to strip the amendment from S 210 and add it instead to a bill (S 450) relating to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

Sponsors then managed to guide S 210 through to passage without the addition of any more controversial amendments. All subsequent amendments which came to a roll-call vote were rejected. Amendments on sex education, unionism for teachers and affirmative action were defeated

by wide margins. Only on the issue of "sunset," a concept with broad philosophical support in the Senate, did sponsors have a narrow victory margin.

The 72-21 vote on final passage reflected the same level of support for the bill as in 1978, although opponents were able to pick up an additional 10 votes against it in 1979. Conservative Republicans made up the majority of opponents.

The Senate worked on the bill April 5, 9, 10, 26 and 30.

School Prayer Amendment

Senate approval of the school prayer amendment caught supporters of S 210 by surprise. Helms had kept his intentions quiet, so few people knew the amendment was going to come up. When it did, bill manager Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., gave only a brief, perfunctory statement against it, apparently sure it would be defeated. But his motion to table it was rejected by a 43-43 tie vote. Had administration forces anticipated the seriousness of the threat to the bill, they could have defeated the amendment by having Vice President Walter F. Mondale present to cast the deciding vote to table it. *(Vote 36, p. 9-S)*

The Senate then adopted the Helms amendment 47-37. *(Vote 37, p. 9-S)*

Ribicoff voted for it so that he could move to reconsider the vote. But at that point Byrd moved to recess, before the customary move to table the motion to reconsider could be approved. If he had not acted at that moment, the motion to reconsider would probably have been defeated, and the Helms amendment permanently sealed to the bill.

Through a series of parliamentary tactics, Byrd, a supporter of voluntary school prayer, then got the Senate to add the provision to S 450 and strip it from S 210. *(Votes 39, 41-44, p. 10-S)*

Ribicoff said there was "no question in my mind" that if the Helms amendment had remained attached to the Department of Education bill, "it would tend to kill the . . . bill."

Other Amendments

Sunset Provision. An amendment by S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, R-Calif., to terminate authority for the department six years after its establishment lost 46-48 April 30. *(Vote 68, p. 14-S)*

Under the amendment, Congress would have had the choice of extending the life of the department or letting it die. The closeness of the vote reflected the widespread support in the Senate for the idea of "sunsetting" (automatically terminating) federal programs in order to force Congress to periodically review their effectiveness.

Transfer Authority. The Senate also rejected an amendment to prohibit future transfers of programs into the department without affirmative congressional action. Sponsored by Robert Morgan, D-N.C., it was rejected 38-45. *(Vote 64, p. 13-S)*

The amendment would have excluded the department from authority given to the president under the 1949 Reorganization Act to move agencies or programs into an existing department. In effect, it would have required the administration to seek approval of separate legislation in order to make a transfer. Ribicoff noted that under the existing law, Congress already had the power to halt any transfer attempt by a negative vote of either house.

Veto of Regulations. Another amendment rejected by a narrow margin would have given local education agencies the right to veto regulations issued by the new department. Offered by Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, the amendment was tabled by a 48-40 vote April 26. *(Vote 62, p. 13-S)*

Under the amendment, the department would have had to withdraw proposed rules if a majority of local education agencies disapproved of them in writing. Since there were about 16,000 local agencies, more than 8,000 would have had to disapprove in order to overturn a regulation. Hatch conceded this was unlikely, but said it would at least provide a safety valve against regulations that were overwhelmingly opposed by local educators.

Ribicoff warned that the amendment would in effect allow schools to veto education laws passed by Congress, by rejecting the regulations implementing the laws.

Substitute Amendments. Two proposals to radically revise the bill's strategy for improving federal education efforts found little support in the Senate.

Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., proposed to retain education within HEW but give it increased status by elevating the chief education official to the rank of under secretary. His amendment was rejected 26-58. *(Vote 65, p. 14-S)*

An amendment by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., to put into the new department every education-related program in the federal government found so little support that Moynihan did not even ask for a roll-call vote, settling for a voice vote defeat. Although he opposed a separate department, Moynihan said he would rather have one that had all federal education efforts in it than one focused around public elementary and secondary education. He predicted the department would gradually expand anyway over the years.

Other Amendments. The Senate also:

- Adopted by voice vote a Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to delete the authority of the department to hire additional "supergrade" employees.
- Rejected 28-58 a Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, R-N.M., amendment to delete the transfer of the Defense Department overseas school system. *(Vote 63, p. 13-S)*
- Adopted by voice vote a Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., amendment to establish an Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Affairs.
- Rejected 16-73 a Helms amendment to require that public elementary and secondary schools receiving federal funds seek parental approval before providing sex education to students. *(Vote 66, p. 14-S)*
- Tabled by a 68-24 vote an appeal by Roger W. Jepsen, R-Iowa, of the ruling of the chair that his amendment requiring the department to issue regulations protecting the right of school employees not to join unions was not germane and therefore out of order. *(Vote 67, p. 14-S)*
- Tabled by a 59-32 vote a Hayakawa appeal of the ruling of the chair that his amendment barring the Office for Civil Rights from requiring racial or sexual quotas in education admission or hiring was not germane and therefore out of order. *(Vote 69, p. 14-S)*

House Committee Action

Two days after Senate passage, the House Government Operations Committee kept the legislation alive by the narrowest of margins — one vote.

In a cliffhanger whose outcome was uncertain until the last moment, the committee May 2 voted 20-19 to approve the House bill (HR 2444) setting up the Education Department. *(Committee vote, box, next page)*

The vote was a major victory for President Carter, who personally lobbied committee members, and for the coali-

House Committee Vote

Following is the vote by which the House Government Operations Committee approved HR 2444:

For (20). Democrats: Brooks, Texas; Fascell, Fla.; St Germain, R.I.; Fuqua, Fla.; Collins, Ill.; John L. Burton, Calif.; Preyer, N.C.; Drinan, Mass.; English, Okla.; Levitas, Ga.; Evans, Ind.; Moffett, Conn.; Maguire, N.J.; Aspin, Wis.; Fithian, Ind.; Synar, Okla.; Matsui, Calif.; Atkinson, Pa. **Republicans:** Horton, N.Y.; Williams, Ohio.

Against (19). Democrats: Fountain, N.C.; Moorhead, Pa.; Rosenthal, N.Y.; Conyers, Mich.; Waxman, Calif.; Kostmayer, Pa.; Weiss, N.Y. **Republicans:** Erlenborn, Ill.; Wydler, N.Y.; Brown, Ohio; McCloskey, Calif.; Kindness, Ohio; Walker, Pa.; Stangeland, Minn.; Butler, Va.; Jeffries, Kan.; Snowe, Maine; Grisham, Calif.; Deckard, Ind.

tion of educators led by the NEA. The committee had long been considered the decisive battleground for the legislation; supporters felt it would have a clear path to enactment if it could get through that panel, and lobbying both for and against the department focused on its members.

The committee vote produced an unusual coalition against the measure, with several liberal urban Democrats joining the nearly unanimous committee Republicans.

Committee Democrats split 18-7 on the bill. L. H. Fountain, D-N.C., and William S. Moorhead, D-Pa., switched from support of the bill in 1978 to opposition in 1979. Fountain, long in charge of HEW oversight for the committee, said, "In my opinion, we are enacting another monster in the federal government. It's going to grow and grow and grow."

The committee filed its report May 14 (H Rept 96-143).

The House bill was similar to S 210, with one significant exception. In a totally unexpected move, the committee voted to add Indian education programs to the new department. The move had been dropped by the 1978 version of the bill and the 1979 Senate bill because of intense Indian opposition.

Growth-Limiting Amendment

In addition to the heavy lobbying on the bill, an amendment imposing tight limitations on bureaucratic growth in the new department proved to be a crucial factor in winning over undecided committee members and holding on to wavering supporters.

The amendment which proved to be decisive resulted from a combination of amendments offered by Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., Paul N. McCloskey Jr., R-Calif., and Glenn English, D-Okla — all aimed at preventing unchecked expansion of the new department.

Working from the administration's argument that bureaucratic streamlining in the new department would lead to a reduction of some 450 employees, McCloskey proposed to hold the total number of employees to the number transferred into the department, minus 450. Levitas then moved to tighten the limit by requiring that Congress approve any increases, but this raised problems with some members who thought it might be a little clumsy for the department to have to ask Congress to hire one more clerk. So the committee accepted English's proposal to allow hiring of up to 50 new employees a year, and then adopted the combined amendment.

Indian Education

With the help of some proxies and the votes of bill opponents, committee chairman Brooks won his goal of adding education programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to the new department. The transfer practically fell into the laps of bill supporters, after they had long since given up on overcoming Indian opposition to the move.

Robert S. Walker, R-Pa., a bill opponent, proposed to set up an Indian education office in the department, more in the spirit of delaying and confusing things than out of support for the idea, according to an aide. His amendment was rejected by a tie vote, 15-15. Encouraged by his near success, Walker then proposed to transfer Indian education functions to the department, without setting up a specific new office to run the programs. With several members absent for lunch, Brooks controlled enough proxy votes to approve the amendment, 17-11.

Other Amendments

The committee adopted amendments to transfer into the new department the Rehabilitation Services Administration, to give the Office for Civil Rights independent authority to enter into contracts for overseeing compliance with civil rights laws, and to apply provisions of the General Education Provisions Act allowing congressional veto of education regulations to all regulations issued by the department.

It rejected 17-21 an amendment by John N. Erlenborn, R-Ill., to delete transfer of the Defense Department overseas dependent school system.

Action on Rule

HR 2444 survived another hurdle in the Rules Committee. The rule for floor consideration of the bill (H Res 299) won approval June 5 by a 9-5 vote.

The margin masked the uncertainty of the final outcome. The committee reportedly was evenly divided on the bill up until a few hours before the vote. Committee Chairman Richard Bolling, D-Mo., was among those who voted against the rule.

Before approving the rule, the committee accepted a motion by Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., to extend time for debate on the bill, and rejected his motion to allow a floor vote on a school prayer amendment.

The House adopted the rule June 7 by a 293-73 vote. *(Vote 177, p. 56-H)*

House Floor Action

Opponents held off HR 2444 for more than a month with delaying tactics and a deluge of amendments, but failed by a four-vote margin to kill it on the House floor.

The House passed the bill July 11 by a vote of 210-206. Eighty-nine Democrats joined 117 Republicans in opposing it; 175 Democrats and 35 Republicans voted for it. *(Vote 289, p. 86-H)*

After working on the bill June 7, 11-13 and 19, the House put it aside until after the July 4 recess, returning to it July 11, when it finally passed. During the lengthy debate, opponents succeeded in loading the bill up with a number of controversial amendments — on abortion, busing, racial quotas and school prayer — and vowed to try again to kill it when it returned from conference.

Four days into the debate, opponents made an attempt to kill the bill outright, but a midnight appeal by House

Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., kept it alive. The opponents felt the House was so closely divided that a well-timed motion might kill the bill in one swift blow.

Late the night of June 13, after long hours of debate, David R. Obey, D-Wis., moved to strike the enacting clause, effectively killing the bill. Like some other liberals and the AFL-CIO, Obey opposed a separate department for fear it would break up the coalition of education, labor and health groups that had long worked together for social programs.

But in a dramatic demonstration of the influence of the Speaker, O'Neill turned what was at most a narrow margin in favor of the bill into an overwhelming vote against the Obey motion. "Are we being fair to ourselves? Are we being fair to the President of the United States who has sent this message to Congress?" O'Neill asked. "Do not let the bill go down this way," he pleaded.

Democrats lined up solidly behind O'Neill, and the Obey motion was defeated 146-266. In addition to the core of support for HR 2444, opponents of the Obey motion were influenced by O'Neill's personal appeal, and by a sense of frustration with Republican dilatory tactics. *(Vote 219, p. 66-H)*

Opposition Strategy

Led by Erlenborn and Walker, Republican opponents of the bill offered dozens of amendments in an attempt both to stall off a final vote and to make the bill more unpalatable to supporters. They felt that with time, they could come up with enough vote switches in the closely divided House to doom the bill.

The delaying strategy may have backfired somewhat, though, as local NEA and other education group lobbyists made effective use of the July 4 recess to contact members and shore up support for the bill. Members reported hearing little from opponents of the bill, although there was heavy mail against it from some districts, much of it generated by Catholic education interests who feared the new department would be dominated by public-school interests. For the most part, however, the public did not appear to be actively concerned about the issue.

Opponents were more effective in adding amendments designed to split up the coalition backing the bill. The amendments opposing busing and racial quotas hurt the bill with liberal and civil rights groups. An additional concern to women's groups was a little-noticed amendment, adopted on the floor without opposition, that could have made it difficult to enforce civil rights laws such as the Title IX law against sex discrimination in education.

The AFL-CIO, which opposed the bill even before the amendments were added, stepped up its lobbying effort against the department. The United Auto Workers, which formerly backed the measure, stopped working for it. The American Civil Liberties Union and the Children's Defense Fund said they would work against the bill because of the amendments. Women's groups also opposed the bill for fear it would cripple enforcement of equal rights for women in education.

Only the hope that the amendments would be deleted in conference saved the measure from even more opposition from black and liberal members of Congress.

Civil Rights Amendments

Two limitations on anti-discrimination strategies in education represented the most serious threat to passage of the bill among the many amendments considered.

Anti-Quota Amendment. The anti-quota amendment, while breaking new ground as far as federal law was concerned, was seen by many to be more symbolic than a real threat to desegregation efforts. However, department supporters noted that its impact could depend on how federal officials and the courts interpreted the debate which led to its adoption. Offered by Walker, the amendment was approved 277-126 June 12. *(Vote 195, p. 60-H)*

The amendment stated that no one should be denied access to education on account of ratios or quotas related to race, creed or sex. The symbolic wording was probably the only way the idea could have been attached to the bill; the chair turned down a germaneness point of order against the amendment because it did "not directly address new substantive authorities to be conferred upon or withheld from the department."

Walker portrayed the amendment as following the lines of the Supreme Court's 1978 *Bakke* decision. He said it was not directed at affirmative action programs for minorities, but only at racial quotas in admissions. "I think we can have affirmative action without relying on quotas, and in no way would the adoption of this language impact adversely on affirmative action programs which are not run with quota bases," he argued. *(*Bakke *decision, 1978 CQ Almanac p. 1-A)*

Busing Amendment. The busing amendment, offered by John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, appeared to go beyond limitations in existing law. It prohibited the Education Department from requiring schools, in order to get federal assistance, to bus students or teachers to achieve racial balance; previous appropriations bills had ruled out use of HEW funds to require the busing of any student beyond the school nearest to his or her home. The amendment was adopted 227-135 June 11. *(Vote 190, p. 60-H)*

Ashbrook cited the overwhelming opposition of the population to forced busing, as shown in polls, and the relative ineffectiveness of past congressional attempts to restrict it. While conceding that the courts could order busing, he said Congress could at least make sure its own creation, the Department of Education, did not do so.

Brooks opposed the amendment on grounds it did not belong in a reorganization bill. Leon E. Panetta, D-Calif., added that it would go far beyond previous busing limits, essentially prohibiting the transportation of students or teachers "anywhere, even to their nearest school."

Civil Rights Office. The House rejected another Ashbrook amendment to curtail the independent authority of the department's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) to collect data, hire staff and enter into contracts. The amendment was rejected 65-342 June 12. *(Vote 202, p. 62-H)*

Ashbrook questioned why the assistant secretary for the OCR should have special authority not given to other officers of the department. He criticized the existing HEW Office for Civil Rights, arguing that the new office should not be given even greater powers. But opponents of the amendment said experience had shown that without independent authority the civil rights office could face difficulties in functioning effectively. Rosenthal said civil rights officials had found superiors unsympathetic to their budget and staffing needs in the past, and could again.

Effect of Regulations. The House by voice vote approved another Ashbrook amendment which stated that the prohibition in the bill against federal control of education would be limited only to the extent authorized by federal statute, and that regulations issued by the department would not have the standing of a statute.

Ashbrook argued that prohibiting federal control "except by law," as the original bill did, was a giant loophole through which bureaucrats could extend their control by issuing regulations. He said the new department should be able to interfere in local education affairs only to the extent explicitly authorized by Congress.

No one expressed opposition to the amendment on the floor, but federal officials later became concerned that it could have a serious effect on civil rights enforcement. They worried that it might be difficult in court to prove discrimination under, for example, the vaguely worded Title IX sex discrimination law, if the regulations issued to enforce the law could not be used.

School Prayer

Like the Senate, the House approved an amendment relating to voluntary prayer in public schools. But because of the way it was worded, the House amendment was not considered to pose a serious threat to enactment of the bill, as the Senate amendment had.

While the Senate amendment would have removed the issue of voluntary school prayer from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, the House amendment, offered by Walker, was interpreted by most observers as being so symbolically worded as to have no substantial effect. It simply made it one of the goals of the new department to give children a chance to pray in schools. It was adopted 255-122 June 11. *(Vote 188, p. 60-H)*

The amendment originally called on the department to "promote" school prayer. But that went a little too far for some members, and it was changed to "permit" prayer.

Brooks and Frank Horton, N.Y., ranking Republican on the Government Operations Committee, said the amendment was inappropriate for a reorganization bill, and Panetta warned that in approving the amendment, "we are, in fact, dictating that they go ahead and issue rules and regulations permitting this kind of prayer."

Transfer Amendments

Republican opponents of the bill offered numerous amendments to put in and remove programs, both to delay the legislation and to make it more controversial.

The House turned down most of the amendments regarding transfers of various education-related programs into the new agency, but did vote to remove health manpower and Indian education programs from the bill.

The House reversed the committee decision to include Indian education programs in the bill, a provision that was considered to have little chance of surviving in conference with the Senate anyway. Dale E. Kildee, D-Mich., offered the amendment to delete the transfer. It was adopted 235-170. *(Vote 216, p. 66-H)*

Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., chairman of the Commerce Subcommittee on Health, offered an amendment to leave control over federally insured loans to graduate students in health professions schools and nursing student scholarships and loans with HEW's Public Health Service. It was approved 243-169. *(Vote 212, p. 66-H)*

Waxman argued that programs helping to provide a vital health resource, trained professionals, properly belonged with the department concerned with overall strategy for meeting health care needs.

Advocates of keeping the aid programs with education said the loans could be distributed and collected more simply and efficiently if operated in conjunction with other student loan programs.

Amendments Rejected. The House rejected attempts to add to the new department:

- Job training programs under Titles II, III and IV of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). James M. Jeffords, R-Vt., amendment rejected 145-265. *(Vote 213, p. 66-H)*
- Head Start preschool programs. Bill Goodling, R-Pa., amendment rejected 179-230. *(Vote 218, p. 66-H)*

The House also turned back moves to delete from the bill these programs:

- Defense Department schools for overseas military dependents. An Erlenborn amendment to remove the structure within the new department responsible for running the schools was rejected 178-230, and a William L. Dickinson, R-Ala., amendment to delete the transfer itself was rejected 173-225. *(Votes 196, 215, pp. 62-H, 66-H)*
- The Rehabilitation Services Administration and the National Institute of Handicapped Research. George Miller, D-Calif., amendment rejected 148-265. *(Vote 200, p. 62-H)*
- Certain science education programs of the National Science Foundation. Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, amendment rejected 165-240. *(Vote 214, p. 66-H)*
- Criminal justice education programs of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Robert McClory, R-Ill., amendment rejected 128-275. *(Vote 217, p. 66-H)*

Abortion Amendments

Republican Ashbrook won passage of two amendments to limit the new department's involvement, directly or indirectly, with abortions.

The first would prevent the department from providing abortions to employees of its overseas schools for military dependents, except to save the life of the mother. It was approved by voice vote.

The second amendment had an even greater potential impact. It would prohibit the new department from providing buildings and other facilities to institutions of higher education that used mandatory student fees to pay for abortions, except to save the mother's life. Ashbrook pointed to several campuses of the University of California, where he said students, in order to register for classes, were forced to pay fees that went partly for abortions.

No one spoke against the amendment. Echoing its consistent anti-abortion stand, the House July 11 adopted the amendment by a 257-149 vote. *(Vote 288, p. 86-H)*

Staff, Budget Limitations

Going beyond the staffing reductions in the bill, the House adopted a Dan Quayle, R-Ind., amendment requiring the new department to have 800 fewer employees than the number transferred into it. The amendment was approved 263-143. *(Vote 287, p. 86-H)*

The amendment also removed the bill's allowance for an additional 50 employees a year, thus requiring that Congress approve any increases, and required that consultants hired by the department be counted as employees.

Opponents of the amendment said the reductions could hinder essential operations of the department, and that it would be silly for it to have to come to Congress every time it wanted to hire another clerk.

Education Department opponents also came close to adding several other restrictions on its budget and staff. One amendment, to restrict future budget increases for the department, was rejected by only a three-vote margin. Offered by Ken Kramer, R-Colo., the amendment stated

congressional intent to hold the department's budget to the amount provided for the programs to be transferred into it, with annual increases allowed according to growth of the Consumer Price Index. It was rejected 184-187. *(Vote 189, p. 60-H)*

Quayle also attempted to cut out five executive-level officials who were to carry out a variety of duties assigned by the secretary. He said lower-ranking people could do the jobs. That amendment was rejected 170-220. *(Vote 204, p. 64-H)*

A different idea for curbing bureaucracy was proposed by Walker. His amendment, rejected 28-374, would have required that all top-ranking officials of the department have been teachers or school administrators for 18 of the preceding 24 months. *(Vote 201, p. 62-H)*

Other Amendments

The most comprehensive change in the Education Department as contained in HR 2444 was suggested by McCloskey, an opponent of the bill. He offered an amendment to establish the new education agency as an independent Office of Education, instead of a Department of Education. It was rejected 114-257. *(Vote 187, p. 58-H)*

McCloskey said independent status would get education out from under the massive health and welfare programs of HEW without adding another person to the Cabinet. Opponents of the amendment noted that one of the reasons for creation of the department was President Carter's expressed desire to spend more time on education during Cabinet meetings. Horton argued that independent agency status would in fact downgrade education, giving it even less clout within the federal bureaucracy than it had.

Vocational Rehabilitation. With the help of Vice President Mondale, Majority Whip John Brademas, D-Ind., and Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla., were able to work out a deal on a controversy surrounding Florida's vocational rehabilitation program.

Brademas and organizations of the handicapped had objected to a provision in HR 2444, added by Fascell in committee, that would have allowed Florida to retain its organizational structure for running vocational rehabilitation programs, lumped in with other social service programs. The state faced a cutoff of funds because federal law required a distinct agency for management of vocational rehabilitation.

The compromise gave Florida temporary permission, for eight months, to keep its old organizational structure. After that, any further extension would require separate legislation. Select Education Subcommittee Chairman Paul Simon, D-Ill., promised, as part of the compromise, to consider legislation to allow a permanent waiver for Florida and other states that wanted to try other ways to provide vocational rehabilitation. The compromise was approved 362-36. *(Vote 239, p. 72-H)*

Other Amendments. The House adopted the following other amendments:

- By Ike Skelton, D-Mo., to prohibit withholding of funds from school districts on the basis of requirements relating to curriculum or instructional materials.
- By John J. LaFalce, D-N.Y., to make clear that parents had the primary responsibility in the education of their children, and that states and schools were responsible for supporting that role.
- By Ashbrook, to prohibit federal interference in the content, as well as selection, of library or instructional materials.
- By Simon, to require the department to encourage the study of foreign languages and cultures.
- By Charles E. Grassley, R-Iowa, to make one of the principal officers of the department responsible for rural education.
- By Robert Garcia, D-N.Y., to establish an Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs; adopted 290-124. The amendment had been altered by an E. "Kika" de la Garza, D-Texas, substitute, adopted 396-22. *(Votes 198, 197, p. 62-H)*
- By Ron Marlenee, R-Mont., to require the assistant secretary for vocational and adult education to provide a unified approach to rural family education; adopted 403-3. *(Vote 199, p. 62-H)*

Amendments Rejected. The following amendments were rejected by roll-call votes:

- By Erlenborn, to name the new department the Department of Public Education (DOPE); rejected 52-310. Erlenborn first tried to name it the Department of Public Education and Youth (DOPEY); that amendment was rejected by voice vote. *(Vote 186, p. 58-H)*
- By Erlenborn, to delete authorization for the department to provide information about education and related opportunities directly to students, parents and communities; rejected 149-243. *(Vote 203, p. 62-H)*
- By Robin L. Beard Jr., R-Tenn., to "sunset" the department in six years; rejected by voice vote. Education Department opponents feared the amendment would strengthen support for the bill, and did not help Beard in trying to get a recorded vote.

Parliamentary Maneuver

Following House passage of the bill, sponsors used a parliamentary ploy to limit opponents' options in future dealings with the measure.

By getting the House to ask first for a conference on the two versions of the legislation, sponsors made sure that opponents would not have a chance to move to send the bill back to conference for further changes once conferees had reported it. Brooks made the motion, and the House voted 263-156 July 17 to ask for the conference. *(Vote 314, p. 92-H)*

Under House rules, opponents then could not move to recommit the conference report when it came back to the House, but would have to settle for a straight yes-or-no vote on it.

Normally, the bill, which passed the Senate first, would have been sent back there after House passage. The Senate would then disagree to the House amendments and ask for a conference. In that case, the House would get first crack at the conference report, and could vote to recommit it for further changes. But the July 17 House vote meant the Senate would vote first on the conference report, leaving the House with no choice but to take it or leave it.

The House also voted to insist that conferees retain its amendment against racial quotas in education, but by a much closer vote (214-202) than the 277-126 vote by which the amendment was originally adopted. *(Vote 315, p. 92-H)*

Conference Action

Conferees Sept. 13 dropped the controversial House-added amendments on busing, racial quotas, abortion and school prayer. They filed their report (S Rept 96-326) on Sept. 21.

Erlenborn was sharply critical of House conferees' near-total capitulation on the controversial amendments, and refused to sign the conference report. "No attempt was made to sustain the House position," he said. "They came to the conference to rewrite the bill in the way they wished it had passed the House." Opponents had predicted during House debate that House conferees would agree to drop the amendments, despite their approval by wide margins.

The House conferees voted 6-3 to drop the Walker amendment against the use of quotas, ratios or numerical requirements in educational admissions. Ribicoff then proposed a substitute amendment that had been worked out with the help of civil rights groups. It retained the part of the Walker amendment, similar to a provision in the Senate bill, that committed the department to ensuring equal access to education, but deleted the phrase prohibiting quotas or ratios.

Erlenborn pointed out that the House had voted to instruct conferees to fight to hold on to the amendment. But Brooks said the narrow vote on the instructing motion indicated the House was not locked into the text of the amendment, and won the support of four other Democrats and chief Republican sponsor Horton for the Ribicoff substitute.

Another Senate substitute on the subject of preventing federal control of education knocked out the House's busing amendment and two other amendments that backers of the bill had feared would hamper federal civil rights efforts. The substitute retained the idea, in both bills, that the new department should not take away control of education from state and local governments, but deleted the prohibition on busing orders, the amendment stating that department regulations would not have the standing of law and the amendment prohibiting withholding of funds to a school district because of the instructional materials used.

House conferees accepted the substitute 7-2.

The House amendments on abortion and school prayer also were dropped. Conferees required the department to reduce staff positions by 500 within a year, rather than 800 as in the House-passed amendment. ▮

Health Planning System Extended for 3 Years

Congress Sept. 21 completed action on a three-year, $987 million extension of the controversial federal-state-regional health planning system, which allocates health resources such as hospital beds and expensive diagnostic machines.

The House approved the conference agreement on the bill (S 544) Sept. 20 by a 362-45 vote. The Senate approved it by voice vote the following day, clearing the measure for the president. It was signed into law Oct. 4 (PL 96-79). *(House vote 453, p. 130-H)*

The health planning system was intended to block excess hospital expansions and duplication in services and major medical equipment. It had been criticized both for being ineffective and for having a potential to "ration" health services. But advocates such as Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., argued that "rational planning" was needed to "assure the provision of quality health care at reasonable cost," as Kennedy told the Senate Sept. 21.

S 544 included provisions dealing with several major planning controversies of recent years. For the first time, it extended the requirement for state approval of major medical equipment (by "certificate of need" programs) to equipment located in doctors' offices, if the equipment was to be used on hospital inpatients.

It also postponed a cutoff of federal funds for states that had not yet enacted mandatory certificate of need programs and, reflecting pressure for less federal interference in local planning decisions, eliminated a requirement in the original law that state and local planning decisions must conform to national guidelines issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

To promote competition among providers of health care, the bill largely exempted prepaid group health plans from the state approval requirement. To deal with the highly emotional question of underused hospital facilities, it provided incentives rather than penalties, creating a new $155 million program of grants to encourage hospitals to shut down unneeded acute-care beds or convert them to other, needed uses. In the past, decertification of underused facilities had been suggested.

Overall, the bill added no new regulatory authority for health planning agencies, but considering the controversy surrounding the planning system, advocates were pleased that the three-year extension made it through Congress at all.

Background

The health planning system originally was authorized under the Health Planning and Resource Development Act of 1974, which established a national network of state and local agencies charged with curbing duplication and waste of health resources and promoting creation of needed medical services. In 1977 the act was extended for one year to give the Carter administration time to review the program and recommend changes. *(1974 Almanac p. 405; 1977 Almanac pp. 451, 453)*

In 1978 the House blocked a three-year reauthorization measure, so the planning system had been operating under a one-year continuing resolution that was to expire Sept. 30, 1979. *(1978 action, 1978 Almanac p. 616)*

Provisions

As signed into law Oct. 4, S 544 (PL 96-79):

Health Planning System

Guidelines and Priorities. Required an annual Health, Education and Welfare Department (HEW) review of national guidelines and regional and state health plans. Required periodic reports on the impact of health planning goals on health care delivery systems.

- Added these goals to national priorities for health planning: identification and termination of unneeded services and facilities; adoption of policies to contain health care costs, ensure more appropriate use of services and promote greater efficiency in the health care delivery system; promotion of outpatient treatment for mental health problems, where appropriate, and elimination of inappropriate hospitalization of mental patients.

National Council. Expanded to 20 members, from 15, the National Council on Health Planning and Development; required that at least eight members be consumers, including representatives from medically underserved areas.

Competition. Stated as a congressional finding that extensive health insurance coverage and the traditional payment pattern that reimbursed for services after they were provided had lessened price-consciousness and competition in the health care industry. Directed regional and state planning agencies to foster competition where possible, and to allocate the market for institutional and other services not responsive to competitive pressures.

Designation of Planning Areas, Agencies. Authorized state governors to request changes ("redesignation") in boundaries of health service areas (the jurisdiction of a health systems agency, or HSA), and required the secretary of HEW to consult with governors, local officials and state health councils before any redesignation. Required HEW to consult with affected governors and other officials for redesignation of a multi-state area. Required public notice and comment period before any redesignation.

- Extended to three years, from one year, the period for which a state or regional planning agency (HSA) could be approved by HEW ("designated"); required state planning agency comment on the performance of an HSA before redesignation.
- Required HEW, before it could terminate the designation of a state or regional planning agency, to provide notice and an administrative appeal, and to consult with the governor, the state health coordinating council and the national planning council.
- Authorized the secretary to return a state or regional planning agency to conditional designation (instead of terminating it immediately) for unsatisfactory performance. Required termination or full redesignation at the end of the year of conditional status, with the established procedures for termination.
- Raised the minimum planning grant to an HSA; also authorized special grants for extraordinary expenses, such as travel in an unusually large jurisdiction.

Planning Agencies. Revised language that appeared to require quotas for different population groups on HSA boards, but insisted that boards be "broadly representative" of economic, racial and ethnic groups served, the handicapped, geographic areas within the HSA and major purchasers of health care, such as labor unions. Required HSAs to provide for "broad" public participation in the selection of at least half the new board members.

- Required representation on HSA boards of hospital administrators, general-purpose local government officials, mental health and drug abuse interests, and any Veterans Administration hospitals and health maintenance organizations in the HSA area.
- For provider members of HSA boards: eliminated the "indirect provider" category and revised the income test for direct providers, to those who made one-fifth, rather than one-third, of their income from health-related activities.
- Required consumer majorities on HSA subcommittees.
- Broadened protection for regional and state planning agency members and staff against personal liability suits, and extended liability protection to the HSA itself.
- Prohibited HSAs from using federal funds to pay for lobbying. This prohibition would not prevent HSA staff and members from lobbying, as long as that was not their primary responsibility.
- Permitted HSAs to close portions of public meetings and records relating to confidential personnel matters or to judicial proceedings.
- Eliminated a requirement that a public HSA delegate personnel and budget decisions to a separate governing body.
- Barred HSA and state agency members from voting on decisions affecting institutions where they worked or had other substantial interests — or had had such an interest within the past year. Required written disclosure from members of any such relationships.
- Required HSA staffs to have expertise in financial and economic analysis, public and preventive health and mental health.

Health Plans. Stipulated that regional health plans, developed by HSAs, should focus on health care equipment and institutional services and facilities. This language, however, was not intended to "prevent an HSA from involving itself in improving the environment which impacts on health," the conference report stated.

- Required coordination of regional and state health plans with planning by drug and alcohol abuse and mental health agencies.
- Required regional and state health plans to describe both existing and needed health facilities, and to identify institutions needing modernization, conversion to other uses or closure.
- Required approval by the governor of a state plan; permitted disapproval only if the plan failed to meet statewide health needs, and prohibited federal funding for state agencies without a state health plan in effect.
- Required review and amendment of regional and state health plans every three years, instead of annually as in the original law.
- Deleted a requirement that regional health plans conform to national planning guidelines. Required HSAs to report and explain any inconsistencies with national guidelines to state planning units and the secretary of HEW.

Certificates of Need. Required state agencies to act according to established procedures on applications for approval (certificate of need) of proposed new health facilities and services, and to base decisions solely on the administratively established record. Required-on-the-record hearings for certificate-of-need applications, as well as on appropriateness reviews, if requested. Barred personnel contacts outside official procedures on certification decisions.

- Required state agencies to set a period of time for deciding on a certificate-of-need application, and authorized judicial action to require a decision on an application if the state agency exceeded its set period of time. Authorized appeals of state agency decisions.
- Added these criteria for evaluating certificate applications: availability of needed resources for the project, such as capital and manpower; clinical needs and access to the new service of medical and other health professions schools; access to all area residents; costs and charges, and quality of care provided in the past by the applicant.
- Authorized state agencies to "batch" applications — that is, to compare similar proposals, choosing the best.
- Prohibited state agencies from placing any conditions on certification approvals, unless the conditions related directly to criteria spelled out in federal or state law or in HEW regulations existing before enactment.
- Required certificate approvals to include a timetable for establishment of the approved service, and required pe-

riodic state reviews of progress by the applicant. Authorized states to withdraw a certificate from an applicant failing to meet the timetable or to make a good-faith effort to do so. This was intended to keep applicants from preventing competitors from offering a service by holding on to a certificate but not acting on it. Also required certificate approvals to specify the maximum expenditure permitted for a project, and authorized further review if the project required more money than specified.

• Expanded a requirement for certificate-of-need approval to cover all diagnostic and treatment equipment worth $150,000 or more, regardless of location, if it was to be used on hospital inpatients. Permitted states to enact broader requirements, such as coverage for major medical equipment in doctors' offices that was not used on hospital patients, if such laws were enacted before Sept. 30, 1982.

• Prohibited states from requiring certificates of need for new inpatient health services, major medical equipment or major capital expenditures by a health maintenance organization (HMO, or prepaid group health plan) or group of HMOs meeting certain conditions. To qualify for the exemption, the HMO or other entity had to offer a basic package of medical services on a prepaid basis to at least 50,000 members; the service had to be accessible to all members, and at least 75 percent of patients expected to use the service had to be prepaid enrollees. An inpatient facility controlled by an HMO or one leased (long term) by an HMO could also qualify.

• Prohibited the sale or lease of exempt facilities, except to another entity qualifying for the exemption. For other purchasers, a certificate of need would be required.

• For HMOs failing to qualify for the exemption, required state agencies to approve certificate applications for services needed by enrollees that the HMO could not provide through existing institutions.

• Required state agencies to grant certificates of need for projects to repair safety hazards (as specified by fire and safety codes), or to comply with licensure or accreditation standards — but only for expenditures needed to meet these requirements.

• Required the General Accounting Office to report to congressional committees on the impact of the HMO exemption by Feb. 1, 1982.

Appropriateness Review. Added these criteria for state agency reviews ("appropriateness reviews") of existing institutional health services: need for the service, accessibility, financial stability of the institution, cost-effectiveness and quality of services provided. State agencies could decide whether to conduct reviews on a general, "regional" basis or institution by institution; eventually, however, the agencies were expected to produce specific information about specific institutions, to "provide the consumer with better information," according to the conference report.

Other Provisions. Required state review of applications for federal drug abuse, alcohol abuse or public health funds to be spent in more than one health service area. Required the secretary of HEW to disapprove applications rejected by the state for non-compliance with state plans. Authorized HSA reviews of state grants from federal funds. Permitted governors to override HSA disapprovals of these grants.

• Barred HSA review of public health research or training proposals, unless these projects would affect availability of health services for non-participants.

• Required states to annually collect price information on the 25 most-used health services, including hospital room rates, and required HSAs to make this information available to the public.

Health Planning Authorizations

As cleared by Congress, S 544 authorized the following amounts in fiscal 1980-82 *(in millions of dollars):*

	Fiscal 1980	Fiscal 1981	Fiscal 1982
Planning grants to health systems agencies	$150	$165	$185
Grants to state health planning agencies	35	40	45
Grants to state rate regulation programs	6	6	6
Grants to regional health planning centers	6	8	10
Construction grants to hospitals to meet safety, accreditation standards	40	50	50
Construction grants to hospitals in underserved areas or for conversion to outpatient or long-term care uses	—	15	15
Grants to hospitals for discontinuation or conversion of unneeded services	30	50	75
Total	$267	$334	$386

Funding. Provided for phased reductions in federal public health, mental health and drug and alcohol abuse funds to states failing to establish certificate of need programs meeting federal standards. This provision replaced a provision cutting off all these federal funds for states failing to establish programs by Sept. 30, 1980. Authorized the secretary to cut the funds by 50 percent the first year, 70 percent the second year and 100 percent the third year, with the cuts to begin after a state legislature had had a full 12 months to enact the law.

• Authorized funds for fiscal 1980-82 for planning grants to HSAs and grants to state health planning agencies, state rate regulation programs and regional health planning centers. *(Authorizations, box, this page)*

Facilities Development, Termination

• Ended authorization for allotments to states for medical facilities construction, and requirements for a state medical facilities plan.

• Authorized, through fiscal 1982, federal loans as needed, and loan guarantees. Expanded eligibility for both to non-profit private hospitals meeting certain conditions, as well as public hospitals. Set these priorities for projects: discontinuation or conversion to other health uses of unneeded services or facilities; renovation and modernization of facilities, especially to meet fire, safety, licensure or accreditation standards; construction of outpatient medical facilities, or inpatient facilities in areas with rapid population growth.

• Authorized federal loan subsidies for projects in urban or rural poverty areas.

• Authorized funds for project grants to hospitals to eliminate safety hazards or meet accreditation standards.

• Established a new grant program, for public and nonprofit private hospitals meeting certain conditions, for construction or modernization of freestanding outpatient facilities for medically underserved populations, or for conversion of existing facilities into outpatient or long-term care services.

• Placed certain conditions on grant applicants, including a finding of need from a state planning agency, a guarantee that construction workers would earn prevailing wages, and assurances that a "reasonable" number of charity patients would receive the service.

• Established a new grant program, beginning April 1, 1980, to provide grants and technical assistance to hospitals for discontinuation or conversion of unneeded services or to state planning agencies for demonstration projects on reducing excess hospital capacity.

• Required applications to be approved by planning agencies. Barred the secretary of HEW from approving applications until the secretary of labor had approved arrangements for hospital workers affected by the proposed changes.

• Required the secretary of HEW to report to Congress by Jan. 1, 1982, on the impact of the conversion and closure grant program.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee reported S 544 (S Rept 96-96) April 26.

The three-year, $997 million reauthorization basically fine-tuned the 1974 law, reflecting a judgment made by both House and Senate committees in 1978 to continue the controversial planning system but not to burden it with too many difficult new responsibilities.

The bill retained two provisions from the 1978 bill designed to encourage prepaid group medical practices (health maintenance organizations, or HMOs) and to curb doctors' buying of very expensive medical equipment. Both were weaker than the versions approved by the Senate in 1978, however, reflecting a private compromise between HMO interest groups and the American Medical Association (AMA), which each agreed not to object to the other side's amendments to the statute.

In its report the committee said the health planning system had made an "excellent beginning" despite slow implementation of the 1974 law and much litigation challenging planners' decisions and the validity of the law itself. But the planning process had been "full of turmoil," and these problems had been pointed out in testimony:

• Domination of the boards of local planning agencies by providers, with inadequate representation of poor and medically underserved groups.

• Negative impact on the development of HMOs. "There appears to exist a misunderstanding of the HMO concept and discrimination against HMO applications at both the HSA and the state level," the report said.

• Continuing excesses of hospitals beds — as many as 130,000 nationwide — at an estimated cost of $33,000 to $53,000 each in annual operating expenses. This indicated to the committee that the law had yet to fulfill its potential for curbing duplicative services.

• Slowness of states in adopting acceptable certificate-of-need laws. Only eight states had such laws in effect.

• A major loophole in the 1974 law that permitted physicians to purchase very expensive medical equipment even if local and state planners decided it was not needed. In some instances, doctors bought the equipment after hospitals, which were required to seek approval for the purchases, had been turned down.

Committee changes in existing law were intended to respond to some of these problems. But differences between the 1978 and 1979 bills reflected an anti-spending and anti-regulatory mood. There were the weakened HMO and medical equipment provisions and a new emphasis on "competition." And the 1979 authorizations were more than $600 million under the amount approved by the Senate in 1978.

In a separate view, Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., said the health planning act unnecessarily delayed projects and that it had not saved much money. Coordination of health services "would best be effected by informal arrangements among them and the attention of local government," he said.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed S 544 May 1 by voice vote. There was no debate. The bill sponsor, Kennedy, simply inserted a statement of support in the *Congressional Record*.

In his statement, Kennedy said the planning process was "one of the most impressive cost containment programs in the health field." He cited a survey showing that between 1976 and 1978, planners had blocked $1.8 billion of "unneeded capital investment expenditures" of a total $7 billion worth of proposals. "For each dollar spent on health planning, $8 in proposed capital investments were denied — an impressive rate of return," Kennedy said.

House Committee Action

The House Commerce Committee reported its version of the bill May 15 (HR 3917 — H Rept 96-190).

The measure was drafted by the newly conservative and independent-minded Health Subcommittee, where a powerful coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans, led by David E. Satterfield III, D-Va., and Dave Stockman, R-Mich., added amendments that challenged the basic assumptions of the 1974 law.

What finally emerged after extensive subcommittee debate — and sporadic veto threats by HEW representatives — was a bill that would further loosen HEW's tenuous control over the national network of local and state health planning agencies. It also watered down provisions designed to protect the planning process from domination by hospitals and other local health providers.

As reported by the full committee, HR 3917 retained many features of the subcommittee bill, including an exemption for prepaid health services so broad that opponents said it could promote fraud and seriously weaken health planning. But the measure also strengthened the planning process in several important respects.

House, Senate Bills Compared

The broad outline of the House bill was similar to that of the Senate-passed bill. It authorized funds for fiscal 1980-82 for local and state planning agencies and a national advisory commission, continued federal loans and project grants for some hospital modernization and construction, and discontinued state allotments of federal money for hospital construction.

Both House and Senate bills reflected a 1977 furor over national planning guidelines that were widely interpreted as an HEW move to shut down hospitals or services not meeting the guidelines. After Congress objected, HEW toned down the final version of the guidelines, adding special treatment for rural hospitals. The 1979 planning bills deleted a provision in existing law requiring health plans developed by local planning agencies to conform to the national guidelines.

Both bills also included the new limit on doctors' purchasing of major medical equipment, similar to the 1978 House version, which was weaker than the Senate provision. Both required integration of state mental health and drug and alcohol-abuse plans with health planning, and excluded health planners from decisions affecting hospitals or other institutions with which they were associated. They also included the new program of incentive payments to encourage hospitals to voluntarily close excess acute-care beds or convert them to other needed uses, such as long-term care.

Major differences included the following:

Authorizations. The three-year, $1.2 billion House authorization exceeded the Senate total by $195 million, reversing the usual pattern of larger Senate health authorizations. The House bill provided less for support of state and local planning agencies, but it included $115 million for an area health services development fund that was not in the Senate bill, and its $225 million closure-conversion program was more generous than the $155 million Senate version. The House committee included an extra $12 million over three years for grants to states for demonstration projects to reduce excess hospital capacity; $10 million more than the Senate amount for a program to help hospitals meet safety and accreditation standards, and an additional $45 million for a program to pay for changing inpatient hospital services to outpatient departments. There was no comparable program in the Senate bill.

Certificates of Need. The House bill redrafted the basic minimum standards for state certificate of need programs and pushed back the September 1980 deadline for their implementation. Existing law required a flat cutoff of certain federal health funds for states that did not have acceptable certification programs by that date. The Senate bill permitted a phased cutoff of funds. The House bill delayed the cutoff until the end of the first regular state legislative session after final federal regulations on the new certificate requirements (or six months after final regulations, whichever was later). In some instances, HEW had taken as long as two years to produce regulations.

The House bill required state programs to grant certificates for projects meant to help hospitals meet safety or accreditation standards. Only projects needed to prevent closure or loss of accreditation could qualify for mandatory approval.

The House bill also permitted states to suspend or delay action on a certificate application if HEW had charged the applicant with violating the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Consideration of the application could be delayed until the civil rights matters were settled to HEW's satisfaction.

As in the Senate bill, the House bill required certification decisions to be consistent with state health plans. It also authorized the secretary of HEW to withhold approval from states where certification decisions were not made by established procedures of the state agency. This provision was "intended to keep state legislatures from overriding certificate of need decisions," according to the committee report.

The House bill went much further than the Senate version in mandating special treatment for prepaid health services. Existing law allowed states to impose tougher requirements on HMOs than on other providers. The Senate bill established separate criteria for state approval of HMO certificate applications. The Senate provisions, which applied only to federally qualified HMOs, also barred states from requiring the prepaid plans to seek certificates for anything but new inpatient hospital services and major medical equipment. The effect would be to exempt the establishment of HMOs, their outpatient services and similar initiatives from certification.

The House bill, without distinguishing between plans meeting minimum federal standards and other prepaid arrangements, simply exempted entities providing health services directly or indirectly on a prepaid basis from mandatory certification. It required certain reports from exempt organizations, and authorized penalties for plans whose reports showed they were not meeting a requirement that a 75 percent majority of users (or 75 percent of revenues from the service) were prepaid patients. For HMOs failing for some reason to qualify for the broad exemption, state programs could require certification only for major capital expenditures, medical equipment or inpatient services.

Competition. The House committee report was laced with references to the need for competition in the health care field. Conventional supply-and-demand market forces did not work in much of the industry, the committee found. Both consumers and doctors tended to disregard price when deciding on health care because they were shielded from the real costs by the prevalence of third-party payers (Medicare, Medicaid and private health insurance plans). The payment of most hospital bills on a "cost" basis also lessened price consciousness, the committee found.

However, prepaid plans had a strong incentive to keep costs down by controlling overuse of medical care. Competition for patients, among prepaid plans and between them and traditional fee-for-service doctors, also could moderate inflation in health care, the committee suggested. For these reasons, the committee decided to exempt prepaid health plans from certification.

The committee directed health planners to consider the potential for competition when making decisions. In cases where existing forces such as dominance of third-party payers clearly foreclosed competition, planners were authorized to carve up the market. In effect, planners were empowered to "franchise" hospitals and other institutions as providers of certain services, to the exclusion of competitors. This authority was implicit in the 1974 planning act, according to its defenders, but absence of explicit authorization to allocate the market had left planners vulnerable to antitrust suits.

The House bill also explicitly authorized planning agencies to identify "excess" or unsatisfactory services by name in their reviews of existing facilities for their "appropriateness." HEW regulations had already advised them to do these "institution-specific" reviews.

The most vocal advocates of competition, Stockman and Phil Gramm, D-Texas, had argued strongly in committee against this provision. Neither planners nor HEW had any power to close down underused services, and naming them merely stirred up constituents, Stockman said.

Subcommittee Chairman Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., argued that in a competitive market consumers needed to

be able to make knowledgeable choices. The committee report said consumers needed information on "services, availability, accessibility, cost and quality. For example, consumers should have information about . . . unusually high mortality rates in an institution."

The emphasis on competition also showed up in a new priority for the planning system, to promote technology that "can be used to lower total health care costs if properly used." This was a marked departure from the underlying assumption of the 1974 bill and HEW policy analysts, that the proliferation of health care technology should be slowed. The new machines tended to be expensive in themselves, and they required increasing numbers of new specialists to run and maintain them, HEW argued. But the committee suggested that in some cases "new technology will actually reduce costs, and . . . savings . . . will be reflected in reduced total costs to patients."

The Senate bill also stressed the desirability of competition. To promote informed consumer choices, it required HSAs to collect and publish each year the rates charged for the 25 most frequently used hospital services in a state, including room rates. There was no comparable provision in the House bill.

House Floor Action

The House passed its version of the health planning bill July 19 by a 374-45 vote. *(Vote 330, p. 96-H)*

The only major amendment added by the House to the committee bill severely limited a "trade-off" procedure that opponents said was critical to the health planning process.

Arguing that some state agencies had been improperly setting conditions for proposed new medical services that had nothing to do with the medical need for a specific service, Satterfield offered an amendment, adopted by voice vote, that limited certificate-of-need decisions to questions directly related to medical need for the proposed service.

Amendments Rejected

The House rejected 203-211 a Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., amendment that would have permitted the agencies to set broader trade-off conditions, as long as the criteria for the decisions were published and subject to public comment. *(Vote 327, p. 96-H)*

In other action, the House rejected 135-274 a Robert L. Livingston, R-La., amendment that would have converted local planning agencies to public units. Most were private corporations. *(Vote 328, p. 96-H)*

It refused on a standing vote to require local plans to explain what effect, if any, they would have on the medical ethics embodied in the Hippocratic oath. The House then defeated 55-364 a motion by the amendment's sponsor, Ron Paul, R-Texas, to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to add the ethics amendment. *(Vote 329, p. 96-H)*

Conference Action

House and Senate conferees meeting Aug. 1 were each reluctant to cede ground on two major certificate-of-need questions: whether federal law should bar states from passing broader certification requirements and what sort of special treatment prepaid group health plans should receive.

Pre-emption

The pre-emption discussion was complicated by a deep disagreement between Waxman and Tim Lee Carter, R-Ky., chairman and ranking minority member of the House Commerce Health Subcommittee, over the meaning of language in the bill.

"I never thought that the House language pre-empted the states. It was never even discussed" in committee, said Waxman. But Carter and the American Medical Association, whose lobbyists hovered near him throughout the conference, contended that the language in question did indeed prevent states from passing tougher certification laws. Their concern was that states would require certificates for major medical equipment located in doctors' offices, while many HMOs were going to become exempt from these requirements. Carter said young doctors shouldn't face unrealistic bars to establishing their practices.

The 1978 Senate bill had included the stiffer requirement that all major equipment purchases gain certification. The 1979 House and Senate versions required certification only for major medical equipment that would be used on inpatients — to mollify the doctors, according to Sen. Kennedy.

Conferees returned to the issue repeatedly without resolution, while Carter held firm. Finally, Waxman conceded that "Dr. Carter has very strong feelings [on the issue] and I believe the House ought to go along." Kennedy accepted the pre-emption, but insisted on a delayed effective date. Conferees settled on a date close to the next reauthorization of the planning law.

Other Issues

Conferees also worked out a complicated compromise that somewhat tightened the House exemption from certificate-of-need for HMOs and other prepaid health arrangements. Kennedy insisted on more closely defining what sort of prepaid schemes could qualify. House opponents of the HMO exemption had warned that it would encourage fraudulent plans.

A third difficult issue was what sort of conditions a state agency could put on its approval of a certificate-of-need application. Existing law did not limit these conditions, and advocates said planners needed to be able to make trade-offs — such as approving a new piece of diagnostic equipment only if a hospital promised to let all doctors in a community use it.

Satterfield's amendment to the House bill limited allowable conditions to questions of medical need alone. Satterfield was disturbed by reports that planning agencies had tried to force changes in hospital boards and enforce other conditions he thought were inappropriate. The conference compromise permitted only such conditions as were authorized in either federal or state laws — a plan that met Satterfield's concern that decisions be made according to clear, legal ground rules.

Conferees dropped a Senate-passed provision requiring state or regional planning agencies to evaluate federal health projects, such as Veterans Administration or Defense Department hospitals, if requested to do so. Both Senate and House Veterans' Affairs committees had strenuously protested this provision as an infringement of their jurisdiction.

Numerous other compromises on House and Senate differences, worked out in staff discussions but not discussed by conferees, were detailed in the conference report (S Rept 96-309) filed Aug. 9. In general, conferees split the

difference on authorizations, and kept most of what each house had agreed to in substantive changes. For example, the Senate barred HSA board members from selecting their successors; the House had no similar provision, so conferees barred self-selection for half the board members. ▮

Food Stamp Spending

With the food stamp program on the verge of running out of funds in fiscal 1979, Congress approved an extra $620 million to prevent across-the-board cuts in benefits.

Congress cleared the emergency authorization Aug. 2 and President Carter signed it into law Aug. 14 (HR 4057 — PL 96-58), averting benefit cutbacks scheduled for September. The funds were included in the fiscal 1979 supplemental appropriations bill (HR 4289 — PL 96-38). *(Story, p. 193)*

Rapidly rising food prices and an unexpectedly large increase in participation had pushed the cost of the program above the $6.16 billion fiscal 1979 spending cap Congress had placed on it two years earlier. Costs were also expected to exceed the ceilings in fiscal 1980 and 1981.

Carter asked Congress to remove the ceilings for all three fiscal years, but HR 4057 dealt only with the fiscal 1979 cap. It did not remove the cap, but simply raised it to $6.78 billion.

The Senate also passed a second bill (S 1309) removing the ceilings for fiscal 1980 and 1981, but the House Agriculture Committee had not completed its markup of a companion bill (HR 5907) by the end of 1979. Some House members wanted to tighten up eligibility requirements and program administration before giving any further "blank checks" to the program.

The administration estimated the program would cost $6.88 billion in fiscal 1980 and $7.31 billion in 1981. Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimates were even higher — $7.56 billion in 1980 and $8.16 billion in 1981.

The number of persons receiving food stamps in 1979 was about 19 million.

Provisions

As signed into law Aug. 14, HR 4057:

- Raised the spending cap on the food stamp program for fiscal 1979 to $6.78 billion, from $6.16 billion; required that any unused funds be returned to the Treasury, not carried over to the next fiscal year.
- Required the agriculture secretary to report monthly to Congress on program spending, and on whether any reductions in food stamp allocations might be necessary to hold expenditures below the ceiling.
- Allowed the secretary to reduce allocations proportional to the income of the recipients, rather than equally across-the-board, if reductions were needed; also allowed him to establish minimum allotments and to make special provisions for persons age 60 or over, the handicapped and the disabled.
- Allowed households containing a person over age 60 or receiving Social Security disability or Supplemental Security Income benefits for the blind or disabled, in computing food stamp benefits, to deduct from their income medical expenses that exceeded $35 a month and shelter costs that exceeded half of their income; required that the medical expense deduction be adjusted twice yearly for inflation.
- Allowed states to keep half the stamp value they recovered from recipients who fraudulently obtained benefits; gave such recipients the choice of repaying in cash or taking reduced benefits.
- Allowed states to require recipients to give their Social Security numbers as a means of checking on their income.
- Required strikers to meet the same eligibility standards as other food stamp recipients.
- Made blind or disabled residents of small group living arrangements eligible for food stamps.

Background

Spending caps on the food stamp program were enacted in 1977 as part of a major revision of the food stamp law. The ceilings were set at $5.85 billion for fiscal 1978, $6.16 billion for 1979, $6.19 billion for 1980 and $6.24 billion for 1981. *(1977 Almanac p. 457)*

Support for the ceilings, added as an amendment on the House floor, arose from concern over the rapidly rising, and uncontrollable, costs of the entitlement program. Spending was open-ended; in other words, the government spent whatever was needed to give stamps to every eligible family that applied. Since benefits had to be adjusted twice a year according to changes in food prices, costs were escalating rapidly. Federal outlays for the program grew from less than $1 billion in fiscal 1970 to more than $5 billion in 1976.

Some members also were concerned that elimination of the purchase requirement, the biggest change made by the 1977 law, would result in greatly increased participation in the program. The provision, which went into effect Jan. 1, 1979, made food stamps "free," rather than requiring recipients to pay some of their own money in order to get a larger value in food stamps.

By January 1979, it was apparent that the estimates on which the spending ceilings had been based were way off the mark. Both food prices and unemployment were rising at a much greater rate than analysts had predicted, and by May the Agriculture Department had raised its estimate of the number of new people coming into the program as a result of the elimination of the purchase requirement; instead of two million, there would be 3.5 million more, it said. These new people were poorer than expected, and came into the program sooner than had been predicted, which meant they got higher benefits, and for a longer portion of the fiscal year, than had been anticipated.

The department then estimated the program would cost $6.9 billion to $7.15 billion in fiscal 1979 — $440 million to $690 million more than was available.

Medical, Shelter Deductions

The 1977 food stamp law also made changes in the way food stamp benefits were computed, and as a result there were widespread complaints about cuts in benefits to the elderly brought about by these changes.

Previously, food stamp recipients in figuring their net income could take a variety of deductions, including housing and utility expenses that exceeded 30 percent of their income, and medical expenses over $10 a month. The 1977 law allowed only three deductions: a standard deduction (originally $60 a month, adjusted upward periodically for inflation); a work allowance, equal to 20 percent of earnings, and a combined deduction for day care costs and any shelter costs exceeding 50 percent of monthly income, up to a maximum of $75 (later raised to $90).

Implementation of the changes in deductions, which began March 1, 1979, led to a cutback in benefits to about one-sixth of elderly, blind and disabled recipients, according to the Agriculture Department, and the CBO estimated that about one-third of households containing elderly, blind or disabled members would receive reduced benefits.

The howls of protest from the elderly, many of whom have high medical costs and fixed incomes, produced a strong reaction from members of Congress. Some 200 House members agreed to cosponsor bills to liberalize the new deductions.

House Committee Action

Subcommittee. The House Agriculture Subcommittee on Nutrition May 10 agreed to raise the statutory limit on fiscal 1979 food stamp spending by $650 million, to $6.81 billion, but it declined to eliminate the cap altogether.

The decision was seen as an indication that House members, while unwilling to force sharp cutbacks in the diets of the poor, wanted to keep a continuing grip on how much the program would cost in the future. Subcommittee Chairman Fred Richmond, D-N.Y., was unable to muster the votes, even in the relatively liberal panel, to remove the cap, and had to settle for a proposal by Dan Glickman, D-Kan., to simply raise it.

Committee. The full House Agriculture Committee approved HR 4057 June 6 by a 30-12 vote, with members who wanted to make changes in the food stamp program voting against reporting the bill. The report (H Rept 96-264) was filed June 11.

The committee approved a $620 million increase in fiscal 1979 spending, $30 million less than the subcommittee had recommended. That was the Agriculture Department's latest, most pessimistic estimate of how much would be needed to carry the food stamp program through Sept. 30, the end of the fiscal year.

The committee also directed that if any of the money was left over, it must be returned to the Treasury rather than carried over to the next fiscal year.

Before approving the bill, the committee reversed itself and rejected an amendment it had adopted May 31 that would have allowed all food stamp recipients to deduct medical and dental expenses from their incomes in computing benefits. Richard Kelly, R-Fla., originally sought the allowance for persons over 60, but the committee agreed to an E. "Kika" de la Garza, D-Texas, amendment broadening it to cover all recipients.

Chairman Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., afraid the proposal would open the door to other amendments and delay the needed supplemental appropriations for the program, urged the committee to consider the medical deductions issue in a separate bill.

The committee June 21 reported HR 4303 (H Rept 96-295) liberalizing the medical and shelter deduction for the elderly and disabled; despite opposition from the Carter administration, the House passed the bill June 26 by a 405-8 vote — a demonstration of the enormous political appeal of assistance to senior citizens. *(Vote 257, p. 78-H)*

The bill allowed deductions of medical costs in excess of $35 a month, and removed the dollar limit on the shelter cost deduction, thus allowing eligible households to deduct all shelter costs that exceeded 50 percent of their income. The text of HR 4303 was the same as the deduction provision adopted in the final version of HR 4057.

House Floor Action

On the promise of a future chance to give the food stamp program a thorough going-over, the House approved HR 4057 July 11 by a 335-81 vote. *(Vote 293, p. 88-H)*

Despite a widely expressed desire for budgetary austerity and complaints from critics about the "runaway" costs of the program, most members were unwilling to force sharp cutbacks in the diets of the poor and elderly by denying the emergency funding increase. But critics made clear that they would try to make numerous changes aimed at reducing fraud and waste when a bill raising or removing the spending cap for fiscal 1980 came up for consideration.

Despite Foley's efforts to keep HR 4057 a simple spending measure, the House by voice vote approved two substantive amendments changing the operation of the food stamp program:

- By Steven D. Symms, R-Idaho, requiring the Agriculture Department, when funds were insufficient to provide full benefits to everyone, to make proportionately smaller reductions in benefits to the very poorest recipients. Existing law required all benefits to be reduced equally.
- By Kelly, allowing persons age 60 or over to deduct from their income medical expenses exceeding $10 a month, when computing food stamp eligibility and benefits.

The House rejected two other amendments:

- By Robert S. Walker, R-Pa., to prohibit use of stamps to buy foods of minimal nutritional value. Rejected by voice vote.
- By John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, to reduce the increase in the spending ceiling to $280 million. Rejected 98-314. *(Vote 292, p. 88-H)*

Despite their forbearance in offering what could have been a long series of amendments, Agriculture Committee Republicans were sharply critical of the way Richmond had been handling the fiscal 1980 bill. Charles E. Grassley, R-Iowa, suggested Richmond was trying to delay the bill until it too became an emergency measure not suitable for extensive amendments.

Senate Action

Committee. The Senate Agriculture Committee July 6 reported S 1309 (S Rept 96-236), raising the fiscal 1979 spending cap to $6.78 billion. It had approved the measure by a 15-2 vote, with Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and S.I. "Sam" Hayakawa, R-Calif., voting nay.

The Senate bill prohibited the carryover of unspent food stamp program funds from one year to the next, and allowed the elderly and disabled to deduct medical expenses over $35 a month and shelter expenses over 50 percent of their income.

Floor. For reasons of parliamentary strategy, the Senate July 23 passed two identical bills (HR 4057 and S 1309), raising the spending cap for fiscal 1979 and removing it entirely in fiscal 1980 and 1981.

Knowing there was no chance the House would accept the 1980-81 cap removal on the fiscal 1979 bill, George McGovern, D-S.D., chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Nutrition, won passage of both bills in the Senate so that he could go to conference with one and still have one "in his pocket" for 1980. His strategy was designed to spare liberal senators up for re-election from having to vote again in an election year on more spending or program changes.

The provision removing the spending cap in fiscal 1980-81 was not in the version of the bill reported by the

Agriculture Committee. But McGovern decided to offer it as part of a substitute for the whole bill after Helms made clear that he would offer a series of amendments to tighten operation of the program.

Three of the four Helms amendments had been in the bill (S 1310) proposed by the Carter administration. They would allow states to:

- Keep half the stamp value they recovered from persons who fraudulently obtained benefits.
- Give recipients found to have fraudulently obtained benefits the choice of repaying in cash or taking reduced benefits.
- Get recipients' Social Security numbers to check on information about their income.
- Use their own methods to check on recipients, such as home visits. This amendment was not in the administration bill.

McGovern accepted the Helms amendments but added the cap removal. Helms' floor amendment to keep the cap was rejected 37-57. The Senate then adopted the McGovern substitute by a 75-20 vote. *(Votes 206, 208, p. 36-S)*

Helms' amendment to allow states to use their own checking methods was substantially weakened on the floor.

Also thoroughly changed on the floor was a Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., amendment to ban food stamps to strikers. The amendment was effectively gutted by a McGovern substitute that restated existing law, requiring strikers to meet the same eligibility standards as other recipients.

After passing S 1309 by voice vote, the Senate substituted its provisions for those of HR 4057 and passed it too.

Final Action

A conference committee worked out a compromise on HR 4057 July 26 and filed its report (H Rept 96-394) the next day.

The Senate's 1980-81 cap removal provision was speedily dropped, but conferees accepted the Senate version of provisions increasing benefits to the elderly and disabled.

Conferees also accepted the three administration-proposed amendments passed by the Senate to encourage states to crack down on people who got stamps through fraud. The amendment to allow states to use their own checking methods was dropped.

The Senate approved the conference report July 27 by voice vote.

The House approved it Aug. 2 by a 336-72 vote. *(Vote 389, p. 114-H)*

The extra $620 million for the program was included in the fiscal 1979 supplemental appropriations bill signed into law July 25 (HR 4289—PL 96-38). ▮

House Rejects Anti-Busing Amendment

Opponents of school busing for purposes of racial desegregation succeeded in bringing an anti-busing constitutional amendment (H J Res 74) to a vote on the House floor for the first time, but lost decisively on the vote itself.

Busing foes utilized a rarely used procedure — a discharge petition — to force a vote on the issue July 24. But the amendment not only fell short of the required two-thirds majority of members present and voting, it failed to win the approval of even a simple majority of the House.

The vote was 209-216 against the amendment. Ninety-five Democrats and 114 Republicans voted for it, 176 Democrats and 40 Republicans against. *(Vote 341, p. 100-H)*

The proposed amendment (H J Res 74) would have barred school systems or the courts from compelling any student to attend a public school other than the one nearest his or her home to achieve racial desegregation. It also would have given Congress the power to pass legislation to enforce the amendment.

Busing foes in the House had tried for years to get the Judiciary Committee to report an anti-busing amendment, but without success. Partly to express their anger at the panel's inaction, a majority of members (218) signed the discharge petition to force the floor vote.

A constitutional amendment requires a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, plus ratification by three-fourths of the states.

Factors in Defeat

Defeat of the anti-busing amendment was attributed to three principal factors:

- Many members, including some who opposed busing, were unwilling to tamper with the Constitution in such a relatively unconsidered fashion. Under the special procedures governing consideration of discharged legislation, the House was allowed less than two hours to debate the issue.
- The amendment as originally drawn was badly worded. The language was so broad that many members feared it would prevent any busing at all, even to relieve classroom overcrowding. It was modified on the floor in an attempt to make it more acceptable, but without success.
- House liberals were aided by a massive lobbying effort by civil rights, labor and religious groups. The AFL-CIO, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were among the numerous organizations that rallied around the anti-amendment drive, bringing in constitutional experts to persuade members that busing was too narrow an issue to incorporate into the Constitution.

The House in recent years had voted consistently in favor of legislative busing bans. But the civil rights advocates convinced many members that amending the Constitution was a far graver step than simply adding an anti-busing amendment to an appropriations bill. *(History of congressional anti-busing efforts, box, p. 484)*

Both foes and backers of the measure expressed surprise at the enormity of the defeat. A tally the night before the vote showed only 180 votes against the amendment, according to Don Edwards, D-Calif., chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, who led the campaign to kill it.

Edwards said he was surprised at the number of Republicans who voted against the measure. He and the Democratic leadership, who worked with civil rights groups and the Carter administration to defeat the amendment, had only counted 25 or 30 Republican "no" votes, Edwards said. The House Republican Policy Committee had voted unanimously to remain silent on the issue, which probably drew some Republican support away from the amendment, observers said.

Ronald M. Mottl, D-Ohio, who led the amendment drive, conceded that the defeat meant the issue was dead at least until after the 1980 elections. The next Congress might be "more conducive" to an amendment drive, he speculated.

The Discharge Petition

To bring the amendment to the floor, busing foes fastened onto the rarely used discharge petition procedure, which allows a majority of House members (218) to force a committee to give up its consideration of a bill and send it directly to the floor for a vote.

The successful petition on H J Res 74 marked the 26th time since the discharge rule was adopted in 1910 that a bill had been removed from a House committee. The last time was in 1971, when supporters of a constitutional amendment to permit school prayer succeeded in bringing that issue to the floor for a vote, but also failed to win the necessary two-thirds vote for approval. *(Background, 1971 Almanac p. 624; CQ Guide to Congress Vol. II, p. 347)*

Mottl had also led the drive to bring the amendment to a vote via a discharge petition in the 95th Congress. But whenever the number of signers neared 200, the House leadership put pressure on members to withdraw their names.

This time, Mottl and L.A. "Skip" Bafalis, R-Fla., reached the magic number by pulling off a dramatic midnight coup. Late June 27, with no advance warning, they got the final 18 members to march down the aisle of the House together to sign the petition, bringing the total to 218. The House leadership, taken by surprise, had no chance to counteract the move.

Eighty-six Democrats and 132 Republicans signed the discharge petition. Of the Democrats, 20 were from the Northeast, 18 from the Midwest, 43 from the South and five from the West; of the Republicans, 25 were from the Northeast, 45 from the Midwest, 35 from the South and 27 from the West.

However, no sooner was the petition filed than some signers began to back off. For example, racial moderate John Buchanan, R-Ala., said he signed it, in a moment of "temporary insanity," because he "never thought it had a chance" of getting the required 218 votes. Some other members might have been operating under a similar assumption, he suggested.

Others indicated they had signed the petition because they felt the busing issue should be aired in the House, but then decided not to back the proposed amendment, for various reasons.

In the end, 31 members (14 Democrats and 17 Republicans) who signed the petition voted against the amendment. Eleven were from the South.

Floor Action

The busing drama was played before an occasionally raucous gallery, packed with backers and opponents of the measure. During the four-hour, frequently emotional debate, member after member rose to voice his views for and against the amendment.

Before offering the motion to discharge the Judiciary Committee from its jurisdiction over the amendment, Mottl accused the panel of frustrating "the majority will despite overwhelming evidence that the public is fed up with social engineering by an imperial judiciary, while Congress stands idly by." Citing a recent Louis Harris poll that 81 percent of the American people opposed court-ordered busing, Mottl said, "There is no conclusive proof that court-ordered busing is anything other than a noble experiment that has dismally failed."

Edwards urged the House to "leave the legislation where it belongs," labeling as "nonsense" the charge that his subcommittee had bottled up the measure. He said his panel was considering fair housing legislation (HR 2450), "a key element in the housing segregation that results in segregated schools in our country."

"I ask my colleagues what they want the House Judiciary Committee to do. Do they want us to bring to the floor all of these constitutional amendments, supported passionately by particular groups. . . ?" Edwards asked.

The House approved the discharge motion by a 227-183 vote, then by voice vote approved a motion to proceed to consider the amendment. *(Vote 339, p. 100-H)*

Debate on Amendment

Speaking in favor of the amendment, Joe Moakley, D-Mass., said school systems had "squandered a fortune" on implementing court-ordered busing. Moakley, whose district included South Boston, the scene of violent anti-busing demonstrations several years before, said "this money has been poured into an experiment that has failed to achieve its goals. Indeed, by driving white and black middle-class students out of the schools, it has made its own goals unobtainable by any other means," he said.

Black member Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, recalling his Army days when he was segregated from white soldiers, responded, "It is unbelievable that 36 years after I served in the segregated Army. . . , I stand in the U.S. Congress debating an amendment that would keep black children segregated in American schools."

And Hamilton Fish Jr., R-N.Y., echoed the sentiments of other opponents when he said, "I cannot in good conscience support a response [to busing] designed to include in our Constitution a contemporary social policy preference. . . . To consider so important a matter solely on the floor of the House, without lengthy deliberation and self-examination, is wrong," he added.

John B. Anderson, R-Ill., who opposed busing, drew a standing ovation when he railed against "the inflexibility" of the proposed amendment. Philip M. Crane, R-Ill., said the issue was not racial justice, but the fact that the majority of the American people opposed forced busing.

Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., read a letter from President Carter proclaiming his opposition to the amendment. "The 25th anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* is a time to renew our commitment to this fundamental goal — not a time to retreat," Carter said.

Substitute Amendment

In an attempt to mollify members who voiced concern about the original wording of the amendment, Marjorie S. Holt, R-Md., offered a substitute making clear that the only busing to be banned was that designed to achieve desegregation based on race, color or national origin.

Mottl's original version would have barred the busing of students to any but their neighborhood school, and given Congress authority to enforce the ban and "to insure equal educational opportunities for all students." The Holt substitute specifically banned only busing on account of race, color or national origin, and limited Congress' power to merely passing legislation to enforce the amendment.

Congressional Anti-Busing Efforts

Anti-busing forces in Congress had attempted for years to restrict school busing for purposes of achieving racial desegregation.

Since 1968, when the Justice Department first began filing desegregation suits against northern school districts, Congress had voted limits on the use of federal funds to bus students but had stopped short of approving a constitutional amendment to bar the practice. The House and Senate Judiciary Committees sporadically held hearings on an amendment, but never reported one out. *(Background, 1971 Almanac p. 610; 1972 Almanac p. 119; 1973 Almanac p. 537; 1974 Almanac pp. 441, 97)*

Since 1975 Congress had prohibited the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) from using federal funds to force a school district to transport students beyond the school closest to their homes to achieve racial balance, a toughening of earlier anti-busing language. Adoption of the so-called Byrd amendment that year marked the Senate's strongest stand against busing until then. *(1975 Almanac pp. 641, 887, 660; 1976 Almanac p. 790)*

In 1977 Congress toughened the language still further. With anti-busing forces in the Senate showing increasing strength, the Senate passed the stricter prohibition 47-43; in 1978 it rejected an amendment to delete the provision by a 35-54 vote. *(1977 Almanac p. 295; 1978 Almanac p. 105)*

But HEW ordered comparatively little busing; most "forced busing" was ordered by the courts, and Congress had been unable to get at that.

In 1978 the Senate tabled, 49-47, an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act that would have restricted the authority of the courts to order busing. Sponsored by Delaware Sens. William V. Roth Jr., R, and Joseph R. Biden Jr., D, that amendment was first offered in 1976 and was reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1977 — the first time a congressional committee had reported a bill limiting the power of the courts to order busing. The 1977 bill was never brought up for a vote. *(1978 Almanac p. 566; 1977 Almanac p. 510; 1976 Almanac p. 426)*

In another defeat for busing foes, conferees on the fiscal 1979 Justice Department authorization bill dropped a House-passed amendment that would have prohibited the department from bringing legal actions that would promote busing of school children. *(1978 Almanac p. 183)*

Attempts to curb busing continued during the 96th Congress. The Senate tabled two amendments by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to prohibit busing during an energy emergency, by votes of 52-39 and 49-46. Helms offered similar amendments to energy bills during the 1973 energy crisis; they were also tabled. *(Energy emergency bill, Energy and Environment chapter; Civil Rights Commission authorization, p. 381; 1973 amendments, 1973 Almanac pp. 652, 687)*

During House debate on the bill to create a new Department of Education, busing foes attached an amendment to bar the department from requiring a school district, as a condition of receiving federal funds, to bus students to achieve racial balance. The provision was dropped in conference. *(See p. 465)*

Holt said her amendment recognized the authority of local school districts to make pupil assignments for every reason except race or national origin. It also deleted the last clause, which some members feared would give Congress power to interfere in local school decisions.

"The sponsor certainly did not intend that result in the original resolution," she said.

Many members had no chance to study the Holt substitute before it came to a vote. Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., questioned whether it improved on the Mottl language anyway. "Like the Mottl amendment, it is so poorly drafted as to be incomprehensible in part," she said.

Before Holt could offer her amendment, Stokes sprang from his chair to ask for a vote on a motion to order the previous question. A majority vote in favor of Stokes' motion would have forced an immediate vote on the original Mottl language.

Holt objected to Stokes' request for a vote, but Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., ruled in Stokes' favor. However, the motion was defeated by a 172-251 vote. *(Vote 340, p. 100-H)*

The House accepted the Holt substitute by voice vote and then defeated the busing amendment, as amended, by a vote of 209-216. *(Vote 341, p. 100-H)*

Mottl expressed some bitterness about the fact that a large number of Southern members voted against the amendment. "A lot of [them] said to me, 'Where were you 10 years ago [when southern cities were torn apart by court-ordered busing]?' " Mottl said.

"It's no longer a Southern issue," agreed Ken Holland, D-S.C., but he denied that Southerners' defections were "spite" votes. Holland said he was "adamantly opposed to busing," but he pointed out that the busing issue was resolved peacefully years ago in his district.

An analysis of the votes of several delegations bore out the lukewarm support of Southern members for the amendment. For example, the North Carolina delegation voted 4-6 and South Carolina representatives voted 2-4 against the proposal. On the other hand, several Northern delegations showed surprisingly strong support for the amendment. The Pennsylvania delegation voted 15-9 and Ohio members voted 18-5 in favor of the amendment. Columbus and Dayton, Ohio, were ordered by the Supreme Court July 2 to use busing to desegregate their public schools. ▮

Abortion Restrictions

The growing strength of the anti-abortion movement in the United States was reflected on Capitol Hill in 1979.

Congress wrestled with the issue of federally funded abortions as never before when the House added strong anti-abortion provisions to six appropriations bills and two authorizations. The Senate was unwilling to go along with the tough House provisions, but finally had to back down from its more liberal position of earlier years.

In 1978 only two appropriations bills were delayed by House-Senate disagreement over abortion. *(1978 Almanac p. 21)*

In 1979 the House held more stubbornly to its position — no abortions except to save the life of the mother, forcing the Senate to compromise further. Two of the funding bills never did clear — the fiscal 1980 appropriation for the Departments of Labor, Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) and related agencies (HR 4389), which foundered solely because of the abortion deadlock, and the foreign aid

appropriations bill (HR 4473), which was hung up on several issues, including abortion. *(Stories, pp. 236, 258)*

The Labor-HEW agencies had to be funded by continuing resolutions (H J Res 412, H J Res 440), which contained abortion restrictions close to what the House wanted. *(Stories, pp. 269, 275)*

In addition to those four bills, the appropriations measures containing anti-abortion provisions were the Defense Department and District of Columbia funding bills (HR 5359, HR 4580). *(Stories, pp. 248, 212)*

After a protracted battle over H J Res 412, the Senate finally accepted language that was essentially the tough House position on the emotional abortion issue. It permitted Medicaid funding of abortions for poor women only when required to save the mother's life or in cases of rape or incest, when promptly reported to a law enforcement or public health agency. Dropped was a third exception, which the Senate in past years had insisted on, permitting funding of abortions when two physicians certified that continued pregnancy would cause severe and long-lasting physical health damage to the mother.

After this language was agreed to in H J Res 412, it was included in the second continuing resolution and in the D.C. and Defense appropriations bills, which then cleared Congress.

While the House and Senate had battled for years over the use of Medicaid funds for abortions, 1979 was the first year that abortion restrictions were added to the basic Medicaid authorizing legislation. The House added two anti-abortion amendments to legislation expanding a Medicaid child health program (HR 4962). It also added anti-abortion provisions to the bill establishing the new Department of Education (S 210), but they were dropped in conference. The Senate had not yet acted on the child health bill. *(Stories, this chapter)*

Congressional anti-abortion amendments date from 1974, the year after the Supreme Court struck down state laws that made abortion a crime. The two chambers took opposite positions then to their positions in more recent years; the House emphatically rejected the first anti-abortion amendment introduced there, 123-247, while the Senate by voice vote approved a provision allowing abortion only to save the life of the mother. *(1974 Almanac p. 97)* ▮

Drug Law Revision

A major overhaul of federal drug law passed the Senate Sept. 26, but the House did not take up drug law revision in 1979.

Although the bill (S 1075) made the most extensive changes in federal drug law since 1962, it slipped quietly through the Senate by voice vote, with only a handful of members on the floor and virtually no debate. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., steered it through so adroitly that the bill was already passed before most of its critics could open fire on it.

The measure was denounced, for different reasons, by Ralph Nader's Health Research Group and the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association (PMA). The American Medical Association (AMA), the American Pharmaceutical Association (APhA), representing pharmacists, and the public-interest Center for Law and Social Policy also were critical of various provisions.

Food and Drug Administration (FDA) officials were generally pleased with the bill, which gave them new powers to take drugs off the market, to require monitoring of approved drugs for adverse reactions or abuses and to limit distribution of high-risk medications. The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) also endorsed the measure, and praised Kennedy for "making the bill as good as it was" in the face of heavy lobbying pressure from the drug industry.

S 1075 was Kennedy's rewrite of a broader 1978 Carter administration proposal, which was stuck in committee until Kennedy and Sen. Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., negotiated an agreement on a bloc of industry-backed amendments.

Major provisions of the bill:

- Shortcut certain approval procedures to hasten the marketing of new drugs.
- Permitted so-called "breakthrough" drugs to be prescribed before broad tests for their effectiveness were completed.
- Permitted export of drugs that did not meet U.S. safety and efficacy standards, in certain circumstances.
- Weakened the criminal liability standard for drug company executives.
- Mandated more drug information, including patient package information (PPI) inserts in most prescription drugs.
- Permitted drug companies to submit summaries — instead of raw test data — on safety and effectiveness testing of drugs for which they were seeking approval.
- Barred promotion abuses such as costly gifts by drug companies to encourage physicians to prescribe their drugs.
- Created a new office to study potential new drugs and evaluate the impact of drug regulation on the market.

Background

S 1075 was a response to chronic dissatisfaction with federal drug law in the industry, among consumer groups and in the FDA itself.

Drug manufacturers had been complaining that lengthy FDA drug approval procedures impaired the health of Americans by creating a "drug lag," delaying the marketing of needed new drugs. The FDA wanted new powers to move against drugs already on the market, standardization of the hodgepodge of authorities it had been given under various drug laws through the years, and statutory authority for a number of actions it was already doing administratively.

In 1978 the Carter administration proposed a massive revision of the law, incorporating a number of ideas that had been circulating in Congress for years. While then-FDA Commissioner Donald Kennedy personally questioned the reality, or seriousness, of the "drug lag," he produced a bill designed to speed up pre-marketing approval procedures and to give the FDA new powers.

The heart of the administration proposal was a new "monograph" system, under which a generic standard would be established for each new drug, based on data submitted by its originator; subsequent manufacturers would not have to go through the approval process but would simply be licensed to produce the drug according to the federal standard. *(Administration proposal, background, 1978 Almanac p. 631)*

The major drug companies reacted sharply against the monograph's requirement for publication of data on a

drug's safety and effectiveness, saying it would make too much information available to competitors. Nader's Health Research Group, meanwhile, insisted drug data must be open to public scrutiny to protect the public health.

Sen. Kennedy's Labor and Human Resources Health Subcommittee and the House Commerce Health Subcommittee spent months in hearings, debates and drafting sessions on the 1978 proposal, but neither was able to bring out a bill because of industry objections and because of the controversy and technical difficulty of some of the issues.

Early in 1979 Sen. Kennedy introduced S 1075, which dropped the monograph system entirely, including the raw-data disclosure, but retained other features of the administration bill.

Senate Committee Action

Kennedy's subcommittee approved S 1075 unanimously on June 25, and the full Labor and Human Resources Committee approved it July 27. The committee report was not filed until Sept. 18 (S Rept 96-321).

A series of industry-backed amendments offered by Schweiker were accepted by Kennedy. Among other things, they set time limits on the new post-approval conditions such as limited distribution; deleted new FDA authority to impose civil fines for drug-law violations; eliminated proposed new independent litigating authority for the agency, and authorized the FDA to delegate its authority to approve preliminary human tests of drugs to medical school, hospital and other health facilities meeting certain standards.

In its report, the committee said changes in federal drug regulation were needed to deal with such problems as the existing law's massive data requirements (30 volumes or more of data on safety and efficacy tests for a single new drug approval application) and lengthy approval time (a median of 23 months after submission of data).

FDA approval procedures were essentially those in use since 1938, the committee noted, although there had been "dramatic growth and change in how Americans use drugs." Ninety percent of present prescription drugs were unknown in 1938, and Americans' spending on drugs had gone from $300 million a year then to $16 billion a year, the committee said. In 1977, doctors wrote 1.5 billion prescriptions, which averaged out to almost seven for every man, woman and child in the nation, it added.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed S 1075 Sept. 26 by voice vote, with only a few members present and less than two hours of discussion.

Floor action came so soon after the committee report became available that many lobbyists were still digesting the committee amendments. Only a few hours before the vote, Kennedy aides assured Senate staffers, lobbyists and reporters that action would not take place that day.

The rush to passage apparently protected the compromise bill from attempts to reopen troublesome issues that had stalled drug law revision for almost two years in Kennedy's subcommittee. The smoothness also reflected the fact that Kennedy had worked out agreements within the committee on the most thorny issues, and that no committee members voted against the measure.

Spokesmen for two Nader organizations, the Health Research Group and Congress Watch, circulated a harshly worded critique of the bill on the day of the vote, but no other opposition surfaced then, despite the controversial nature of many of the bill's provisions.

Kennedy's handling of the bill prompted speculation that presidential politics had spurred his determination to chalk up a win on a major "Kennedy health bill." The vote came the day after President Carter told a Queens, N.Y., "town meeting" that Kennedy had labored 16 years on national health insurance without success. But both majority and minority committee staff said the move was simply the end point of lengthy committee work on the issue, plus shrewd Senate politics — "You take your floor time when you can get it," one aide said.

Amendments. The Senate adopted amendments:

- By Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, declaring a drug to be "counterfeit" (illegal) if it was composed of the same active ingredients, in the same strength, as the original drug, and looked so much like the original that it would probably confuse consumers.
- By Schweiker for Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., eliminating the training functions of a proposed new National Center for Drug Science, along with a $34.8 million, three-year authorization for those functions. The amendment also changed the name of the remaining research facility to the Office for Drug Science.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 1075:

- Eliminated the statutory distinction between "interstate" and "intrastate" activity for purposes of drug regulation, except for drugs explicitly authorized by state laws. This extended FDA jurisdiction to all drug manufacturing, marketing and related activities carried on within individual states, except for those drugs specifically permitted by state statutes. Existing law authorized regulation only of drug-related activities which crossed state borders.
- Broadened the definition of "counterfeit" (illegal) drugs to include any prescription drug with active ingredients in the same strength as a comparable approved drug and which was so similar in appearance to the original that consumers would be confused.
- Dropped the statutory distinctions between drugs that had been "grandfathered" (exempted from provisions of earlier drug laws) or otherwise designated for special treatment. The effect was to make all drugs equally subject to all FDA regulatory powers.
- Prohibited submission of false or misleading statements to the FDA in applications and other materials.
- Authorized the FDA to hold off the market, for up to 30 days, a drug that appeared to be adulterated.

Criminal Liability. Reversed the "Park rule," that individual drug company executives were criminally liable for all violations of the drug law by their company regardless of whether they knew of the specific violation. Required instead that an executive be proved "negligent" in order to be found guilty of a violation of the drug laws.

(FDA attorney Robert Steeves said this provision did not change existing FDA enforcement procedures. Since the 1975 Park ruling, the agency had routinely served notice to the chief executive officer of a drug company, thereby establishing that he "must have known or should have known" of the alleged violation, Steeves said.)

- Raised criminal penalties for violations of the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act to $50,000 for individuals and established a new $100,000 fine for businesses. Existing law

did not distinguish between individuals and corporations. Existing fines were $1,000 for a misdemeanor, $10,000 for a felony. Existing imprisonment penalties continued in effect.

• Added three new standards — "identity," "stability" and "bioavailability" — to the existing standards ("strength," "quality" and "purity") that a drug must meet to be approved for marketing. ("Bioavailability" refers to how a drug acts within the body — for example, how quickly and how accurately active ingredients take effect.)

Drug labeling, advertising. Required prescription drug labels to show the name and address of both the manufacturer and the distributor of the drug. Under existing law, only one had to be identified.

• Required a drug manufacturer to prepare "patient labeling" (information about a drug's benefits and risks) and required a physician or pharmacist, in most cases, to make sure a patient got the information with the prescription drug. Also required pharmacies to make available to consumers a book containing the patient labeling for the pharmacy's 100 most frequently sold drugs.

• Permitted patient labeling to be withheld in three instances: if the FDA authorized physicians to withhold the information on the basis that it might be harmful to a patient; if the drug was dispensed by a hospital or similar facility that provided some alternative form of information; if the drug was used in an emergency.

• Required the secretary of HEW to consult with consumer, pharmacist and other interested health groups before establishing patient labeling regulations.

• Empowered the FDA to require pharmacies to post the prices of their 50 most frequently sold drugs.

• Required drug companies to provide doctors with "objective and balanced" drug information, in writing, during visits by company "detail men."

• Required publication and distribution to practitioners of a federal drug index listing all approved drugs, along with their risks, benefits and other appropriate information.

• Empowered the FDA to notify patients, physicians and others if a drug presented "substantial risk of illness or injury." This replaced an existing standard that the FDA must demonstrate "imminent danger" or "gross deception" to justify a warning against a drug.

• Explicitly authorized the FDA to provide general public information about drug use and drug products.

• Required that drug advertising ("promotional labeling") summarize side-effects and other information relating to a drug. Empowered the FDA, in certain circumstances, to review drug ads before publication. Explicitly authorized the FDA to require corrective advertising.

• Prohibited gifts from drug companies worth more than $10, or free samples of drugs, to doctors, other health professionals or members of their families. Permitted gifts of drugs only in these instances: from a pharmacy to a patient on the written request of a doctor; from a drug company to a doctor on the specific, written request of the doctor; to a charitable organization, if the drug was to be used for charitable purposes; in a medical emergency.

• Required sponsors of seminars or other educational activities on drugs to disclose their sponsorship.

• Limited access to a pharmacy's prescription records to doctors, patients, pharmacists, law enforcement officers, individuals seeking verification for payments and researchers meeting standards set by FDA. Prohibited drug manufacturers or distributors from inspecting prescription records. Prohibited individuals with access to the records from copying or disclosing information that could identify an individual patient except in certain circumstances, such as refilling a prescription. This provision was intended to end "prescription surveys," in which manufacturers checked to see whether individual physicians were prescribing their drugs.

• Required all labeling on drugs used by children, pregnant women or the elderly to include a statement as to whether the drug had been tested on that population group.

Drug approval procedures. Required any marketer of a drug to apply for and receive FDA approval before marketing any drug. This provision was intended to overrule a judicial interpretation that existing law did not require the maker of a generic drug to "even notify . . . [the] FDA that it is marketing a drug product," according to the Senate committee report.

• Exempted three categories of drugs from the mandatory application provision: over-the-counter (non-prescription) drugs which had been found safe and effective by the FDA within five years after enactment of the new drug law; homeopathic drugs; drugs that had been "grandfathered" (exempted from new requirements) by the 1938 drug law. For the grandfathered drugs, manufacturers would not have to submit applications for approval, but the drugs themselves would be subject to all FDA regulatory powers. Homeopathic drugs are substances, mostly herbal in origin, used in minute amounts to stimulate certain reactions in the body. The dosage levels are so small that the FDA considered many of these drugs to have no therapeutic effect. The FDA could revoke this exemption for any homeopathic drug that it found to have a risk or illness or injury.

• Replaced a requirement that manufacturers submit to FDA "full reports of investigations" on a drug's safety and effectiveness as part of an application for marketing approval. Instead, permitted drug companies to submit, and FDA to require, a comprehensive summary of investigators' reports. Required manufacturers to provide FDA access to the raw data on which the summaries were based. Barred release to the public of the comprehensive summaries.

• Required drug manufacturers to include in their applications for approval a second, shorter summary of safety and effectiveness tests. This summary, for public disclosure, would be comparable to an article in a respected scientific journal, and could exclude trade secrets.

• Specified certain mandatory administrative procedures for the FDA to follow in processing applications for approval. These included: a 45-day deadline for FDA determination on whether an application for drug approval met filing requirements, with automatic filing if the FDA did not meet the deadline; written explanations and hearings for persons whose applications were refused; a notice and public comment period on applications; a 30-day deadline for announcing the names of an application's reviewers, and a ban on changing reviewers on an individual application.

• Empowered the FDA to suspend approval of any drug found to present "an unreasonable risk of illness or injury to any segment of the population." This standard replaced a stiffer statutory requirement that the FDA must show a drug to be an "imminent hazard to the public health" in order to suspend approval. ("Suspension" means withdrawing approval without public notice and hearing; revocation of approval requires the more lengthy notice and hearing procedure.)

• Permitted the secretary of HEW to delegate his authority to suspend approval of a drug to the commissioner of FDA.

• Empowered the FDA to revoke approval for a drug if the manufacturer failed to comply with any of the new post-marketing requirements (continued surveillance for adverse reactions, for example), after having been warned in writing.

• Permitted a manufacturer to submit an abbreviated new drug application (ANDA) to market an approved drug after the original, approved drug had been on the market for seven years. The ANDA could omit both raw and comprehensive data.

• Required researchers to inform individuals participating in drug tests of the risks and benefits expected from the drug, and, except in unusual circumstances, to obtain their consent in writing.

• Required researchers to protect the health, privacy and rights of research subjects, and to keep a test drug from being promoted or advertised.

Expedited pre-market human testing. Authorized certain expedited procedures for the early phase of pre-market testing of drugs, involving small numbers of human subjects. The most important change was permitting the FDA to delegate its authority to approve this early-phase testing to medical schools or other entities doing health-related research, teaching or delivery of services. Delegation to entities that manufactured or distributed drugs was prohibited; however, an entity controlled by a drug manufacturer or distributor could be delegated if the research reviews were made by an independent "institutional review board"(IRB).

• Required the FDA to publish research guidelines; authorized it to informally advise researchers on proposed investigations; authorized an informal procedure for resolving disputes between the FDA and drug researchers.

Approval of non-investigational drugs. Required the FDA to permit, by regulation, the use of unapproved, non-investigational drugs for small numbers of patients with serious diseases or injuries, for which there were no "adequate" alternative methods of diagnosis or cure. Such drugs should not have an "unreasonable risk of illness or injury," and FDA regulations on patient privacy and informed consent must be observed. The approval was limited to three years, but could be renewed. The FDA now authorizes this use of drugs on a case-by-case basis. The effect of the provision would be to make such drugs available to patients not participating in research projects.

• Established statutory definitions for the two standards for FDA approval of drugs as follows: A "safe" drug was one whose health benefits outweighed its risks, when used by the designated patient population for the designated purposes. An "effective" drug was one which would have the effect claimed by a manufacturer, if used according to directions.

Breakthrough drugs. Authorized the FDA to approve for marketing new "breakthrough" drugs that met the statutory safety standard but had not met the full effectiveness requirement. Such a drug could be approved for prescription distribution only if early human tests provided some evidence of effectiveness, if it was for a very serious illness and was "definitely superior" to other available drugs, and if the patient's risk in taking the drug was less than the risk of not taking it while more tests were completed. This type of approval would run three years, could be renewed, could require limited distribution of the drug and would usually require a drug company to complete full effectiveness testing with a large patient population.

Post-marketing powers. Empowered the FDA to require limited distribution, continued surveillance, further scientific studies or batch certification as a condition for approving a drug for marketing. Each of these post-marketing conditions could run for only a few years, as specified in the bill, but could be renewed.

To impose post-marketing conditions, FDA would have to consult with advisory committees. For new drugs, the requirements could be imposed without notice. For already approved drugs, FDA would have to provide notice and an informal hearing before acting.

"Limited distribution" could mean approving a drug only for use in a hospital or only by specially qualified physicians. "Surveillance" would be monitoring for adverse side effects, abuse or other problems. "Batch certification" means testing each batch of a drug for stability, purity or other qualities.

• Permitted FDA to exempt from mandatory batch certification individual manufacturers or facilities that could produce a drug "in a consistently satisfactory manner."

• Required FDA to consult with consumer, health professions, science, manufacturer and other groups on the membership of advisory committees; required that at least one-third of each committee be members "reflecting interests of patients and consumers."

• Authorized subpoena powers for the FDA for matters relating to false or misleading information or articles that were unapproved, adulterated or otherwise prohibited, but not for a broad range of compliance issues such as good marketing practices.

• Authorized FDA to reimburse persons participating in drug regulation proceedings for attorney's fees or other related costs.

• Permitted the export of drugs not approved for domestic use, if the importing country approved the drug and if the secretary of HEW found that the drug was not "contrary to the public health" of the importing country. Established a task force with representatives from HEW, Commerce and the State Department and the Special U.S. Trade Representative to recommend regulations for these decisions.

This provision was more restrictive than the administration proposal, which would have permitted drug exports approved by the importing nation unless the HEW secretary explicitly vetoed the drug. Existing law required exported drugs to meet U.S. safety and efficacy standards.

• Pre-empted new state drug labeling and packaging laws passed after enactment, but permitted the secretary of HEW to exempt a new state law, on request of the state, if the law "enhanced" the public health within the state and would not overburden interstate commerce.

Office for Drug Science. Established a new Office for Drug Science within HEW; authorized it to conduct or support studies in three general areas: developing new drugs, use of drugs, and the impact of drug regulation. The office would study the safety and effectiveness of approved drugs and could develop "orphan drugs" (those for rare diseases that don't appear to be highly profitable) or "breakthrough" drugs that were not being investigated elsewhere. It would be barred from commenting on any matter before the FDA, except on the request of the FDA, or on matters relating to drug research supported by the office.

• Authorized $5 million for fiscal 1981, $7 million for fiscal 1982 and $9 million for fiscal 1983 for drug office activities.

• Established statutory authority for the existence of the FDA, and required presidential appointment and Senate approval of the FDA commissioner. ▮

ACTION Authorization

More than a year after their last authorization ran out, the domestic programs of the ACTION volunteer agency received a new authorization from Congress.

The Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) and Older Americans volunteer programs, which had been operating under continuing resolutions, finally got a regular authorization when Congress Nov. 29 cleared a bill (S 239 — PL 96-143) extending the programs through fiscal 1981. The last authorization for the programs expired at the end of fiscal 1978.

Final action on S 239 came when the House approved the conference report on the bill by a 214-152 vote. *(Vote 616, p. 182-H)*

The Senate had approved it by voice vote Nov. 9.

The final version of the bill did not contain a number of House-passed restrictions on agency activities. Amendments to allow a congressional veto of ACTION regulations and local vetoes of VISTA projects and to place tight new restrictions on political activities of volunteers were replaced in conference by much weaker substitutes.

Criticism of Agency

ACTION's critics had moved to put the new limits on the agency in part because of concern with the direction it was taking under director Sam Brown. Since taking over ACTION in 1977, Brown had attempted to move it away from the service orientation favored under Republican administrations, and toward increased efforts to organize the poor to gain more power in their communities.

Criticism of the agency focused around the allegedly radical views and the political involvement of some of the groups that received funds from ACTION. House Republicans also raised questions about possible illegalities in the awarding of grants to national anti-poverty organizations with connections to ACTION officials.

During House debate on the conference report, John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, sharply attacked the decision by House conferees to allow substantial weakening of the House-passed restrictive amendments. For example, Ashbrook noted, the amendment allowing local officials to veto VISTA projects in their areas became instead a requirement that ACTION hear and respond to objections from local officials. And the tough House provision against any use of federal funds by volunteers to lobby governments became "virtually an invitation to use funds for this purpose," Ashbrook charged.

Supporters of the conference report defended it as a reasonable compromise that at least avoided the need for further reliance on a continuing resolution, which would have no restrictions on the agency.

Loss Support

Weakening of the House amendments apparently cost the legislation a significant amount of support. The original bill (HR 2859) passed the House by a 307-106 vote, a 201-vote margin, while the conference report cleared by only 62 votes. *(Vote 490, p. 142-H)*

The Peace Corps, also a part of ACTION, was authorized through fiscal 1980 in a separate measure. The House initially voted to transfer the Peace Corps out of ACTION but changed its position after President Carter issued an executive order giving the corps more autonomy within ACTION. *(Details, box, this page)*

Peace Corps Stays in ACTION

Congress sided with President Carter and decided in 1979 not to transfer the Peace Corps out of ACTION.

The decision represented a reversal of position for the House, which originally voted 276-116 to transfer the volunteer agency to the newly created International Development Cooperation Agency. *(Vote 78, p. 28-H)*

The House vote occurred April 10 during consideration of the fiscal 1980 foreign economic aid bill (HR 3324). Voting in favor of the measure was a coalition of conservatives unhappy with ACTION director Sam Brown and liberals seeking to protect the Peace Corps in any future attempts to dismantle ACTION.

Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement J. Zablocki, D-Wis., who sponsored the amendment, said hearings by his committee showed the Peace Corps "has been badly managed under ACTION and that the morale of the Peace Corps volunteers and staff has deteriorated." *(Story, p. 117)*

Although Zablocki did not mention Brown by name, he was referring to actions by the former anti-war activist who had headed ACTION since 1977. Brown angered some Peace Corps supporters in November 1978 by firing Director Carolyn R. Payton.

Still others thought the Peace Corps should never have been made a part of ACTION. "By placing it in ACTION, we made it subservient to a bureaucratic agency that was more preoccupied with domestic programs than with people-to-people programs in other countries," said Don Bonker, D-Wash.

In response to the House vote, President Carter May 16 issued an executive order establishing the Peace Corps as an "autonomous agency" within ACTION. The order eliminated most of ACTION's budgetary and policy-making authority over the corps.

As a result, the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee recommended May 22 that the Peace Corps stay within ACTION. The Senate ratified that recommendation June 14 when it rejected an amendment to make the corps an independent agency. The amendment was offered to a bill (S 802) that authorized funds for the corps in fiscal 1980. Later the Senate added this bill to its version of the foreign economic aid authorization.

The Senate reaffirmed its position June 20, when it voted, 32-62, against breaking up ACTION. That vote came during debate on S 239, authorizing funds for ACTION. *(Vote 139, p. 26-S)*

When conferees on the foreign economic aid measure met, White House lobbyist Bob Beckel told them that Carter "feels very strongly that the Peace Corps should remain within ACTION." House conferees then conceded to the Senate position. The conference committee stressed that it "strongly supports maximum autonomy for the Peace Corps."

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 239 (PL 96-143):

- Extended through fiscal 1981 the authorization for domestic volunteer programs of the ACTION agency and authorized such sums as necessary for the programs.

• Allowed "urban volunteer" programs to be carried out under existing demonstration project authority. The bill did not contain a specific authorization for the proposed program, which President Carter had requested as part of his urban policy.

• Specifically set aside funds for counseling for persons on fixed incomes and for "Helping Hand" programs for handicapped and formerly institutionalized persons.

• Required ACTION officials to take into account objections of state or local government officials to the renewal of projects in their jurisdictions, and to respond to those objections in writing.

• Limited spending for grants to national anti-poverty organizations to no more than 16 percent of VISTA funds, and no more than $5.8 million in fiscal 1980; required that recipients of the grants be selected by an open, competitive process.

• Prohibited use of funds to pay for efforts by volunteers to influence state and local elections or legislation; allowed volunteers to respond to legislative requests for information, or to testify on legislation directly affecting the programs in which they were involved.

• Required the agency to inform the relevant congressional committees of proposed regulations.

• Allowed volunteers serving in the University Year for ACTION to serve for less than a calendar year, but no less than an academic year; denied stipends to students who served for less than 12 months.

Background

ACTION was established by the Nixon administration in 1971. It came into being under the president's reorganization authority, after both House and Senate rejected calls for a congressional veto of the plan. *(Background, 1971 Almanac p. 769)*

The idea behind ACTION was that volunteerism *per se* constituted a unifying principle for disparate volunteer programs then scattered through a number of federal agencies.

Included in ACTION were the foreign volunteer efforts of the Peace Corps; programs utilizing the services of older Americans, from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW); VISTA, the "domestic Peace Corps," from the now-defunct Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), and volunteer programs run by the Small Business Administration (SBA).

Democrats, particularly the liberals, opposed creation of ACTION. They feared the move was part of a Nixon administration campaign to shut down poverty programs left over from the Johnson administration.

ACTION programs basically provided the structure for putting people with time and skills in touch with people who needed help. People who were full-time volunteers with VISTA or the Peace Corps received modest living allowances. The bulk of ACTION volunteers were older people working in programs such as the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RVSP) and Foster Grandparents.

After being appointed head of ACTION in 1977, Brown undertook a major change in the direction of the agency. Feeling that previous administrations had concentrated too much on providing direct services to the poor, Brown decided that VISTA should instead focus on helping poor people organize to confront their problems themselves.

To test his new strategy of community organizing, Brown set up a national grants program. The idea was to bypass the regular VISTA structure by giving grants to national anti-poverty organizations to support volunteers. By spring 1979, 12 organizations had received grants totaling $4 million. They included a subsidiary of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) and groups involved with urban ethnics, public interest research, farm workers and nursing home reform.

When its authorization came up for renewal in 1978, ACTION ran into two serious problems with Congress:

• It proposed sharp cutbacks in funding for the popular senior volunteer programs. This produced howls of protest from members, who eventually forced the agency to agree to full funding.

• The administration's proposal, part of its new urban policy package, to set up an urban volunteer program within ACTION ran into such political problems in the House that the agency's reauthorization bill could not be completed. *(1978 Almanac p. 635)*

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Human Resources Committee reported S 239 (S Rept 96-99) April 26.

Spurred in part by an April 10 House vote to move the Peace Corps from ACTION into the proposed new International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA), Senate committee members expressed considerable interest in the idea of breaking up the agency and sending its programs elsewhere. But to avoid a jurisdictional dispute, the panel rejected an amendment by Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., to put the Peace Corps in the State Department, senior citizen volunteer programs in HEW's Administration on Aging and VISTA in the Community Services Administration. Instead, the committee asked the Governmental Affairs Committee to consider the issue.

The committee extended ACTION programs for three years, through fiscal 1981. But to force a final decision in the 96th Congress on the future of the agency, the committee decided to extend authority for ACTION administration for only two years, through fiscal 1980.

Committee supporters of an ACTION breakup included conservatives who disliked Brown and his policy of involving the agency with activist anti-poverty organizations. But they also included members who argued that disparate programs didn't belong together just because they involved volunteers.

The committee required that the controversial national grants program grow no larger in fiscal 1980 than it had been in 1979, that grants be awarded on a competitive basis and that all grants have a clear focus on the poor.

The committee rejected the administration's proposal for an urban volunteer program. Carter had requested $25 million for fiscal 1980 to recruit skilled volunteers to work with neighborhood groups in poor urban areas.

It was this program that killed the authorization bill in 1978, and the committee wanted to avoid a similar fate in 1979. However, the panel did couple an expansion of the agency's existing discretionary authority to operate programs similar to the urban volunteer proposal with a requirement that at least half the funds spent on such projects be spent on two key programs in that proposal. These programs would provide counseling to people on fixed incomes and help handicapped and aged people avoid being institutionalized.

Governmental Affairs Report

In a victory for ACTION and its controversial director, the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee May 22 voted 9-1 to recommend against breakup of the agency. Only David Durenberger, R-Minn., voted for the breakup.

Although the panel voted to keep ACTION together, members expressed interest in a bill (S 691) introduced by John C. Danforth, R-Mo., to prohibit use of volunteer funds to influence state and local governments. Some VISTA volunteers had been accused of participating in such lobbying.

Senate Floor Action

Despite the frequent congressional criticisms of ACTION, the Senate passed S 239 June 20 without major amendments or heavy opposition. The vote was 75-16. *Vote 140, p. 26-S)*

For the second time in a week, it rejected an attempt to move the Peace Corps out of ACTION, this time by a 2-1 margin. On June 14 the Senate had voted by voice vote not to transfer the corps to IDCA.

Humphrey, who had offered the amendment in committee to break up ACTION, offered the floor amendment to take the Peace Corps out of ACTION and set it up as an independent agency. The amendment was rejected 32-62. *(Vote 139, p. 26-S)*

Citing the arguments of former Peace Corps Director Carolyn R. Payton, who resigned under pressure because she opposed the policies of ACTION leaders, Humphrey said the original idealism of the international volunteers had been tarnished by politics. Making the Peace Corps truly independent, he said, would insulate it from political pressures, restoring it to its former status as "the crown jewel in our dealings with foreign nations."

Opponents of the amendment pointed to President Carter's May 16 executive order granting the Peace Corps substantial autonomy within the ACTION structure. They said the order actually gave the Corps more freedom than it had when it was an independent office, before ACTION was set up.

John Glenn, D-Ohio, who studied the question for the Governmental Affairs Committee, warned that removal of the Peace Corps would be the first step toward abolishing ACTION.

Other Amendments. By voice vote, the Senate adopted two amendments:

- By Humphrey, to prohibit volunteers from lobbying state and local legislatures, except to provide information by request.
- By Durenberger, to establish a Commission on Volunteerism.

House Committee Action

The House Education and Labor Committee reported its ACTION authorization bill (HR 2859 — H Rept 96-164) May 15. It extended domestic ACTION programs for three years, through fiscal 1981.

Much of the committee's attention focused on a report by the investigative staff of the House Appropriations Committee, which uncovered many problems in the national grants program. The investigators found that some volunteers funded by the program had participated in prohibited activities, such as union organizing and political lobbying. One grant recipient, the Midwest Academy, had provided "inflammatory" training to volunteers, urging action against "enemies" of the people such as politicians, landlords and corporations, the investigators said.

The staff report also found that the cost of supporting volunteers was higher than in the regular VISTA program.

ACTION responded that it had put a stop to the unacceptable activities and literature once it found out about them, and that average costs for each regular VISTA and national grant volunteer were about the same.

But the criticism that drew the most attention involved the procedures used in selecting the organizations that received the grants. The report found that the grants had been awarded without formal advertising or competitive applications.

Soon after he took over in 1977, Brown had convened a series of roundtable discussions with leaders of community action groups to discuss the future of ACTION. It was at these meetings that the concept of the national grants emerged. When the grants were distributed, it turned out that half the groups represented at the meetings received awards.

Committee Republicans, led by Ashbrook, charged that the grant procedure raised, at the very least, the appearance of a conflict of interest. They wondered if it might not even involve a criminal conspiracy to obtain federal funds.

These questions were aired in a grueling 14-hour hearing of the Select Education Subcommittee, during which agency officials were questioned under oath.

But the only action the full committee took was to lower to 18 percent, instead of 20 percent, the portion of VISTA spending that could go to national grants.

Urban Volunteer Program. The committee approved the president's request for an urban volunteer program, but cut the authorization to $12 million. The administration had sought $25 million.

The program approved by the committee established an Urban Volunteer Corps and a Good Neighbor Fund. Under the Urban Volunteer Corps program, skilled volunteers would be made available to local groups for assistance in areas such as management, fund raising and accounting, and to run programs providing counseling to persons on fixed incomes and helping handicapped and aged persons avoid being institutionalized. The Good Neighbor Fund would make grants of up to $15,000 available to neighborhood groups using volunteer labor to purchase materials and tools for improvement projects such as building a basketball court or a small park.

House Floor Action

Despite heavy criticism of alleged political activities of VISTA activists, the House approved HR 2859 Oct. 10 by a 307-106 vote. The bill provided $42.4 million for VISTA and other programs in fiscal 1980, and extended the programs through 1981. *(Vote 490, p. 142-H)*

Before passing the bill, however, Republican critics, with the acquiescence of the bill's sponsors, were able to kill the authorization for the urban volunteer program, one of the last vestiges of Carter's 1978 urban policy package.

Bill supporters were able to keep alive the national grants program, but the program survived by a relatively narrow margin and received reduced funding.

Debate pointed up the sharply contrasting views on the new direction for volunteer programs undertaken by Brown.

Brown and his supporters argued that volunteers should concentrate on helping the poor and powerless learn to help themselves by acquiring political clout to defend their economic interests. So they worked, for example, to organize opposition to utility rate increases, and to investigate maltreatment in homes for the elderly.

But House Republican critics, pointing to what they said were the radical political philosophies of some of the groups that had benefited from VISTA, strongly attacked the volunteers' activism. They said the government should not be involved in providing support to groups that seek confrontation with government authorities and economic interests. They successfully offered amendments to restrict volunteer efforts to influence government policies.

ACTION defenders responded during debate that some confrontation and controversy were unavoidable if volunteers were to do anything more effective than "wrapping bandages. . . . I do not believe you can in fact truly help in these tough economic times without being controversial," said George Miller, D-Calif.

Urban Volunteers

Even though the committee had cut the request for the urban volunteer program in half, Republican opponents continued to attack the program's cost and administrative expenses. Moreover, they argued that ACTION already had the authority to do everything the new program called for. They said the authorization request was just a cover for increasing the agency's funding.

Ken Kramer, R-Colo., Oct. 9 offered an amendment to kill the program. Bill sponsor Paul Simon, D-Ill., wished to avoid a prolonged fight with Kramer and Ashbrook, who had some 85 amendments ready to be offered to the bill. Conceding that similar efforts could go forward without a new authorization, Simon offered a substitute amendment that deleted the $12 million authorization proposed by the committee. His amendment, which added language encouraging ACTION to push urban volunteer efforts, was adopted by voice vote.

National Grants, Other Restrictions

Republican critics were unsuccessful in their efforts to kill the national grants program on the floor. An amendment by Mickey Edwards, R-Okla., to end the program was rejected 177-209 Oct. 9. *(Vote 488, p. 142-H)*

However, Simon agreed to an amendment offered by Edwards to reduce funds available for the national grants. The committee had reduced available funding to 18 percent, from 20 percent, of ACTION funds; the amendment, adopted by voice vote, cut the ratio to 15 percent.

The House also adopted amendments to restrict political involvement of volunteers and to make their efforts subject to the approval of local officials.

A Kramer amendment to let local elected officials veto VISTA projects in their jurisdictions was approved 229-178. *(Vote 489, p. 142-H)*

Kramer noted that local officials often were forced to accept projects they didn't want in their towns. He said local governments should have the right to say what types of activities were conducted. Opponents of the amendment said it would make coordinated management difficult, and subject projects to political control and controversy.

Another amendment prohibited VISTA volunteers from attempting to influence decisions by state or local legislative bodies or regulatory agencies.

Conference Action

Conferees filed their report on S 239 Nov. 9 (S Rept 96-412).

The conference committee loosened several House-passed provisions placing new restrictions on ACTION's activities. It dropped the House provision allowing local elected officials to veto VISTA projects in their jurisdictions, and governors to veto non-VISTA projects. Instead, it required that ACTION receive and respond to written objections from officials.

The House also had placed a tight restriction on any use of funds for programs at all related to prohibited political activities. The conference version was changed to allow volunteers to testify before state and local legislative bodies, if requested to do so by the legislative body or if they were testifying on the funding for the programs in which they were involved.

Another House provision, allowing a congressional veto of agency regulations, was weakened so that it required only that the relevant congressional committees be informed of proposed regulations, within a specific timetable.

Conferees also raised to 16 percent, from 15 percent in the House bill, the share of VISTA funds that could be distributed to national anti-poverty organizations. They accepted Senate provisions limiting spending for the controversial national grants to $5.8 million in fiscal 1980, and requiring an open competition for grants. ▮

Asbestos in Schools

A new, $330 million program to help find and remove cancer-causing asbestos in schools easily won House approval Dec. 13, but did not reach the Senate floor in 1979.

The bill (HR 3282), authorizing a three-year program of loans and grants to local school districts, passed the House by a 336-63 vote. *(Vote 646, p. 192-H)*

Before passing the bill, the House turned down a Republican substitute that would have allowed schools to use a portion of the money they got from other federal education programs to pay for asbestos detection and removal. No new funds would have been authorized by the alternative proposal, which was strongly opposed by most education lobbyists.

Despite the broad support for the bill, the prospects for quick delivery of funds to schools were uncertain. The Senate Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Education had not taken any action on similar legislation. Moreover, the bill faced possible opposition from the Carter administration. After reviewing the subject throughout 1979, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) had yet to take an official position on the bill. HEW officials indicated in the past, however, that in general they did not favor direct federal involvement with the school asbestos problem.

Concern About Health Hazard

Support for the bill arose from widespread concern about the hazards to current and future generations of schoolchildren posed by the presence of asbestos insulating materials in school buildings. An excellent material for fireproofing and acoustical purposes, asbestos was widely used in school construction until 1973, when it was banned by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

Asbestos is a potent carcinogen, in the opinion of many scientists, when its tiny fibers are released into the air. A person who inhaled asbestos fibers could develop lung cancer decades after the exposure.

Asbestos posed a particular danger to children, some experts believed, because their normal rapid growth could make them more susceptible to the runaway cell multiplication of cancer. Their long life expectancies after exposure provided plenty of time for the slow-developing cancers to grow. In addition, the cancer potential of asbestos increased in combination with other carcinogens.

Asbestos is dangerous only when its fibers are released into the air. It is not a problem when tightly bound with other materials or sealed from the air. But when exposed to physical abuse from students, it could result in high concentrations of fibers in the air.

No one knew for sure how serious the situation was. HEW urged states to survey for asbestos; one study found that one out of six schools inspected contained asbestos.

Local education officials, unable to afford the expensive process of asbestos removal in a time of tight school budgets, turned to Congress for help.

House Committee Action

The House Education and Labor Committee reported HR 3282 (H Rept 96-197) May 15.

The bill authorized $30 million in grants, to help find dangerous asbestos, and $300 million in 20-year, interest-free loans, to pay up to half the cost of taking it out.

One reason the bill went so quickly through the House was that the committee took out a potentially controversial provision that would have required asbestos manufacturers to pay part of the cost of detecting the mineral in school buildings.

Backed by George Miller, D-Calif., the provision would have established a $30 million detection fund, to be financed by asbestos manufacturers — principally the Johns-Manville Corp., largest asbestos producer in the non-communist world. The firm maintained that the provision was unconstitutional, and a majority of the committee decided it was better to drop the idea than to get tangled up in a possibly protracted court battle over the issue.

Miller said later that the provision had been killed by lobbying by a coalition of manufacturing interests who feared it would become a precedent for treatment of suppliers of other potentially dangerous materials.

Floor Action

Arguing in floor debate that the bill was just an empty exercise if money was not subsequently appropriated for the program, Bill Goodling, R-Pa., proposed a substitute that would have relied on existing federal programs as a source of funding for asbestos abatement. His amendment was rejected 133-262. *(Vote 645, p. 192-H)*

Goodling's substitute would have allowed states to use for asbestos control up to 1 percent of the money they received under federal programs for disadvantaged children, libraries and handicapped and vocational education. No more than 5 percent of the funds from any individual program could be diverted to the asbestos program.

Goodling said his proposal would ensure that schools had at least some money to deal with the problem — an outcome he said was unlikely if funds were made dependent on future appropriations action. He noted the many ambitious education programs passed by Congress that came to nothing because the appropriations committees would not put up the money to pay for them.

Opponents of the substitute responded that money for existing education programs was already so tight, having failed to keep up with inflation, that any diversion of funds would seriously hurt efforts to help the education of the poor and handicapped.

HEW had also argued that the plan would set a dangerous precedent for future use of education funds for purposes other than those for which they were originally approved.

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 3282:

- Authorized $30 million, for fiscal 1980-82, for a program of grants to school districts to help discover potentially dangerous asbestos in school buildings.
- Authorized an additional $100 million for each of fiscal 1980-82, to be distributed in the form of 20-year, interest-free loans to school districts, to be used for containment or removal of asbestos materials that posed an imminent hazard to the health and safety of children or school employees.
- Required that the loans cover no more than 50 percent of the cost of a school district's asbestos containment or removal efforts.
- Established a federal interagency task force to oversee the program. ▮

Doctors Unionization

By a 60-vote margin, the House Nov. 28 rejected a bill (HR 2222) to permit medical interns and residents in hospitals to unionize.

Unfortunate timing and opposition by two notably successful lobby groups, representing hospitals and medical schools, were cited as reasons for the rejection of the bill to bring hospital "housestaff" — young doctors in advanced training programs who care for patients — under the National Labor Relations Act. The vote was 167-227. *(Vote 612, p. 182-H)*

The bill would have reversed a 1976 National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) finding that the young doctors were "students" and thus not entitled to coverage under the labor act.

Background

After several years of deliberation, Congress in 1974 voted to bring non-supervisory employees of non-profit, non-governmental hospitals under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), giving them the right to bargain collectively and to other protections of the act. This decision (PL 93-360) reversed a section of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which had excluded hospital workers from NLRA coverage. *(1974 Almanac p. 257)*

To ensure that adequate patient care would continue during labor disputes, the 1974 law required a 30-day cooling-off period, and a 10-day notice before striking or picketing.

Floor debate on the 1974 bill created a clear legislative record that Congress intended to include housestaff as employees, entitled to NLRA protections, the House Education and Labor Committee said in its report on HR 2222. "Notwithstanding this legislative history," the committee

said, in March 1976 the NLRB held (in the *Cedars-Sinai Medical Center* decision) that housestaff were excluded from the act's coverage because they were students, not employees.

Housestaff doctors had long complained of long hours, low pay and infrequent contact with the doctors who were supposed to supervise and teach them.

Rep. Frank Thompson Jr., D-N.J., a sponsor of the 1974 measure, began hearings in the 94th Congress on legislation to overturn the NLRB decision. The 1976 bill was broader than HR 2222; it applied not only to persons in medical training programs, but also to those in other academic disciplines who held teaching fellowships or similar postgraduate positions.

In 1978, the Education and Labor Committee reported the bill, which Thompson's subcommittee by then had limited to medical interns, residents and fellows. The 95th Congress adjourned without action on that bill, which was reintroduced in 1979 by Thompson.

1979 House Action

Committee. As reported by the Education and Labor Committee Oct. 10, HR 2222 (H Rept 96-504) simply declared that young doctors, with college and medical school degrees, licensed or otherwise legally authorized to treat patients in hospitals, were to be considered employees for purposes of NLRA coverage. The measure would apply to an estimated 60,000 persons participating in advanced clinical training programs in non-profit, non-public hospitals.

The committee said the bill was needed even though an appeals court had ruled in April 1979 that the NLRB had "clearly misconstrued" congressional intent in its *Cedars-Sinai* decision. Further appeals could postpone a final court decision on the issue for years, the committee said.

In a minority report, eight Republican committee members warned that if the bill were enacted "strikes, lockouts, secondary boycotts, picketing, featherbedding and unfair labor practices, etc., would become an integral part . . . of graduate medical education." One of the dissenters, Daniel B. Crane, Ill., predicted that the bill would increase medical costs.

Floor. Floor debate focused largely on whether the young doctors were employees or students. The American Hospital Association (AHA) and the American Association of Medical Colleges (AAMC) had maintained that they were students and that unionization would disrupt their clinical education. Republican opponents of the bill suggested that disruptions could also occur in patient care.

Inflation also surfaced as an issue, with opponents suggesting that housestaff salaries of $15,000 a year were adequate, and that unionization wasn't needed.

Thompson said the cost impact would be negligible, and that enactment of HR 2222 would in fact lessen the potential for disruption because it "would provide a stable mechanism for the resolution of disputes and grievances."

Some observers laid defeat of the measure to unfortunate timing. The bill came to the House floor only two weeks after the House had rejected President Carter's proposed hospital cost control bill (HR 2626). Members had been heavily lobbied by representatives of hospitals and hospital associations who had laid out the administrative and financial problems of hospitals. Still sensitive to that message, many members apparently were unwilling to vote for anything that might hurt hospitals.

One Thompson aide laid the defeat of the bill to the effectiveness of the AHA and AAMC, although their lobbying on the bill "was more of a flick of the finger than beating the bushes for votes." In looking at the vote, he noted, it appeared that members who had "stood up to the hospitals on cost control (i.e., voted for it) had decided that they could give the hospitals this little thing." And other members who had supported the hospitals on cost control continued to do so on the unionization measure, he said. *(Hospital cost control, p. 512)* ▮

Higher Education Programs

Despite a price tag that could run into billions of dollars in increased federal spending, legislation extending federal higher education programs easily passed the House Nov. 7.

The 385-15 vote for the bill (HR 5192) reflected the overwhelming political popularity of federal programs of assistance to college students. Student aid programs consume the vast majority of federal higher education spending. *(Vote 568, p. 166-H)*

HR 5192 extended through fiscal 1985 authorizations for Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG), the controversial Guaranteed Student Loan (GSL) program, other student aid and a variety of programs of direct assistance to institutions of higher education.

Passage of the bill came over some rather half-hearted opposition by the Carter administration, which objected to the cost of the measure but held back from strenuous lobbying efforts against it.

Sponsors of the bill did have to agree to cut its cost somewhat in order to avoid a fight. But the legislation as passed would still increase BEOG assistance by almost 50 percent by fiscal 1985.

Actually, nobody really knew how much HR 5192 will cost. In the always-uncertain world of student aid cost estimates, bill sponsors could only keep their fingers crossed that actual costs would not be as high as the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) predicted.

CBO estimated the bill could increase BEOG costs by about $1.5 billion in fiscal 1981 alone.

In addition to the substantive changes it made in federal education policy, HR 5192 was important because it represented something of an historic compromise between competing factions within the higher education community. Low-cost public schools and high-cost private schools had fought for years over how much of a student's college costs the government should pay. The bill attempted to satisfy both groups, which was why it cost so much.

Higher education reauthorization legislation in the Senate was still in the hearings stage before the Labor and Human Resources Education Subcommittee. There could be more of a fight there, because the Carter administration, along with powerful senators such as Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., and Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., were expected to push for a major restructuring of student loan programs. Although the House made some important changes in existing loan programs, it did not undertake major revisions of the scale contemplated by Carter, Kennedy and Bellmon.

Last extended in 1976, the Higher Education Act authorization had been set to expire at the end of fiscal 1980. However, Congress Aug. 1 cleared emergency legislation (HR 4476 — PL 96-49) including a one-year extension for

Independent Students Aid

Avoiding a potential confrontation with higher education interest groups, the administration agreed to allow increased federal aid to self-supporting college students, beginning in the 1979-80 school year.

The prospect of imminent congressional action persuaded the administration April 5 to order immediate liberalization of Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG) benefits going to independent students.

The change was expected to cost $130 million in fiscal 1979 funds. Administration budget-cutters had wanted to save that much by postponing implementation of the changes, ordered by the 1978 Middle Income Student Assistance Act (PL 95-566), until the 1980-81 school year. *(1978 Almanac p. 568)*

Some 70,000 independent students would become eligible for the grants for the first time under the new rules. About 612,000 students would receive increased awards.

The issue had threatened to open a rift between Carter and congressional education leaders, who had worked closely together to enact the 1978 law as an alternative to tuition tax credits.

A resolution (H Con Res 84) introduced by William D. Ford, D-Mich., chairman of the House Education and Labor Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, would have overturned Health, Education and Welfare Department regulations that did not provide for the increased independent student benefits. The subcommittee was on the verge of approving the resolution when Commissioner of Education Ernest L. Boyer announced that the administration had changed its mind, thereby defusing the controversy.

The possibility of congressional action, and the discovery that there was already enough money on hand to pay for the increased benefits, led the administration to accept the changes. Revised cost projections showed that efforts to crack down on waste and abuse in BEOG awards had saved enough to pay for the extra independent student aid.

The new rules increased benefits to independent students by changing the way their assets and income were treated in computing BEOG awards. The first change required independent students with their own families to spend on college only the same percentage of their accumulated assets as did the parents of dependent students. Under existing regulations, independent students were expected to spend one-third of their total assets on their education, before BEOG awards were computed. The parents of dependent students, on the other hand, could exempt $25,000 of their assets from any assessment, and were expected to contribute only 5 percent of the value of any remaining assets towards their children's schooling.

The other change benefited single independent students by allowing them to retain a larger part of their income to meet basic living costs. During the 1978-79 school year, single students were allowed to keep $1,100 of their annual income for living expenses. The new rules set a living allowance of $3,450, while continuing to require that 70 percent of any additional income go for school costs.

higher education programs, taking them through fiscal 1981. The primary purpose of the emergency bill was to increase interest subsidies on student loans. *(Story, p. 497)*

House Committee Action

The House Education and Labor Committee reported HR 5192 Oct. 17 (H Rept 96-520).

The bill breezed through committee because the college and university lobbyists had gotten together and come up with a BEOG grant proposal that made everybody happy. As reported, the bill gradually increased the limits on individual BEOG grants until, by academic year 1985-86, students could get up to 75 percent of their attendance costs paid by the basic grants, with a maximum award of $2,700 a year. In general, the increase in the percentage of attendance costs paid was favorable to public schools, while the increase in the cash maximum was helpful to the more costly private schools.

But the committee got a nasty surprise when the cost estimate came back from CBO. The agency predicted the bill would increase BEOG costs by $2.2 billion in fiscal 1981. By fiscal 1985, CBO said, total student aid costs would be over $11 billion.

"When we put it all together, we didn't know how high the cost projection would be," said John Buchanan, R-Ala., who had worked closely with Postsecondary Education Subcommittee Chairman William D. Ford, D-Mich., in writing the bill.

The committee responded that the CBO estimate was mostly guesswork anyway. Student aid cost estimates had often been wrong in the past, the committee report said, and were based on assumptions that might not prove correct. And, as Buchanan pointed out, CBO relied on "the most uncertain assumption of all" — that Congress would appropriate all the money authorized by the bill.

The administration also thought the bill was too expensive, estimating it would increase annual BEOG costs by $1.8 billion. But although Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris wrote a letter to Ford Oct. 29 opposing the bill, department lobbyists were held back from working actively against it, according to an administration source.

House Floor Action

The House debated the bill Oct. 29, Nov. 2 and Nov. 7, passing it 385-15 after adopting an amendment to cut its cost somewhat.

Sponsors recognized that the cost would have to come down to win passage, but were not willing to go as far as Robert H. Michel, R-Ill., wanted. Michel had prepared an amendment that would have reduced the BEOG increases, removed a protection for independent students in the bill and eliminated the funding thresholds for various student aid programs. The Appropriations Committee did not like thresholds because they required certain levels of funding for other student aid before the popular BEOG money could be provided.

When the bill came to the floor, however, Michel offered a less drastic amendment that only held back the BEOG increases, at a fiscal 1981 savings of $818 million.

Not confident about going head-to-head with Michel on a roll-call vote, Buchanan, with Ford's acquiescence, offered a substitute that established BEOG limits that were

between those of the committee bill and the Michel amendment. Saving $651 million in fiscal 1981, the amendment increased the limits to 70 percent of attendance cost, and a maximum award of $2,520, in academic year 1984-85.

"We realized it might be necessary to trim back a little further, given the conservative mood of the Congress. It was better to accept some revision than to risk losing a good deal more," Buchanan said of his amendment, which was adopted by voice vote.

Military Service 'Payback'

Support from Armed Services Committee members helped Thomas E. Petri, R-Wis., win approval of an amendment allowing forgiveness of educational loans for former students who entered the military.

Pointing to the problems the all-volunteer army was having in obtaining enough recruits, Petri offered an amendment to allow former students to work off their guaranteed student loan or National Direct Student Loan (NDSL) debts by enlisting for active duty or in the reserves. The amendment allowed forgiveness of 20 percent of the outstanding loan or $1,000, whichever was more, for each year of active duty service, and 10 percent of the outstanding loan or $500, whichever was more, for each year in the reserves. It was adopted 236-115 Nov. 2. *(Vote 562, p. 166-H)*

Supporters of the amendment noted that the services were 24,000 short of their recruiting goals for active-duty personnel, while the reserves were at least 130,000 short of full strength. They predicted that forgiveness of student loans would encourage more people with college backgrounds to sign up — an especially important goal, they said, because of the very low percentage of new recruits with higher education.

Opposing the amendment, Ford argued that a higher education bill was not the place to attempt to correct problems of military manpower policy. In addition, he observed that education policy had moved away from loan forgiveness in recent years, because of past experience with a similar program for students who became teachers, which contributed to an overabundance of teachers.

Debate became a kind of jurisdictional dispute in reverse, with members of the Education and Labor and Armed Services committees each urging the other panel to take responsibility for enacting the program. Ford made clear that he did not want his subcommittee to have to bear the burden of oversight of the program or to include the program's estimated $15 million annual cost on its budget.

Other Amendments

The House adopted amendments to establish procedures for determining awards under the developing institutions program, and to ensure that state allocations under the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants program not fall below their fiscal 1979 levels.

By standing votes of 12-25 and 16-21, it rejected amendments to eliminate interest subsidies for students from families with incomes of $40,000 a year or more, and to waive state limits on garnishment of wages for former students who had defaulted on their student loans.

It also rejected amendments to increase to 7 percent, from 3 percent, the interest rate on National Direct Student Loans taken out after Oct. 1, 1980, and to allow state student loan agencies to make direct loans to students who could not get GSL loans from banks.

It rejected by voice vote a Robert S. Walker, R-Pa., amendment authorizing HEW to require institutions of higher education to undertake affirmative action programs, provided they did not utilize racial or sexual quotas, ratios or other numerical requirements.

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 5192:

- Reauthorized existing higher education programs for fiscal years 1981 through 1985.

Student Assistance

- Increased the limits on annual individual Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG) to the following levels:
- 55 percent of the cost of attendance, with a maximum award of $1,980, for academic year 1981-82.
- 60 percent of the cost of attendance, with a maximum award of $2,160, for academic year 1982-83.
- 65 percent of the cost of attendance, with a maximum award of $2,340, for academic year 1983-84.
- 70 percent of the cost of attendance, with a maximum award of $2,520, for 1984-85 and 1985-86.
- Made it a goal of federal policy that the various forms of grant aid, combined with the expected family contribution, provide 75 percent of a student's cost of college attendance.
- Established the following appropriations thresholds, which must be funded before BEOGs can be awarded: for Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants (SEOG), $400 million, or $480 million when the maximum BEOG grant was $2,160 or more; for College Work-Study, $550 million; for State Student Incentive Grants (SSIG), $76.8 million.
- Established the following authorization levels: SEOG, $500 million in fiscal 1981 and 1982, $600 million in 1983, $700 million in 1984, $800 million in 1985. SSIG, $100 million in fiscal 1981 and 1982, $150 million in 1983, $200 million in 1984, $250 million in 1985. College Work-Study, $670 million in fiscal 1981, $745 million in 1982, $825 million in 1983, $910 million in 1984, $990 million in 1985. Federal capital contributions to institutional revolving funds under the National Direct Student Loan (NDSL) program, $400 million in fiscal 1981 and 1982, $475 million in 1983, $550 million in 1984, $625 million in 1985.
- Increased to $2,000 the maximum grants under the SSIG and SEOG programs.
- Ensured that the amount provided annually to each state under the SEOG program not fall below the funding level provided in fiscal 1979.
- Allowed students attending college on a less-than-half-time basis to receive SSIG assistance; allowed limited assistance to such students under the SEOG program.
- Increased to $400 million the annual authorization for special programs for students from disadvantaged backgrounds (TRIO).
- Increased to $3,000 the annual limit on guaranteed student loans (GSL) to independent undergraduate students; increased the limits on the total amount of loans a student could take out during his or her undergraduate or graduate education; also increased the loan limits for individual students under the NDSL program.
- Established a new program of federally guaranteed loans to the parents of undergraduate students. Loans to-

taling $3,000 for each dependent student would be available at 7 percent interest.

• Authorized the Student Loan Marketing Association (Sallie Mae) to make direct loans to students in areas where sufficient bank loans were not available; also authorized Sallie Mae to make consolidation loans, with extended periods of repayment, to students who had two or more outstanding educational loans from other sources.

• Authorized forgiveness of student loans for military service, at the rate of 20 percent of the outstanding loan or $1,000, whichever was more, for each year of active duty service in the military; and 10 percent of the outstanding loan or $500, whichever was more, for each year of service in the reserves.

• Required establishment of a single new system of needs analysis for determining student eligibility for benefits under all student aid programs except SSIG and GSL; required that the new system treat the income of independent students with children in the same fashion as the income of the families of dependent students, in computing the amount of aid; allowed either the House or Senate to reject the annually prepared schedule of expected family contributions to student expenses.

Developing Institutions

• Authorized the following appropriations for the program of assistance to improve the academic quality, institutional management and fiscal stability of developing institutions: $140 million for fiscal 1981, $160 million for 1982, $180 million for 1983 and $200 million for 1984 and 1985.

• Authorized an additional program of challenge grants, which must be matched by contributions from other public and private sources, at the following levels: $25 million for fiscal 1982, $35 million for 1983, $45 million for 1984 and $50 million for 1985.

• Defined eligible developing institutions as those enrolling a substantial percentage of students from low-income families and having an average per-student expenditure which was low in comparison with other schools offering similar instruction; authorized waiver of the requirement of a low per-student expenditure for schools in areas with an unusually high cost of living.

• Reserved no less than 24 percent of developing institution funds for community and junior colleges.

• Sought to limit the time an institution participated in the program by establishing two types of grants. Schools could apply repeatedly for the first type of grant, which would be awarded for up to three years at a time. However, they could receive the second type of grant, to be awarded for periods of four to seven years, only once, after which they would be permanently excluded from the entire program.

Other Programs

• Replaced the existing programs of community services, continuing education, lifelong learning and state planning with a new education outreach program, with two main goals: to focus federal support for continuing education on adults whose educational needs had been inadequately served, and to consolidate into one program federal support for state planning, information and continuing education activities.

• Authorized a total of $750 million for the education outreach program over fiscal 1981-1985.

• Authorized an annual total of $155 million for college library assistance.

• Authorized $100 million annually for the Teacher Corps.

• Incorporated existing programs of assistance for the teaching of foreign languages and culture into a new program of international and foreign language studies; authorized a total of $550 million over fiscal 1981-85.

• Authorized $580 million a year for grants and loans for construction, reconstruction and renovation of academic facilities, plus an additional amount to cover interest on college construction loans from other sources; required that the grant and loan funds go for efforts to save energy, to make facilities accessible to the handicapped, to upgrade research facilities and to respond to problems caused by an unusually large increase in enrollment.

• Authorized $35 million a year for assistance to cooperative education programs providing students with alternating periods of study and work experience.

• Established a new program of urban grants to schools undertaking research and services related to urban problems; authorized a total of $390 million over fiscal 1981-85. ▮

Student Loan Interest Rates

Just in time for the 1979-80 school year, Congress completed action on legislation providing extra encouragement to banks to make federally guaranteed loans to college students.

Cleared Aug. 1 was legislation (HR 4476 — PL 96-49) allowing increased interest payments to banks making guaranteed student loans (GSL). Sponsors said the bill was needed to prevent banks from deciding not to make new loans at a time when rising tuitions were forcing more students to rely on borrowed money.

The bill moved quickly through Congress, passing the House and Senate by voice votes July 31, and winning final approval when the House accepted a Senate amendment Aug. 1.

Reported by the House Education and Labor Committee July 5 (H Rept 96-318, part 1), the bill removed the existing ceiling on the amount of the "special allowance" subsidy paid to banks by the federal government. Under existing law, the federal government paid banks 7 percent interest on loans while students were in school, plus an extra incentive, set according to interest rates on Treasury notes, that could not exceed an annual average of 5 percent.

The committee said the 5 percent subsidy ceiling, in a time of high interest rates, would discourage banks from making student loans since they could get better rates from other types of loans. Higher education groups had urged the change.

The Senate amendment changed the effective date of the provision to July 1, 1979, from April 1, 1979, as proposed by the House. The Senate reasoned that banks did not need further encouragement for loans that had already been made.

The bill also made possible increased Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG) payments to self-supporting college students. The Carter administration had agreed to allow the additional independent student aid to go into effect in the 1979-80 school year after receiving heavy pressure from higher education interests. *(Box, p. 495)*

However, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) informed Congress early in July that there

would not be enough money available to carry out the changes, despite the presence of some $700 million left over from the preceding fiscal year, because existing law prohibited carrying forward unused funds if they exceeded 15 percent of the BEOG appropriation.

Thus HEW would have been unable to use the leftover funds for the additional independent student aid, but would have been required instead to distribute them to students who got grants in 1978-79. The bill removed the 15 percent limitation, allowing the $700 million to be used in the 1979-80 school year.

The bill also contained a one-year extension of the authorization for higher education programs, which were set to expire at the end of fiscal 1980. The committee said this was just a precautionary measure to allow it to write a comprehensive reauthorization bill in 1980, without having to feel pressured to finish it in time for the Appropriations Committee to decide on the fiscal 1981 appropriation. ▮

Emergency Medical Services

Congress Nov. 29 cleared legislation (S 497) continuing a popular federal program that subsidized regional emergency medical services (EMS). Although it had been rumored that President Carter might veto the measure because it more than doubled what the administration wanted to spend, he signed it Dec. 12 (PL 96-142).

Key House and Senate committee members negotiated informally on the minor differences between the House- and Senate-passed bills, avoiding a formal conference. The resulting compromise, authorizing a total of $196 million over three years, was approved Nov. 15 by the Senate and Nov. 29 by the House. It continued, at about existing appropriations levels, federal support for organizing and upgrading regional emergency transportation and communication systems, and for training specialists in emergency care.

The Senate had originally passed a $150 million reauthorization May 9 by voice vote, while the House approved a $231 million version (HR 3642) Sept. 28.

The final compromise also included, unchanged, a Senate provision that extended for two years federal research and public information programs on sudden infant death syndrome, also known as "crib death."

Carter Sought EMS Phase-Out

President Carter had asked Congress to phase out federal emergency medical services aid and to provide only $76.3 million for it through fiscal 1982. By then, administration officials maintained, state and local governments should fully support the emergency systems.

But Congress was reluctant to clamp down too tightly on a program that had bankrolled such visible and popular health care improvements as emergency helicopters and ambulances equipped with sophisticated life-saving equipment; communications and transportation systems that could route injured or critically ill persons directly to specialized burn, heart attack or accident ("trauma") units; funds for training local physician and nurse specialists and paramedics; the 911 "emergency" telephone number and other components of improved communications systems, and CPR (cardiopulmonary resuscitation) programs that trained citizens to give emergency aid to heart attack victims.

Another argument made for continuing the program was that survival and recovery rates for accident victims and the critically ill had improved in EMS regions with the most advanced type of program. Accident-related deaths had decreased by almost 15 percent since 1972, and EMS supporters contended that the federally funded improvements in the quality of emergency care contributed to this decrease.

Advocates of continued funding said the regional emergency systems had not progressed through various stages of subsidized development as quickly as anticipated because appropriations had lagged behind authorization levels of the original bill.

Provisions

As signed into law, S 497 (PL 96-142):

- Authorized $40 million annually for grants and contracts for planning, initial development and expansion of emergency medical services systems in fiscal years 1980-82. That was a $30 million reduction in the fiscal 1979 authorization level.
- Provided that up to 5 percent of appropriated funds would be earmarked for planning grants and contracts; set a minimum earmark for this purpose of 1 percent for fiscal 1980, three-fourths of 1 percent for fiscal 1981 and one-half of 1 percent for fiscal 1982.
- Required priority treatment for applicants for planning grants or contracts who had not previously received federal aid. Deleted a requirement that no more than half of appropriated funds could be used for second-time planning grants or contracts.
- Permitted a third expansion or improvement grant for systems meeting certain conditions. (Existing law permitted only two grants of this type to any entity.) Authorized $6 million for fiscal 1981 for these grants.
- Continued a requirement that one-fifth of appropriated funds for emergency systems development must be earmarked for initial operations projects, and one-fifth for expanding existing systems.
- Extended authorizations for grants and contracts for research in emergency medical services as follows: $3 million for fiscal 1980 and $3.5 million a year for fiscal 1981 and 1982.
- Expanded a demonstration program for research and training in burn treatment and rehabilitation to include trauma and poison programs as well. Authorized $6 million for fiscal 1980, $12 million for fiscal 1981 and $10 million for fiscal 1982. Earmarked half of the fiscal 1980 funds for poison control programs, and 25 percent for these programs for fiscal 1981 and 1982. Also specified that at least 25 percent of these funds must be spent each year for trauma programs.
- Authorized $5 million for fiscal 1980, $7 million for fiscal 1981 and $8 million for fiscal 1982 for emergency medical services training programs.

Sudden Infant Death Syndrome. Required the secretary of health, education and welfare (HEW) to create a distinct administrative unit responsible for public and professional information programs on sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS). Also required the secretary to set up regular internal reporting of various SIDS projects and information produced by them, and to establish a clearinghouse for use by doctors, law enforcement officials and others who deal with SIDS families.

- Continued authority for grants and contracts for investigations into the causes of SIDS and for counseling SIDS families.
- Required HEW to report annually on SIDS activities to congressional health committees.
- Authorized $5 million for fiscal 1980 and $7 million for fiscal 1981 for SIDS programs.
- Required the secretary to allot "adequate" funds from National Institute of Child Health and Human Development appropriations for SIDS research. Required two annual reports from HEW on support levels and other matters relating to this research.

Background

The 1973 legislation (PL 93-154) that set up the emergency medical services program assumed that eventually the nation would be organized into regional emergency medical systems that would support themselves without federal subsidies. Congress decided federal start-up money was needed to overcome such problems as absence of emergency services in rural areas, uncoordinated programs in cities, untrained or poorly prepared ambulance and emergency room personnel and outdated equipment.

Each EMS region was to progress through a five-year sequence, from preliminary planning to a fully functioning, advanced system. Federal matching funds would shrink and local contributions increase over the five-year period; the completed system was expected to be self-supporting. *(1973 Almanac p. 494)*

A 1976 reauthorization (PL 94-573) required grant applicants to show they had the support of volunteer groups and local governments. It also created new authority to support research, training and treatment programs dealing with burn injuries. *(1976 Almanac p. 553)*

In 1979, the Carter administration asked for an "orderly phase-out" of federal EMS spending on grounds that the national network of these systems was "rapidly nearing completion." By the end of fiscal 1979, all but 13 of the nation's 304 EMS regions would have received some federal aid, the administration said.

Congressional Action

Two congressional committees disagreed with the phase-out proposal. They said the EMS network was far from complete and that an early cutoff of federal aid would jeopardize further progress.

If Congress followed Carter's funding recommendations, only one-fourth of the 304 emergency regions would have functioning, advanced systems, according to the April 30 report (S Rept 96-102) of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. Postponing the cutoff date until 1985 would permit 85 percent of the regions to complete the sophisticated communications, transportation and treatment systems envisioned by the 1973 law, it said.

The House Interstate and Commerce Committee, in its May 15 report on HR 3642 (H Rept 96-185), agreed that Carter's phase-out proposal was premature.

Both the House and Senate bills continued the burn control program and authorized new spending to integrate existing poison control centers with the emergency system and to set up new ones. The Senate bill included new authority to fund trauma treatment centers.

The Senate bill also included a two-year, $12 million reauthorization for counseling and information programs for sudden infant death syndrome. Congress in 1978 had authorized a total of $12.5 million for fiscal 1979-81 for the program, but administrative changes sought by Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., were dropped from a compromise bill. These changes, included in the EMS bill, were designed to pull together various program elements now scattered in HEW and give the program greater visibility.

The Senate approved its three-year, $150 million reauthorization May 9 by voice vote with no debate. The House passed its slightly more expensive version (HR 3642) Sept. 28 by a 245-12 vote. *(Vote 478, p. 138-H)* ▮

House Passes Child Health Assurance Bill

The House Dec. 11 voted to expand and upgrade a preventive health care program for poor children under the state-federal Medicaid program. Sponsors said the new Child Health Assurance Program (CHAP) could provide health care to as many as five million additional children, as well as 220,000 low-income women pregnant for the first time — at a possible cost of nearly $2 billion a year by 1984.

The legislation (HR 4962) passed by voice vote. The bill had few outright opponents, but in an attempt to hold down costs, fiscal conservatives attempted to convert the program from an open-ended entitlement to an authorization with fixed spending ceilings. The House refused to go along with that move, but it did add a four-year "sunset" amendment that would end the program at the end of fiscal 1984 unless Congress voted to continue it.

The House also added two controversial anti-abortion provisions, certain to arouse stiff opposition in the Senate.

The CHAP legislation had been on congressional back burners since President Carter proposed it in 1977. It was reported out of committee in both houses in the 95th Congress, but never made it to the floor.

The House-passed bill expanded and upgraded Medicaid's Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment (EPSDT) program, which was designed to seek out needy children up to age 6 for health screening and make sure they got needed treatment. It required states to cover children up to age 18, including those in intact families as well as those living with one parent, and to provide pre-natal care for poor women during first pregnancies. It set new national income standards for participants, to override lower state standards, and raised federal Medicaid contributions to the states to help meet the increased costs.

The bill barred states from putting limits on the mandated medical services for children in the program, as they could do for other Medicaid beneficiaries, and from requiring any co-payments for services.

Advocates insisted that CHAP's stress on finding and treating health problems during childhood could head off far more costly adult illnesses and save as much as 40 percent of federal health care dollars. "It is one of the most cost-effective things we can ever do," Rep. Andrew Maguire, D-N.J., told the House.

The Senate Finance Committee reported a narrower version of the bill (S 1204) July 30, but the Senate did not take it up in 1979. Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., regarding the measure as a potential addition to a broader national health insurance bill still in committee, delayed floor action on it. Long also was concerned about the cost of the bill, committee staff said.

The Finance Committee bill gave fewer benefits to fewer children than the House bill, and did not provide coverage to pregnant women.

Anti-Abortion Amendments

Despite the popularity of the child health program, its future was clouded with controversy because of the anti-abortion amendments added by the House. The Senate had consistently objected to House efforts in recent years to turn off federal funds for abortions.

One House amendment asserted that states could refuse to spend their own funds on Medicaid abortions, even if courts had ordered them to do so.

The other changed the basic Medicaid statute to prohibit the use of federal funds to end pregnancies, except those which endangered the life of the mother. It was the first time such a restriction had been attached to Medicaid authorizing legislation; previous House-Senate abortion struggles had been over Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) appropriations bills.

If the state-funding provision survived, it would, according to its sponsor, Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., negate recent court decisions that Medicaid required states to provide for "medically necessary" health services, including abortions, from their own funds. Ten states and the District of Columbia were funding Medicaid abortions themselves.

If the basic Medicaid law were amended, the annual Senate-House confrontations over appropriations for abortions could end. *(Abortion legislation, p. 484)*

Background

The federal commitment to children's health had grown from a single Children's Bureau, established in 1912, to some 35 tax-supported programs targeted on low-income children and mothers, or for which they were eligible as part of a larger targeted group.

The two major sources of federal funds for poor children reflected two different philosophies of public aid. The older one — grants to states — began with the 1935 maternal and child health program authorized as part of the Social Security Act. These "Title V" programs were preferred by the American Medical Association (AMA), which argued that they "created capacity" by supporting public health departments and special clinics and coordinating existing resources for target populations. Title V funds were focused on two types of programs: preventive services such as public well-baby and pre-natal clinics, and special services for crippled children. Critics noted that grant projects only benefited children with certain conditions or those living in areas that provided needed services.

Medicaid, the second and larger major source of health assistance for low-income children, was intended to provide uniform basic coverage regardless of where an eligible person lived. State and federal spending for children on Medicaid was estimated at $3.4 billion in 1978. Coverage varied widely because states could set their own eligibility standards and limit the benefits offered. One state, Arizona, even opted not to have a Medicaid program.

Two years after enactment of Medicaid, Congress in 1967 added the special EPSDT program for children. Screened children were eligible for some additional benefits under Medicaid, such as eyeglasses and hearing aids.

Delays by the Nixon administration kept the new program from becoming fully operational until 1973. Because it cost them money to treat the children the screening turned up, many states also were cool to the program. Congress in 1972 authorized cuts in welfare funds to penalize states that dragged their feet on the program, but the penalties were never enforced.

Critics of the program charged that it was not doing an adequate job of screening and treating eligible children. The Children's Defense Fund said that of about 11 million children who were eligible, only two million to three million were actually screened, and only about 40 percent of the health problems turned up were ever treated.

In addition, fewer than half the state programs covered children in two-parent families — an exclusion that was particularly harsh on the rural poor, who were more likely to be intact family units. And, although doctors believed pre-natal care could be critical for the future health of a child, under existing law a pregnant woman could not qualify for Medicaid until after a first child was born.

Critics also said EPSDT had failed to fulfill its mandate to coordinate existing federal health programs for children. The result was duplication — or gaps — that wasted money and often kept confused parents from getting care to which their children were entitled.

To remedy these problems, President Carter in 1977 asked Congress to provide financial bonuses for effective state programs, as well as broaden Medicaid benefits for needy children and provide coverage for low-income women during first pregnancies. The 1979 CHAP proposal, sent to Congress May 10, incorporated a number of changes made by congressional committees in the 1977 version. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 494, 1978 Almanac p. 632)*

Backers realized the plan would run into opposition because it entailed new federal spending in a year when Congress was interested in cutting the budget. But they argued that Congress made the decision to go beyond merely paying needy children's medical bills in 1967, and that the 1979 bill was simply intended to correct problems in the program.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Finance Committee in July abruptly decided to report a CHAP bill identical to its 1978 version. It did so on the recommendation of Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., who urged the move as a time-saving device.

In its July 30 report (S Rept 96-274), the committee said it intended the expanded program to "move beyond a mass screening program where emphasis is on conditions that can be found by a single, rapid test or procedure. The intent is to introduce children to an ongoing source of primary care." The committee also said it expected states to enroll at least 80 percent of eligible children within five years of enactment.

The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimated that the Senate bill, if enacted, would add $9.3 million in new federal spending in fiscal 1980 (it would not take effect until the last quarter of the year), rising to $534.1 million a year by fiscal 1982, plus $32.4 million for unrelated changes in Medicaid made by the bill.

S 1204 only required states to include children through age 6 from low-income families in the CHAP program, al-

though they could include children up to age 21 at their own option, as 18 states already were doing. The bill also authorized optional coverage of adopted children regardless of the adoptive family's income, if the child had been in foster care or had medical or handicapping conditions that would discourage adoption, and for children in corrective and other non-medical institutions, if they were eligible before they entered the facility.

The bill required states to provide all services for which federal Medicaid law authorized payment, including those not covered by individual state plans, for any child enrolled in CHAP, with three exceptions. Coverage for inpatient mental health problems, intermediate care for mental retardation and non-routine dental care was limited to whatever a state plan permitted.

The bill required health care providers, as a condition for participating in CHAP, to sign an agreement that they would provide "timely and appropriate" health assessments for the children, provide needed diagnosis and treatment or appropriate referrals, follow up on referred patients and "take responsibility for the management of the medical care of each assessed child," be "reasonably" available to provide continuing care for the child, and make required reports.

Health care providers could include private practitioners, public health departments, community or primary care centers, day care or Head Start programs, student health services, school systems or other entities.

The bill prohibited states from requiring participants to pay any share of the costs of the services they received, and required them to give children four months of coverage after they lost Medicaid eligibility for any reason other than age.

The bill raised the federal matching rates for the costs of health assessments and outpatient health services of CHAP to the higher of two figures: 75 percent of a state's Medicaid budget, or halfway between the existing Medicaid rate and 90 percent of state spending. It required states to meet certain standards in order to be eligible for the new, higher matching rates, and barred them from getting the higher rates if they reduced the type and extent of Medicaid coverage and state spending for children in the first two years after enactment.

The bill repealed the existing authority for a 1 percent cut in Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) funds as a penalty for states failing to provide EPSDT health screening.

House Committee Action

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee on Health finished work on its CHAP bill (HR 4962) July 24, but the full committee did not approve it until Oct. 16. The committee report was filed Oct. 26 (H Rept 96-568).

William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif., who objected to the bill's cost, held off committee action for weeks by a series of delaying procedures.

When the committee finally did consider the bill, it rejected efforts by fiscal conservatives to scale down the size of the CHAP program and to convert it from an entitlement program to a four-year authorization with fixed spending ceilings. (Through the annual appropriations process Congress has a chance to restrict spending for an authorized program; an entitlement requires the government to pay for mandated benefits for any person meeting the statutory eligibility standards, whatever the cost.)

Committee Vote

Following is the vote by which the House Commerce Committee approved HR 4962. Twenty members did not vote.

Yea (17): Democrats Staggers, W.Va.; Dingell, Mich.; Van Deerlin, Calif.; Eckhardt, Texas; Preyer, N.C.; Scheuer, N.Y.; Waxman, Calif.; Wirth, Colo.; Maguire, N.J.; Walgren, Pa.; Gore, Tenn.; Mikulski, Md.; Swift, Wash., and Leland, Texas; Republicans Carter, Ky.; Lent, N.Y., and Marks, Pa.

Nay (5): Democrat Gramm, Texas; Republicans Broyhill, N.C.; Devine, Ohio; Moorhead, Calif., and Dannemeyer, Calif.

The Commerce Committee bill was more generous than either the Senate version or the Carter administration proposal. CBO estimated the cost of the House CHAP program, when fully implemented in fiscal 1982, at $1.2 billion in additional federal spending, rising to as much as $2 billion a year by 1984. The bill also would have a sizable impact on state outlays for health coverage of poor children and women.

The Commerce Committee made only two changes in the subcommittee bill. The vote to report the measure was 17-5. Twenty committee members did not vote. *(Committee vote, box, this page)*

Most committee members supported the legislation on its merits. Open opposition was rare. Instead there were the proposals for sharp cuts in the bill — but it survived these challenges intact.

A spokesman for the American Medical Association said the AMA had not actively fought the legislation, even though it preferred grant programs as the vehicle for federal health care spending.

Like the Senate bill, HR 4962 replaced the EPSDT program with a new version that set national performance standards and provided bonuses and higher matching rates to encourage states and health professionals to locate eligible children and make sure they got needed medical treatment.

But the House bill provided more benefits to more people. It required mandatory Medicaid coverage for needy children up to age 18 (as well as authorizing optional coverage for those up to 21), and extended coverage to low-income women pregnant for the first time. It set national income-eligibility standards for both groups that would override lower state standards, requiring coverage for children in families with income below two-thirds of the poverty level (about $5,000 for a family of four) and for pregnant women with incomes under 80 percent of the poverty level (about $3,000 for a single woman). Women would be eligible for the program during the course of pregnancy and for two months afterwards.

(The administration had proposed a lower income eligibility standard; under its proposal, only pregnant women and children from families with incomes below 55 percent of the poverty level could receive CHAP benefits.)

Like the Senate bill, HR 4962 authorized increased reimbursement rates for doctors or others who committed themselves to give CHAP children continuing care. But it provided for several different administrative arrangements, allowing for lesser levels of commitment, still with Medicaid reimbursement — a softening of the administration proposal, made to mollify the AMA. The House bill also autho-

rized payments to health maintenance organizations (HMOs) at 95 percent of the average fee-for-service payment for a child in a state, if the HMO agreed to serve as a continuing provider.

Committee Amendments

The committee adopted only two amendments to the subcommittee bill:

- By Dannemeyer, to exclude from health coverage poor women whose pregnancies were ended by abortion, unless the abortion was performed to save the life of the mother or to end a pregnancy caused by rape or incest.
- By Richardson Preyer, D-N.C., to extend to one year a four-month "grace period" for children who became ineligible for CHAP for any reason other than age. The longer extension would apply only to children with treatable — but not curable — illnesses such as epilepsy and diabetes. The amendment did not affect the bill's provision for a longer grace period for treatment of curable diseases.

Amendments Rejected. The committee turned down two amendments by James T. Broyhill, R-N.C., to scale down the size of the CHAP program, and one by Dave Stockman, R-Mich., to convert the program from an entitlement to a four-year authorization, with annual limits on federal spending for the new coverage.

Opponents claimed that change would eliminate new coverage for children of the "working poor" and destroy the basic thrust of the bill. Stockman argued that it would be a first step in coming to grips with out-of-control budget deficits. "Entitlements eat up 60 percent of federal spending," he maintained.

House Floor Action

The House debated HR 4962 Dec. 4, 6 and 11, passing it by voice vote Dec. 11. The two major issues in the floor debate were abortion and the cost of the new CHAP program.

Members who warned against the potential expense of CHAP did not ask their colleagues simply to vote against the bill. They offered amendments that, they maintained, would allow Congress to control spending without depriving children of help.

But, reflecting unwillingness to do anything to cut down on health care for needy children, the House soundly defeated an effort by Stockman to remove CHAP's entitlement status. It did approve a four-year "sunset" provision, however. And it voted by sizable margins to add the two controversial anti-abortion amendments.

Abortion Amendments

By a 217-169 vote Dec. 6, the House adopted an amendment by Harold L. Volkmer, D-Mo., prohibiting Medicaid funding for abortions except when the life of the mother was endangered. *(Vote 630, p. 186-H)*

Volkmer noted that opponents of abortion had been criticized for using appropriations bills as vehicles for banning abortions, "so here it is" on an authorization bill. It was the first time the House had added its customary tight restriction on abortions to the basic Medicaid authorization measure; previous limitations had been attached to the appropriations measures for the program.

CHAP sponsor Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., opposed any abortion restrictions, saying abortion was a matter to be decided between a woman and her physician. He opposed Volkmer's amendment on grounds that it unfairly withheld from poor women a "legal medical procedure" available to women who could pay for it. But, struggling to protect CHAP, Waxman asked the House to substitute the compromise abortion language of past HEW appropriations bills (allowing Medicaid to pay for abortions in cases of rape or incest) for Volkmer's narrower version. He lost, 180-209. *(Vote 629, p. 186-H)*

State Funding of Abortions. Bauman's amendment allowing states to refuse to pay for Medicaid abortions passed by a 235-155 vote Dec. 11. *(Vote 633, p. 188-H)*

Bauman said state legislatures in California, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Virginia and West Virginia had enacted restrictive anti-abortion measures, only to have them "misinterpreted" by the courts. Courts had been ruling that the Medicaid requirement that states provide "medically necessary" services applied to abortions, he said. His "states' rights" amendment would simply permit states to curtail the use of their own funds for abortions, "notwithstanding the decisions of these courts," Bauman said.

Supporters such as Dan Lungren, R-Calif., and Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill., insisted the amendment would not force the states to do anything on abortion if they chose not to, and that states would be free to pay even for abortions "on demand" if they wished.

Arguing against Bauman were Waxman and Tim Lee Carter, R-Ky., chairman and ranking minority member of the Commerce Health Subcommittee, who maintained that the amendment could have the effect of ending abortions even to save the life of the mother.

Carter, a physician who said he personally opposed most abortions, insisted the procedure should be available not only to save the mother's life but for cases of rape and incest. He told members that if their own young daughters had been raped, "I believe you would take her right to a doctor . . . to stop the possibility of a pregnancy." Poor families should also have that option, he indicated.

Carter said later that many members who voted with Bauman told him privately that they would indeed seek treatment for their own daughters to prevent pregnancy after a rape, but that anti-abortion pressures in their home districts forced them to vote for a measure that could deny this treatment to poor adolescents and women.

Waxman said Bauman's proposal was both "constitutionally doubtful" and a surprising concept "for people who claim to be states' rights advocates."

Entitlement Controversy

The House refused by a 152-226 vote Dec. 6 to convert CHAP from an open-ended permanent entitlement to a three-year authorization with fixed spending ceilings. The amendment was offered by Stockman. *(Vote 631, p. 186-H)*

Stockman and his supporters, including Appropriations Committee Chairman Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss., argued that entitlements and other "uncontrollable" programs ate up about 75 percent of the federal budget each year, and that clamping down on them would give Congress more control over inflationary deficits.

The amendment set authorizations at the full estimated cost of the program, a total of $3.15 billion over three years. Therefore, Stockman insisted, it would not cut into new benefits for children.

However, since appropriations committees rarely fund programs at the full authorized level, the effect of the amendment would have been to restrict funds for the new

benefits and newly eligible individuals. The prospect of additional beneficiaries to take care of, and not enough federal dollars to do it, reportedly influenced many members' "nay" votes.

One of the most telling arguments against Stockman was made by Preyer, who charged that the amendment would especially shortchange children in southern and other rural states. Because these states tended to exclude more families from welfare programs, many of their children were not eligible for Medicaid health care under existing law, Preyer noted. Nearly three-fourths of the five million children who would become eligible for care under CHAP's more liberal eligibility rules would be in the 15 states with the largest number of rural poor (13 of them in the South). Capping CHAP spending via a specific authorization limit would hurt those states the most, Preyer said.

Sunset Amendment

The House Dec. 11 agreed 226-162 to a "sunset" provision that would end the CHAP program at the end of fiscal 1984 unless Congress agreed to continue it. *(Vote 634, p. 188-H)*

Sponsor Steven D. Symms, R-Idaho, said that by 1984 the new program would be in place and "at that point the Congress should review [it], . . .to determine if CHAP has been cost-effective and achieved the laudable goals it was supposed to have reached."

CHAP co-sponsor Maguire said the bill itself represented just the sort of scrutiny of federal programs Symms said he wanted, since it came out of "three years of oversight that we have done" in the House Commerce Subcommittee on Health.

Four years could not be enough time to permit an accurate evaluation of the new program, Maguire argued. "Just at the time when we were starting to realize the cost savings. . . , the whole program would be placed in jeopardy," he warned.

Because Symms' deadline applied to the bill and "any amendments" made by it, the abortion provisions would also expire in 1984, the House legislative counsel said.

Legislative Veto, Other Amendments

In other action, the House by voice vote adopted a Lungren amendment providing for a legislative veto of HEW regulations for CHAP.

Lungren complained that HEW for months had ignored requests of the California congressional delegation to review Medicare-Medicaid payment regulations "which are blatantly unfair to hospitals." That experience and the sensitivity of health care per se suggested that HEW "bureaucrats" should be curbed, especially since CHAP gave far too much discretion to the department, Lungren said.

Maguire protested that Lungren's amendment would force Congress to take over "the actual administration of programs."

The House rejected by a 163-225 vote a motion by Dannemeyer to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to return it with an amendment requiring that parental consent be obtained before family planning services and supplies authorized by the bill could be provided to minors. *(Vote 635, p. 188-H)*

An amendment by Philip M. Crane, R-Ill., that would have restricted federal access to medical records in nonmedical programs was ruled out of order on grounds it was too broad to be germane to the bill.

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 4962 replaced the existing Medicaid program for children under Title XIX of the Social Security Act, the Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment (EPSDT) program, with a broader Child Health Assurance Program (CHAP). The bill:

Eligibility. Required states to provide Medicaid coverage for children under age 18, regardless of family structure, who met either state income or Medicaid standards or a new national income standard. To qualify under the national standard, an individual would have to come from a family whose income was less than two-thirds of the official poverty level (about $5,000 for a family of four in 1979).

- Authorized optional coverage for adopted children regardless of the adoptive family's income, if the child had been in foster care or had medical or handicapping conditions that would discourage adoption. Coverage would continue until the child reached age 18 or until medical services were no longer needed. For these children, a state could provide either a full range of Medicaid services, or only care required by a specific condition.
- Authorized optional coverage of children in corrective and other non-medical institutions, if they were eligible before they entered the facility.
- Authorized optional coverage for all financially eligible children under age 21.
- Provided federal matching funds for the additional, optional coverage.
- Required states to provide Medicaid for all pregnant women who met either state income or Medicaid standards or a new national income standard. To qualify under the national standard, an individual would have to have an income that was less than 80 percent of the official poverty level for an individual or family (about $3,000 for a single woman). Coverage would be for the course of pregnancy and the first two months following birth of the child.
- Authorized the secretary of HEW to establish federal "intent to reside" standards for Medicaid, to be used to determine which state was responsible for Medicaid for children of migrant workers and other Medicaid beneficiaries.

Continuity of Coverage. Required states to allow enrolled children four months of coverage after they lost Medicaid eligibility for any reason other than age (for example, when family income went up). For children with treatable — but not correctable — conditions, such as diabetes, this "grace period" would be 12 months instead of four. For children with a correctable condition, eligibility would continue until the condition was corrected.

Services. Required states to provide eligible children (under age 18) with all services for which federal Medicaid law authorized payment, and to provide these additional services: child health assessments, immunizations, routine dental care, diagnosis and treatment of vision and hearing problems, hearing aids and eyeglasses, prescribed drugs and insulin, home health, physical therapy and rehabilitative services, prosthetic devices, outpatient and emergency inpatient psychiatric treatment; prohibited states from limiting the amount, duration or scope of these services.

- Required all Medicaid programs to provide pre-natal and post-natal services.

Abortion. Permitted Medicaid payments for medical care following termination of pregnancy by miscarriage or by an abortion to save the life of the mother.

- Prohibited Medicaid payments for abortions, except those performed to save the life of the mother.

• Stipulated that nothing in the Medicaid statute should be construed to require any state funds to be used to pay for abortions.

Ban on Co-payments. Barred states from requiring enrolled children to share the cost of any required services.

Reimbursement, Performance Standards. Raised federal matching rates for the costs of health assessments and outpatient health services for children in the CHAP program by an additional 25 percentage points above the existing matching rate of a state. Under the new formula, the federal share of CHAP costs could not exceed 90 percent except for children enrolled with "continuing care providers." For these children, the federal share could rise to 95 percent of costs.

• Raised federal matching rates for outreach and follow-up to 75 percent (from the overall administrative matching rate of 50 percent), and required states to allocate a reasonable proportion of these program funds to outreach activities.

• Established standards for both "minimum" and "reasonable" CHAP performance by states. Provided an additional "bonus" federal match of up to 25 percent of Medicaid administrative costs for states exceeding the "reasonable" performance standard. Provided for a 20 percent reduction of federal funds for Medicaid administrative expenses, to penalize states that failed to meet the minimum CHAP standard.

• Prohibited the new, higher matching rates for services for states that reduced eligibility standards or cut services for children during the first four years of the program.

Other Provisions. Repealed authority in existing law for a 1 percent cut in Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) funds as a penalty for states failing to provide health screenings.

• Set a Sept. 30, 1984, expiration date for all provisions in the bill.

• Required HEW to submit CHAP regulations to Congress for review; provided that implementation of part or all of such regulations could be blocked by either a concurrent resolution of disapproval, passed by both houses within 90 days after the regulations were submitted, or a resolution of disapproval passed by one house within 60 days after the regulations were submitted, if the other house did not reject that resolution within an additional 30 days. ▮

Social Security Disability

The House Sept. 6 passed legislation aimed at reducing costs of the Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) trust fund by ensuring that nobody got more money for being disabled than for working. It was estimated that the bill (HR 3236) could save as much as $1 billion a year by 1984.

The Senate Finance Committee also reported the bill, but its cuts in the SSDI program were not as deep as the House's. The Senate version would save an estimated $582 million in 1984. It did not come to the floor in 1979.

Under the bill, workers who went on disability insurance after Jan. 1, 1980, would get benefits that were well below their working incomes. The measure also offered additional incentives to disabled workers to try to return to work.

Changes in the disability insurance program were the only part of the Social Security benefit cutbacks proposed by the Carter administration that received any substantial congressional support or action in 1979. In his fiscal 1980 budget message Carter had proposed a series of reductions in "unnecessary" Social Security benefits that he said would save a total of $1.7 billion in fiscal 1981. *(Budget message, p. 3-E)*

Although HR 3236 initially had the support of organizations representing the disabled, the measure later ran into serious political trouble because of opposition from groups of other Social Security recipients, who feared the disability cuts could turn out to be the opening wedge in an onslaught on the whole system.

The Save Our Security coalition, headed by former Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Secretary Wilbur J. Cohen, lobbied against the bill and managed to delay its consideration in the House for months.

The House finally passed the bill by a vote of 235-162. *(Vote 407, p. 118-H)*

The House also passed a separate bill (HR 3464 — H Rept 96-104) making similar changes in disability benefits under the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program, and the Senate Finance Committee included a modified version of that bill in its report on HR 3236. The House passed HR 3464 by a 374-3 vote June 6. *(Vote 168, p. 54-H)*

Background

From its modest beginnings in 1954, the SSDI program had grown into a $13 billion-a-year program providing benefits to about five million disabled workers and their dependents.

HR 3236 responded to two main problems confronting the program during the 1970s: a rapid increase in program recipients and costs, and a low percentage of people who returned to work after being disabled.

For a variety of reasons, the number of people in the program increased so fast during the 1970s that, combined with the effects of inflation, the program's cost quadrupled between 1970 and 1978, to $13 billion from $3.3 billion. The number of awards given each year to disabled workers almost doubled between 1968 and 1975. In 1968, 323,514 workers were newly awarded benefits; by 1975 the number had grown to 592,049.

With the skyrocketing cost of the program threatening to bankrupt the SSDI trust fund, Congress in 1977 increased the rate of contributions to it, thus protecting its financial viability for the short run. The 1979 legislation was designed to deal with the long run. *(1977 action, 1977 Almanac p. 161)*

Among the factors that led to the enormous upsurge in participation in the SSDI program were the high unemployment of the mid-1970s and increasing knowledge about the benefits available. According to Social Security Administration (SSA) actuaries, another cause of the increase was a decision in 1972 to review at the federal level only a small sampling (5 percent) of awards granted at the state level, in order to reduce federal personnel expenses; before 1972, 80 percent of state decisions were checked over by SSA examiners before the benefits were given out.

Even more threatening to the long-term health of the system than the program's rapid growth was the fact that so many people, once on the program, never got off it by going back to work. The number who did remained fairly constant at around 40,000 a year throughout the period of rapid growth.

SSA actuaries and others argued that the high level of benefits provided by SSDI strongly discouraged people

from going back to work. "High benefits are a formidable incentive to maintain beneficiary status, especially when the value of Medicare and other benefits are considered," said a June 1978 SSA study. HEW estimated that 6 percent of recipients got non-taxable benefits actually higher than their pre-disability work income; another 18 percent got more than 80 percent of their previous earnings.

A major obstacle to disabled people as they considered going back to work was the fact that they stood to lose their Medicaid coverage once they left the disability program.

House Committee Action

The House Ways and Means Committee reported HR 3236 April 23 (H Rept 96-100). The bill was designed to get at the problems of the SSDI system by cutting some benefits and increasing work incentives.

Three provisions limited benefits. Very low-income recipients, middle-income recipients with large families and younger people would all feel the effects of the cuts, but only if they went onto the program after Jan. 1, 1980.

The first provision limited benefits to the disabled and their dependents to no more than 80 percent of the worker's prior average monthly earnings. This would affect those whose past wages were so low that their monthly incomes were little higher than the minimum benefit guaranteed all SSDI recipients.

A second, related provision limited total family payments to no more than 150 percent of the worker's basic individual benefit. This provision would primarily affect disabled workers with large families whose prior incomes were substantially above their individual benefits.

Committee staff estimated that these two provisions combined would reduce annual outlays by $521 million by 1984.

A third provision would reduce an advantage enjoyed by younger disabled workers.

Under existing law, benefits were figured according to an average of past annual earnings, minus the five years in which earnings were lowest. Under the existing system, a 27-year-old worker who had worked six years could drop all but his single highest earning year, thus ensuring a very high level of benefits. But a 55-year-old worker who had also started work at 21 would have to average in 29 years of earnings that were probably far below his current income.

HR 3236 eliminated all these "drop-out" years for workers under 27. The number of drop-out years allowed would gradually increase according to age, so that all workers 47 and over could continue to drop five years. However, younger workers could add an additional drop-out year for each dependent child under six years old, beginning in 1981.

The drop-out reduction would save an estimated $148 million a year by 1984.

In addition to the benefit cap, which was intended to encourage people to work by making benefit status less attractive, HR 3236 contained several provisions aimed at giving disabled people a little extra help in making the big jump off the program.

Recognizing that disabled persons sometimes found their attempts to go back to work impracticable or impossible because of deterioration of their condition, the bill extended the "trial work period" allowed to job returnees.

Under existing law, a returnee got benefits for nine months after going back to work; after that he had to completely reapply for benefits should work prove impossible. The bill stretched the trial period to 24 months, although benefits would continue to be provided for only the first year. Most importantly, the bill allowed those who were unsuccessful in their attempt to work to get back on the program immediately, within two years of leaving it, and thus avoid a new application for benefits and a five-month waiting period.

To ease fears of the disabled about loss of their medical benefits, the bill extended Medicare coverage for those returning to work. It ensured that job returnees would get Medicare coverage for an extra 36 months, over existing law, after losing benefits. In addition, it eliminated the two-year waiting period for getting Medicare coverage imposed under existing law on those reapplying for benefits after an unsuccessful work attempt.

The bill eased the existing $280 monthly work income limit by allowing deductions for extraordinary expenses incurred in going back to work. This would allow disabled people to earn extra amounts, without losing eligibility, to help pay for the often heavy medical and transportation expenses needed to return to work.

Sponsors of the bill decided not to go to complete federalization of the SSDI system, as had been recommended by the General Accounting Office, out of reluctance to add to the federal work force.

HR 3236 did make a fundamental change in state-federal relations in the program, however. In place of the existing contractual relationship between the federal government and states, it gave HEW the right to set regulations that states would have to comply with. If a state did not comply, the federal government could step in and make disability award decisions directly.

Another provision required federal review, before benefits were distributed, of at least 65 percent of state disability award decisions by fiscal 1982.

House Floor Action

HR 3236 encountered serious difficulties in getting to the House floor. But once it was finally brought up, it passed with relative ease.

The coalition of groups opposing HR 3236 first tried to stop it in the Rules Committee. They initially were able to defeat the rule (H Res 310) providing for floor consideration of the bill by a 5-5 tie vote. But after receiving pressure from the Carter administration, the Rules Committee June 7 reversed itself and voted 7-4 to report a rule, allowing only one technical amendment to be offered on the House floor.

Even after the bill got a rule, however, the opposition coalition was able to block floor consideration of the measure for three months. Finally considered on Sept. 6, HR 3236 passed 235-162.

Supporters stressed that the bill was intended to encourage people to go back to work if they could, that the reductions in benefits would only affect those who would do better on SSDI than they did on the job, and that no one already in the program would be affected, only those disabled in the future.

More broadly, backers argued that the bill was the type of reform essential to the long-run financial health of the system. Without some modest cuts now, they warned, a future crisis would force much more drastic reductions.

But opponents bitterly attacked the idea of looking to aid to the blind and disabled as a place to save money. They pointed out that benefits were by no means luxurious, averaging $328 a month.

In an emotional speech, Claude Pepper, D-Fla., chairman of the House Select Committee on Aging, called the bill "a tragic example of moral irresponsibility in the name of fiscal austerity. . . . Are we so destitute in America, are we so hard pressed that we have to turn to the cripple as the course of saving revenue for the next five years?" Pepper asked.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Finance Committee Nov. 8 reported its version of HR 3236 (S Rept 96-408).

While it followed the same outline as the House-passed version, it called for less stringent cutbacks in benefits to some disabled workers. The committee limited disability benefits to no more than 85 percent of a worker's previous earnings and held total family benefits, which could include payments for dependents, to no more than 160 percent of the worker's basic individual benefit.

Another provision reduced the number of "drop-out" low-earning years that could be ignored in determining each disabled worker's benefits. Saying this gave an unfair advantage to younger workers, the committee agreed to the House provision reducing the number of drop-out years for all workers under age 47. The youngest workers would be allowed the smallest number of drop-out years. The bill was slightly more generous than the House version in that it allowed workers under age 27 to have one drop-out year.

Work incentives in the Senate bill were similar to the House version. It allowed three years of Medicare coverage for disabled persons who returned to work and extended the "trial work" period during which the disabled could give work a try without losing an immediate return to benefit status should work prove impossible.

The bill also required that the federal government review at least 65 percent of cases by 1983, and do so before benefits were awarded.

SSI Disability Program. The committee turned down the provision of HR 3464 that critics said could greatly expand the scope of the SSI disability program.

As with the SSDI program, eligibility for SSI disability benefits was supposed to be limited to people who were totally disabled. Total disability was defined as inability to engage in "substantial gainful activity," which was in turn defined as work efforts that earn over $280 a month. Anyone who made over $280 was out of the program.

HR 3464 raised the definition of substantial gainful activity to $481 for an individual, and $690 for a couple. Moreover, the limit was made subject to individual variations and the cost of living.

The Finance Committee argued that the change would make a basic addition to the whole premise of the program by opening it up to people who were in fact only partially disabled. But since it agreed that the disabled needed more encouragement to work, the committee proposed a new category of aid that would help people who tried to work, without opening up the definition of the program.

The committee bill allowed disabled people who earned more than the substantial gainful activity limit to continue to receive benefits under a new, separate benefit category. The level of benefits would decrease as a recipient's income rose, and an income over the upper limit for participation in the regular SSI program would result in being dropped from the program entirely.

The committee argued that creation of the new category would not affect the program's basic character. The criteria for getting on the program would still be as tough as ever. The panel authorized the new category for only three years, and required that a separate accounting of its costs be kept.

Work Requirement. The Finance Committee used HR 3236 as a vehicle for proposing major amendments to the broader welfare system. Most importantly, it added an amendment to strengthen the work requirement for recipients for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

The amendment would build on the existing work incentive (WIN) program. Since 1971, AFDC recipients over age 16 had been required to register with WIN and accept available jobs or job training. But many critics of the welfare system said WIN was not effective in promoting work by those who were able.

The committee bill required that recipients actively go out and look for a job as well as sign up for the WIN program. Those who failed to do so would be liable to loss of benefits. The committee argued that many of those who were required to seek a job would find one, thus allowing a substantial reduction in welfare costs.

The bill also included increased federal financial assistance to state efforts to improve the management of the AFDC programs and to track down the absent fathers of welfare children.

Social Security Taxes. The committee added to HR 3236 a change in the laws governing collection of Social Security taxes that could increase the income of the Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance trust fund by $100 million a year by 1984, and possibly avoid an even larger drain on the system's finances.

In most cases, employers paid part of their employees' Social Security taxes and withheld the rest from their paychecks. But some employers agreed to pay their employees' share as well, thereby avoiding the Social Security tax withholding. This amounted to additional compensation to employees.

Under existing law, the additional compensation paid to employees in the form of Social Security tax payments by employers was itself exempt from such taxation. This meant that employees paid partly in the form of Social Security taxes ended up contributing less to the system than employees who received the additional pay in the form of extra wages.

The committee argued that this exemption, which had a fairly small effect at the time, could grow into a huge drain on the system's income if more employers and employees began to use it as a means of avoiding rising Social Security taxes. HR 3236 as reported eliminated the exemption, except in the case of domestics. ▮

Nurse Training Aid

President Carter and the nurses' lobby each scored a partial victory in 1979 in the long-running legislative battle over federal aid to the nation's nursing schools.

Carter Sept. 29 signed into law a one-year, $103 million extension of federal aid for nursing education (S 230 — PL 96-76) — half as much money, and for half the period of time, as the program approved by Congress in 1978. Carter had pocket vetoed the 1978 bill, a two-year, $206 million reauthorization, saying the funding levels were excessive and that there was no longer a need for most federal support for nurse training. *(1978 Almanac p. 595)*

Congress cleared S 230 Sept. 20. The Senate approved the conference report on the bill (H Rept 96-419) Sept. 7 and the House Sept. 20, both by voice vote.

The one-year extension was intended to continue the aid long enough to permit a general congressional review of federal aid to all health professions training. Federal aid to medical and other health professions schools was to expire in 1980.

S 230 also authorized $45 million over three years for disease prevention and health promotion programs in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and an extra $12 million for the National Health Service Corps.

Provisions

As signed into law, S 230 (PL 96-76):

Nurse Training. Extended through fiscal 1980 authorization for capitation, construction and other types of grants to nurse training schools, and loans and other financial aid for students. Authorized $103 million, including $2 million for a new program of grants for training nurse anesthetists.

- Required the secretary of health, education and welfare (HEW) to conduct a study of national nursing needs and related subjects, including the need for continued federal support to nurse education programs.

Other Health Professions. Permitted the secretary to raise to $15,000, from $10,000, the maximum amount individual students in schools of medicine, osteopathy and dentistry could borrow each year in federally insured loans. The total indebtedness allowed these students was raised to $60,000, from $50,000.

- Authorized the secretary to extend National Health Service Corps service deferrals for individuals needing more time to complete residencies or other advanced clinical training before beginning their service.
- Doubled the amount HEW could set aside for financial distress grants to health professions schools, and eliminated a requirement that second-year grants under the program be 25 percent less than first-year grants. These changes were intended primarily to aid several predominantly black health professions schools with severe financial problems.
- Authorized an additional $12 million for fiscal 1980 for the National Health Service Corps, for a total one-year authorization of $82 million.
- Barred medical or other health professions schools receiving federal funds from discriminating against applicants on the basis of their views on abortion or sterilization.
- Permitted a waiver for dental schools of mandatory increases in class sizes as a condition of eligibility for capitation grants.
- Revised certain area health education center participation requirements.
- Authorized a series of administrative changes in the Public Health Service, including authority to promote enrollment of physicians' assistants and other mid-level practitioners.
- Extended for three years, through fiscal 1982, disease prevention and health promotion programs in HEW; authorized a three-year total of $45 million for these programs.

Background

Although some nurse traineeships were authorized by Congress in 1956, comprehensive federal aid to nursing education dated from 1964. It included construction grants for new schools, project grants to upgrade training, and financial aid for students, with loan forgiveness for nurses who went to work in health care shortage areas. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 1149)*

The programs were reauthorized in 1968; 1971, when general-purpose "capitation" (per-student) grants were added, and 1975, when a series of presidential vetoes of nurse training bills began. President Ford vetoed two reauthorizations because he thought they were too expensive; Congress overrode a third veto. *(1975 Almanac p. 591)*

Like Ford, President Carter also wanted to abolish most federal aid to nursing schools. He said more than a decade of federal aid had greatly increased the numbers of nurses graduating each year and that further help for nursing schools was no longer warranted. In his fiscal 1980 budget he called for minimal funding, to continue aid only for programs training specialized nurse practitioners. He also asked Congress to rescind $167.9 million in fiscal 1979 appropriations for grants to medical, nursing and other health professions training schools.

As in the past, the nurses took their case to Congress, arguing that many areas, particularly rural regions and inner cities, still had acute shortages of nurses. Their protests won partial restoration of the rescission (Congress cut it to $46.4 million), and the one-year reprieve for the nurse training aid. *(Rescission, p. 213)*

Only 15 of the nation's 1,339 nursing schools did not receive some form of federal aid, according to HEW.

Senate Action

Committee. The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee reported S 230 April 30 (S Rept 96-101).

It said the work of nurses in "remote, economically depressed areas" and continuing shortages throughout the nation favored continuation of nurse training programs at least until new studies of national nursing needs and broader health manpower policy were completed.

In addition, both students and administrators had told the committee that without federal aid, minority and low-income students would be barred from nursing careers. A Congressional Budget Office study showed that more than two-thirds of 1974 nursing education loan recipients came from families with incomes below $10,000 a year. One-fourth were black or from other minority groups.

To make the bill acceptable to the president, the committee agreed to cut the bill's $125 million authorization to $103 million, and made certain changes in other health professions training programs. The authorization continued programs at about the levels provided by fiscal 1978 and 1979 appropriations, barring any expansion of training. The committee added $12 million to the authorization for the National Health Service Corps, as requested by the administration.

Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., objected that the bill was both inflationary and unnecessary because nursing students could get aid from other federal sources. He also said the apparent shortages of nurses reflected no more than poor working conditions, low pay and other problems at some hospitals and nursing homes.

Floor. The Senate passed S 230 by voice vote May 7.

Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., and Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., led the fight to protect the nurse training funds until studies on future nursing needs and the overall health manpower situation were completed.

Kennedy disagreed with Carter's contention that there was an adequate supply of nurses. A comprehensive na-

tional health insurance plan, long advocated by Kennedy, also presumably would increase the need for more health personnel.

Javits said there was "a surprising lack of data" that accurately evaluated and assessed future needs for nurses, but that the Department of Labor predicted growing demands for nurses in the future. He said 33 state hospital associations, out of 43 polled, reported an overall shortage of nurses.

House Action

The legislative path of the House bill was more complex, as members tried to make the nursing measure a vehicle for several unrelated programs.

Committee. The House Commerce Committee May 15 reported two bills: HR 3633 (H Rept 96-183), similar to the Senate nurse training measure but lacking the health information reauthorization, and HR 3641 (H Rept 96-184), a health information bill that, like the Senate measure, continued the programs for three years, with a total authorization of $45 million.

HR 3641 also authorized $7.5 million for three years for federal physical fitness and sports medicine programs. Congress in 1978 had authorized these programs for fiscal 1980 and 1981 but the House committee wanted to continue them through 1982 so they would expire at the same time as other disease prevention and health promotion programs. *(1978 Almanac p. 611)*

HR 3641 also contained a $45 million authorization for fiscal 1980 for two expiring community mental health center programs.

Floor. The House passed the nursing bill (HR 3633) July 27 by a 344-6 vote, first rejecting by a 12-341 vote an amendment by William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif., to slash the $103 million authorization to $14.7 million. *(Votes 358, 359, p. 106-H)*

Dannemeyer said that was the amount President Carter had requested in his budget. He said the number of nurses had risen in 10 years from 300 per 100,000 population to 395 per 100,000 (in 1977). Given this improved ratio, Carter's request was "all that is needed now in the way of federal assistance," he said.

Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., chairman of the House Commerce Subcommittee on Health, argued that there were nurse shortages, and that Dannemeyer's amendment would "only increase an already acute problem." Carl D. Pursell, R-Mich., said the Carter administration had used outdated, seven-year-old statistics to justify its cuts in nursing education funds.

The House by voice vote adopted two amendments by Raymond F. Lederer, D-Pa. One permitted a waiver for dental schools of a requirement that they increase class sizes to qualify for federal capitation support (all-purpose grants based on enrollment); only schools whose accreditation would be threatened by larger class sizes could apply for the waiver. The other prohibited schools from discriminating in admissions against individuals on the basis of their views on abortion or sterilization.

Earlier, by a 317-35 vote on July 16, the House passed HR 3641. As passed, the bill included the substance of still another measure (HR 1650) reported by the Commerce Committee May 15 (H Rept 96-192). That bill authorized $5.7 million for new research and information programs in digestive diseases. *(Vote 304, p. 90-H)*

Conference Action

Conferees on the nursing bill retained a House proposal to halve a $4 million authorization for construction funds and to put the $2 million thus "saved" into a new program of grants to train nurse-anesthetists. They also retained the Senate's decision to boost funding for the National Health Service Corps, and most of a series of technical changes affecting administration of the Public Health Service.

The conferees stuck with the Senate's simple three-year, $45 million extension of health information programs, instead of substituting HR 3641, as proposed by House conferees. Thus the mental health and digestive disease authorizations were not included in the bill. Senate conferee Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said other vehicles for those authorizations would be found later. ▮

Domestic Violence

The House Dec. 12 approved a new federal program to aid victims of domestic violence (physical abuse of family members). The bill (HR 2977), authorizing $65 million over three years, passed by a 292-106 vote. *(Vote 643, p. 190-H)*

The strong support for the measure was something of a surprise because a similar, if more expensive, bill had been rejected by the House in 1978. *(1978 Almanac p. 580)*

HR 2977 was a scaled-down version that provided a lower level of authorizations, lasted for fewer years, and included a number of Republican-sponsored committee amendments. Bill manager Paul Simon, D-Ill., noted also the strong support from women's groups. "They did a lot of spade work on this one," he said.

Once it was brought up with careful preparation and under normal procedures — as it was not in 1978 — the bill benefited from the obvious political appeal of efforts to counter domestic violence. As Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., said, "It is very difficult for a politician . . . to vote against a bill such as this and open one's self to be charged with voting for domestic violence."

The Education and Labor Committee reported HR 2977 (H Rept 96-613) Nov. 13.

Provisions. The bill established a program of grants to local government or private non-profit agencies seeking to prevent domestic violence and aid its victims. It authorized $15 million in fiscal 1981, $20 million in 1982 and $30 million in 1983. The money, funnelled through state governments, would go to centers set up to give emergency shelter and care to the victims of domestic violence. These shelters were used most frequently by women and their children, who were fleeing physically abusive husbands. The centers could also use the money to provide counseling and other services to families that wished to remain together.

Intended by sponsors to be "seed money" encouraging local efforts aimed at reducing domestic violence, the bill provided limited aid to individual centers. To obtain a grant, a center would have to come up with other funding so that the federal grant made up no more than 25 percent of its budget. The only exception would be newly established private centers, which could get up to 50 percent of their funding from the federal government in their first year. Grants in each case were limited to $50,000 a year.

The bill made clear that none of the money was to go for direct compensation for domestic violence victims.

Supporters of HR 2977 argued that domestic violence was such a serious national problem, responsible for a quar-

ter of the murders in the country, that intervention by the federal government was necessary. They said existing local efforts were seriously underfunded and unable to respond to the needs of many battered women.

Opponents said the federal government had no business getting involved, even indirectly, in the problems of violent families. That was the concern of local governments, they said, noting that in any case the federal government already had a number of programs that dealt with the problem.

Amendments. The House turned down a series of amendments to the bill, accepting by voice vote only an amendment that made clear that the program would end after three years.

Robert S. Walker, R-Pa., offered a substitute amendment to establish a $45 million program of block grants to state domestic violence efforts. It would have consolidated under the National Clearinghouse on Domestic Violence existing federal programs in agencies such as the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration. The amendment was rejected by a 148-247 vote. *(Vote 641, p. 190-H)*

The House also rejected an amendment by Ken Kramer, R-Colo., giving state legislatures the right to terminate federal funding of domestic violence programs in their states at any time. It lost by a vote of 142-251. *(Vote 642, p. 190-H)* ▮

Welfare Reform

For the first time in nine years, the House in 1979 approved legislation making major changes in the nation's welfare system.

The bill (HR 4904), passed Nov. 7, established for the first time a national minimum benefit level for all welfare recipients, and required all states to permit two-parent families to receive aid if the principal wage-earner was unemployed.

The 222-184 House vote was a victory for the Carter administration's decision to seek step-by-step changes in welfare, rather than a wholesale restructuring of the system.

The administration had proposed a much more comprehensive welfare reform bill in 1977. That bill, which would have combined the existing Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and food stamps into a single new program, died at the end of the 95th Congress. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 471; 1978 Almanac p. 600)*

Learning from that failure, the administration came back in 1979 with a scaled-down plan that retained the existing structure of welfare programs. Unburdened by the political difficulties involved in a wholesale revamping of the entire welfare system, HR 4904 went through the House with relative ease.

Another reason for the bill's success was its lower cost. While the 1977 plan would have added an estimated $17 billion to federal welfare costs in fiscal 1982, the 1979 proposal, including a separate welfare jobs proposal, carried an expected additional cost of about $5.7 billion.

Still another factor in the House victory was the fact that the bill was considered under a virtually closed rule, barring controversial amendments.

The last time the House approved major changes in the welfare system was in 1970, when it passed President Nixon's proposed Family Assistance Plan. That plan foundered in the Senate, however.

Despite House passage of Carter's proposal, it faced serious obstacles in the Senate. The Senate Finance Committee took no action on it in 1979. Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., favored an alternative bill (S 1382), which would substitute block grants to states for the existing system of federal matching payments.

Moreover, the second part of Carter's plan, a new jobs program for welfare recipients, was not as successful as HR 4904. The bill (HR 4425), which would provide 600,000 jobs to heads of welfare families, got only as far as hearings before the House Education and Labor Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities.

Two Types of Reform

As approved by the House, HR 4904 contained elements of both of the two conflicting views of the real meaning of welfare reform. To some people, reform meant increasing benefits and moving toward greater uniformity among state welfare systems. To others, it meant reducing welfare costs and increasing the emphasis on getting recipients to work if they can.

On the one hand, the bill increased welfare benefits in some states, expanded coverage, and eased the fiscal burden on states.

It required all states to provide AFDC benefits that, in conjunction with food stamps, would give each household an income equal to at least 65 percent of the federally defined poverty level. That would give a non-farm family of four total benefits of about $4,650 a year, based on 1979 estimates by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). Under existing law, states set their own welfare benefits; they ranged from 49 to 96 percent of the poverty level. Thirteen states, all in the South and Southwest, were paying less than the proposed federal minimum.

States also were required to offer help to two-parent families with children when the principal wage-earner was unemployed.

As an important element in the bill's political support, it increased federal contributions to state welfare costs by some $900 million.

On the other hand, the bill cut benefits to some recipients, tightened administration and increased incentives to work. To aid the working poor, it included a scaled-down version of the administration's proposed expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit.

Supporters called the bill a carefully balanced package that made some needed changes without taking on any fundamental alteration of the system. They argued that the federal government had a responsibility to ensure that states provided the poorest of the poor with at least a minimum of help.

Opponents responded that the bill was the first step toward a profound change in the system, by leading it toward ultimate total control by the federal government. "This is an irreversible federalization of the welfare system," said James R. Jones, D-Okla. Added Barber B. Conable Jr., R-N.Y.: "The bill leads the welfare program in the wrong direction. It moves us several steps closer to [a] uniform, national income redistribution program."

Although welfare recipients themselves were not an organized lobbying factor, the bill was backed by the National Governors' Association, welfare administrators and some labor unions. There was little organized lobbying opposition.

House Committee Action

The House Ways and Means Committee reported HR 4904 Sept. 20 (H Rept 96-451) after approving it by a 21-14 vote Sept. 13. The bill was similar to the cash assistance portion of the administration's welfare reform proposal, announced May 23. *(Text, p. 33-E)*

Committee approval came on a basically party-line vote, with all but three Democratic members backing the bill and the Republicans unanimously opposed. The Democrats who voted against the bill were Jones; J. J. Pickle, Texas, and Ed Jenkins, Ga.

Committee Chairman Al Ullman, D-Ore., who had opposed the original administration proposal, agreed to cosponsor this one, with Public Assistance Subcommittee Chairman James C. Corman, D-Calif. To win Ullman's support and get the bill through the House, Corman agreed not to expand it or its costs in subcommittee.

Block Grants Rejected

Before approving HR 4904, the Ways and Means Committee turned down Republican attempts to decentralize the welfare system by giving states much greater control over distribution of benefits.

It rejected by a 13-23 vote a proposal by John H. Rousselot, R-Calif., to substitute block grants to states for the existing system of federal matching payments for state welfare spending. The block grant idea, as embodied in two major alternatives to the Carter proposal (HR 4460, S 1382), attempted to save federal money by providing each state with a fixed payment to cover its welfare costs.

The committee also turned down a proposal to try out the block grants on a limited, demonstration basis. An amendment by Bill Gradison, R-Ohio, would have allowed six states to receive block grants for two to five years.

Rousselot came much nearer to success when he attempted to strengthen the work requirements for welfare recipients. The committee voted 16-18 against his amendment to give states the right to design their own work requirements, which in many cases would be tougher than the existing federal standards.

The committee also decided to seek to limit the options of Republican critics of the bill when it got to the floor. It directed Ullman to ask the Rules Committee for a closed rule prohibiting amendments.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 4904 Nov. 7 by a 222-184 vote. *(Vote 567, p. 166-H)*

The measure had been in much greater danger than the margin of victory suggested. Sponsors beat back by only five votes a move by Republicans and conservative Democrats to let states design their own work requirements for welfare recipients — a move that would have threatened or killed the bill.

Indeed, the strong support for the Republican proposal suggested that the key vote actually occurred on Nov. 1, when the House approved a rule for consideration of the bill that allowed only one, non-controversial amendment to be offered on the floor. The bill could have been in serious trouble if it had been opened up to amendments by members eager to make cost savings in the welfare system.

The rule (H Res 465) was approved by a 202-181 vote, after the House voted 209-177 to move the previous question, thus cutting off further debate on the rule. Republicans were sharply critical of the rule, denouncing the strategy of bringing a multi-billion-dollar bill to the floor with virtually no opportunity to change it. *(Votes 559, 560, p. 164-H)*

Critics of HR 4904 came very close to making a crucial change in the bill on a motion by Bill Archer, R-Texas, to recommit it with instructions. The motion was rejected by a 200-205 vote. *(Vote 566, p. 166-H)*

Archer's motion would have added to the bill a scaled-down version of HR 4460 that would have put a permanent cap on federal welfare costs and allowed states more control over their welfare systems. The proposal would have established a demonstration program for giving federal welfare money to states in the form of block grants, to spend as they pleased, as long as they helped children and families with children. Eight states and three counties would have been given the chance to run systems of their own design for five years.

The other part of the proposal would have let all states design their own work requirements for welfare recipients. The only limitation was that parents who were caring for children under age 6 would not be required to work unless adequate day care was available.

The only amendment offered on the floor allowed states to provide cash, in lieu of food stamps, to households containing only individuals over age 65 and who were not eligible for Supplemental Security Income payments. Proposed by James M. Jeffords, R-Vt., it was adopted 406-2. *(Vote 565, p. 166-H)*

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 4904:

Title I — Cash Assistance

- Simplified the formula by which welfare eligibility and benefits are computed. Replaced the existing rules governing the amount of earned income that could be deducted from AFDC family incomes with the following: for determining eligibility, 20 percent of monthly earnings, plus child care expenses up to $160 a month per child; for determining benefits, $70 a month, plus 20 percent of gross earnings (for work expenses), plus one-third of remaining earnings, plus child care expenses up to $160 a month per child. For unemployed two-parent families, it allowed deduction of 20 percent of gross monthly earnings in determining eligibility, and $70 a month, plus 20 percent of gross earnings, in determining benefits.
- Allowed additional earned income deductions for families in states with low AFDC benefits.
- Required that income that was reported late or inaccurately by the recipient not be eligible for the earned income deduction.
- Allowed states to reduce benefits for shelter and utility costs to children who lived with relatives not legally responsible for their support.
- Standardized, within certain limits, the kinds and amounts of property that welfare families could own and still remain eligible for benefits.
- Delayed eligibility for benefits to persons who sold, at less than market value, property that would have made them ineligible for benefits.
- Required states, beginning in fiscal 1982, to provide benefits to two-parent families in which the principal earner was unemployed, or earned less than $500 a month,

and met other eligibility criteria; required termination of benefits if the principal earner declined employment.

- Required states, beginning in fiscal 1982, to provide AFDC payments that, in combination with food stamp benefits, equaled 65 percent of the official poverty income level.
- Established procedures for protecting the rights of welfare recipients, such as requiring deadlines for decisions on applications for aid and requiring advance notice of any effort to cut off benefits.
- Required states to determine benefits on the basis of each family's income in the preceding month, a procedure known as monthly retrospective income accounting.
- Established a new federal entitlement program, authorized initially at $200 million a year and adjusted annually for inflation, to provide block grants to states to assist in helping low-income families with children meet emergency needs caused by accidents, disasters or other unforeseen events.
- Provided for increased federal financial participation in the welfare system by reducing by 10 percent each state's share of all AFDC costs, beginning Jan. 1, 1981; reduced by an additional 20 percent, beginning Oct. 1, 1981, each state's share of AFDC costs for unemployed two-parent families.
- Ensured, for the period Jan. 1, 1981, through Sept. 30, 1986, that no state's AFDC costs would exceed 95 percent of its AFDC costs in fiscal 1979.
- Authorized establishment of national standards for state AFDC administrative costs, which are partially reimbursed by the federal government.
- Authorized increased federal assistance to state efforts to improve AFDC administration through mechanization and innovative management techniques.
- Provided that states that were required by the act to extend AFDC coverage to unemployed two-parent families for the first time would not have to offer Medicaid coverage to those families.
- Provided $150 million to states to help them implement the changes required by the bill.
- Gave Congress the right to veto, by concurrent resolution, any regulations issued to implement the bill.
- Increased to 11 percent, from 10 percent in existing law, the earned income tax credit on the first $5,000 of earned income.
- Authorized the Agriculture Department to conduct demonstration projects involving payments of cash, in lieu of food stamps, to AFDC families.
- Gave states the option of asking the Agriculture Department to provide cash, in lieu of food stamps, to households in which all members were age 65 or over.

Title II — Supplemental Security Income

- Required, beginning in fiscal 1982, payment of cash in lieu of food stamps to recipients of Supplemental Security Income (SSI) who lived alone, or with an SSI-eligible spouse, or in a household containing only SSI recipients.
- Reduced to one month, from six months, the length of time that a husband and wife, both of whom were eligible for SSI, had to live apart in order to receive benefits as single individuals.
- Allowed the wages that SSI recipients received for working in rehabilitative sheltered workshops to be considered as earned income, and therefore eligible to be partially deducted from gross income, for the purposes of determining the level of benefits.
- Delayed eligibility for benefits to persons who sold, at less than market value, property that would have made them ineligible for benefits.
- Required that the income of the sponsor of an alien living in the United States be considered in determining whether the alien was eligible for SSI benefits.
- Extended through fiscal 1982 the authorization for the program of social services to disabled children who received SSI benefits.
- Required that the level of SSI benefits be determined on a monthly rather than quarterly basis.

Title III — Other Changes

- Authorized the Social Security Administration to disclose to other federal and state officials tax information obtained from the Internal Revenue Service, in order to assist in tracking down and collecting from persons who owed child support payments.

Title IV — Child Support Enforcement

- Authorized federal matching payments for state child support enforcement agencies seeking to collect alimony for AFDC mothers.
- Authorized on a permanent basis federal matching payments to state child support enforcement agencies seeking to collect child support for families not on AFDC. (Federal matching for child support enforcement for AFDC families already was permanently authorized.)
- Authorized federal incentive payments, equal to 15 percent of the amount collected, to states that recovered child support payments on behalf of AFDC recipients; eliminated the existing 15 percent incentives for states that collected child support payments for AFDC recipients who lived in other states. ▮

Refugee Education Aid

Congress Nov. 16 approved emergency funds for the education of the the latest wave of Indochinese refugees. The fiscal 1980 continuing appropriations resolution (H J Res 440 — PL 96-123) included $12 million for school districts, mostly in California, Texas, Louisiana and Virginia, that were struggling to cope with the unexpected influx of immigrant students, many of them "boat people." *(Continuing resolution, p. 269)*

The action came shortly after William H. Natcher, D-Ky., chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor-Health, Education and Welfare, blocked the Carter administration's request to aid refugee education by reprogramming $6 million in funds already appropriated for other education programs.

Some education lobbyists opposed reprogramming for fear the administration would not follow through on its promise to repay the other education programs via a future supplemental appropriation. The administration argued that reprogramming appropriated funds would get aid out to schools faster.

The refugee education aid program was first enacted in 1975 because large numbers of refugee children in some areas put a heavy burden on local school systems. Because of language and adjustment problems, each Indochinese student cost a school district about $800 more a year to educate than other children. *(1975 Almanac p. 315)* ▮

Handicapped Job Bias

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee Sept. 13 reported a bill that would give handicapped persons the same protection against discrimination on the job that was already provided to minorities and women. The Senate did not act on the measure in 1979.

The bill (S 446 — S Rept 96-316) would extend the employment discrimination prohibitions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to cover the estimated 15 million handicapped adults not in institutions. Title VII of the 1964 act banned employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 1635)*

The bill would apply to businesses with 15 or more employees — an estimated 700,000 in all, as well as to about 30,000 state and local governments and 50,000 unions and union locals.

Although the committee said it expected employers to make a "reasonable accommodation" to the special needs of handicapped employees, such as buying specialized equipment or making workplace modifications to help them do their jobs, the bill had drawn little opposition from business.

The committee stressed that the bill was intended to apply only to people who had long-lasting physical or mental problems that interfered with important parts of their lives. It specifically excluded persons with drug or alcohol problems and those with minor problems that posed only short-term employment difficulties.

Supporters of the bill said it would help remedy the severe employment problems faced by the disabled. Only about half of all disabled adults had jobs. Organizations of disabled persons argued that their job problems stemmed not so much from their physical or mental limitations as from the ignorance and prejudice of many employers. Even if they did get jobs, the handicapped were often stuck in low-paying menial jobs.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce opposed the bill, in part because it would be enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), with which some Chamber members had had negative experiences.

The bill would give the handicapped the right to ask for help from the EEOC when they felt they had been denied a job for which they were qualified solely because of their handicap.

The Congressional Budget Office estimated the EEOC would receive about 11,000 additional complaints a year as a result of the bill. ▮

House Kills Carter Hospital Cost Control Plan

The House Nov. 15 emphatically rejected President Carter's hospital cost containment bill (HR 2626), adopting instead a substitute that White House Press Secretary Jody Powell termed "a joke."

The House dumped cost controls entirely and by a 234-166 vote, with 99 Democrats voting against the president, adopted a substitute that simply created a national study commission on hospital costs and authorized some funds for state cost control programs. *(Vote 593, p. 176-H)*

The substitute was sponsored on the floor by a respected young Democrat and Carter supporter, Richard A. Gephardt, Mo., although it had been pushed in committee by Republicans.

It was a major legislative defeat for the president, who had called the bill his top-priority anti-inflation measure of the year and had personally lobbied for it. Under his proposal, which he had pushed for three years, the federal government would regulate hospital revenues if the industry failed through voluntary efforts to keep spending at a set annual rate of increase.

After opting for the study commission and rejecting a move to kill even that legislative gesture by recommitting it to committee, the House voted 321-75 to pass the bill. *(Vote 594, p. 176-H)*

Republican members wanted to recommit the bill for fear that if Democratic supporters had anything at all entitled "cost control" to take to conference with the Senate, the House could still face a strong cost control bill in 1980. But Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., chairman of the House Commerce Subcommittee on Health, a co-sponsor of the administration bill, said the very large House vote against Carter's plan meant that it was "most likely" dead.

House leaders had warned Carter he did not have the votes to win, but he insisted the bill be brought to the floor before Congress left for its Thanksgiving recess. Despite ominous vote counts, the White House apparently believed the inflation issue would bring members around at the last minute.

The president's initial reaction to the vote was "unprintable," according to Powell. Powell later characterized the House action as a "victory for the highly financed special interest [hospital] lobby and a defeat for the common good."

Hospital organizations, the American Medical Association (AMA) and business groups had run a sophisticated, sustained campaign against cost control legislation since Carter first proposed it in 1977. They agreed that rising hospital costs were a problem, but said the industry preferred to deal with them voluntarily.

When it came to the floor, HR 2626 was a considerably weaker version than the 1977 bill, scaled down considerably by the president to broaden congressional support for it and then watered down further by the House Commerce and Ways and Means committees.

So many exemptions were included that well over half of the nation's hospitals would never have come under the plan's mandatory controls.

Of the four congressional committees with jurisdiction over the bill, only the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee reported it relatively intact in 1979. The Senate Finance Committee rejected Carter's plan, approving instead a revision of Medicare and Medicaid hospital payments only (HR 934).

The administration did not press for a Senate vote on mandatory controls in 1979, reportedly because it did not have the votes to win. Several conservative senators had threatened to filibuster any cost control measure that came to the floor.

As for the future of hospital cost control legislation, the administration indicated it would attempt to make mandatory controls part of any national health insurance plan Congress passed.

Background

In recent years hospital costs had been rising at a rate more than twice that of the overall cost of living, and were a major component of soaring health care costs that were burdening individuals, business, insurers and the federal government, which paid medical and hospital costs for the elderly, poor and disabled under the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

If current trends continued, the House Ways and Means Committee said in its report on HR 2626, the nation would be spending nearly $146 billion a year on hospital care by fiscal 1984, a 76 percent increase over the estimated fiscal 1979 figure of $83 billion. (In 1965, the year Medicare was enacted, hospital expenditures were $13.2 billion.)

President Carter began his push for mandatory hospital cost control legislation in 1977. In that year hospital costs were increasing at an annual rate of 15.6 percent, compared to an overall inflation rate of 6.8 percent. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 499)*

The Senate passed a mandatory cost control measure late in the 95th Congress, but the House Commerce Committee gutted the bill and it was never brought to the House floor. *(1978 Almanac p. 619)*

1979 Administration Proposal

Carter sent his 1979 proposal to Congress March 6 (HR 2626, S 570). The legislation provided for mandatory revenue controls beginning in 1980, if the hospital industry as a whole failed during 1979 to hold revenues to a 9.7 percent rate of increase. The annual rate of increase would be adjusted for inflation in the cost of goods and services hospitals had to buy. An extra 1.8 percent increase would be allowed for increases in population or new hospital services.

Even if the mandatory program were triggered in, about 57 percent of U.S. hospitals could escape controls under a variety of exemptions in Carter's plan, according to then-Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr. Exemptions included hospitals in states with successful mandatory or voluntary cost control programs; hospitals that individually met the voluntary goal; small, non-urban hospitals; hospitals less than three years old, and HMO hospitals (those serving prepaid group medical practices). *(Cost control message, p. 14-E)*

Despite the exemptions, the bill would save an estimated $1.4 billion in federal spending in the first year of mandatory controls, with most of the savings coming from "a small minority of hospitals who are...profligate" in spending, Califano said. Total federal savings for fiscal years 1980-84 would be $21.8 billion, and overall savings for both private and public payers for that period would be $53.4 billion, according to Califano.

The president challenged Congress to demonstrate its commitment to fighting inflation by acting quickly on the bill. With inflation threatening the "basic societal structure" of the nation, Congress should disregard special interest pressures and pass the legislation, Carter said. He blamed the hospital lobby for the defeat of the earlier bill, and said the industry lobby was "even more determined and equally well financed" in 1979.

Lobbying

The White House coordinated the lobbying for its bill in 1979, unlike 1977 when it left that job to HEW and was criticized for doing a poor selling job. A coalition of several dozen organizations representing the health insurance industry, labor, the elderly and state and local governments was organized to work for passage. The administration also tried to win the support of big business organizations such as the Business Roundtable, but generally those groups opposed the bill.

Lobbying against the bill was led by the two major industry organizations, the Federation of American Hospitals and the American Hospital Association (AHA), and the AMA. They argued that Carter's proposal would be a regulatory nightmare, putting an excessive and costly recordkeeping burden on hospitals; would unfairly single out the hospital industry for price controls, and was unnecessary because the industry's "Voluntary Effort" campaign was already bringing down the rate of hospital cost inflation. They also suggested the bill would harm health care in the United States by forcing hospitals to curtail services to keep down costs.

The hospitals' Voluntary Effort had lowered the rate of increase in hospital costs to 12.8 percent in 1978 and 13.3 percent in 1979, their figures showed.

Senate Committee Action

Labor and Human Resources. The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee approved S 570 June 13 by an 11-4 vote. No report was filed, since the Finance Committee, which shared jurisdiction, did not order the bill reported.

The Human Resources bill stuck closely to President Carter's plan, differing in these respects: it eliminated a national advisory commission; it specified certain exemptions which the Carter bill left up to the discretion of the secretary of HEW; it included a "sunset" provision ending the program after five years; it contained an "anti-dumping" provision similar to one added to HR 2626 by House Ways and Means Health Subcommittee Chairman Charles B. Rangel, D-N.Y., to prevent hospitals from refusing to accept poor, uninsured patients or those with problems costly to treat, and it stipulated that the voluntary limit on hospital spending could not go below a fixed number. (The administration formula was based on the rate of inflation.)

The committee bill did not include a national cap on hospital capital investments, as had been proposed at one time by committee staff.

The committee added only one amendment to the bill as approved May 16 by Edward M. Kennedy's, D-Mass., Health Subcommittee. That amendment, proposed by Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., was meant to keep HEW from meddling in the management of hospitals seeking exemptions from mandatory hospital spending controls.

The committee rejected three amendments by ranking Republican Richard S. Schweiker, Pa. One would have cut back on the "wage passthrough" provision, which excluded blue-collar hospital workers' wages from calculations on whether hospitals met voluntary or mandatory spending controls. Schweiker said omitting wages from cost calculations was inconsistent with the bill's goal of containing costs. The passthrough provision had been added by the administration to enlist the support of organized labor for the bill.

The other Schweiker amendments would have permitted hospitals greater leeway in adding new services or equipment and would have allowed them to pass through

the costs of complying with government regulations, including the cost control bill.

Voting against reporting S 570 were Schweiker, Humphrey, Orrin G. Hatch, Utah, and William L. Armstrong, Colo., all Republicans.

Provisions

As approved by the Labor and Human Resources Committee May 16, S 570:

• **Voluntary Program.** Required the secretary of HEW, by January 1980 and each year thereafter, to estimate the national voluntary limit for hospital spending increases based on increases in hospital expenses for the preceding year, and to establish the final limit by April.

• Provided that the voluntary limit be based on three factors: a national "market basket" of price increases for hospital goods and services, except for wage increases of non-supervisory hospital workers; the rate of U.S. population increase in the preceding year; a 1 percent allowance (or more, at the secretary's discretion) for increases in intensity of services.

• Set a minimum 1979 voluntary limit of 10.9 percent (the increase in 1979 spending over 1978). In future years, the limit could not go lower than it was the year before.

• Required the HEW secretary, before July 1980, to establish an individual voluntary limit on increases in spending for each hospital. The formula was similar to the national formula except that the population allowance would be based on state data. It included adjustments to account for different hospital accounting years.

• **Standby Mandatory Program.** Required the secretary to determine by July 1 of each year whether U.S. hospitals collectively had kept their spending under the voluntary limit during the preceding year; also required him to determine whether states and individual hospitals had kept hospital spending under state or individual voluntary limits.

• Provided for a national mandatory annual limit on increases in hospital revenues from all payers, to take effect in 1980 or any year thereafter if the nation's hospitals as a group failed to meet the national voluntary limit in the preceding year. Hospitals in states meeting the limit and individual hospitals meeting their own limits would be exempt from the mandatory program.

• Required the secretary to establish a mandatory limit for each hospital subject to the mandatory program, calculated on area increases in the costs of the hospital's market basket of goods and services, with a pass-through for wages of non-supervisory employees. A hospital could request adjustments ("exceptions") of its limit for efficiency; for changes in volume of admissions or case mix; changes in the amount or type of services offered, including costs associated with closing or converting excess beds to other uses, if the changes were approved by federal health planning agencies; for unanticipated energy price increases, and for other factors, at the discretion of the secretary. To determine efficiency, the secretary would compare a hospital to others of its type. "Efficient" hospitals could win a "bonus" allowance in their limit and "inefficient" hospitals could be penalized with a tighter limit.

• Stipulated that if HEW did not act on an exception request within 90 days, it would be considered approved. Made hospitals with exceptions subject to HEW review of their operations.

• Exempted from the national mandatory program hospitals in states with their own mandatory programs, if the state programs met certain criteria. States starting their own programs after enactment could be exempt if they included a wage pass-through in their program. States with programs at the time of enactment were not required to pass through wages. Authorized $10 million for fiscal 1980 and sums as necessary for fiscal 1981-83 for grants to states for state programs.

• Authorized the secretary to exempt from mandatory controls hospitals conducting cost-control or similar types of experimental programs (except biomedical research).

• **Penalties, Anti-Dumping.** Authorized tax penalties for hospital payments exceeding the mandatory limit, to be paid by both the hospital and the payer. Permitted hospitals to deposit the tax in an escrow account and draw upon it to bring down patient charges in future years.

• Prohibited hospitals from changing admissions practices to refuse admission or emergency care to persons who were uninsured, less than fully insured, or had unusually costly problems.

• Authorized individuals or institutions to file complaints about admissions policy changes with HEW. Authorized HEW to withold Medicaid and child health funds and reduce Medicare funds for hospitals found guilty. Authorized appeals by hospitals.

• **General Provisions.** Excluded from the program hospitals less than three years old; chronic care hospitals with average patient stays of over 30 days; non-urban hospitals with admissions of 4,000 or less per year; psychiatric, federal and federally qualified HMO hospitals.

• Authorized health systems agencies to collect and publish annually the rates for 25 of the most frequently used hospital services in a state. Required hospitals to supply the information, and prohibited certificate-of-need applications from hospitals withholding the information.

• Set expiration for the program on Dec. 31, 1984.

Senate Finance Committee Action

The Senate Finance Committee July 12 flatly rejected Carter's plan to limit the hospital revenue increases. Instead it agreed to report a bill (HR 934) that would only limit Medicare and Medicaid payments to hospitals — something the Department of HEW had already moved to do administratively. *(HR 934, story, this chapter)*

The committee had informally decided on this option weeks before, but the vote was delayed. When it finally voted July 12, it agreed by an 11-9 vote to kill the president's plan. Three Democrats and Independent Harry F. Byrd Jr., Va., joined an almost solid bloc of Republican members in voting against the president. John H. Chafee,

Finance Committee Vote

Following is the 11-9 vote by which the Senate Finance Committee tabled President Carter's hospital cost control plan July 12:

Against the plan (11): Democrats Talmadge, Ga.; Gravel, Alaska, and Bentsen, Texas; Independent Byrd, Va.; Republicans Dole, Kan.; Packwood, Ore.; Roth, Del.; Danforth, Mo.; Heinz, Pa.; Wallop, Wyo., and Durenberger, Minn.

For the plan (9): Democrats Long, La.; Ribicoff, Conn.; Nelson, Wis.; Matsunaga, Hawaii; Moynihan, N.Y.; Baucus, Mont.; Boren, Okla., and Bradley, N.J.; Republican Chafee, R.I.

R.I., was the only Republican who supported the Carter plan. *(Committee vote, box, preceding page)*

Robert Dole, R-Kan., made the motion to table the compromise version of the president's original plan, which was offered by Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis.

Instead of saving more than $50 billion over five years, as the administration claimed its plan would do, the Finance Committee bill would save less than $1 billion, according to a Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimate. (CBO estimated the five-year savings from Carter's plan at $32 billion.)

The Finance Committee bill incorporated cost-saving and other changes in Medicare and Medicaid programs introduced as S 505, S 507 and as informal committee staff suggestions, and attached them to HR 934, a House-passed private relief bill.

House Committee Action

Fulfilling the congressional leadership's promise to the president to act expeditiously on cost control legislation, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., set a July 1 deadline for the two House committees to act on HR 2626. He had to extend the deadline several times.

The bill was moved through the Ways and Means Committee first, since that panel was seen as less hostile to cost control than the Commerce Committee. The Ways and Means Health Subcommittee was the first of the four congressional health subcommittees to act, approving the bill April 25 by a 6-3 party-line vote.

But full committee markup, scheduled in early May, was postponed when it became apparent that, even with substantial compromises, there were not enough votes in committee to keep the bill from being bottled up, gutted or killed. At least seven committee Democrats had indicated they might side with the Republicans against the bill.

The administration was reluctant to accept further compromises. Some House members already were beginning to suggest that the bill had been so loaded with exemptions it was hardly worth passing anyway.

The committee finally took up the bill July 11.

Ways and Means Committee Action

On July 17, the House Ways and Means Committee approved a much-amended version of the bill (HR 2626) by a 22-14 vote. The committee report was filed Aug. 1 (H Rept 96-404, Part 1).

During four days of markup (July 11-13, 17) the committee riddled the bill with exceptions and exemptions, cut its savings by a third and added a one-house veto provision. Altogether, the Health Subcommittee and the full committee added more than 30 amendments to the bill, most of them ensuring special treatment for certain hospitals in members' districts. CBO said the bill as reported would save about $23.5 billion over four years.

The administration itself offered 21 compromise amendments, fine-tuning various exemptions and adjustments, substituting the hospital industry's own 1979 goal for spending restraint as the minimum in the bill, and retracting much of the discretionary authority given to the secretary of HEW in the original bill.

The committee accepted all those amendments, but it didn't stop there. Sponsor Rangel, chairman of the health subcommittee, had to swallow some damaging changes. His five-year sunset provision was cut to four, the committee agreed 19-17 to Ed Jenkins', D-Ga., proposal for a one-house legislative veto, and more exceptions and exemptions were written into the bill.

Although the administration managed to steer the bill through the closely divided committee, it lost a bid to head off further attacks on the measure when it reached the floor. The committee refused to go along with a rule permitting only three amendments to be offered on the floor. Instead, it insisted on an open rule, which allows members to offer any amendments they wish.

That apparently accounted for the relatively large vote for reporting the bill. Only a few days earlier, committee sponsors had put off a final vote on cost control for fear they did not have the votes to win.

Two committee Democrats, Gephardt and Ken Holland, D-S.C., voted with a unanimous bloc of Republican members against reporting the bill. *(Committee vote, box, this page)*

And "some of the people voting for it [in committee] might not vote for it on the floor," noted committee Chairman Al Ullman, D-Ore.

Administration officials saw the Ways and Means action as an important victory for the president, despite committee moves to water down the bill. "It's a hell of a lot more than a shell," said Califano. "It's a $30 billion victory for the American people." (Califano's savings estimate differed from the lower CBO figure. Using different economic assumptions, CBO had consistently predicted smaller savings from the hospital measure, to the displeasure of administration lobbyists.)

As reported by Ways and Means, HR 2626 authorized standby mandatory controls on hospital inpatient revenues if hospitals failed to keep 1979 spending from rising more than 11.6 percent above 1978 spending. Because of the exemptions it added to the administration bill, HEW officials said mandatory controls would cover only 35 to 40 percent of the nation's hospitals under the bill.

The committee added exceptions or exemptions for hospitals in Alaska and Hawaii, Shriners' and other hospitals that provided free care, children's hospitals that got most of their revenues from foundations or gifts, specialized regional hospitals, psychiatric hospitals and hospitals with extra costs for security guards, among others.

The committee rejected by 20-16 votes a motion by Holland to recommit the bill to subcommittee, and one by Bill Gradison, R-Ohio, to report the 1978 House Commerce Committee version of the bill instead. That bill was the

Ways and Means Vote

Following is the vote by which the House Ways and Means Committee ordered reported HR 2626, the hospital cost control bill:

YEA (22): Democrats Ullman, Ore.; Rostenkowski, Ill.; Vanik, Ohio; Corman, Calif.; Gibbons, Fla.; Pickle, Texas; Rangel, N.Y.; Cotter, Conn.; Stark, Calif.; Jones, Okla.; Jacobs, Ind.; Mikva, Ill.; Fisher, Va.; Ford, Tenn.; Brodhead, Mich.; Jenkins, Ga.; Lederer, Pa.; Downey, N.Y.; Heftel, Hawaii; Fowler, Ga.; Guarini, N.J., and Shannon, Mass.

NAY (14): Democrats Holland, S.C., and Gephardt, Mo.; Republicans Conable, N.Y.; Duncan, Tenn.; Archer, Texas; Vander Jagt, Mich.; Crane, Ill.; Frenzel, Minn.; Martin, N.C.; Bafalis, Fla.; Schulze, Pa.; Gradison, Ohio; Rousselot, Calif., and Moore, La.

same as the one ultimately adopted by the House in 1979 — omitting the mandatory program entirely and simply authorizing federal grants to state cost control programs and a new advisory commission on hospital costs.

Commerce Health Subcommittee Action

The cost control bill suffered a symbolic setback Sept. 6 when the House Commerce Subcommittee on Health voted 8-4 to table it. A vote to table usually kills a bill, but Waxman said he would take a modified version of the administration bill before the full committee anyway.

The bill could go to the House floor no matter what Commerce did, because Ways and Means had already reported it.

Lacking the votes to get the bill out of subcommittee, Waxman had been sitting on it since spring. But after Ways and Means approved the measure, he was free to move, since negative action by his subcommittee or committee would not prevent a bill from reaching the floor.

In 1978 the Commerce Committee spent six weeks marking up a mandatory hospital cost control bill and then, by a one-vote margin, gutted it.

The subcommittee took only 15 minutes to table HR 2626. The scenario had been worked out in advance.

Waxman said he recognized that "the majority of this subcommittee do not want this bill to become law," but he said the full committee should have an opportunity to consider it, and noted that the bill would go to the floor anyway as a result of the Ways and Means action.

James T. Broyhill, R-N.C., and Dave Stockman, R-Mich., spoke against the bill, saying it was unfair to single out only hospitals for price controls and that Congress should be directing its efforts toward reforming the existing health care reimbursement system instead.

There was no debate after Thomas A. Luken, D-Ohio, moved to table the bill.

Commerce Committee Action

By a surprising four-vote margin, the House Commerce Committee voted 23-19 Sept. 26 to report a modified version of HR 2626, after rejecting a motion to gut it by only a 21-21 tie vote. The committee report was filed Oct. 9 (H Rept 96-404, Part 2).

Sponsors had predicted a one- or two-vote margin for the bill in committee — either way.

Three Republicans voted with 20 Democrats to report the bill. Seven Democrats voted with Republican opponents against the measure. *(Committee vote, box, this page)*

Although HR 2626 could have gone to the floor no matter what the panel did, winning the approval of the second House committee was seen as an important psychological boost.

The Commerce bill was Waxman's modified version of the president's proposal, containing some but not all of the amendments added by Ways and Means. HEW officials said it would save more money than the Ways and Means bill but not as much as the administration's. It exempted fewer hospitals from cost-control requirements, and had a five-year sunset provision instead of four.

Hoping delay would increase their chances of killing the bill, opponents stalled consideration by demanding repeated quorum calls and a complete reading of the bill. Markup thus stretched over eight days (Sept. 18-21, 24-27). After four days the committee had done nothing more than agree, 22-20, to consider the bill. Luken had moved that the committee refuse to take up the measure since the subcommittee had tabled it.

The committee on a 21-21 tie vote rejected an amendment by Broyhill to drop mandatory controls altogether and simply create a national advisory board on hospital costs, as it had voted to do in 1978. It also rejected moves to loosen up the bill's standard for voluntary savings by the industry. Opponents of these amendments said they would guarantee that no mandatory revenue controls would ever be imposed, and that hospital inflation would continue unchecked.

But the committee also seriously weakened the bill by adding a one-house veto provision, as Ways and Means had done. The one-house veto, also a Broyhili amendment, meant that either house of Congress could block implementation of mandatory controls, which otherwise were a virtual certainty in 1980 under the formulas in the bill.

Waxman argued that the veto "defeats the purpose of the whole bill" by undercutting pressure on hospitals for voluntary savings efforts, and would subject members of Congress to intensive lobbying on the issue all over again when the veto proposal came up for a vote. Other members said the provision also added to the bill's many political problems, since the Senate did not share the House's enthusiasm for legislative vetoes.

Lobbying on the measure was intense, with local hospital administrators and board members writing, calling or flying to Washington to personally tell committee members how the bill would damage local hospitals. President Carter personally led the administration lobbying effort on behalf of the bill. Classic legislative horse-trading apparently changed three key "nay" votes of 1978 to "aye" — Republicans Edward R. Madigan, Ill., and Norman F. Lent, N.Y., and Democrat John D. Dingell, Mich., who voted for Broyhill's gutting amendment in 1978, were with President Carter in 1979 after winning committee amendments important to cost control programs in their states.

Fight over Formulas. A key issue in committee debate was whether the bill allowed enough spending for expansion of new hospital services. Members from rural and "Sun Belt" states feared it did not, and that that would keep medical services in their states from "catching up" with their fast-growing populations and from developing sophisticated health services common in richer states.

Commerce Committee Vote

Following is the vote by which the House Commerce Committee approved HR 2626, the hospital cost control bill:

Yea (23): Democrats Staggers, W.Va.; Van Deerlin, Calif.; Dingell, Mich.; Murphy, N.Y.; Eckhardt, Texas; Preyer, N.C.; Scheuer, N.Y.; Ottinger, N.Y.; Waxman, Calif.; Wirth, Colo.; Florio, N.J.; Moffett, Conn.; Maguire, N.J.; Markey, Mass.; Walgren, Pa.; Gore, Tenn.; Mikulski, Md.; Mottl, Ohio; Swift, Wash., and Leland, Texas; Republicans Lent, N.Y.; Madigan, Ill., and Rinaldo, N.J.

Nay (19): Democrats Satterfield, Va.; Sharp, Ind.; Santini, Nev.; Russo, Ill.; Luken, Ohio; Gramm, Texas, and Shelby, Ala.; Republicans Broyhill, N.C.; Devine, Ohio; Carter, Ky.; Brown, Ohio; Collins, Texas; Moorhead, Calif.; Stockman, Mich.; Marks, Pa.; Corcoran, Ill.; Lee, N.Y.; Loeffler, Texas, and Dannemeyer, Calif.

The bill exempted small rural hospitals from the program and allowed for adjustments to accommodate local population growth and some new services. But Richard C. Shelby, D-Ala., found the 1 percent "intensity" growth allowance too low, and he tried without success to raise the figure to 3 percent.

His first attack on the formula failed by a 20-22 vote Sept. 25. But the next day he won 21-20 on an amendment to boost the intensity factor to 2 percent when Mickey Leland, D-Texas, switched positions and voted with Shelby. Leland said he thought his vote would help hospitals in his district. But after talks with Waxman and White House lobbyists, Leland said his second vote was a "mistake," and moved that the committee reconsider its decision. The panel then reversed its earlier decision by a 19-22 vote, with Leland and Madigan changing their votes from "aye" to "nay."

Leland then won, with Waxman's support, an amendment of use to his home district hospitals. It provided for special treatment for patient care and teaching expenses related to major expansions of teaching hospitals. Leland previously had won approval of another amendment needed by "his" hospitals; it excluded interest and other capital expenses associated with approved hospital expansions from the compliance standards.

Other Amendments. In other actions, the committee:

- Rejected by a 20-20 tie vote a Preyer, D-N.C., attempt to substitute a two-house legislative veto — more difficult to achieve — for the one-house veto.
- Agreed to a Gramm, D-Texas, amendment permitting hospitals with common ownership and accounting periods to be treated as a single unit in determining compliance with the voluntary and mandatory limits and penalties.
- Rejected a Stockman, R-Mich., amendment to use a 3 percent intensity factor and an inflation allowance based on the gross national product (GNP) deflator in the formulas to calculate hospital compliance in both the voluntary and mandatory phases of the program.
- Rejected by a 7-13 vote a Satterfield, D-Va., amendment to drop a major portion of the Ways and Means "anti-dumping" provisions which were also in the Waxman substitute.

Rules Committee Action

The precarious position of the cost control bill was nowhere more evident than in the Rules Committee. The panel did not give HR 2626 a rule until more than a month after the Commerce Committee reported the bill, and it did so then only because the administration insisted on a House floor vote Nov. 15, before the House left for a Thanksgiving recess.

The rule the committee approved Nov. 14 (H Res 486) showed the administration's weak position. The panel refused the virtually closed rule that bill sponsors wanted in order to protect it from damaging floor amendments, and granted a rule permitting a vote on the Gephardt substitute.

The committee had been scheduled to vote Nov. 8, but Chairman Richard Bolling, D-Mo., abruptly adjourned the meeting when it appeared he did not have the votes to push through the protective rule.

The House adopted H Res 486 Nov. 15 by a vote of 259-129. *(Vote 592, p. 176-H)*

House Floor Action

By a 234-166 vote Nov. 15, the House rejected the president's cost control plan and adopted the Gephardt substitute instead. The substitute created a national commission to study hospital costs and authorized some funds for state cost control programs. The House then voted 321-75 to pass the bill. *(Votes 593, 594, p. 176-H)*

The magnitude of Carter's loss raised questions as to why he had plowed ahead in the face of ominous vote counts and the clear danger signal of the Rules Committee. Administration lobbyists said only that the White House believed the inflation issue would bring members around "when it came to the crunch."

Actually, the president may not have had anything to gain by waiting. For weeks before the vote, majority whip counts reportedly had shown Carter seriously behind and losing votes at the rate of five or 10 a week.

Provisions. What the House agreed to, after more than five hours of debate, was to create a 15-member, presidentially appointed commission to monitor voluntary industry efforts to cut costs and to report back to Congress within a year, and to consider long-term solutions to hospital cost inflation. The proposal also authorized $10 million for fiscal 1980 and sums "as needed" through fiscal 1982 for grants to state cost control programs.

The substitute established as a national goal the industry's voluntary goal of keeping 1979 hospital cost increases no more than 11.6 percent above 1977 increases, with future adjustments in the goal for inflation.

Debate. Members who spoke for Carter's plan during debate — mostly younger, liberal Democrats — stressed the weakness of Gephardt's plan, the seriousness of hospital cost increases and the original bill's potential impact on inflation.

Rangel's evaluation of Gephardt's national commission was this: "I can't think of a more eloquent way to do absolutely nothing" about hospital costs.

By casting the bill as a prime anti-inflation measure, Carter had hoped to give it a broader appeal than in 1977, when he pushed the measure as a prerequisite to national insurance. But by 1979, the nation's general inflation rate had heated up and the hospitals were claiming that their voluntary cost-cutting efforts had worked. So far in 1979, opponents of the bill noted, hospital costs were actually two-tenths of a percent under the overall national inflation rate.

Paul Simon, D-Ill., chairman of the Budget Committee Task Force on Inflation, said HR 2626 would reduce overall inflation by one- to two-tenths of a percent. He added, "There is no single dramatic way we're going to fight inflation. We're going to have to nibble at it. It's going to be these kinds of votes" that have an economic impact.

The grand finale of the debate was an impassioned speech by Speaker O'Neill, who urged members to focus on the bill's help for ordinary, bill-paying Americans, rather than "the affluent local hospital trustee."

But opponents insisted that Carter wanted the bill for political reasons and that any potential savings would be far outweighed by the bill's two major defects: it was new government regulation, and it would freeze medical technology at its present status, closing off future growth and development. These were also the major arguments made to members by AMA and hospital lobbyists, according to AMA lobbyist John Zapp.

Hospital cost control legislation had always been difficult to sell because its benefits were relatively remote, and because members of Congress were sympathetic to its target, hospitals. The administration claimed overall savings of more than $40 billion over five years from its plan, but since so many Americans were shielded from massive hospital bills by health insurance, the payoff was hard to dramatize.

Industry warnings that the bill could lead to "rationing" of sophisticated medical techniques and equipment touched perhaps the most controversial, underlying issue.

"The American people demand the best," Tim Lee Carter, R-Ky., a physician, told the House. And Gradison warned that if a similar program had been in place in past years, "it's doubtful we would now have intensive care units and recovery rooms and cardiac care units."

Although Califano had tried to paint the hospital industry as a "fat" economic villain, he didn't win many converts. Members often found it hard to match this image with pleas from prominent community leaders — hospital board members — that their hospitals hoped to be spared regulation so they could get on with the business of treating sick people.

The bill was also severely hampered simply because it involved regulation, in a year when members were quick to blame inflation and other economic ills on excessive government meddling in the private sector.

These internal problems were compounded by the skilled campaign against the measure by the hospital lobby, the AMA and some of the giants of the Washington lobby scene: the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Business Roundtable and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Although the insurance industry, organized labor and groups representing the elderly supported the bill, for them the bill was only one of many pressing legislative priorities — unlike the hospital lobby, which could focus its full attention on the bill.

The president himself took a hand in lobbying at the last minute. Undecided Democrats told of multiple telephone calls from the White House in the final days, punctuated by personal visits from Vice President Walter F. Mondale. But that was not enough to overcome the bill's liabilities and the single-minded opposition of its opponents. ▮

Veterans' Health Bill

Rejecting Carter administration attempts to shrink the medical staffs of Veterans Administration (VA) hospitals and clinics, Congress Dec. 6 cleared legislation (HR 3892 — PL 96-151) requiring the VA to maintain staffs at the full levels set by congressional appropriations committees.

The bill also made some changes in health benefits for veterans and their dependents, and continued VA grants for medical schools and aid to state-run nursing homes and other long-term care facilities for veterans.

The administration had proposed cutbacks in veterans' health benefits, and opposed many of the congressional changes as too costly. Veterans' groups strongly objected to any cutbacks. The final version of the bill dropped most of Carter's money-saving proposals; Congress accepted a few in return for administration agreement to restore some of the hospital staff cuts and abide by the levels set by Congress in the future.

HR 3892 also mandated a study of the health effects of "Agent Orange" on Vietnam veterans. "Agent Orange" was a defoliant used in Vietnam from 1962 to 1971 to clear jungle cover concealing enemy troop positions. About 5,000 veterans had sought VA aid for ailments, ranging from dizziness to cancer, which they blamed on certain chemicals (dioxins) in the herbicide.

In what one senator called a "bitter pill" of a compromise, the Senate swallowed House demands that the study be conducted by the Veterans Administration (VA) rather than the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). The VA had remained officially skeptical that the chemicals caused anything more than a persistent skin rash, and some senators questioned its ability and desire to do a thorough, objective investigation.

While the VA was to do the study of veterans, under the compromise HEW was to study the health effects of dioxins on civilians. However, President Carter vetoed the bill mandating the HEW studies (S 2096) because it required HEW to have its design for the studies approved by Congress' Office of Technology Assessment. Carter said that was a form of legislative veto over the administrative authority of the executive branch, and therefore unconstitutional. *(Box, next page; veto text, p. 68-E)*

HR 3892 contained an identical provision affecting the VA's study, but Carter signed the bill anyway because it extended veterans' health benefits and embodied the compromise on hospital staffing and benefit cuts. He said he would instruct the VA to ignore the objectionable provision.

Staffing Controversy

Administration moves earlier in 1979 to cut VA medical staffs had angered veterans' lobbies and their friends in Congress — particularly since the cuts flew in the face of a 1978 congressional mandate to hire more VA doctors, nurses and other health personnel. The administration had used funds in the fiscal 1979 appropriations bill (PL 95-392) that were earmarked for new staff to "defray the costs" of the October 1978 pay raise for VA employees, according to the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee. *(PL 95-392, 1978 Almanac p. 78)*

House Veterans' Affairs Committee Chairman Ray Roberts, D-Texas, said about 6,800 VA medical positions were being cut in fiscal 1979 and it was rumored that more were still to come. He told the House a plan was being implemented "to phase out the VA hospital program."

The result was a House bill that flatly ordered the VA to keep medical personnel at a set level. The Senate compromised somewhat; its bill (S 1039) required the administration to keep health staffing at levels acceptable to Congress (as set in appropriations bills) if it wanted some dollar-saving cuts in health benefits for veterans.

In addition to cutting back on VA medical staffs, the administration wanted to end certain dental benefits for veterans and limit outpatient non-prescription drugs and medical supplies to only extremely needy veterans, those over age 65 or those who were chronically ill. It also wanted to limit transportation reimbursement for veterans to ambulance or other special transportation, approved in advance. The changes would not apply to service-disabled veterans or those meeting the VA income test.

The final version of the bill, worked out in informal negotiations and approved by voice vote in both houses Dec. 6, adopted the Senate version of the hospital staffing requirement but dropped most of the administration's money-saving proposals.

Provisions

The major provisions of HR 3892 (PL 96-151):

State VA Facilities. Authorized matching grants to states for construction and renovation of state veterans' care facilities such as nursing homes. Authorized $15 million for fiscal 1980 and funds as needed for fiscal 1981 and 1982. Raised the per diem rate of federal payments to state veterans' facilities by 15 percent; limited this raise for fiscal 1980 by stipulating that only the amount appropriated for that purpose could be spent.

Medical Education, Information. Extended the VA medical information-sharing system through fiscal 1982 and authorized $4 million a year for it. Authorized joint information-sharing educational activities between public or non-profit private institutions and VA hospitals that were remote from major medical centers.

- Terminated VA authority to help establish new state medical schools, effective Sept. 30, 1979.
- Extended for three years authorizations for grants to existing medical schools and other health professions training programs affiliated with the VA; authorized $15 million for fiscal 1980, $25 million for fiscal 1981 and $30 million for fiscal 1982. Eliminated a requirement that the schools must increase the number of individuals in training as a direct result of VA grants.

Benefits for Veterans. Eliminated an existing provision for VA payments for travel expenses to VA medical facilities for persons who certified that they could not pay these expenses themselves; instead, required the VA to provide by regulation for partial payments for persons who could not afford travel costs. Provided partial VA payments for travel expenses for veterans with service-connected disabilities and for veterans meeting VA pension income standards.

- Authorized VA reimbursement for non-VA emergency medical care, for non-service-connected problems, under certain conditions. A VA physician must determine that the care was needed, and the care could continue only until the individual could be transferred to a VA facility. Existing law provided for non-VA treatment only if a VA facility could not provide the needed care.
- Required the VA administrator to pay for non-VA dental care costing more than $500 a year, if a VA dentist approved the treatment on the basis of need and of cost.
- Authorized direct (VA) and contract outpatient care in certain circumstances for veterans of the Mexican border period and World War I.
- Broadened health insurance coverage for veterans' survivors and dependents in certain circumstances.

Personnel. Required the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to keep VA health staff at levels set by the congressional appropriations committees; required OMB and the comptroller general to make periodic reports to Congress on compliance.

Agent Orange Studies. Required the VA administrator to conduct an ongoing epidemiological study of the health effects in veterans of exposure to the chemicals known as dioxins. The study was to be conducted according to a protocol (design of the study) approved by the Office of Technology Assessment. Required a second VA study of the medical literature on long-term health effects of exposure to dioxins. Required presidential coordination of the VA work with studies of dioxins in other agencies.

Dioxins Study Bill Vetoed

President Carter Jan. 2, 1980, vetoed a bill (S 2096) requiring the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to study the health effects of dioxins, the chemicals used in Agent Orange and other herbicides. Congress had cleared the bill Dec. 19, 1979.

It was the only bill passed by the first session of the 96th Congress to be vetoed.

Carter said he supported efforts to investigate the effects of dioxins, but disapproved S 2096 because it required that HEW's protocol (design) for the study be approved by Congress' Office of Technology Assessment (OTA). Such a "legislative veto device" was an "unconstitutional intrusion" into the executive branch's administrative authority, he said. He said the bill was unnecessary anyway, since HEW already planned to conduct a study of dioxins. *(Veto message text, p. 68-E)*

Carter signed another bill (HR 3892 — PL 96-151) that contained an identical provision with regard to a Veterans Administration (VA) study of dioxins, because that bill also extended authorizations for veterans' health benefits and contained provisions on staffing of VA hospitals that had been worked out in lengthy negotiations with Congress. However, Carter said he would tell the VA administrator not to consider the provision requiring OTA approval of its study legally binding.

S 2096 was the result of a compromise between the House and Senate Veterans' Affairs Committees on what agency should study the health effects of Agent Orange, a defoliant used in Vietnam, on U.S. soldiers who served there. The House panel insisted the VA should do it, and that was authorized in HR 3892. *(Story, preceding page)*

In return, the House committee agreed to S 2096, which required HEW to study the health effects of dioxin exposure on agricultural, Forest Service and chemical workers and other civilians who had come in contact with dioxins, and to review existing scientific studies of the long-range health effects of dioxin exposure. The Senate passed the bill Dec. 6, the House Dec. 19.

House Action

Committee. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee reported HR 3892 (H Rept 96-138) May 10. It ordered the VA to keep medical personnel at a set level. Without discussion, the report said simply that there should be not fewer than 191,513 full-time medical and research personnel in VA health facilities. Any employees for new facilities must be "in addition to the personnel baseline."

The bill continued the 1972 VA health manpower act (PL 92-541), which provided grants for medical and allied health professions schools affiliated with the VA. However, saying "the projected doctor shortage has ameliorated somewhat," the committee prohibited the VA from assisting in creating any new state medical schools.

The report included protests from VA administrator Max Cleland that new benefits approved by the committee were unjustified and too expensive. One provision, authorizing non-VA hospital emergency care if ordered by a VA

doctor at a VA "satellite clinic," would allow veterans with non-service-connected disabilities to "get cost-free emergency medical care at private facilities" simply by stopping first at a VA clinic, Cleland said.

A second provision, authorizing outpatient care for all World War I veterans regardless of whether their health problems were service-related, raised the question of whether "entitlement to medical care should be granted exclusively on the basis of age" or other conditions not related to service, Cleland said. He also urged lower authorizations for the grants for state veterans' homes and for a medical information exchange program.

Floor. The House passed HR 3892 by voice vote May 21. Roberts denounced the administration's cuts in the VA medical system and cited rumors of more to come. Unless Congress took action, "we will soon lose the entire VA hospital system," he warned.

Senate Action

Committee. The Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee reported S 1039 May 15 (S Rept 96-177).

The committee agreed to some of the cuts in veterans' benefits the administration had requested, but only if the administration agreed to maintain medical staff at levels set in appropriations bills. This was called "rechanneling some resources from areas of low priority to high priority where the need is greatest."

The administration had simply planned to subtract the savings from its proposed benefit cuts from the fiscal 1980 VA budget. But the committee said the savings should go "to maintain the quality and quantity of health care" for eligible veterans. Tying the cuts to the personnel floor would "achieve the administration's avowed purpose of refocusing spending on veterans health-care items of higher priority" while saving about $6.1 million, it said.

The committee continued authorizations for state-run veterans' homes at the existing level of $15 million — not the $5 million requested by the administration. That reduction was "inconsistent with the VA's own assertion that we need to expand existing facilities to accommodate the increasing number of elderly veterans," it said.

Floor. The Senate passed S 1039 by voice vote June 18 after approving several amendments, including one requiring the study of the effects of Agent Orange.

Floor debate was dominated by efforts by Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., to drop the benefit cuts agreed to by the Veterans' Affairs Committee. Humphrey, who had consistently opposed new spending, both in the Veterans' Affairs Committee and in the Labor and Human Resources Health Subcommittee, said the benefits were "necessary . . . honorable . . . just." He quoted from the World War I poem, "In Flanders Field," and said Congress should not "break faith" with veterans by taking back benefits it had granted them.

Humphrey lost 40-52 on his amendment to drop the benefit cuts from the bill, and he lost again when the Senate agreed 73-19 to a tabling motion on his motion to recommit the bill to committee. *(Votes 133, 134, p. 25-S)*

Veterans' Affairs Committee Chairman Alan Cranston, D-Calif., defended the benefit cuts, which were somewhat modified by a floor amendment he offered. The Senate approved the amendment 73-5. *(Vote 132, p. 25-S)*

Cranston said that under the compromise, the administration had promised to add 2,000 new positions in VA facilities in 1980 in addition to the much smaller number it had planned. Continuing the low-priority benefits Humphrey wanted to keep would deprive hospitalized veterans of care they needed, Cranston said.

"The senator spoke of breaking faith with those who gave their lives. I do not see the connection between that remark and the fact that we are dealing with aspirin, cough syrup and travel expenses for non-service-connected veterans," Cranston said.

Siding with Cranston, J. James Exon, D-Neb., said senators advocating a balanced federal budget "must resist the temptation to support every good-sounding piece of legislation that comes down the pike."

The Senate by voice vote approved amendments by John A. Durkin, D-N.H., giving World War I veterans priority for outpatient treatment in VA medical facilities, and by Cranston, ordering the study of the health effects of exposure to dioxins. Supporting that amendment, Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., said that "in 1978 alone, approximately 1,100 persons entered VA hospitals with possible dioxin-related ailments, including various forms of cancer, birth defects in children, stillbirths, impotency, psychological and dermatological disorders," but that no studies of the substance had yet been made.

Compromise on Dioxin Studies

After approving the final version of HR 3892, both houses passed the separate bill (S 2096) mandating two HEW studies relating to health effects of dioxin exposure. Cranston affirmed that S 2096 was part of the compromise worked out with the House.

Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., denounced the compromise as a "bitter pill," questioning the VA's "ability and . . . willingness . . . to conduct a thorough, immediate and objective study."

David E. Satterfield III, D-Va., chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee on Medical Facilities and Benefits, had insisted the VA was uniquely qualified to conduct it since it had personnel records, medical facilities, experience and follow-up machinery that HEW lacked. The VA could assure a continuing study rather than a one-shot effort that might foreclose long-range follow-up of the veterans, he stressed. Satterfield also suggested that VA credibility would be assured by the requirement that the OTA approve the study design.

However, Percy and others saw the outcome as another case of stiff House resistance to anything that could erode the VA health care system. Such "jurisdictional concerns . . . in this instance are not in the best interests of our Vietnam veterans," Percy charged. ▮

Disabled Veterans' Benefits

Congress cleared legislation Nov. 16 to provide a 9.9 percent increase in disabled veterans' benefits for fiscal 1980. The House cleared the bill (HR 2282) a day after the Senate agreed to a compromise version, and President Carter signed it into law Nov. 28 (PL 96-128).

The 9.9 percent increase was a compromise between a hike of 8.3 percent originally passed by the House and an 11.1 percent increase initially passed by the Senate. The House had approved the compromise figure Oct. 30.

HR 2282 authorized payments to some 2.6 million disabled veterans, their widows or widowers, and the children of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities.

The increase was 2.6 percent above the 7.3 percent hike Congress approved in 1978. *(1978 Almanac p. 369)*

The final version of HR 2282, worked out informally by the House and Senate Veterans' Affairs committees, dropped two Senate provisions and delayed increases in one category of benefits for almost a year. The Senate provisions dropped would have:

- Changed the base period to June-to-June for annual inflation figures used by Congress as guidelines in deciding compensation increases. The proposed period would have provided Congress with an "actual" rate of inflation, rather than the "projected" inflation rate from October-to-October.
- Instructed the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to study the long-term health effects of "Agent Orange" and similar chemicals used during the Vietnam War. *(Agent Orange details, see Veterans Health story, p. 518)*

Final Action

The Senate approved HR 2282 by voice vote Nov. 15 with one major change from the bill as it had passed the House Oct. 30. The House accepted the Senate amendment and cleared the bill by voice vote the following day.

The Senate amendment delayed until Sept. 1, 1980 — one month before the end of fiscal 1980 — a 9.9 percent increase in the "k" award. The award, named for the subsection of the law that authorized such payments, was paid to severely disabled veterans who had lost certain parts of their bodies or certain senses. It was in addition to their regular compensation.

The House originally voted an 8.3 percent increase for the award, but the Senate eliminated that provision. The House restored the increase Oct. 30 at 9.9 percent.

During floor debate Nov. 15, Alan Cranston, D-Calif., argued that the award was an "add-on," not a basic payment, and therefore should not be subject to a cost-of-living increase. Cranston said the compromise agreement to delay the increase would reduce fiscal 1980 compensation costs by $5.7 million.

Don Heilman, a spokesman for the Disabled American Veterans, said the provision "really disappointed us. The Senate committee was agreeing in principle that the rate should be increased . . . and we felt it should be increased right along with the rest of [the payments]."

Cranston urged the Senate to accept HR 2282, and said a House action dropping a study of "Agent Orange" health effects would have little impact. He said that another provision aimed at locating veterans exposed to "occupational hazards" could aid efforts to find victims of "Agent Orange" exposure.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, HR 2282 (PL 96-128):

- Authorized a 9.9 percent increase in payments to disabled veterans, their surviving spouses and dependent parents, and to children of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities.
- Authorized a 9.9 percent increase in clothing allowances paid to disabled veterans who must wear appliances that tend to wear out their clothing.
- Made certain severely disabled veterans eligible for aid and attendance allowances.
- Authorized the Veterans Administration to pay veterans who fall between two benefit categories at the arithmetic mean of the two rates.
- Permitted dividend payments to persons holding Veterans' Reopened Insurance (VRI) policies.
- Authorized the VA to pay actual earned interest to beneficiaries of National Service Life Insurance (NSLI) or U.S. Government Life Insurance (USGLI) policies — increasing current interest paid by about 3.8 percent.
- Exempted VA-guaranteed and insured loans from state anti-usury laws or constitutional provisions limiting interest that may be charged.
- Authorized the benefit increases as of Oct. 1, 1979 — except the "k" award which would take effect Sept. 1, 1980 — and all other provisions upon enactment.
- Instructed the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health to obtain addresses of veterans who may have been exposed to low-level radiation or other occupational hazards during service, to aid in efforts to locate them, tell them they may need medical care, and inform them of available benefits.

Earlier Action

The House Committee on Veterans' Affairs reported HR 2282 on June 27 (H Rept 96-310). As reported, the bill recommended increasing monthly compensation rates by 8.3 percent to meet changes in the cost of living.

The figure was higher than the 7.8 percent originally requested by the administration, but below the 9.4 percent estimate the administration later supported as the projected cost-of-living increase.

The House passed the bill 350-0 on July 16 under suspension of the rules. *(Vote 303, p. 90-H)*

In the Senate, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs reported a companion bill (S 689 — S Rept 96-260) July 27. As reported, the bill recommended an 11.1 percent increase in payments.

On Aug. 3, the Senate shelved S 689 and inserted its provisions in an amendment to the House bill. It then passed HR 2282, as amended, by voice vote.

The House Oct. 30 approved the bill but amended it to provide a 9.9 percent increase in payments to disabled veterans.

The compromise figure shaved an estimated $83 million off the cost of the Senate-approved amount. The total cost of payments, with the 9.9 percent increase, would be $675.4 million in fiscal 1980, according to the Congressional Budget Office.

The House also accepted several changes made by the Senate to HR 2282. But it threw out some Senate provisions.

In one change to the Senate version of HR 2282, the House bill passed Oct. 30 omitted changing the base period for determining payment increases to June-to-June from October-to-October. This would have provided Congress with an "actual" rather than "projected" inflation rate to determine benefit increases.

The House also removed a Senate provision dealing with veterans' life insurance policies. Currently, only family members of the deceased veteran may be paid. Under the Senate bill, proceeds also could have been paid to any person legally designated by the veteran, or designated by a court.

The House also cut a Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) study ordered by the Senate bill to examine the long-term effects on humans from the use of "Agent Orange" and similar chemicals during the Vietnam War.

The Senate agreed to the House changes by voice vote Nov. 15, and approved one amendment changing the effective date of the increase in the "k" award. The House agreed to that change Nov. 16, clearing the bill for the president. ▮

Vietnam Vets Counseling

President Carter June 13 signed into law a bill (S 7 — PL 96-22) establishing a new psychological counseling program for Vietnam veterans — something sponsors had been seeking for nearly a decade.

The bill also contained a controversial provision empowering the House and Senate Veterans' Affairs Committees to approve or disapprove the construction or leasing of Veterans Administration (VA) hospitals. The House committee had insisted on the provision in exchange for supporting the counseling program. It was opposed as a "pork barrel" power grab by the Office of Management and Budget, by some members of Congress and by the congressional appropriations committees, which previously held the power themselves.

S 7 also authorized outpatient treatment for veterans in community-based drug and alcohol abuse facilities and made other changes in VA health programs. The Congressional Budget Office estimated the cost of the five-year authorization at $256.8 million.

The House agreed to the conference report on the bill (H Rept 96-223) May 30 by a vote of 342-0. *(Vote 159, p. 52-H)*

The Senate adopted it by voice vote June 4, clearing the measure for the president. Carter signed it June 13. He praised the program for Vietnam veterans, but expressed concern that the hospital construction provision might "politicize" and thus delay or impair VA medical facility construction.

Controversial Compromise

Four times since 1971 the Senate had approved a special counseling program for Vietnam-era veterans, together with drug abuse, alcoholism and preventive health programs.

But old-line veterans' groups and their House supporters were cool to the package, particularly since Vietnam veterans' groups pushing the concept wanted much of the program to be conducted outside the VA. They said many younger veterans distrusted the VA, which the older groups staunchly defended.

Sentiment for such a program had grown, however, due in part to a number of popular movies and television shows dramatizing the problems of Vietnam veterans. President Carter, unlike his Republican predecessors, called the program a high legislative priority and included funds for it in his fiscal 1980 budget. And a new congressional caucus of Vietnam-era veterans lobbied for it.

What actually got the program off the ground was a 1978 compromise worked out by Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee Chairman Alan Cranston, D-Calif., and David E. Satterfield III, D-Va., chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee on Medical Facilities and Benefits. In return for House backing of the Senate package, Cranston agreed to support the House plan to give authorizing committees the power to approve or kill major construction projects for VA hospitals and other medical facilities. The House had approved this authority as separate legislation in the 95th Congress. *(1977 Almanac p. 392)*

Opponents of that new authority, including Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash., cried "power grab" and "pork barrel." But the compromise bill (S 7, HR 1608) moved through both committees with few hitches.

The House endorsed the compromise intact, although the Senate balked at the medical facilities approval provision and dropped it. Conferees restored it, however, and adjusted other comparatively minor differences.

Provisions

As signed into law, S 7 (PL 96-22):

Health Benefits

• **Dental Care.** Authorized the Veterans Administration (VA) to provide dental care for veterans of World Wars I and II and the Korean conflict, for Vietnam era veterans who had been prisoners of war for more than six months and for veterans rated as totally disabled. Required a report any year in which spending for non-VA dental care rose above the fiscal 1978 level.

• **Readjustment Counseling.** Required the VA to provide outpatient counseling and mental health follow-up services for Vietnam-era veterans experiencing difficulty in readjusting to civilian life, if veterans sought the aid within two years of discharge or within two years of enactment of the bill, whichever was later. The services were to be provided directly by the VA unless a veteran lived very far from a VA facility, or a facility couldn't provide appropriate care. Members of veterans' families could also receive counseling.

• Required the VA to provide referrals for individuals who were ineligible for the program because of less-than-honorable discharges; also required the VA to advise these persons on whether they should apply for review of their discharges.

• Authorized the VA to train professionals and volunteers for the counseling program.

• **Alcohol and Drug Abuse.** Authorized the VA to conduct a pilot program of contracting with halfway houses and similar community-based facilities to treat veterans with alcohol and drug use problems, and to report to Congress on the program by March 1983.

• Authorized the VA, with the Department of Labor and the Office of Personnel Management, to promote hiring of rehabilitated veterans from the alcohol and drug abuse programs.

• **Preventive Health.** Authorized the VA to start a pilot program of preventive health care services, such as medical checkups, for certain veterans with service-connected disabilities. Authorized $64 million for fiscal 1980-84. Required a study on the cost-effectiveness of the program.

Facilities Construction, Leasing

• Barred appropriations for construction or renovation of VA medical facilities costing more than $2 million, or leases of more than $500,000 a year, unless the House and Senate Veterans' Affairs Committees had each approved a project by resolution.

• Required the VA to report annually to Congress on both its long-range health facility plans and current priorities.

Other Provisions

- Restored authority for the VA to provide contract (non-VA) health services to certain veterans.
- Authorized VA health benefits for certain Filipino veterans living in the United States.
- Provided for emergency health care for veterans attending national conventions of veterans' organizations.
- Tightened eligibility for VA benefits for children adopted outside the United States by veterans.

Background

Studies had shown that, even years after the end of the war, many Vietnam veterans were suffering psychological scars — stress, depression, problems with alcohol, drugs, marriages and jobs. The VA estimated that more than 30 percent of the 8.7 million Vietnam-era veterans faced "serious problems related to readjustment to civilian life." (Only 170,000 probably would actually seek aid under the new program, however, according to estimates.)

According to a 1978 presidential message to Congress, Vietnam-era veterans under age 34 had a 23 percent higher suicide rate than non-veterans of the same age, and the number of problem drinkers among this group had "more than doubled, from 13 percent in 1970 to 31 percent in 1977." *(1978 message, 1978 Almanac p. 62-E)*

Vietnam veterans had two problems that differed from those of earlier wars: they were much more likely to have survived, but with disabling injuries, and they were "more likely to have doubts about the validity of their sacrifice." The psychological impact of these problems could show up long after discharge, according to VA Administrator Max Cleland.

Cleland said Vietnam veterans needed a special readjustment counseling program because the psychiatric wards of VA hospitals were often understaffed or staffed with foreign doctors, and because many veterans distrusted the VA or feared the stigma of being a psychiatric patient. Under existing law, counseling for most veterans could come only after they checked into a VA psychiatric ward for evaluation.

Committee Action

The Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee reported S 7 April 27 (S Rept 96-100), and the House panel reported its version May 10 (HR 1608 — H Rept 96-140).

In addition to providing for the new outpatient adjustment counseling and follow-up mental health services for Vietnam-era veterans, the committees agreed to a pilot project for providing drug and alcohol-abuse treatment in community-based non-VA programs. The move away from hospitalization for these problems was intended to aid troubled veterans who were trying to work and continue their family relationships.

The committees also argued that since they were responsible for the effectiveness of the VA health program, they should have more control over where medical facilities were located. For that reason, major construction projects or leases should not be undertaken without prior approval, by resolution, by both congressional Veterans' Affairs committees, they decided. The House committee report said VA planning had been "for too many years . . . inadequate."

Both bills reflected changes in the original compromise forced by dissatisfied committee members.

After objections from fiscal conservatives Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., and Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., the Senate committee pruned back the new preventive health care program to a four-year program costing $24.5 million, instead of a six-year, $150 million program. It also put a ceiling on the amount the VA could spend each year for non-VA dental services and listed treatment priorities, so that veterans made eligible by the bill would not expand the use of non-VA care but instead would use VA facilities as much as possible.

House committee member Don Edwards, D-Calif., successfully led a fight to include in the House bill much more lenient provisions for veterans to use non-VA sources for readjustment counseling and follow-up services.

Floor Action

House. With little more than perfunctory speeches of support, the House passed HR 1608 by voice vote under suspension of the rules May 21.

Senate. The Senate passed S 7 May 16 by voice vote, though passage was not as smooth as in the House, and the Senate deleted the critical House-backed element of the compromise bill, the prior approval of major construction appropriations by the authorizing committees.

William Proxmire, D-Wis., won the deletion on a voice vote after objecting that the provision would add costly delays to VA construction programs and subject committee members to "great pressure for, in effect, more pork" ("pork barrel" projects sought by members for their home districts or states).

He said the proposal could result in the addition of costly construction projects "of dubious merit" to an already over-large VA medical care system.

Magnuson accused Cranston of a power grab for his committee, but Cranston protested, "I certainly am not power hungry. . . . I did not start this. It began on the House side."

To prevent deletion of the provision from upsetting the delicately balanced agreement with the House, Cranston offered a compromise amendment providing for full congressional approval of VA facilities, rather than committee approval. But the Senate rejected that compromise by a 45-47 vote. *(Vote 96, p. 19-S)*

There was also a fight over the new readjustment program, with Vietnam veterans Larry Pressler, R-S.D., and John Heinz, R-Pa., pressing for more liberal use of non-VA providers than the committee had approved.

The committee bill envisioned most of the program to be within the VA system, but Pressler wanted veterans to be able to choose community mental health centers, or other providers in areas that did not have community centers.

Heinz proposed a more limited amendment, allowing veterans to use non-VA providers if VA facilities were "inadequate" or had poor hours, or if outside services would be more "beneficial" for them. This was the House committee version.

But the Senate rejected Heinz's amendment by a 42-43 vote and, in a complicated series of maneuvers, twice voted unanimously, 93-0 and 94-0, for more conservative language proposed by Cranston, permitting use of non-VA providers only if a veteran lived very far from VA facilities or if the local VA facility was "not capable" of providing needed care. That was the standard for most other health care from non-VA providers. *(Votes 97-99, p. 19-S)*

Conference Action

Protesting that he had failed once to sell the idea to the Senate, Cranston nevertheless agreed to the veterans' committee approval of major construction projects, in return for the conferees' acceptance of the more limited Senate version of the veterans' readjustment program. House conferees insisted, however, that the conference report include language permitting the use of non-VA, contract care in the readjustment program if the VA administrator determined that it would be in an individual's best interests.

Conferees also decided to drop the annual cap on contract dental care spending and instead require an explanation from the VA for any year in which these expenditures exceeded those of fiscal 1978.

The conferees chose a middle ground for preventive health, settling on a five-year, $64 million program. ▮

Veterans' Education Benefits

The Senate and House Veterans' Affairs Committees reported separate veterans' education bills that differed sharply on whether to give poorly educated Vietnam-era veterans another chance to use their GI Bill schooling benefits.

The Senate committee approved a bill (S 870) that would give some Vietnam-era veterans the right to get additional educational help until the end of 1982.

But the House committee rejected the idea of extra help, and the House Oct. 16, by a 405-1 vote, passed a veterans' education bill (HR 5288) that did not contain an extension of educational benefits. *(Vote 509, p. 148-H)*

The Senate did not take up S 870 in 1979.

President Carter, in his October 1978 message to Congress on Vietnam veterans, had called for a two-year extension of the 10-year period after discharge within which veterans must use their educational benefits. He said that although Vietnam veterans had made more use of the GI Bill than veterans of previous wars, there were many high school-dropout veterans who had missed their chance to get help. *(1978 Almanac p. 62-E)*

Long-established veterans' groups such as the American Legion and Disabled American Veterans saw the idea as unfairly favoring one group of veterans. They said benefits should be based on the principle of "equal benefits for equal service."

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee reported S 870 Sept. 7 (S Rept 96-314).

Delimiting Date Extension. Pointing to the serious unemployment problems faced by Vietnam-era veterans, the committee approved a modified version of the administration's request for an extension of the "delimiting" period during which veterans could receive GI Bill educational benefits.

The committee agreed that something should be done to help Vietnam-era veterans who had not taken advantage of the GI Bill in time, but who still had serious education-related problems that held back their job prospects. But it argued that the extension should be a "one-shot deal" coping with specific problems, rather than a permanent change in the law.

Neither the Carter proposal nor the Senate bill allowed an extension of all benefits to all Vietnam-era veterans. Both allowed two types of extensions. All those who served during the 1964-75 period would be allowed to receive assistance for on-the-job training for up to 12 years after their discharge. Veterans without a high school diploma would also have 12 years' eligibility for assistance in getting a diploma or acquiring a job skill through vocational training.

Arguing that the administration's proposal for a permanent delimiting date extension was too broad, the committee decided to allow a three-year extension, but only up until the end of 1982. S 870 would allow veterans whose delimiting periods had expired to receive benefits for on-the-job training, high school or vocational training until Dec. 31, 1982.

However, the committee made clear that, in general, 10 years was plenty of time to make use of the educational benefits. It said the extension should be available only to veterans who had not taken advantage of programs in time because of special problems.

The Congressional Budget Office estimated that the delimiting date extension would cost $24 million in fiscal 1980, and a total of $144 million by the end of fiscal 1983.

Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., criticized the singling out of one group of veterans to get special treatment. He noted the protests of the Legion and the DAV that earlier veterans did not receive the extra period of benefits granted by the bill to Vietnam-era veterans. But his amendment to delete the delimiting extension was rejected on a 3-7 vote.

Vocational Training. The committee approved several provisions aimed at ensuring that GI Bill benefits paid to vocational schools went only for training that gave a veteran a real chance of finding a job.

It tightened up on the existing requirement that vocational schools enrolling GI Bill recipients place at least half their graduates in jobs related to the training provided.

Arguing that many schools were meeting the 50 percent employment rule only because they graduated a very small percentage of the students who enrolled, the administration had proposed to allow benefits to students at only those schools that found jobs for at least half of the people who enrolled. The committee instead required that schools graduate at least half of the students who enrolled in a course of training. It also made clear that a graduate who was counted as working in the field for which he was trained must derive his principal income from that job.

The committee also decided to restrict benefits for veterans enrolled in flight training and correspondence courses. The General Accounting Office had found that students of such courses seldom found employment in the field for which they had been trained.

The committee rejected VA requests to end assistance for the courses, but it agreed to reduce aid for veterans who took flight training for recreation rather than employment. It cut to 60 percent, from 90 percent, the portion of flight course tuition that could be paid by the VA. It authorized loans for the remainder of the tuition, however, and allowed cancellation of loans for those who found work that made use of their flight training.

It allowed payments for correspondence courses only for those who for some reason could not take regular classes.

Seat Time Controversy. The committee steered a middle course in the controversy dividing the VA and the higher education community over classroom "seat time" required for veterans getting educational benefits.

Under VA regulations, a veteran in college had to take at least 12 credit hours a semester to be considered a full-time student, each credit hour representing at least one hour a week spent in the classroom.

This requirement ran up against the trend in many schools of giving credit for work done outside the classroom. These non-traditional courses often involved weekend class sessions, intensive seminars or irregularly scheduled tutorials. Schools argued that it was their right to determine what was a full-time course load, even if it involved allowing students to attend less than the standard number of classroom hours. They had gone to court, mostly unsuccessfully, to force the VA to pay benefits to students in non-traditional programs.

The committee agreed with the VA that the agency should be able to set standards for courses taken by veterans who got benefits. It wrote into statute the VA's authority to do so, and its requirement that students getting full-time benefits spend at least 12 hours a week in class. However, it did allow alternative measurements of course load; it allowed full payments for undergraduates if the amount of time they spent in class over a whole semester equaled the VA's requirements, and it allowed reduced payments for students who spent less time in class, provided their course of instruction was the equivalent of courses offered by the school in the traditional format.

House Action

The House Veterans' Affairs Committee reported HR 5288 Oct. 4 (H Rept 96-498). The House passed the bill without amendment Oct. 16 under suspension of the rules.

Historically less amenable to delimiting date extensions, the House committee turned down the administration's request for additional time for Vietnam-era veterans to collect benefits. One reason was that, within the constraints of the budget resolution, the committee wanted to provide as much money as possible for the hard-pressed VA hospital system. The panel also decided not to include the Senate bill's tightening of the 50 percent employment rule.

Like the Senate bill, HR 5288 codified existing VA practice concerning the "seat time" required for recipients. But it did not allow the alternate measurements of full-time and part-time status added in the Senate bill.

VA Debt Collections. The committee approved an administration request to give more authority to the VA to track down veterans who owed it money. The panel noted that the VA had on its books some $573 million in debts owed by veterans.

One part of the difficulty in collecting the debts was that under existing law the agency couldn't enlist the services of private debt collection agencies. The VA had been prohibited from releasing any information about its beneficiaries to outside concerns.

HR 5288 would allow the VA to disclose information to private collection agencies for two purposes: to find the debtors, and to affect their credit rating. The panel noted that in many cases debtors continued to receive favorable credit ratings because the VA could not reveal the fact that they had ignored their debt.

Vocational Rehabilitation. The other major part of HR 5288 that was not in the Senate bill was a revision of the vocational rehabilitation program for disabled veterans. The bill provided a 17 percent increase in the living allowance paid to disabled veterans while they were getting rehabilitation services. The committee said the existing low level of subsistence benefits had driven many disabled veterans to apply for the more generous regular GI bill program, even though they gave up specialized rehabilitation services in doing so.

HR 5288 also broadened the types of help the program could offer to eligible veterans. Under existing law the program was limited to helping the disabled find new employment. Recognizing that work was not the only disability-connected problem faced by veterans, the bill authorized services to help them attain their maximum independence in life — for example, providing assistance to veterans whose handicaps were so severe they had no chance of working. However, the committee rejected administration proposals to lengthen the time limits on vocational rehabilitation services. ▮

Child Nutrition Programs

The Senate May 23 approved a bill (S 292) that would have reduced fiscal 1980 spending for child nutrition programs by up to $150 million.

The House never acted on the bill, but some of the reductions were subsequently included in the fiscal 1980 agriculture appropriations bill (HR 4387). *(Story, p. 214)*

S 292, which included a $50 million reduction in a supplemental feeding program for low-income pregnant women, infants and children (WIC), was the product of a deal made at the end of the 95th Congress between President Carter and congressional nutrition leaders. Carter agreed then to sign a bill extending child nutrition programs for four years in return for a promise that Congress would move quickly in 1979 on legislation to cut fiscal 1980 spending for the WIC program to $750 million, from $800 million. *(1978 Almanac p. 625)*

Reported by the Agriculture Committee April 6 (S Rept 96-61) as a simple reduction in the WIC entitlement authorization, the bill became a vehicle for additional cost-cutting amendments because it appeared to be the only child nutrition legislation with a good chance for passage. However, the Senate amendments drew strong opposition from the House Education and Labor Committee, and as a result, the bill never made it to the House floor.

The Senate passed S 292 by a 91-0 vote after adding amendments that could cut spending on child nutrition programs by $100 million, in addition to the $50 million in the committee bill. *(Vote 111, p. 21-S)*

One amendment, offered by Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., would have helped save an estimated $60 million a year by giving the Agriculture Department authority to withhold administrative funds from states that did a poor job of monitoring their school lunch or breakfast programs. It was adopted 77-19, after a motion to table it was rejected 31-62. *(Votes 109, 110, pp. 20-S, 21-S)*

Eagleton said he offered the amendment because of reports that a "significant number" of parents were understating their incomes in order to qualify their children for free or reduced-price school meals, and many schools were making little or no effort to check up on applications.

The amendment would give the Agriculture Department a tool to force states to clean up such abuses, its supporters argued, without having to make use of the only sanction it had in existing law — the complete withholding of all child nutrition funds from a state. That punishment was so extreme it was unlikely to ever be used, they said.

The American School Food Service Association lobbied strongly against the amendment.

The other amendment, offered by Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., would save an estimated $37 million by restricting the summer food program to public schools and private institutions that prepared their own food for distribution to poor children. It eliminated programs run by private institutions, such as churches or other charitable organizations, that contracted with for-profit companies to prepare the food.

The private-sponsor programs had been the focus of most of the criticism of the eight-year-old program. The evidence of waste and abuse in the programs had been so strong that Congress in 1977 passed legislation to clean them up. *(1977 Almanac p. 507)*

While the amendment was adopted by voice vote without opposition on the floor, food activists strongly opposed it. They feared public schools would not rush in to fill the vacuum left by the private sponsors, leaving many poor children without proper nutrition during the summer. They said the 1977 changes should be given more time to work before cutting out the private sponsors.

Lobbying by milk producers helped kill another Bellmon amendment, which would have saved an estimated $118 million in the special milk distribution program. The amendment called for elimination of the program in schools that already had federal school lunch programs. The milk program provided a subsidy of 7 cents for each half-pint of milk served at school, and the full price of milk served to poor children.

Backers of the amendment argued that the program duplicated the breakfast and lunch programs, which also provided milk. George McGovern, D-S.D., chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Nutrition, said the milk program was the lowest priority in the child nutrition field. If funds were going to have to be cut from child nutrition, he said, special milk was the best place to do it.

Supporters of the program said providing nutritious milk to growing children was one of the best investments the country could make. Denying that children were "awash in a sea of milk," they warned that the amendment would cause many children, particularly those who brought their lunches to school, to drink less milk.

Opposition to the Bellmon amendment was so overwhelming that its sponsor withdrew it without a vote. ▮

Alcohol Abuse Programs

President Carter Jan. 2, 1980, signed into law a reauthorization of federal alcoholism and alcohol abuse programs that some members of Congress said cleared the way for the government to begin requiring health warning labels on liquor bottles.

Sens. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., and Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., maintained that compromise language in the two-year, $416.5 million measure (S 440 — PL 96-180) was structured so as to "permit and encourage" federal agency action on liquor health warnings as early as June 1980.

But opponents of mandatory labeling, such as Sen. Wendell H. Ford, a Democrat from bourbon-producing Kentucky, insisted the compromise didn't mean that at all.

The Senate had attached an amendment requiring health warnings on liquor in its bill, passed May 7; the House bill, passed Oct. 16, had no such provision. The compromise version was negotiated informally, without a conference, and approved by voice votes in both houses Dec. 19. The House bill also had included a one-year extension of federal drug abuse programs, which cleared Congress as separate legislation (S 525) Dec. 19. *(Story, p. 528)*

In passing the separate bills, Congress rejected the president's request to consolidate alcoholism, drug abuse and mental health grants to states into single, multi-purpose grants, at reduced funding levels. Alcohol and drug abuse professionals had feared their programs would be downgraded if they lost their separate legislative identities.

Liquor Warnings

The compromise on liquor labels replaced a Senate-passed amendment, sponsored by Thurmond, that required health warning labels on liquor that was more than 24 percent alcohol by volume.

The provision in the final version of S 440 did not specifically mention labeling, but required a six-month joint study by the secretaries of the Treasury and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) of health problems associated with overuse of alcohol, particularly those of children whose mothers drank excessively during pregnancy. The study was also to include a review of the existing statutory authority of both agencies to inform the public of liquor-associated health hazards.

While Thurmond and Riegle thought this study could lead to federal agency action on warning labels, Ford denied that that was its intent. He said the compromise did not "express the view that executive agencies should proceed to put health warning labels on alcohol beverage containers without express congressional direction."

The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) had been pressing Treasury's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) for warning labels since 1977, and was not happy about either the compromise on S 440 or the confusing legislative record on it. BATF was not anxious to rush to labeling, preferring to wait for a voluntary, industry-sponsored campaign to alert women to the hazards that drinking during pregnancy posed for unborn children.

About 1,500 children with fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) were born each year to mothers who drank, according to the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. FAS symptoms, including small birth size, small head size and moderate to severe developmental problems, showed up in children whose mothers drank three ounces or more of alcohol daily.

Provisions

As signed into law, S 440 (PL 96-180):

Federal Programs. Extended federal alcoholism and alcohol abuse programs through fiscal 1981. Authorized $199.5 million in fiscal 1980 and $217 million in 1981.

- Required the director of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism to make programs for underserved populations such as women and adolescents a high priority.
- Added members from the Departments of Labor, Treasury and Education to the interagency committee on federal alcoholism programs.
- Created a National Commission on Alcoholism and Other Alcohol-Related Problems, with a two-year, $1 million authorization. Directed the commission to recommend national alcohol abuse policy to the president.

• Extended eligibility in alcohol abuse programs for federal civilian employees to families of those employees.

• Required the secretaries of the Treasury and HEW to report jointly to Congress and the president, by June 1, 1980, on the nature and extent of birth defects and other health hazards associated with alcohol consumption by pregnant women and other individuals. Required the secretaries to recommend actions they could take under the Federal Alcohol Administration Act and the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act to inform the public of such hazards.

State Programs. Required state alcoholism advisory councils to include as members women and elderly persons, and required state alcoholism plans to estimate the needs of these groups.

• Required states receiving formula grants to coordinate their alcoholism and drug abuse activities and to encourage development of alcoholism programs in state and local government, private business and industry.

• Extended authorizations for grants and contracts to states that adopted a model statute designed to treat alcoholism as a disease rather than a crime, and to public or private entities conducting alcoholism prevention and treatment programs.

Senate Action

Committee. The Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources reported S 440 (S Rept 96-103) April 30. It said about 9 percent of adult Americans — some 10 million persons — and nearly 20 percent of adolescents aged 14 to 19 had alcohol-related problems, and it stressed the cost of these problems: 200,000 deaths a year associated with excessive use of alcohol, including half of all traffic fatalities, and costs of some $43 billion a year (1975 figures) — $20 billion in lost production, $13 billion in medical costs, $10 billion in other costs.

Certain upward trends, such as per-capita consumption of alcohol, rate of deaths from cirrhosis and alcohol consumption among youth, had leveled out during the 1970s, but at dangerously high levels, the committee said. And there were emerging health problems, such as interaction of alcohol with other drugs, overuse by the elderly and fetal alcohol syndrome.

The committee made a number of changes to reflect these concerns, and rejected the administration's budget proposal to consolidate state mental health, alcohol abuse and drug abuse allotments into one general purpose grant. That proposal would cut funds for the programs by 10 percent, and there was "no assurance that alcoholism and drug abuse programs would receive their full share even of that reduced allotment," the committee said.

The committee authorized spending of $669 million over three years for the alcohol programs. But "in recognition of an extremely tight budget year," it cut authorizations to near recent appropriations levels, well below existing authorizations. The committee said it expected full funding for the lowered authorizations.

The committee created a new program of special grants to states that agreed to promote health insurance coverage for alcoholism treatment programs through state insurance regulations. It authorized new committees and new studies.

On the subject of health warnings, the committee said "it is not yet clear that warning labels on alcoholic beverage containers would be the best tool to educate the public."

Floor. The full Senate rejected that view, agreeing by voice vote May 7 to Thurmond's amendment to require health warning labeling on all liquor that was more than 24 percent alcohol by volume. The label would read: "Consumption of alcoholic beverages may be hazardous to your health."

The Senate passed S 440 by voice vote.

The key vote on the mandatory labeling was a 21-68 vote to reject a motion by Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky., to table the label amendment. *(Vote 82, p. 16-S)*

Huddleston, whose state was the home of several major distilleries, said the labeling requirement was premature and would disrupt cooperative efforts among the industry, HEW and BATF to inform the public about alcohol hazards.

Thurmond had to trim the text of his original proposal on the floor, dropping warnings that alcohol could be habit-forming and could "cause serious birth defects when consumed during pregnancy." Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., suggested the final, weaker version as a compromise. Basically, Javits said, he could not support the original Thurmond language because it was too controversial to pass.

House Action

Committee. The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee May 15 reported a bill (HR 3916 — H Rept 96-193) extending federal alcohol and drug abuse programs for one year. The committee did not consolidate the programs as the administration had requested, however. The bill was intended to continue the programs until they could be reviewed, along with mental health programs, in 1980. It authorized $221.5 million for alcohol programs.

Floor. The House passed HR 3916 Oct. 16 by a 396-8 vote. *(Vote 512, p. 148-H)*

The only amendment affecting the alcohol abuse portion of the bill prohibited federal funding for drug-abuse counselors and others working in federal drug or alcohol abuse programs from themselves illegally using marijuana, cocaine or other controlled substances.

Final Action

Differences between the two bills were resolved in informal negotiations rather than a conference. The final version was a two-year, $416.5 million authorization.

The House, not noticeably interested in the liquor labeling issue, had not included a labeling provision in its bill. In the absence of a House mandate for the move, House negotiators refused to accept it. Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., chairman of the House Commerce Subcommittee on Health, also argued that such a permanent change in federal law was not germane in a simple one-year reauthorization.

Instead, negotiators agreed to require the six-month HEW-Treasury study of alcohol-related health problems. They also halved a $2 million Senate authorization for a new study commission on alcoholism, and dropped Senate provisions for a new center to study alcoholism among Indians and Alaskan natives, a broader ban on discrimination against alcoholics in federally funded health and social service programs, and grants to states wishing to use their insurance regulatory systems to promote health insurance coverage for both inpatient and outpatient treatment of alcoholism and alcohol abuse.

They dropped the House provision barring employment in federally funded alcohol or drug abuse programs to individuals who admitted to illegal use or possession of any controlled substance (drugs).

Drug Abuse Programs

Congress Dec. 19 agreed to continue federal drug abuse efforts for two more years, but refused President Carter's request to fold funds for state drug abuse programs into single, consolidated grants for mental health, drug and alcohol abuse services.

Although the consolidation plan might have streamlined administration of the three programs, "the unique aspects of drug abuse and addiction" might have been neglected by "the bureaucracy," said Sen. Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., chairman of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse.

Congress cleared the $444 million reauthorization (S 525) Dec. 19 by voice votes in both houses, and the president signed the bill into law (PL 96-181) Jan. 2, 1980.

The Senate had passed a one-year extension of the drug abuse programs May 7, with an automatic continuation for a second year unless there was congressional action to prevent it. The House approved its one-year version Oct. 16 as part of a bill (HR 3916) that also continued federal alcoholism programs. Differences between the two bills were worked out in staff-level negotiations, without a formal conference. The alcoholism reauthorization (S 440) cleared Congress as a separate bill. *(Story, p. 526)*

Provisions

As signed into law, S 525 (PL 96-181):

- Extended through fiscal 1981 authorizations for federal drug abuse programs; authorized $214 million in fiscal 1980 and $230 million in fiscal 1981.

State Programs. Required state drug abuse advisory councils to include women and elderly members, and to recognize special needs of these groups in state drug abuse plans. Required states to coordinate their treatment and prevention services for drug abuse with those for alcohol abuse, to coordinate state efforts with those of local governments, and to receive local government comments on state drug abuse plans. Also required states to promote drug abuse programs in the workplace, through local governments and private businesses.

Project Grants and Contracts. Required preferential treatment for prevention and treatment proposals targeted on drug problems of women, the elderly and children under age 18. Stipulated new special guidelines for federally funded projects, such as availability to the handicapped or persons speaking little English.

- Directed the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) to develop model prevention and treatment programs for use in the workplace, to be disseminated through state programs.

Research, Other Provisions. Authorized NIDA to provide technical assistance to states on data collection, accreditation of programs, eliminating exclusions for drug abuse treatment from health insurance plans and other matters.

- Added as research priorities for NIDA: causes of drug abuse, and the physical and mental health consequences and social and economic impact of drug abuse and addiction.
- Repealed a separate research authorization for development of "non-addictive and less addictive" drugs.
- Required the director of NIDA, within 60 days of enactment, to submit to congressional committees a detailed description of all institute research grants and contracts as of July 1, 1979.
- Added representatives of state and local drug abuse agencies to the National Advisory Council on Drug Abuse.

Senate Action

As reported by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee April 30 (S Rept 96-104), S 525 authorized $243 million in fiscal 1980 for drug abuse treatment and prevention programs. This represented only a modest increase over fiscal 1979 funding of $229 million, reflecting a feeling that "the biggest problem now is alcohol," according to Craig Polhemus, staff director of the Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse.

The "heroin epidemic" of the late 1960s, which originally focused federal attention on the widespread abuse of narcotics and other drugs, "has passed the crisis stage," the committee acknowledged in its report.

But the committee said young people were increasing their use of certain drugs such as amphetamines and phencyclidine (PCP), and it chided NIDA for limiting its concern to "particular drugs which have been the most obvious or severe problems in the past." It urged NIDA to aim its funds at reducing drug dependency among children, the elderly and other underserved groups.

The committee said it approved a one-year authorization, with a provisional extension for another year, to give Congress time to examine NIDA's management of the federal drug effort. Of particular concern was NIDA's funding formula, which doled out money to the states based on the number of drug abuse clients treated. The formula provided funds to the states based on "body counts," rather than on actual treatment costs, the committee complained.

The limited reauthorization also reflected congressional concern over President Carter's 1977 dismantling of the Office of Drug Abuse Policy (ODAP), according to Orrin G. Hatch, Utah, ranking Republican on the alcoholism and drug abuse subcommittee. ODAP, which Congress established in 1976, coordinated federal agencies' drug abuse enforcement and treatment efforts. Under a Carter reorganization plan, its functions were transferred to the domestic policy staff, leaving the government without any formal body to coordinate federal drug policy. *(1978 Almanac p. 209)*

Hatch said the one-year drug program extension would force congressional committees to examine the situation.

The committee expressed concern that ODAP's role of coordinating federal drug abuse efforts was now "dependent upon the continued interest and commitment of the president and other individuals within the executive branch, rather than being clearly structured by statute as had been the case prior to the reorganization plan." It recommended delegating ODAP's functions to the president and urged him to issue an executive order specifically assigning authority to coordinate federal drug policy to the new drug policy office of the domestic policy staff. (On May 9, two days after the Senate approved S 525, President Carter issued such an order.)

The Senate approved S 525 May 7 by voice vote, without amendment.

House Action

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee authorized a one-year, $206 million extension of federal drug abuse programs. The bill reported by the committee May 15 (HR 3916 — H Rept 96-193) also extended federal alcohol abuse programs.

The House passed the bill Oct. 16 by a vote of 396-8, after accepting by voice vote an amendment barring federal salaries to drug abuse counselors and others working in federally funded drug or alcohol abuse programs if they themselves illegally used or possessed marijuana, cocaine or other controlled drugs. *(Vote 512, p. 148-H)*

Individuals working in such programs would periodically be asked, under oath, whether they used illegal drugs, said James M. Collins, R-Texas, sponsor of the amendment. No federal funds could be used to pay those who answered yes.

Waxman Opposition

The only opposition to the amendment came from Commerce Health Subcommittee Chairman Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., floor manager of the bill. He said existing law already provided penalties for misuse of controlled substances, and that a mandatory oath could discourage former addicts from working in these programs, even though their experience "would be very helpful in guiding these people you want to get off of drugs."

The House rejected an amendment by Charles B. Rangel, D-N.Y., to add a $5 million authorization earmarked for separate drug-abuse planning programs by cities. Planning was funded only at the state level, and Rangel said cities' needs were being ignored by state agencies. Waxman opposed the amendment, saying state agencies should be made more sensitive to urban needs.

Final Action

The final version of S 525 was a two-year, $444 million reauthorization, including grants to states for drug abuse treatment and prevention programs, and federal grants and projects for research into drug abuse and related activities. It made drug problems of women, the elderly and adolescents a special priority for federally supported activities.

While funding the programs at a substantially higher level than the president's proposed consolidation plan, the bill nevertheless dropped authorization levels $8 million below the fiscal 1979 level.

Compromise

The compromise eliminated the House-passed amendment barring employment in federally funded drug abuse programs to individuals who admitted to illegal use or possession of drugs. It also eliminated a separate $5 million Senate authorization for planning grants to local governments for drug abuse activities, a provision similar to the amendment Rangel had tried to add during House floor action. The compromise instead required states to permit city governments to comment on state drug abuse plans. A well-founded complaint from a city could lead to pressure on a state from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to revise its plans, a House aide said. ▮

Adoption Aid, Child Welfare

The House and Senate passed legislation in 1979 to provide federal assistance to families who adopted children from welfare backgrounds, but final action on the differing versions of the bill (HR 3434) was not completed.

The legislation represented a major policy shift in federal efforts to help children of low-income families who for various reasons could no longer live at home. It tilted federal assistance away from foster care and toward permanent adoption. Most child welfare experts believed adoption was much better for children than temporary placement in foster homes.

Both versions of the bill would make payments to families that adopted welfare children who had special problems that made unsubsidized adoption unlikely — those with handicaps, those who were older than the age at which most children were adopted, and members of sibling groups. There were an estimated 8,000 to 10,000 children in these categories.

In addition to encouraging permanent adoption, HR 3434 sought to cut back the number of welfare children kept in foster homes. The House and Senate took different approaches to this problem. The House simply encouraged adoption through the new subsidy program and required new safeguards for children in foster homes. The Senate also provided adoption assistance, but in addition it placed a spending cap on aid for foster care — a step it intended to speed the move toward permanent adoption, but which critics said could harm children who for some reason didn't get adopted, by reducing both the quantity and quality of foster care.

Under existing law, people who provided foster care to welfare children received matching assistance payments from state and federal governments. To reduce the need for foster care as much as possible, the federal government also provided assistance to states for "child welfare" services aimed at keeping families together, or reuniting them once separated. The existing authorization for those child welfare services was $266 million a year, but actual appropriations in recent years had been frozen at $56.5 million.

The House Ways and Means Committee sought to convert the child welfare program to an entitlement, to guarantee full funding for it, but the House, by a narrow five-vote margin, refused to go along. The government was legally bound to pay all benefits under an entitlement program, whereas regular authorizations were subject to the annual appropriations process, and appropriations frequently were well below the authorized amount.

The House bill required the states to institute new safeguards to protect the rights of foster children, in order to be eligible for child welfare funding. The Senate bill left such safeguards to the discretion of the states.

The House bill also raised to $3.1 billion the fiscal 1980 ceiling on federal matching contributions to state social services programs authorized by Title XX of the Social Security Act. The Senate bill set the ceiling at $2.7 billion. The fiscal 1979 ceiling was $2.9 billion.

The Senate version also contained some amendments to the general welfare program that were expected to generate controversy in conference. For instance, the bill made changes in accounting procedures governing benefits under the basic Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) welfare program; it was estimated that these changes would reduce AFDC and Medicaid costs by $161 million in 1980.

The House version did not include similar language and House conferees were expected to argue that such changes should be made on a pending welfare reform bill (HR 4904) rather than on the child welfare measure. *(Welfare reform, p. 509)*

In 1977 both House and Senate committees approved legislation similar to HR 3434, but it was not enacted because of a dispute over the Finance Committee's addition of major changes to the welfare system. *(1977 Almanac p. 511)*

House Committee Action

The House Ways and Means Committee reported HR 3434 (H Rept 96-136) May 10. It was estimated that the bill could add nearly $1 billion a year to federal social services and child welfare expenditures.

In addition to providing cash assistance to families who adopted hard-to-place children, the bill converted child welfare services from an authorization to an entitlement.

Claiming that the annual appropriation of $56.5 million was inadequate for child welfare services, the committee guaranteed that the full $266 million annual authorization would be made available by making it an entitlement program. The government is required to provide all necessary funding to pay entitlement benefits.

The committee coupled the new money for child welfare with a series of new requirements that states would have to meet in order to continue receiving the funds. The new safeguards were designed to ensure that children were not unnecessarily placed in foster care or left there too long. States were to review the cases of all children who had been in foster care homes for more than six months, try to keep families together before making a foster home placement, and provide foster homes as close to the family home as possible.

The committee set the ceiling for fiscal 1980 matching funds for state social service programs at $3.1 billion, including $200 million for grants for child day care services. The states were not required to match the day care grants. *(Social service programs, 1974 Almanac p. 505, 1978 Almanac p. 633)*

House Floor Action

By a narrow five-vote margin, the House voted 204-199 Aug. 2 not to put funding for the child welfare program on an entitlement basis. It then passed HR 3434 by a 401-2 vote. *(Votes 393, 394, p. 114-H)*

The child welfare section of the bill had the misfortune to be the first new entitlement provision to come before the House since action on the first budget resolution, said Robert H. Michel, R-Ill., who led the fight to remove the entitlement. During debate on the budget resolution, many members had complained about the high percentage of the budget not subject to annual spending control by Congress.

Michel said he resolved at that point that "when the first doggone entitlement comes down the pike, we're going to make our point." The child welfare entitlement thus was selected as the test case, although Michel conceded that it "was really not the best bill to do it on."

Michel was prevented from offering an amendment to remove the entitlement because the bill came to the floor under a closed rule that did not permit floor amendments. The rule was adopted 251-154. *(Vote 392, p. 114-H)*

The rule did allow a motion to recommit to committee and Michel offered one with instructions to report the bill back immediately without the entitlement. He stressed that it was only the entitlement, not the program itself, that he opposed. His motion to recommit was approved, 204-199, and the House then approved the bill as amended.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Finance Committee reported HR 3434 (S Rept 96-336) Oct. 2. Its version was a more conservative version of the bill passed by the House.

Like the House, the committee called for encouraging adoption by authorizing federal contributions to people who adopted eligible children. But it coupled that with a de-emphasis on federal help for foster care.

The Senate's new adoption assistance program would match state spending for assistance to parents who adopted eligible children. The amount of aid would be negotiated between the family and the state welfare agency. Eligibility for adoption aid would be more limited than for foster care payments; in order for parents to receive the aid, the adopted child would have to be from a welfare-eligible family, have been removed from the original home by judicial order, and have "special needs," such as a handicap or relatively advanced age, that made unassisted adoption unlikely. The Senate bill also limited the assistance, in most cases, to adopting families whose income was at or below 125 percent of the state's median family income.

Foster Care Spending. Differing from the House, the committee limited the open-ended federal commitment to match state foster care spending. Its bill placed a "cap" on federal payments to each state in fiscal 1980 that equaled 120 percent of payments in fiscal 1978. After that, payments would be allowed to rise 10 percent a year through 1984, when the whole program would be up for reauthorization.

The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimated that the cap would save the federal government, and cost state governments, $5 million in 1980, and less in succeeding years. It based its estimate on the fact that the number of children in foster care had been going down. However, the National Governors' Association estimated the cap could cost states about $19 million in 1980, since declining caseloads did not necessarily lead to declining costs. Those states that projected caseload reductions also expected a one-third increase in costs between 1978 and 1980, association officials said.

In separate views to the committee report, John Heinz, R-Pa., and John C. Danforth, R-Mo., argued that the cap was at best premature and at worst a threat to the well-being of children who had no choice about being in foster care. They said the adoption program would take time to get going, and that in the meantime, "an arbitrary limit on the number of children who can be served in foster care and on the quality of that care would mean a denial of services to children in need, a clear abdication of our public responsibility."

The Senate bill also differed from the House version on the issue of requiring states to ensure that children were not unnecessarily placed in foster care. The House bill required states to institute new safeguards to protect the rights of foster children, in order to be eligible for federal child welfare grants. The Senate bill made the new safeguards subject to the discretion of the Appropriations committees and

the states. If Congress decided to increase child welfare funding over the existing $56.5 million level, the excess could go for the safeguards, such as keeping better track of how the foster care children were doing and trying to reunite them with their families. But states would not be required to institute the new protections.

Social Service Funds. Determined to make savings in order to meet its targets under the budget resolution, the committee called for a substantial cut in federal payments for state social service programs, setting the ceiling on matching grants for fiscal 1980 at $2.7 million. The House bill raised the ceiling to $3.1 billion.

While it cut back on the program for fiscal 1980, the committee held out the hope of large increases in the future. Recognizing that inflation had led to a reduction of state social services since the ceiling on federal payments was enacted, the committee proposed to index the ceiling to inflation in the future. The bill would allow the ceiling to go up each year according to the Consumer Price Index. CBO said this would result in ceilings of $2.9 billion in 1981, $3.1 billion in 1982, $3.2 billion in 1983 and 1984, and $3.3 billion in 1985.

Also in the bill was a permanent authorization for one of Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long's, D-La., favorite programs — child support enforcement assistance to help states track down absent fathers who weren't contributing to their children's upkeep. Known informally as "nab-a-dad," the program had helped states collect more than $3.2 billion from absent parents since it began in 1975. The hope was that families that got their child support payments would not have to go on welfare.

States provided child support services to both welfare and non-welfare families. But while the federal government helped pay the costs of collecting support for welfare families, it had not been sharing the costs for non-welfare families since the beginning of fiscal 1979. As reported by the Finance Committee, HR 3434 established on a permanent basis federal contributions for state collection services to non-welfare families, retroactive to Oct. 1, 1978.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate passed HR 3434 Oct. 29 by voice vote. It rejected by a substantial margin an attempt to remove the adoption assistance payments from the bill, and opponents of the limit on federal assistance to welfare children in foster homes did not even attempt to remove those provisions.

Strong support for the foster care spending ceiling from liberal Democrats, as well as from Finance Committee Chairman Long, defused any attempts to remove it on the Senate floor.

Republicans Heinz and Danforth had opposed the provision in committee, with the backing of the Child Welfare League and the Children's Defense Fund. But realizing they did not have the votes to remove the cap, opponents decided against offering a floor amendment lest their defeat serve to strengthen the hand of committee members who wanted to hold on to the provision for the conference with the House.

Supporters of the cap said it was necessary to force states to step up their efforts to get children out of foster care and either back with their original families or into new families. They said unlimited federal support just encouraged states to let children languish in foster care.

But opponents warned that the cap would reduce help for children who for some reason were not placed under the new adoption assistance program. They said the 10 percent growth limit would freeze the assistance at its existing level, barely keeping up with inflation.

Although it showed little interest in allowing unchecked increases in foster care spending, the Senate did approve a Heinz amendment to loosen the cap by allowing states to use fiscal 1979 as the base year. Several states had substantially expanded their foster care efforts between 1978 and 1979.

The Senate rejected an attempt to cut federal foster care contributions to one state — New York — by nearly $6 million a year. New York State received about half of all federal foster care funds.

Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., argued that existing policy rewarded states, like New York, that had the most expensive foster care programs. New York provided foster care benefits that were twice the national average and three to four times as great as all but a handful of states.

His amendment would have penalized states whose average spending per foster child, or percentage of AFDC children in foster care, exceeded the national average by more than 50 percent. The amendment was rejected by a 31-57 vote. *(Vote 370, p. 62-S)*

Expansion of Adoption Aid

After reaffirming its support for the new adoption assistance program, the Senate voted to expand its coverage to include adopting families from all income levels.

The committee bill allowed adoption subsidies for only a small group: children from welfare families, taken from their parents by court order, who had special problems that made unsubsidized adoption unlikely. And adopting parents were eligible only if their income was at or below 125 percent of the median income in their state.

Arguing that many middle-class families would have trouble bearing the heavy financial burdens of adopting a child with special needs, Carl Levin, D-Mich., offered an amendment to eliminate the income limit for adopting parents, provide Medicaid coverage for the adopted children and make children with special needs who received Supplemental Security Income (SSI) eligible for the new adoption assistance.

Levin argued that the income test would deter many parents from seeking to adopt the children, many of whom would continue to remain in expensive foster care. Responding to Levin's claim that an unlimited program would not increase federal costs, Long recalled the history of many social programs that started out with small costs but grew into huge drains on the federal budget.

Levin's amendment was adopted 60-25. *(Vote 369, p. 62-S)*

Earlier, the Senate turned down an attempt by James A. McClure, R-Idaho, to eliminate adoption assistance altogether. McClure said it was wrong to offer money to encourage parents to make a decision that should be motivated solely by love. "There is only one right reason to adopt — because the child is loved and wanted as one's own," he said. The amendment was rejected 13-77 Oct. 25. *(Vote 366, p. 61-S)*

Program Consolidation

The Senate defeated two proposals by Bellmon to move toward consolidating various categorical social pro-

grams into a smaller number of broad grant programs to states.

The first way Bellmon proposed to encourage consolidated grants was, paradoxically, by cutting future spending for one of the most important block grant programs, the social service grants authorized by Title XX of the Social Security Act. His amendment, which was rejected 37-50 Oct. 25, would have limited Title XX spending to $2.9 billion a year through fiscal 1985. *(Vote 367, p. 61-S)*

Bellmon said the amendment was intended not so much to save money as to force Congress to look at the issue of whether it preferred to have a few broad grant programs or many narrowly defined categorical programs. He noted that increases in Title XX funding had not been accompanied by cuts in categorical programs directed toward similar ends. "It seems to me we ought to decide which direction we are going," he said.

Bellmon's other push for consolidation would have melded five separate social programs into two. Continuing his arguments in favor of broad programs that gave more options to states, Bellmon called for joining the Title XX social service grants with a smaller program of training for social service workers, and for linking the existing programs of child welfare and foster care assistance with the new adoption aid effort. The amendment was rejected 26-61 Oct. 25. *(Vote 368, p. 61-S)* ▮

Military Doctor Bonuses

In an effort to alleviate a shortage of doctors and dentists in the armed forces, Congress moved in 1979 to boost special pay bonuses and provide other financial incentives for them to join and remain in the military services.

The House passed such a bill (HR 5235) Nov. 13 by a 377-10 vote, and the Senate passed its version by voice vote Dec. 20, the last day of the first session.

The Defense Department had warned that since the end of the military draft in 1973, the services had been increasingly short of doctors; in fiscal 1979, they were about 1,500 short of their needs, defense officials said, with specialists such as surgeons, orthopedists and radiologists in particularly short supply. The doctor shortage threatened the military's preparedness for war, the quality of peacetime medical care for members of the armed forces, retirees and their families, and recruiting efforts for the all-volunteer army, officials said.

A principal reason for the shortage was the disparity between military doctors' pay and what they could make in private practice, the congressional armed services committees believed. Military doctors made $20,000 to $59,000 a year in basic pay plus bonuses, compared to an average civilian doctor's annual income of $70,000, the Defense Department said.

The bills in Congress were aimed at providing incentives for young doctors to join the armed services, and to stay in rather than leaving after a few years for more lucrative private practices. Congress last increased military pay bonuses in 1974. *(1974 Almanac p. 642)*

House Action

The House Armed Services Committee reported HR 5235 (H Rept 96-517) on Oct. 16. The House passed the bill Nov. 13 without amendment, under suspension of the rules, by a 377-10 vote. *(Vote 580, p. 172-H)*

The bill created a new system of bonuses so that military doctors could earn up to $64,000 a year. The system was structured so that the biggest salary increases would go to younger doctors who had completed their residencies. Their pay would jump to about $46,000, from $30,000. The raise for more senior officers, who were less likely to leave the service, would be about $5,000 a year.

The bill also rewarded military physicians who became "board certified" with new annual bonuses of up to $5,000. (Board certified doctors are specialists who have passed examinations of medical specialty boards.)

The new program would cost about $38.5 million in the first year, rising to about $126 million by fiscal year 1984, according to the Congressional Budget Office.

Bill sponsor Bill Nichols, D-Ala., told the House the restructured bonus pay system was needed for two reasons: "The military health care delivery system is one of the most significant fringe benefits of military compensation," and "it is an essential element of our national defense posture." He called the bill a "first step toward a solution" to the problems of military health care, and noted that it provided $3 million for a test of alternative compensation incentives for remaining problem areas.

G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery, D-Miss., citing reports from a recent Defense Department training exercise, warned that "in a military emergency in Europe, we would not have sufficient medical personnel to care for the wounded."

Senate Action

The Senate Armed Services Committee reported a similar measure (S 523 — S Rept 96-507) Dec. 17, authorizing somewhat higher rates of pay than the House bill and targeting more of the increase on senior officers. The Senate substituted the text of its bill for HR 5235 and passed it by voice vote Dec. 20. ▮

Medicare-Medicaid Benefits

The Senate Finance Committee July 12 voted to kill President Carter's hospital cost control proposal (S 570) and approved instead a bill that would limit only federal payments to hospitals for Medicare and Medicaid patients. The bill was thought by many observers to be the only type of hospital cost control that stood a chance of passage in the 96th Congress.

The hospital reimbursement provision was included in a lengthy collection of changes to Medicare-Medicaid law the committee approved. It attached the changes to a private relief bill (HR 934) the House had passed on May 15. The Senate report was filed Dec. 10 (S Rept 96-471).

The House Ways and Means Committee also approved a package of Medicare-Medicaid changes in 1979, mainly making minor benefit improvements for Medicare, providing incentives to encourage prepaid medical plans such as health maintenance organizations (HMOs) to enroll more elderly members, and establishing a voluntary federal certification program for private "Medigap" insurance plans, sold as a supplement to Medicare coverage.

Ways and Means reported the legislation Nov. 5 (HR 3990 — H Rept 96-588, HR 4000 — H Rept 96-589). The House Commerce Committee, which shared jurisdiction, was still considering HR 4000 at year's end; it waived jurisdiction over HR 3990.

Finance Committee Action

After the House rejected the president's hospital cost control plan Nov. 15, it appeared that limiting Medicare and Medicaid payments to hospitals was about as much as the 96th Congress would do to limit hospital revenue increases, and HR 934 was considered a possible vehicle for that compromise. *(Hospital cost control, p. 512)*

However, as a form of hospital cost control its enactment would be something of a hollow victory, since the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) had already moved administratively in 1979 to adopt the substance of the committee's changes in hospital payments.

Because the hospital reimbursement section affected only Medicare-Medicaid reimbursements instead of all hospital revenues, and because the bill included other benefit changes that would increase federal spending, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimated that HR 934 would save about $900 million over five years, compared with the $50 billion five-year savings estimate claimed by the administration for its hospital cost control plan. Finance Committee staff disagreed with that estimate, maintaining that an assortment of thrift provisions in the bill would save taxpayers $9.3 billion over five years.

HEW also warned that limiting cost-cutting to the two federal programs would not only reduce savings, but also risked discrimination against Medicare and Medicaid patients as federal hospitalization payments for them dropped further below those of private insurance plans.

The Finance Committee bill was based on a Medicare-Medicaid reform measure (S 505) sponsored by Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., chairman of its health subcommittee, and several other bills and committee staff recommendations. Talmadge insisted his plan was not an "either-or" alternative to the president's cost control proposal, but the committee basically regarded it as such.

Provisions

The major feature of the bill was a "prospective" payment system that limited federal payments to hospitals for Medicare and Medicaid patients to the "average" costs for each type and size of hospital.

Under the existing system, the federal government simply paid a portion of a hospital's total expenses after they were incurred on behalf of Medicare and Medicaid patients. Under HR 934, hospitals would be paid at a set rate per day for their routine costs, such as supplies, food and non-supervisory labor. The rate for each type or size of hospital would be determined by comparing costs of similar hospitals and finding an average level of expenditures. Hospitals coming in under the average could keep part of the difference as a bonus; those exceeding the average by more than 15 percent (in the first year) could not recover those "excess" costs. The reimbursement limit would be lowered in future years.

To ease the transition into the program, during the first two years only half the penalties and bonuses would be applied. Other Medicare-Medicaid payments to hospitals for "ancillary" services, such as X-rays, and reimbursement for health facilities such as nursing homes would be brought into this system administratively as cost data became available.

The bill included numerous other provisions designed to induce doctors to accept Medicare reimbursement as full payment for patients' bills, encourage them to practice in medically underserved areas by reducing the existing urban-rural payment differential, and bar most percentage-based reimbursement for hospital-based physicians such as pathologists.

The bill created a new $50 million program to help hospitals convert underused acute-care beds to long-term care beds, and liberalized Medicare payments for home health care. It also barred disclosure by HEW or Professional Standards Review Organizations (PSROs) of data relating to physician performance or Medicare and Medicaid payments to them.

House Committee Action

The House Ways and Means Committee reported its "thrift package" Medicare-Medicaid legislation (HR 3990, HR 4000) on Nov. 5.

Similar legislation passed the House in 1978 but died without Senate action in the 95th Congress. The legislation originated when the House Budget Committee in effect told Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., then chairman of the Ways and Means Health Subcommittee, that the panel could "spend" up to $100 million on Medicare improvements; members then added up options until they reached that ceiling. *(1978 Almanac p. 619)*

The bills made some benefit improvements for Medicare, such as eliminating annual limits on home health care services and liberalizing coverage for psychiatric and certain medical services. HR 4000 included the HMO provision, authorized a new demonstration project to provide the elderly and disabled with home health and homemaker assistance, and established a voluntary federal certification program for private health insurance policies supplementing Medicare.

HMO Provision

HR 4000 authorized federal payments to HMOs enrolling Medicare beneficiaries at a prospectively determined rate of 95 percent of what it cost to provide Medicare benefits through regular fee-for-service doctors and hospitals.

Under existing law the government reimbursed HMOs at a rate of only 80 percent of fee-for-service costs. Partly as a result of the lower payment rate, only one of the nation's 217 federally qualified prepaid group health plans had taken Medicare members on a risk basis, and only 1.5 million of Medicare's 25 million elderly beneficiaries were enrolled in such organizations. The HMO plans provided health care to members for a fixed annual fee.

The formula change appeared to mean more money for the plans than they could get under existing law, but it also required them to spend any excess funds on improving benefits or reducing co-payments for their Medicare members.

The Carter administration proposed the new reimbursement, as had the Nixon administration before it. Backers of the provision included prepaid plans such as the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, and the American Association of Retired Persons. They maintained that prepaid plans saved money compared to traditional fee-for-service medicine and that those savings could pay for more health care for the elderly. Some congressional aides questioned the potential for savings and for fraud or reduction in services, however.

Administration and industry lobbyists also had lined up an impressive, bipartisan list of sponsors for the HMO proposal in the Senate (S 1530).

'Medigap' Certification

The voluntary "Medigap" certification program was intended to protect elderly purchasers of private health insurance plans that supplemented Medicare coverage. The House Select Committee on Aging estimated that Medicare beneficiaries spent as much as $4 billion a year on this coverage — called "Medigap" insurance — and that a substantial amount of it was duplicative or incomplete.

Medigap problems included misleading or exploitative marketing practices, high premium cost relative to benefits, and fragmented policies with limited, and sometimes even illusory, benefits, according to Leonard D. Schaeffer, chief of HEW's Health Care Financing Administration. The Carter administration wanted mandatory certification for the plans.

The House Commerce Subcommittee on Health began its markup of the bill Oct. 31 by dropping the voluntary Medigap certification program. ▮

Saccharin Ban Moratorium

The House voted overwhelmingly in 1979 to permit diet foods and soft drinks sweetened with saccharin to stay on the market for two more years.

By a 394-22 vote July 24, it passed a bill (HR 4453) extending through June 30, 1981, the moratorium on Food and Drug Administration (FDA) efforts to ban saccharin-sweetened products. *(Vote 342, p. 100-H)*

The Senate did not act on an extension of the moratorium, however. The FDA thus was free to resume proceedings to ban saccharin. However, FDA officials said they would wait for a congressional decision before doing so, even though the agency appeared to be technically in violation of statutory requirements that it ban food additives shown to be carcinogenic in humans or laboratory animals.

"We're not going to spend a lot of time and money drafting new regulations until we have a sense of what Congress wants to do on saccharin," said FDA spokesman Wayne Pines. It would take the FDA 15 to 18 months to institute a ban, officials said.

The FDA had moved to ban saccharin in 1977, after laboratory tests linked it to cancer in rats. But Congress, under pressure from consumers and diet food and drink manufacturers, placed an 18-month moratorium on the proposed ban. That moratorium (PL 95-203) expired May 23, 1979. *(1977 action, 1977 Almanac p. 495)*

Despite the big House vote to extend the moratorium, the Senate took no action on saccharin. Late in the year a group of conservative senators asked the Labor and Human Resources Committee to take up the issue, but Edward M. Kennedy's, D-Mass., Health Subcommittee was still waiting for two new scientific studies on saccharin consumption and cancer in humans.

A 1978 National Academy of Sciences (NAS) study, done on congressional request, had affirmed earlier findings that saccharin was a low-level carcinogen that posed a cancer risk of unknown magnitude for humans. Additional studies were expected from the National Cancer Institute and from Ernest Wynder, a New York researcher whose studies originally showed that there was no correlation between bladder cancer and saccharin consumption in humans, but who later had questioned his own findings.

Congress had been expected to undertake a major review of federal food laws in 1979 in connection with the expiring saccharin ban, but did not.

House Committee Action

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reported HR 4453 July 17 (H Rept 96-348).

Citing pressures from constituents and doctors, members said that, as in 1977, they still found the needs of the obese and diabetic more compelling than the case against saccharin. Those groups depended on products sweetened with calorie-free saccharin instead of sugar. Many of them, along with manufacturers of saccharin products, ridiculed the tests on which the FDA's proposed ban was based; they said a human being would have to drink hundreds of diet soft drinks a day to duplicate the saccharin consumption of the rats that got cancer.

"I don't think we have to be apologetic for responding to constituents who want to make a choice on whether to take on the risks" of eating saccharin-flavored foods, said Philip R. Sharp, D-Ind.

Three members dissented, urging the committee to defer to the expertise of scientists who had studied saccharin. "This ought not to be a political decision. For us to override the decision of the scientific body [FDA] that we set up is a mistake," warned Richard L. Ottinger, D-N.Y.

Ottinger unsuccessfully offered an amendment that would have allowed the FDA to limit or ban saccharin during the new moratorium period if an acceptable substitute were found. Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., chairman of the Commerce Subcommittee on Health and sponsor of the moratorium extension legislation, said the industry was nowhere near developing a substitute, and that Ottinger's amendment was "a useless amendment that does no good and would confuse the issue."

Andrew Maguire, D-N.J., said the committee was acting "in spite of, not because of, scientific evidence." And Mickey Leland, D-Texas, complained that the "best interests of fat people and diabetics" had received far more committee attention than those of children. The NAS study suggested that children ran the greatest risk of cancer from saccharin because they were large consumers of the substance and their exposure would continue over the longest period of time.

Maguire and Leland, the only members who had voted against the bill in the Health Subcommittee, had tried unsuccessfully to amend it there to require saccharin warning labels to state that the substance was especially hazardous for children and pregnant women, and to permit it to be sold only as a sweetener that consumers could add to food themselves.

House Floor Action

The House passed the two-year saccharin ban moratorium extension July 24 by a 394-22 vote, under suspension of the rules. HR 4453 also continued other provisions of the 1977 moratorium law, which required health warnings on saccharin products and in stores where they were sold.

In the brief floor discussion of the bill July 23, no one protested the further delay on a saccharin ban.

Waxman said the new moratorium did not mean "we are unconcerned about the dangers from saccharin." But, he said, "we are also not unaware of the concerns of diabet-

ics and others on a sugar-restricted diet who feel that without this substitute they will face a known health hazard from sugar."

The extension would give Congress time to overhaul food safety law, and manufacturers time to develop a safe sweetener, Waxman said. Waxman originally favored a three-year extension but later cut it to 25 months. ▮

Home Heating Assistance

Congress took several steps in 1979 to help poor people pay the rapidly rising costs of home heating.

Dismayed by the prospect that many families might have to choose between eating and heating their homes, Congress approved a total of $1.6 billion for fuel assistance to the poor in the winter of 1979-80. The Senate also approved a bill authorizing a $7 billion program for the following two winters.

While the idea of heating assistance to the poor enjoyed wide support, the fuel aid measures ran into political trouble over the issue of the regional distribution of the money. Compromises were eventually reached, but not until after members from northern and southern states had engaged in bitter battles over whether the aid should be concentrated on the colder regions or parceled out to the poor in all areas of the country.

Establishment of the emergency program for the winter of 1979-80 was made easier after the Carter administration dropped its insistence that funding be tied to passage of the new tax on oil company "windfall profits" created by the decontrol of crude oil prices.

Background

The spectacular rise in the cost of home heating oil, which supplied about 22 percent of the nation's home heating energy in 1979, was the biggest factor in the problems which led Congress to take action. The cold regions of the Northeast and upper Midwest, where the poor tended to live in older, less energy-efficient buildings, were particularly dependent on heating oil.

Between 1967 and 1979, the increase in the price of heating oil far outstripped increases in overall consumer prices. In August 1979, the average price of a gallon of fuel was 80 cents, compared with 47.5 cents in 1977.

While these increases affected everyone, they had a particularly severe effect on the poor, who already spent a large portion of their income on fuel. In 1978, according to the Fuel Oil Marketing Advisory Committee (FOMAC), low-income households spent 19 percent of their income on energy costs — four times the national average.

With the 1979 price increases, FOMAC estimated, the poor would spend 25 percent of their income on energy; low-income families in the Northeast faced fuel bills equal to almost a third of their income.

Moreover, fuel suppliers, faced with their own economic problems, were reluctant to extend credit to the poor, and increasingly were demanding cash on delivery.

"We face a potential human crisis this winter that could make this summer's gasoline crisis seem like a garden of roses," Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md., told the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.

1979-80 Emergency Program

The $1.6 billion appropriated for emergency payments for the winter of 1979-80 was contained in two separate appropriations bills:

- $250 million was included in the Labor-Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) appropriations, which was funded under a continuing resolution (H J Res 440). The money went for an energy crisis assistance program run by the Community Services Administration (CSA) that provided direct help, in the form of cash, warm clothing or home repairs, to families in trouble because of lack of adequate heat. *(Labor-HEW appropriation, p. 236)*
- $1.35 billion was funded under the Interior Department appropriations bill (HR 4930). The total included:

1) Approximately $800 million to be distributed to the states. Each state had the option of either using its share of the money to establish its own heating assistance program, or allowing HEW to distribute its share directly to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients within the state.

2) $400 million to be divided among all recipients of Supplemental Security Income (SSI), in the form of a one-time cash payment.

3) An additional $150 million for the CSA energy crisis program.

The funds were to be parceled out among the states according to a formula that took into account the severity of each state's winter, the number of poor people in each state, and the increase in average home heating expenditures between 1978 and 1979 in each state. *(Interior appropriations bill, p. 229)*

Legislative Action

Congress had considered two different avenues for action on the fuel assistance program, finally settling on the Interior appropriations bill.

The Senate originally added the funds for the program to that bill (HR 4930), approving by voice vote Oct. 16 an amendment by Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., that called for $1.2 billion in emergency heating assistance.

The House wanted to fund the program through a separate emergency supplemental appropriations measure (H J Res 430). Under heavy pressure from the Democratic leadership, the House acted quickly on H J Res 430. The Appropriations Committee reported it Oct. 24 (H Rept 96-552), and the House passed it by a 290-105 vote Oct. 25. *(Vote 540, p. 158-H)*

The House measure provided $1.35 billion, with $400 million for SSI recipients, $150 million for the CSA emergency program and $800 million for AFDC recipients or state-run programs.

Although it passed easily, H J Res 430 faced strong opposition from Budget Committee Chairman Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., who argued that the program would become a permanent drain on the federal budget, bigger than the $7-billion-a-year food stamp program.

Before passing the bill, the House rejected by a 183-207 vote a Robert H. Michel, R-Ill., amendment to distribute the entire $1.35 billion in the form of block grants to states, which would set up and run their own energy assistance programs. The money would have been funnelled to states through CSA. *(Vote 539, p. 158-H)*

Michel said the block grant approach would allow states to concentrate the assistance on people who really

needed help with their fuel bills, regardless of whether they happened to be on welfare or not. He also noted that his plan would eliminate possibly unneeded payments to SSI recipients. H J Res 430 provided a check for every SSI recipient, even those who lived in nursing homes or in warm states such as Florida and Hawaii.

But the amendment was burdened by the past record of the CSA energy program. Both the Appropriations Committee investigative staff and the General Accounting Office had been sharply critical of the existing CSA program, which began in 1977. Moreover, opponents of the Michel amendment said, many states might not be able to set up their own programs in time to help with the upcoming winter.

Conferees on the Interior appropriations bill elected to use it as the final vehicle for the fuel aid funding. They accepted the House-passed funding level of $1.35 billion.

No further action was taken on H J Res 430.

Congress cleared HR 4930 Nov. 9, and the president signed it Nov. 27 (PL 96-126).

Fuel Aid in Future Years

In addition to approving emergency funding for the 1979-80 winter, Congress began work on legislation authorizing a fuel assistance program for the winters of 1980-81 and 1981-82.

The Senate passed, as part of the windfall profits tax (HR 3919), a two-year, $7 billion authorization for fuel assistance in fiscal 1981 and 1982. Originally considered as a separate bill (S 1724), the measure was subsequently added to HR 3919. *(Story, Energy chapter)*

The House did not consider a similar authorization during 1979. At the end of the first session, the fate of the Senate's fuel aid authorization was in the hands of the conferees on the windfall profits tax bill.

The Senate bill authorized fuel assistance of $3 billion in fiscal 1981 and $4 billion in fiscal 1982, to be financed out of the Energy Trust Fund established by the windfall profits tax bill. Funds would be distributed in block grants to the states on the basis of a formula taking into account climate, energy costs and low-income population. States would then set up their own programs to make the aid available to welfare and food stamp recipients and other low-income families. Sponsors estimated that nearly 18 million households — one-fourth of the U.S. population — would be eligible for aid.

Low-Income Weatherization

A related measure (S 1725), reported by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee Nov. 29 (S Rept 96-434) but not considered by the full Senate or the House, would help low-income families make their homes more energy-efficient by doing things like installing insulation and fixing leaky roofs.

The bill authorized $2.2 billion for an existing home "weatherization" program to help low-income families conserve energy. It also transferred the program from the Energy Department back to the anti-poverty CSA.

As reported, the bill authorized $500 million in fiscal 1981, $750 million in 1982 and $950 million in 1983 for weatherization assistance.

Bill sponsor Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., said the weatherization program should be returned to CSA because of the shortcomings of the Energy Department efforts. CSA was in charge of the program from 1975 through 1978, when, under a decision made by the Carter administration, the program was moved to the Energy Department.

Both programs channeled funds to local community action agencies, which then installed the weatherization materials in the homes of the poor and near-poor. But Nelson said the Energy Department program helped fewer people because it required that weatherization materials be installed only with public service labor paid for by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), and CETA resources available for weatherization were limited, and it limited spending on individual homes to $800 each, with no more than $100 of that going for repairs to the house, $240 for supporting costs such as tools, transportation and supervision, and the remainder for weatherization materials. In colder climates, Nelson argued, those amounts were not enough to do the job.

While S 1725 retained the emphasis on use of CETA labor to install the materials, it allowed use of funds to pay for additional labor costs when CETA workers were not available. It also removed the fixed limits on spending for each home, allowing the CSA director to set standards according to regional differences in climate and cost. ▮

National Health Insurance

While political skirmishing continued throughout 1979 over the rival national health insurance plans of President Carter and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., the Senate Finance Committee moved toward agreement on a more modest plan to provide "catastrophic" coverage only.

Catastrophic insurance was the core of Carter's "first-phase" national health plan, and administration officials were working closely with Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., and other key members on the legislation.

Kennedy and his allies, principally organized labor, opposed catastrophic coverage for fear it would reduce pressure for a more comprehensive national health program. Catastrophic insurance would cover only "catastrophically" high medical bills, those remaining after a family had already paid several thousand dollars out of its own pocket in a year, or after private insurance coverage had been exhausted.

But many in Congress and the administration believed the country could not afford a comprehensive health plan and opted to go for "50 percent of something," rather than hold out for "100 percent of nothing," as Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., a long-time backer of catastrophic insurance, put it.

Long opened the 1979 action in February, when he announced that he planned to "push and agitate a bit" for catastrophic insurance — "about as much as we can afford to enact in this Congress." He introduced legislation and began hearings and markup in March.

The Finance Committee worked on the legislation off and on throughout the year, and seemed on the verge of reporting it in November. But several committee members and the administration insisted on substantial new health benefits for the poor; Long and some other members objected, and further action was postponed so that committee staff could try to work out an acceptable compromise.

Kennedy unveiled his comprehensive national health plan May 14. He made several concessions to Carter administration positions, and called on the president to join him and the coalition of labor, black, religious, elderly and farm groups that supported comprehensive national health care, in an effort to guarantee complete health coverage for all Americans.

President Carter announced his plan June 12, after administration officials had spent months honing it into shape. It was considerably scaled down from his 1976 campaign commitment to comprehensive national health insurance, but Carter said the United States could only afford a gradually phased in program.

Without naming his opponents, he noted that 30 years' "rigid" pursuit of "the idea of all or nothing at all" had failed to get a comprehensive health plan out of Congress. It was time, he said, to "rise above the differences that have created that stalemate and act now" on his first-phase program. *(Carter message text, p. 35-E)*

Administration officials denied that pressure from Kennedy had pushed the president into backing a more liberal program than he originally had planned.

Carter's plan would increase federal health care spending, in the first year of benefits, by about $18 billion over existing levels, and private (employer) expenses for health care by $6 billion, the administration estimated. Kennedy said his plan would add about $29 billion to the federal budget and $11 billion to expenditures by businesses and workers the first year.

Finance Committee Action

The Finance Committee started its markup with three bills before it (S 350, S 351, S 760), but essentially it made up its catastrophic health insurance plan as it went along. Staff laid out options, the committee made decisions, and the bill was still to be put in finished form.

S 351, sponsored by Long and Health Subcommittee Chairman Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., authorized employers to provide catastrophic coverage for workers, covering doctor bills over $2,000 and hospital bills after 60 days of hospitalization. Persons not covered by employer plans would be covered by the federal government, through a trust fund supported by a 1 percent payroll tax on employers. Employers could subtract premium costs from their payroll tax bill and get a tax credit. Cost of the bill was estimated at $5 billion to $7 billion a year.

To buy conservative and moderate support, Long eliminated from the bill a plan to federalize the state-federal Medicaid program, in order to ensure uniform national eligibility standards and benefits. That was an element of the catastrophic insurance legislation he had co-sponsored with Ribicoff since 1971. But it would double the cost of the bill, according to estimates.

Because Long dropped the provision, Ribicoff refused to co-sponsor S 351, and introduced a second bill (S 350) including it. Long joined as a co-sponsor on that bill, but indicated he would only push for the narrower plan in 1979.

Both bills provided for voluntary federal certification of private health insurance plans that met minimum standards. They contained no cost control mechanisms.

Long introduced S 760 on March 26. Drafted to the specifications of a major insurance company, it made these major changes from the earlier bills: eliminated the 1 percent payroll tax; made it mandatory for employers to provide catastrophic insurance; provided tax rebates for half their premium expenses for employers with payrolls under $250,000, public and non-profit employers and individuals buying their own coverage; imposed a tax penalty on employers failing to provide catastrophic coverage (150 percent of the premiums they would have paid), and required plans to cover employees' dependents up to age 26 and workers for up to six months after they left a job.

Eliminating the payroll tax was seen as a concession to conservatives and to House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Al Ullman, D-Ore., who reportedly was unsympathetic to any more payroll taxes.

Long suggested two ways to pay the costs of a catastrophic insurance program. One would be from "savings" generated by a bill making changes in Medicare and Medicaid (HR 934). Another would be to earmark some of the "windfall" from the pending oil windfall profits tax for health care. *(HR 934, this chapter; windfall profits tax, Energy chapter)*

Committee Decisions

The Finance Committee had made most of the critical decisions on its catastrophic health insurance program by the end of the year. It decided to make it mandatory, not optional, for employers to provide catastrophic insurance for workers. It set the deductible at $3,500, but also provided a lower, income-related deductible for lower-paid workers, a proposal advanced by Ribicoff, Robert Dole, R-Kan., and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

These were the general specifications of the plan agreed to by the committee:

Benefits, Coverage. All employers would be required to offer full-time employees health insurance covering the same benefits now provided by Medicare: physicians' fees and hospitalization, limited drug, durable medical equipment and mental health benefits, home health visits and up to 100 days of nursing home care.

Outpatient drugs and extended nursing home care, the two major exclusions of Medicare, would also be excluded from the minimum benefit package. The committee also excluded prenatal, maternity and infant care in the first year of life, with no cost-sharing — a feature the administration especially wanted included.

The plans would pay for specified benefits after an individual or family had spent a substantial amount themselves, either out of pocket or under a supplementary insurance policy, on medical bills.

All full-time employees (working 25 hours a week or more) would have to join their employers' plans unless they were already covered through a second job or a spouse's or parent's job. No one could be excluded because of pre-existing health conditions. The plans also would have to cover children, students and other dependents of insured individuals; dependent survivors, for at least one year after the insured person's death; a spouse and other dependents, for 30 days after divorce or legal separation from the insured; unemployed former employees, for a certain period after they left a job, and employees of employers who had failed to pay their premiums, for at least 30 days. All these persons with temporary coverage would have the option to convert to individual coverage if they wished.

Self-employed individuals would not be required to buy coverage, but could do so if they wished from an industry "pool." State and local governments also had the option to have their employees covered by the pool.

Cost-Sharing. Individuals or families earning $14,000 a year or more would have to pay up to $3,500 of medical

bills annually before insurance coverage began; the deductible would be adjusted periodically for inflation. Workers earning less than $14,000 a year would pay 25 percent of their annual income as a deductible, or $3,500, whichever was less. Insurance carriers would fully pay claims for these persons, periodically billing the federal government for their costs.

Employees could also be required to pay up to one-fourth the cost of their insurance premiums, although employers could pay the full cost or reduce the employees' share if they wished.

Medicare beneficiaries would not have to pay more than $1,000 a year in co-payments and deductibles for hospitalization and doctor bills; above that figure, Medicare would pay all "reasonable" costs or charges for covered services, including, for the first time, drugs to treat life-threatening or chronic illnesses.

Employer Subsidy. Employers could get a tax credit for the cost of providing new, mandated benefits. The credit would be a declining percentage of an employer's new costs for the first few years of the program. Employers could also continue to claim the tax deduction currently allowed for existing health insurance plans. State and local governments choosing to upgrade existing plans to conform with the new catastrophic minimum package could get a rebate from the federal government for their new costs.

"Pool" Coverage. To qualify for the catastrophic program, insurance companies would have to participate in state or regional insurance pools, as would health maintenance organizations and self-insured persons. The pools would sell the basic catastrophic plan to any individual or firm, at no more than 150 percent of the average cost for small employer groups. The pools were intended to be a source of insurance for part-time workers, the self-employed, high-risk individuals and others.

Medigap Certification. The committee agreed to a proposal by Max Baucus, D-Mont., to create a voluntary federal certification program for so-called "Medigap" insurance — private plans to supplement Medicare. The committee provided penalties of $25,000 or five years' imprisonment for falsifying information to obtain certification, falsely posing as an agent of the federal government to sell the insurance, knowingly selling duplicative policies or advertising or selling by mail policies not approved by state insurance commissioners.

Kennedy Plan

Kennedy's comprehensive national health insurance legislation, the Health Care for All Americans Act, was introduced Sept. 6 (S 1720, HR 5191). Its chief House sponsor was Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee on Health. Waxman noted it was the first time a chairman of that subcommittee had sponsored a national health plan.

The bill was based on a plan developed by the labor coalition Committee for National Health Insurance (CNHI) and generally followed broad CNHI "principles" announced in October 1978, on which Kennedy had already held hearings. *(1978 Almanac p. 630)*

However, it was modified somewhat to meet objections to earlier versions. Benefits would be phased in over a period of years (although Kennedy insisted the plan must be enacted at one time). It emphasized cost control, and it put greater reliance on the private sector than Kennedy had in previous years. In fact, Kennedy lost the support of an earlier co-sponsor, Rep. James C. Corman, D-Calif., partly because his new plan would be administered by private insurers rather than by a public agency. (Corman and Ronald V. Dellums, D-Calif., introduced all-public national health insurance bills, HR 21 and HR 2969).

Under Kennedy's bill, a heavily regulated insurance industry would administer much of the plan. Insurance would be mandatory, with all individuals required to be insured for basic medical services. Employees would have to pay up to 35 percent of the cost of their premiums, but would not have to meet any deductibles or make co-payments.

Assuming enactment in 1980, benefits would be phased in over an unspecified period of time, after a two-year lag to put cost control mechanisms in place. "Not one dime" would be added to the federal budget for benefits until 1983, Kennedy said. In the first year of benefits, he said the plan would add $28.6 billion to the federal budget and $11.4 billion to expenditures by business and workers for the mandatory coverage. Costs would climb above those of existing programs for the first four years, Kennedy said, but then there would be a "crossover." After that point, total U.S. spending for health care would be less each year than if the existing system were to continue, he said.

Kennedy rejected any "piecemeal" approach that would "relieve the political pressure from the constituents and defer the tough, central issues of cost controls and systems reforms for another day." The U.S. health care system was already "strained to the breaking point by runaway costs," he said.

Kennedy acknowledged that selling his plan would be an "uphill battle." Among other problems, two of the four congressional health subcommittee chairmen did not back it. Talmadge was a co-sponsor of Long's catastrophic coverage legislation, while Charles B. Rangel, D-N.Y., House Ways and Means Health Subcommittee chairman, had several problems with Kennedy's plan, including its heavy reliance on the private insurance industry, and became a co-sponsor of Carter's health plan.

How Kennedy Plan Would Work

- A National Health Board, appointed by the president, would set policy guidelines, oversee implementation and calculate the annual national health budget. State health boards, appointed by governors, would set state budgets, oversee state operations and resolve complaints from consumers and providers.
- Five national consortia would be formed to market qualified health plans: Blue Cross-Blue Shield non-profit plans; commercial insurance carriers; health maintenance organizations (HMOs); individual practice associations (a type of pre-paid group practice), and self-insurance plans. Individual plans would process claims; the consortia would collect premiums and allocate them among member plans, maintain contingency funds, monitor utilization and payment patterns and participate in annual budget negotiations.
- Every individual would be required to have health coverage. Workers and their dependents would be covered by employers' plans; a Federal Hospital Insurance Trust Fund and a Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund would pay for services provided to aged, disabled or other persons not enrolled in any plan.
- Employees would be liable for up to 35 percent of the cost of their health insurance premiums, depending on their wage level. They would not have to meet any deductibles or

make any co-payments for covered services. Some employers, principally small employers, could get a tax credit for their premium costs. The income tax deduction for health insurance premiums would be abolished.

• Costs of the plan would be paid by employer and employee premiums, interest on the trust funds, federal appropriations, state contributions and "such other revenues as the National Health Board may specify."

• Benefits would include full coverage of inpatient and outpatient hospital care, physician and laboratory services, X-rays, skilled nursing care, immunizations, pre- and postnatal care and well-child examinations up to age 18; limited mental health, nursing home and home health care; outpatient drugs for treatment of chronic illness for Medicare patients. Exclusions: routine physical examinations, routine dental care, custodial care, cosmetic surgery.

• Federally administered Medicare for the elderly and disabled, and state Medicaid programs for services not in the national health plan (such as chronic care), would be retained.

• A $500 million-a-year Health Resources Distribution Fund would fund new medical centers in medically underserved areas, medical education and other health resource programs.

• The annual budget for the national health program would have to be approved by Congress. Spending could increase at the same rate as the gross national product.

• Doctors' fee schedules would be negotiated; hospital budgets would be set in advance each year. Doctors, hospitals and other providers would be "at risk" for any costs beyond those budgeted. Reimbursement for capital expenditures would be allowed only for approved projects. Unusual, risky or costly medical procedures could be eliminated or restricted to specialists by the national board.

Carter Plan

President Carter's national health proposal was introduced Sept. 25 (HR 5400, S 1812), with Rangel and Ribicoff as chief sponsors.

It mandated coverage for everyone for catastrophic health care costs. But except for the poor and disabled, and workers who could win full coverage from employers, Americans would have to pay for part of their insurance premiums and part of their medical expenses. This strategy was popular with economists who thought it would discourage overuse of doctors and hospitals and save money.

Individuals or families would have to pay up to $2,500 a year in medical bills, plus part of the cost of their health insurance. Organized labor and well-paid professionals who had generous "first dollar" and major medical coverage for all or most medical bills would notice little difference in their coverage or out-of-pocket expenses, but there would be a dramatic cut in the tax deductions they could take in figuring their income taxes.

Agricultural and retail trade workers and others in poorly insured occupations would, for the first time, be covered for a package of basic benefits, since their employers would have to buy insurance for them or face tax penalties. But unless they developed enough clout to get employers to provide more than the minimum requirements, these workers would face new expenses as well.

Private insurance companies, meanwhile, would have "a lot of new business," worth about $10 billion a year, according to HEW Assistant Secretary Benjamin W. Heineman Jr.

Employers would have to absorb about $6 billion in new costs, although there would be some help in the form of subsidies for small employers, and a reinsurance fund that companies could use to back up self-insurance schemes. The plan would cost about $18 billion in federal money. The only addition to the plan from versions floated on Capitol Hill earlier in the year was a new program for pregnant women and infants, added largely at the insistence of Corman, according to HEW officials and Corman.

Despite administration denials, several congressional aides close to the situation said that pressure from Kennedy had helped resolve an internal administration debate in favor of a more generous health plan pushed by HEW. The losers were said to be the president's chief economic advisers, James T. McIntyre Jr., director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and Charles L. Schultze, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, who wanted a very narrow program. However, the fact that Carter's final plan turned out to be much less than an all-out comprehensive program suggested a certain degree of success for the economists.

How Carter Plan Would Work

• The program would have two parts: Full-time employees and their dependents would be covered by employer-provided health insurance meeting federal standards, while a new federal program, HealthCare (combining Medicare and Medicaid), would cover the aged, disabled, public assistance recipients and individuals with incomes below 55 percent of the official poverty level.

• Private insurers would market both employer plans and HealthCare coverage, under federal regulation; the federal government would administer HealthCare. States would continue to administer skilled nursing and other optional services for Medicaid beneficiaries. Insurance carriers could participate in a voluntary reinsurance fund. There would be a HealthCare trust fund, and an insurance standards advisory board.

• HealthCare enrollees and privately insured persons who had met their deductible would be covered for hospital care, doctor services, X-rays, lab tests, prenatal care, delivery, child health care including well-child examinations up to age 1, family planning services, immunizations; limited mental health, nursing home and home health care. HealthCare children would get dental, vision and health screening services. Exclusions: routine dental care, eyeglasses, hearing aids and related examinations, elective surgery, cosmetic surgery, custodial care.

• Employers would pay 75 percent of premium costs, workers 25 percent, plus the first $2,500 a year in medical costs. Non-poor elderly and disabled covered by HealthCare would pay up to $1,250 a year for premiums, first-day hospitalization, a percentage of daily nursing home costs, and certain other charges. There would be no cost-sharing for the poor or for prenatal and infant services in either private plans or HealthCare. Employers would pay the same amount for each employee's premium; employees who chose cheaper coverage would get a cash rebate for the amount saved.

• There would be subsidies for some employers, and a new tax credit for individuals. The existing individual income tax deduction for medical costs would continue, but only for costs above 10 percent of income. (Existing law allowed a deduction for expenses above 3 percent of income.)

• Financing of the plan would be from insurance premiums, part of the Social Security tax, state payments (90

percent of total cost) for HealthCare coverage of the poor, federal general revenues.

• Hospital reimbursement would be limited by the administration's proposed hospital cost control plan. Physician reimbursement for HealthCare patients would be by negotiated schedule; participating doctors could not charge patients more than the allowed fee. There would be no restrictions on physician payments by private plans. There would be an annual national ceiling on total capital investments for expansion of hospital services, under separate legislation.

• The secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) could override state or local licensing boards to certify non-M.D. practitioners (nurses, physician assistants or others) to practice and be reimbursed for services in outpatient facilities.

Reactions, Pro and Con

Testimony before the Finance Committee early in the year indicated broad political support for insurance against catastrophic medical costs.

Three Republican senators, Robert Dole, Kan., John C. Danforth, Mo., and Pete V. Domenici, N.M., introduced their own catastrophic bill (S 748), with a deductible of $5,000 and 60 days' hospitalization, and improved Medicare benefits.

Another Republican senator, Bob Packwood, Ore., suggested that passage of catastrophic insurance would help stave off demand for a "British-style, or Kennedy-style, national health service."

There was qualified support from much of organized medicine for catastrophic coverage, if government's role were kept to a minimum. Medical and insurance industry spokesmen also expressed support for an all-federal Medicaid program.

Then-HEW Secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr. made clear that the administration would support catastrophic insurance only if it was accompanied by cost control legislation and improved benefits for the poor and elderly.

A spokesman for the American Association of Retired Persons objected that catastrophic legislation would simply heat up health care inflation further if it did not include meaningful cost controls. The elderly were already "spending more out-of-pocket in real dollars now than they did before Medicare," James M. Hacking said.

The AFL-CIO flatly rejected catastrophic coverage without other improvements, and the National Urban League said it would do nothing to help the estimated 8 million poor people who had neither private nor public health coverage or the one in five Americans who had inadequate coverage. An Urban League spokesman characterized Long's bills as "relief" legislation for the insurance industry.

Kennedy vs. Carter. Kennedy criticized Carter's plan as both unfair and potentially very expensive. Doctors' fees would be controlled in the public plan for the poor and elderly, but not in the private sector, thus perpetuating "separate and unequal" health care systems in America, he charged.

Another major inequity was that the "deductible" of $2,500 would fall most harshly on low-income families, Kennedy said. A family with a $10,000-a-year income would have to spend 25 percent of that on medical bills before benefits began, while a $50,000-a-year family would lose, at most, 5 percent of its income to the deductible.

Kennedy also criticized Carter for failing to set an overall limit on health spending.

Joining Kennedy in rejecting Carter's plan were representatives of blacks, the elderly and organized labor. Douglas A. Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers and chairman of the Committee for National Health Insurance, complained that Carter's plan "turns over huge new sums to health insurance companies and avoids regulating them on the theory that competition alone will make them public-spirited and socially concerned in a way they have not been up until now."

Most members of Congress were noncommittal on the plan. Businesses were not expected to like the extra expense of mandated coverage, although they would be able to write off much of the extra cost as a business expense, as they did with existing plans. The National Association of Manufacturers protested that "mandating insurance coverage will prove costly to employers at a time when inflation is the number one issue in the country."

Administration Counterattack. New HEW Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris attacked Kennedy's plan Nov. 29, at a joint hearing of the House Ways and Means and Commerce Health subcommittees.

She called it "a potential $200 billion-a-year pork barrel" whose costs could put as many as a million people out of work. She claimed the plan would have a "shock effect" on the nation's economy, raising the Consumer Price Index by one and one-half percentage points, and "would inevitably result in an arbitrary rationing of health care services." Harris claimed Kennedy's plan would cause an 80 percent increase in employer health insurance premium payments.

Congress and Government

Congress in 1979 continued to wrestle with many of the ethical questions that have tarnished its public image in the past. There were some successes, but these were overshadowed by retreats on a number of ethical fronts.

The House voted to "censure" Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., the first such action since 1921. Diggs had been convicted on federal criminal charges of padding his office payroll and taking kickbacks from five of his congressional employees. Republicans, arguing that Diggs was a convicted felon, said he should be expelled. But their effort to do that was rejected in what became a partisan battle. The House has expelled only three members, and that was for support of rebellion during the Civil War years.

In the Senate, a lengthly investigation resulted in a vote to "denounce" for financial misconduct the chamber's seventh most senior member, Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga. It was the first time a senator ever had been "denounced." Previous disciplinary actions had used the words "censure," "condemnation" or "reprimand."

Other Investigations

The House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct investigated retiring Rep. Daniel J. Flood, D-Pa., who faced a retrial on federal charges of accepting more than $50,000 in bribes between 1971 and 1976. Flood's first trial ended in a hung jury.

The House panel also charged Rep. Charles H. Wilson, D-Calif., with 15 violations of House rules, including alleged payroll padding, accepting kickbacks and converting campaign funds for personal use. Wilson denied the charges and the committee was expected to continue work on the case in 1980.

Retreats

In other areas, Congress retreated from past efforts to promote public confidence in government.

In March, the Senate voted to postpone for four years a new limit on a senator's outside earned income. The limit had gone into effect in January.

Many senators supplement their salaries by moonlighting, often by making paid speeches or writing articles. In many instances the speeches or articles are paid for by special interest groups with legislative interests.

The earned income rule would have limited to 15 percent of a senators' salary the amount of money a senator could earn for work outside the Senate; the amount was $8,625, at the salary level in effect when the delay was voted.

The limit would have had a direct impact on the bank accounts of a number of senators. In 1978, 59 senators reported higher outside earnings than the new ceiling would have permitted. The Senate action postponed the 15 percent limit for four years, until January 1983.

A House limit on outside earned income went into effect in 1979.

Financial Disclosure

Both the Senate and the House retreated somewhat from earlier efforts that had been designed to help the public determine the financial holdings and interests of members of Congress and their spouses and dependents. Both chambers reduced the extent of disclosure required for members and their top aides.

The House relaxed its financial disclosure rules on the first day of the 96th Congress with no debate and little public notice. The Senate followed suit in August, acting just hours before members left town for a month-long recess.

In its action, the Senate also dropped a requirement that the General Accounting Office (GAO) audit senators' disclosure statements. The House had no similar requirement.

Both the Senate and House actions eliminated detailed financial disclosure requirements and substituted for them the requirements of the 1978 Ethics in Government Act. The disclosures mandated by the 1978 law were in almost every respect less detailed than those required by the House and Senate rules.

As a result of the changes it will be harder for the public to find out whether a member's personal holdings or financial dealings pose a conflict of interest with his official responsibilities.

The relaxed House disclosure rules went into effect in 1979; the Senate changes were to go into effect in 1980.

Jobs and Accounts

The House approved a rules change permitting representatives to add up to four additional employees to their payrolls. The action came without advance notice. The resolution (H Res 395) did not provide members with additional money for their clerk-hire allowance, however.

And in November, the House Administration Committee quietly approved an increase in House members' expense allowances that will cost taxpayers about $5 million over the next year. The action did not require a vote by the full House.

In 1977, the Senate adopted a rule permitting senators to spend up to 10 percent of their total office allowance on whatever they decided was an official office expense.

Since then senators have sought reimbursement for such "official expenses" as the purchase of chandeliers, office color TV sets, sunglasses and a contribution to a hospital in Jerusalem.

The Senate within a two week period in 1979 approved a definition of "official expense," then reversed itself and sent the matter back to committee.

The Senate did, however, approve a proposal to require senators to document their official expenses before being reimbursed for them by the Senate.

Under the new rule — enacted in wake of the Talmadge investigation — senators will have to provide receipts or other documentation for expenses over $25.

Revolving Door

Perhaps the most obvious move in Congress' retreat from ethics was a bill to gut portions of the 1978 Ethics in Government Act (PL 95-521), a law partly designed to slow the revolving door between federal and private sector employment.

As enacted, the 1978 law would have helped prevent former high-level government officials from attempting to influence their old agencies on behalf of new private sector employers.

But Congress — prodded by the Carter administration and reacting to predictions of an exodus of high level officials if the law became effective — softened the restrictions.

The effect of the changes (PL 96-28) was to let a former official advise his new employer on dealing with his former agency — as long as the ex-official did not make a personal appearance before the body.

Congressional Pay Raise

Congressmen also voted themselves a 5.5 percent pay raise, increasing their annual wages to $60,662.50 from $57,500 for both House and Senate members.

The action came after much anguish over a resolution providing continuing funding for most of the government. A weeks-long deadlock on the measure resulted from the Senate's reluctance to give Congress a pay hike and House's insistence on prohibiting federally funded abortions except to save the life of the mother.

The Senate tightened its rules to prevent a minority from using post-cloture filibuster tactics to delay or kill a bill. The change required the Senate to hold a final vote on a bill within 100 hours of debate after the Senate voted to cut off debate on the measure by invoking cloture.

Time spent on quorum calls, roll call votes and other parliamentary procedures would be counted in computing the 100-hour debate limit.

The House made some effort to overhaul its unwieldy and burdensome committee structure. The move was designed principally to carve out jurisdiction for a new energy committee. Energy matters are now considered by a host of committees and subcommittees.

Although no House committee overhaul was approved in 1979, efforts were expected to continue in 1980.

Finally, members of Congress spent nearly $4 million in public funds on foreign travel during 1978, according to Congressional Quarterly's annual foreign survey published in 1979. The amount was a record, but congressmen didn't tell taxpayers about almost half of it.

Other Highlights

The House Judiciary Committee sent a bill (HR 4395) to the floor to increase the public information that would be available about groups that lobby members of Congress and certain high-level executive branch officials.

HR 4395 was sent to the floor in a significantly weaker form than lobby disclosure legislation passed by the House in 1978 but not acted on in the Senate.

Federal Pay Reform

Congress failed to act on a Carter administration proposal to reform the system by which salaries for federal workers are determined. The "pay reform" plan was bitterly attacked by federal worker unions.

And the House passed legislation to reduce the independence of the U.S. Postal Service and hold down future postal rate increases, but the Senate did not act on the measure.

Regulatory Reform

Several committees in both chambers continued work on bills to revamp the nation's regulatory system, but legislation failed to win floor consideration in either house. Efforts were expected to continue in 1980.

As the session closed, a group of ideologically diverse senators introduced a new proposal designed to cut down the number and cost of federal regulations, and the bill (S 2147) was approved by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee for consideration by the full committee in 1980.

The Senate tacked on a floor amendment to a court reorganization bill (S 1477) that would make it easier to challenge in court regulations issued by federal departments and agencies. The amendment would shift the legal burden of proof and make federal agencies prove the validity of the regulation under challenge.

The bill was sent to the House, where it was pending without further action in the Judiciary Committee.

—Kenneth A. Weiss

Ethics Law Weakened by Fears of Job Exodus

An administration-proposed bill (S 869 — PL 96-28) to weaken new conflict-of-interest restrictions on the "revolving door" between federal government service and private employment cleared Congress June 15.

President Carter signed the measure into law June 22.

Passage of S 869 was prompted by fears of an exodus of high-level federal officials prior to July 1, when the conflict-of-interest restrictions were slated to go into effect. Critics also said the restrictions would deter talented people from entering government service.

The revolving door curbs, part of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (PL 95-521), were designed to prevent former federal officials from trying to influence their old federal agencies on behalf of new private sector employers.

But S 869 exempted from the restrictions former federal officials who go to work for state and local governments or non-profit institutions. In addition, it gave ex-officials the freedom to advise a new private employer on how to deal with their former agencies.

Background

Causing concern were two provisions of the Ethics in Government Act that:

- Prevented ex-officials (GS-17 and above) from contacting their former agencies about any matter, regardless of whether or not they had direct responsibility for it in government, for one year after resigning.
- Prohibited these officials for two years after leaving government service from "assisting in representing" another person before their previous agency on matters they dealt with as federal employees.

Thus, a former Securities and Exchange Commission lawyer could not for two years advise colleagues in his new law firm on a case pending before the SEC if he once had jurisdiction over the matter.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 869 (PL 96-28):

- Clarified language in the ethics law on the two-year assisting-in-representing prohibition. The ban applied only to those matters that a person participated in "personally and substantially."
- Permitted a former official to advise lawyers, colleagues and others representing his new employer on how to deal with his former agency. The assisting-in-representing restriction would apply solely to ban personal appearances of the ex-official before his former agency.
- Exempted from the one-year ban on contact with former agencies those former federal officials who go to work for colleges and universities, medical research and treatment facilities or state and local governments.
- Limited automatic coverage of the post-employment curbs to executive-level civilian employees and military officers in grades O-9 and above. Decisions on which positions to cover at the GS-17 and GS-18 level, in the federal Senior Executive Service and in military grades O-7 and O-8 would be up to the Office of Government Ethics.

Senate Action

S 869 was ordered placed on the Senate calendar April 4 and passed by a voice vote April 9. Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., who sponsored the administration bill in the Senate, circumvented committee hearings by bringing the bill directly to the floor by unanimous consent.

The administration bill was viewed as urgent by its congressional proponents because the post-federal employment curbs were scheduled to become effective July 1. Numerous high-level officials had threatened to resign if the restrictions were not weakened before then.

Some officials complained that they would be barred from working in their fields for an unreasonable time after leaving government employment. The administration also worried that it would not be able to attract top-notch talent if the curbs remained on the books.

The administration issued regulations in late March to clarify the new law, but the White House decided that statutory amendments were needed as well to clear up ambiguities.

S 869 softened the law by defining the prohibition on "assisting in representing" as making an actual appearance before a former agency. Counseling a private-sector colleague on how to deal with the agency would be permissible.

Senate supporters of softening the law reasoned that it would be wise to reassure officials contemplating leaving government service before the law's July 1 effective date by moving quickly on the proposal. Since hearings had been held in the House on Carter's proposed modifications, they felt that Senate hearings were unnecessary.

House Committee Action

The House Judiciary Committee ordered S 869 reported April 25 by voice vote. The legislation was reported to the floor May 2 (H Rept 96-115).

Under the bill, former high-level officials still could not contact their former agencies on any matter for one year after leaving the government. S 869 also made clear that the ex-officials were prohibited for two years from making personal appearances before their former agencies. But it allowed them to advise their new employers on dealing with their former agencies.

The House Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Law and Governmental Regulations had approved HR 3325, which was nearly identical to the administration bill, on April 6. But the full committee took up the Senate-numbered bill.

S 869, as approved by the full Judiciary Committee, contained one change from the Senate-passed bill.

The change came on adoption of an amendment by Rep. Harold L. Volkmer, D-Mo., to knock out a provision in the Senate-passed bill removing military officers in grades O-7 and O-8 from automatic coverage by the special restrictions on senior employees.

Two provisions of the new ethics law raised the most concerns from government officials. The provisions:

- Prevent ex-officials (GS-17 and above) from contacting their former agencies about any matter, regardless of

whether or not they handled it while in government, for one year after resigning.

• Prohibit such officials for two years after leaving from "assisting in representing" another person before their previous agency on matters they dealt with as federal employees.

Although S 869 left the first provision intact, it softened the second by defining the ban on assisting in representing as making an actual appearance before a former-employer agency.

Rep. Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas, who was not a member of the Judiciary Committee, sent members of the panel a 29-page memo detailing his criticisms of both S 869 and the existing law. The memo was based on a hearing held by the Commerce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, which Eckhardt chaired.

Judiciary, however, brushed aside Eckhardt's suggestion to impose a six-month moratorium on the July 1 implementation of the law, in order to allow time for an in-depth look at the problem.

Support for Eckhardt's position came mostly from committee Republicans, who objected to the Administrative Law Subcommittee's approval of the unchanged administration bill. "The subcommittee closed its mind to all except what the administration recommended," said Rep. Thomas N. Kindness, R-Ohio. "We'll have to come back again to repair this."

Committee consideration of S 869 stretched over two days, as members debated amendments to modify a law that, in the words of Rep. Carlos J. Moorhead, R-Calif., was "far too broad in scope, too extensive, too punitive."

Amendments

The committee rejected four amendments to S 869 and approved one:

• By Rep. Robert McClory, R-Ill., to impose a six-month moratorium on the July 1 effective date of the new restrictions and allow time for a thorough study of the law. This approach was criticized as one that would prolong the uncertainty of officials considering leaving. Rejected, 12-16.

• By Moorhead, to repeal the one-year ban on contact with a former agency. Rejected, 12-17.

• By Kindness, to exempt federal officials who go to work for state or local governments from the one-year, no-contact ban. Rejected, 12-16.

• By Volkmer, to strike the provision from S 869 removing military officers in grades O-7 and O-8 from automatic coverage by special restrictions on senior employees. Under the deleted provision, decisions on whether to include certain officers in those ranks would have been made by the Office of Government Ethics. Adopted, 16-8.

• By Moorhead, to exempt from the special restrictions officials of independent regulatory bodies. Commissioners of those agencies would not have been exempted. Introduced at the behest of Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Harold Williams, the amendment was to help specialists in agencies like the SEC who, Moorhead argued, could find work only in the field they regulated. Rejected, 12-15.

Provisions

As ordered reported by the House Judiciary Committee, S 869:

• Clarified language in the ethics law on the two-year ban on assisting in representing. The ban would apply only to those matters that an official participated in "personally and substantially."

• Permitted an ex-official to advise lawyers, colleagues and others representing his new employer before his former-employer agency. The assisting-in-representing ban would apply solely to personal appearances of the former official before his old agency.

House Floor Action

S 869 was passed by the House May 24 on a 327-48 vote. *(Vote 158, p. 50-H)*

The bill had been up for House consideration May 16, but was pulled by its floor manager, George E. Danielson, D-Calif., because of protests from Republicans, who complained that it did not go far enough to soften controversial restrictions on the "revolving door" between federal and private employment.

As passed by the House, the bill allowed ex-officials to advise their new employers on dealing with their former agencies. The measure prohibited the former officials from personally appearing before their old agencies for two years.

Danielson's compromise with the Republicans — led by Ohio's Kindness — exempted from the post-federal-employment restrictions all officials returning to posts in state and local government, higher education and medical research.

Danielson and his allies defeated an attempt by Eckhardt to amend the law to make it even more restrictive in certain areas.

Eckhardt argued that the bill opened loopholes that former officials could take advantage of.

The administration, which had drafted the bill, backed the Danielson-Kindness compromise. The bill drew bipartisan support on final passage.

Amendments

The House defeated one amendment and approved two:

• By Eckhardt, to bar high-level officials for two years from any form of assisting in representing. He argued that letting former officials advise private sector colleagues on how to deal with their old agencies was a "backdoor" device that invited abuse. Excepted would have been ex-officials engaged in science, technical, medical or educational careers.

Also, under the amendment, only executive-schedule employees would have been automatically covered by the one-year, no-contact restriction, with the agencies themselves designating which lower-ranking officials would be included. Rejected, 88-292 . *(Vote 157, p. 50-H)*

• By Kindness, to limit automatic coverage of the post-employment restrictions to executive-level civilian employees and military officers in grades O-9 and above. Individual decisions on which positions to cover at the GS-17 level and above, in the federal Senior Executive Service and in military grades O-7 and O-8, would be up to the Office of Government Ethics. The OGE also could designate which offices within a former official's department he could contact within one year after resignation. Approved by voice vote.

• By Kindness, to exempt from the one-year ban on contacting former agencies those former federal officials who go to work for colleges and universities, medical research and treatment facilities, or state and local governments. Approved by voice vote.

Provisions

As passed by the House, S 869:

- Clarified language in the ethics law on the two-year ban on assisting in representing. The ban would apply solely to those matters that a person participated in "personally and substantially."
- Allowed a former official to advise lawyers, colleagues and others representing his new employer before his old agency. The assisting-in-representing ban would apply only to personal appearances by the ex-official before his old agency.
- Exempted those in educational and certain other non-profit fields from the no-contact bar. In addition, the OGE would determine which of certain classes of officials were not in policy-making positions and could be freed from the law's restrictions.

Final Action

The Senate accepted the House version of S 869 by voice vote June 14, with minor amendments to tighten language. The House gave final approval, also by voice vote, June 15. ▮

Cabinet 'Relief Act' Pulled

Facing probable defeat, House leaders July 30 retreated from a maneuver to shield recently fired Carter administration officials from coverage by a new federal law designed to slow down the "revolving door" between government and private employment.

The leadership pulled from floor consideration a joint resolution (H J Res 381) that would have put off implementation of the post-federal-employment restrictions until Oct. 1. The law had gone into effect July 1.

Consideration of the measure, meant to benefit recently ousted Cabinet officials and their top aides, was delayed after supporters of the bill determined they lacked the necessary votes for passage. *(See story on Cabinet reshuffle, Appendix, Special reports)*

Rep. George E. Danielson, D-Calif., floor manager of the postponement measure, explained that members had been scared away by publicity surrounding the maneuver. "I smelled around and we would have had trouble getting the two-thirds vote," he said.

The resolution would have required a two-thirds vote for passage.

"These Cabinet staff could've quit in June [before the employment restrictions became effective], but they stayed and when the boss was canned, they were out of a job," Danielson said.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., said he originated the ethics law postponement idea after several high-level Cabinet aides, whom he refused to identify, approached him. He denied that any fired department heads had asked him to intervene. The administration took a neutral position on the resolution.

The revolving door curbs, part of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, sought to prevent former federal officials from trying to influence their old agencies on behalf of their new employers. *(Ethics law weakened, p. 543)*

Federal Financial Disclosure

The Senate cleared for the president by voice vote May 23 a bill to soften financial disclosure requirements for part-time federal workers and private consultants hired by the government.

President Carter signed the bill (HR 2805 — H Rept 96-114) into law June 13 (PL 96-19).

HR 2805 contained a series of technical amendments to clarify the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (PL 95-521). *(Related story, p. 543)*

The House passed the bill May 14 by a 338-49 vote under suspension of the rules. *(Vote 129, p. 44-H)*

As cleared by Congress, HR 2805 (PL 96-19):

- Stipulated that former federal employees need not file financial disclosure statements.
- Permitted waiver of disclosure requirements for part-time employees (those serving 60 days or less annually) and consultants (serving 130 days or less yearly).
- Exempted from reporting requirements gifts and reimbursements received before taking a federal job and allowed waivers for reporting intangible gifts. Before, only tangible gifts could be given a waiver.
- Made clear that defeated candidates for election did not have to report their personal finances.
- Stipulated that only gross income from a business need be reported. Net income reporting was left optional. ▮

NSF Authorization

Congress July 18 cleared for the president a $1 billion fiscal 1980 authorization for the National Science Foundation (NSF). President Carter signed the measure into law Aug. 2 (HR 2729 — PL 96-44).

By voice votes, the House July 13 and the Senate July 18 adopted the conference report to the bill (H Rept 96-321). The bill authorized $8.2 million more than the original House-passed bill and $1.8 million less than the Senate version (S 527).

The authorization exceeded the administration's request for the agency by $1.7 million.

Conference Action

Conferees restored approximately $12 million of the $14 million the House cut from the agency's request for biological, behavioral and social sciences programs. Some members had charged the money would be used to fund wasteful projects.

Even with restoration of this funding, only $170 million was authorized for the programs, $3.5 million less than the agency's request.

Both the House and Senate had authorized $86.2 million for NSF science education projects — $1.5 million over the administration's budget request. Conferees left this funding level unchanged.

HR 2729 authorized $2.8 million for implementation of programs to develop fuel efficient energy converters, $3.5 million for mitigation of earthquake hazards and $2.6 million for research to aid the physically handicapped.

As agreed to by the conferees, HR 2729 also:

- Set aside not less than $3.3 million in education funds for two- and four-year colleges for the purchase of scientific equipment and instrumentation costing $25,000 or less.

• Required the NSF to report to Congress when funds were shifted between programs, and to file a quarterly report on the progress of its activities.

• Required the NSF to report to Congress by Sept. 30, 1980, the findings of a flood hazard mitigation study.

HR 2729 authorized the following amounts for fiscal 1980 *(in millions of dollars)*:

	House-Passed	Senate-Passed	Final
Mathematical and Physical Sciences and Engineering	$ 293.4	$ 295.7	$ 293.4
Astronomical, Atmospheric, Earth and Ocean Sciences	241.5	243.4	241.5
Biological, Behavorial and Social Sciences (BBS)	158.2	175.5	170.0
U.S. Antarctic Program	55.0	55.0	55.0
Science Education	86.2	86.2	86.2
Applied Science and Research Applications	70.9	62.4	68.7
Scientific, Technological and International Affairs	28.8	25.8	27.3
Program Development and Management	59.6	59.6	59.6
Special Foreign Currency	6.0	6.0	6.0
Total	$ 999.5	$1,009.5	$1,007.7

NOTE: NSF's budget request was the same as the Senate amount, except the request for BBS was $173.5 million, the request for science education was $84.7 million, and a total request of $1,006 million. Totals may not add due to rounding.

House Action

The House passed a $999.5 million fiscal 1980 authorization (HR 2729) for the National Science Foundation March 27 after voting 219-174 to slash $14 million from research projects critics branded a blatant waste of tax dollars. *(Vote 54, p. 20-H)*

Rep. John M. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, who proposed the cut, said NSF-financed studies into the taste preferences of sheep and the breeding habits of the white-fronted bee-eater, a small African bird, were "outlandish ventures" of questionable value. "My amendment does not deal with basic, valuable research," he said.

But Rep. Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, argued that a number of seemingly esoteric research projects with "silly sounding titles" have produced valuable information used to conquer polio and make other significant advances.

The administration had requested $1.006 billion for the foundation, but the House Science and Technology Committee added $7.5 million to that figure. It reported HR 2729 (H Rept 96-61) authorizing $1,013,500,000 March 21.

The panel reduced the administration's request by $5.5 million from these program areas: mathematical and physical sciences and engineering, $2.28 million; astronomical, atmospheric, earth and ocean sciences, $1.88 million; and biological, behavorial and social sciences, $1.34 million.

However, the committee added $13 million in authorizations for the following:

• Implementation of programs in the Science Education and the Applied Science and Research Application divisions to develop fuel efficient energy converters, $4.5 million;

• Earthquake hazards mitigation, $4.5 million;

• Implementation of state plans developed for science resource services needed by governors and state legislatures, $3 million; and

• Research to aid the physically handicapped, $1 million.

HR 2729 was passed by voice vote after adoption of the committee recommendations and completion of action on two Ashbrook amendments:

• To cut $14 million from the $172.1 million committee recommendation for biological, behavioral, and social science research projects. Adopted 219-174; and

• To prohibit the use of funds to transfer any NSF science education program to other agencies. Rejected 175-218. *(Vote 55, p. 20-H)*

Senate Action

The Senate passed a fiscal 1980 authorization for the NSF May 8. It exceeded the $1.006 billion administration request by $3.5 million.

The bill represented an increase of 8.7 percent, approximately $81 million, over fiscal 1979 program levels. The Senate bill was $10 million higher than the House version.

The Senate incorporated the text of the Senate bill, S 527, under the House number, HR 2729. It then passed HR 2729 authorizing $1.01 billion for the NSF by voice vote.

Senate Committee

S 527 was ordered reported on a voice vote April 11 by the Labor and Human Resources Committee and reported May 1 (S Rept 96-106). The full committee approved an amendment to increase funding for research into learning processes and disabilities, and agreed with a subcommittee recommendation to increase funding for science education:

• It voted to authorize an additional $2 million for biological, behavorial and social science research. The additional funds were requested by Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass, chairman of the Health and Scientific Research Subcommittee.

• It also agreed with a subcommittee recommendation to add $1.5 million for science education funding. Of that figure, $1 million of the increase would be added to NSF's $1.3 million request for its ethics and values program. The balance would be added to the NSF's $2 million request for women, minorities, and handicapped programs.

Floor Action

Unlike the House, where opponents succeeded in slashing $14 million for research projects critics branded a waste of tax dollars, there was no opposition to the NSF authorization on the Senate floor.

Before passage of the authorization, Kennedy said the $2 million increase in funding for the behavorial and social sciences would give "special priority" for research that would "provide the basis for effective action on a range of social issues."

Kennedy said the authorization reflected the importance of NSF science education activities to the maintenance and strengthening of U.S. scientific efforts. NSF "programs to stimulate participation in science careers by minorities, women, and the handicapped and to improve the quality of science education at the pre-college level are especially necessary," he said.

As passed by the Senate, HR 2729 :

- Authorized $1.01 billion in funds for programs in the National Science Foundation for fiscal 1980. Of that amount, $2.5 million would be allocated for a program to recruit more minorities, women and handicapped into science careers, and $7.8 million would be set aside for expenditures on applied science and research applications to small businesses.
- Set aside $8.16 million in education funds to two- and four-year colleges for the purchase of scientific equipment and instrumentation costing $25,000 or less.
- Authorized $6 million to subsidize NSF research outside of the United States to be paid in foreign currencies that the Treasury Department found to be in excess of normal U.S. government requirements.
- Required the NSF to report to Congress when funds were shifted between programs, and to file a quarterly report on the progress of its activities. ▮

NASA 1979 Supplemental

Congress May 17 cleared for the president a $185 million fiscal 1979 supplemental authorization (HR 1787 — PL 96-16) for the problem-plagued space shuttle. The president signed the measure into law June 4.

HR 1787 (S Rept 96-128) was passed by the Senate May 17 by voice vote and without any debate. The Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee ordered the bill reported May 8.

HR 1787 was passed by the House March 28 by a 354-39 vote. It was reported by the House Science and Technology Committee March 19 (H Rept 96-53). *(House passage, vote 57, p. 20-H)*

The supplemental increased the amount authorized for the space shuttle in fiscal 1979 to about $1.6 billion. More than $1.4 billion had earlier been authorized for the program. With the supplemental, NASA's total fiscal 1979 authorization was increased to nearly $4.6 billion from $4.4 billion.

A NASA spokesman said May 23 that with the addition of the fiscal 1979 supplemental, $7.7 billion would have been authorized for the shuttle in the period fiscal 1971-1979. *(Background, 1972 Almanac p. 171)*

NASA had said the extra funds were necessary to keep the space shuttle project on schedule and to prevent cost overruns. ▮

NASA Authorization

Congress cleared for the president July 27 a bill authorizing nearly $5 billion in fiscal 1980 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. President Carter signed the bill (HR 1786 — PL 96-48) into law Aug. 8.

The House by a 72-0 standing vote July 27 adopted the conference report (H Rept 96-371) to the bill. The Senate, by voice vote July 23, approved the conference report (S Rept 96-252).

HR 1786 authorized $4.961 billion for the space agency, $199 million more than the original House bill and the exact figure as the Senate version. The authorization was $16 million more than the revised administration budget request. A $220 million budget amendment was submitted after the House passed its version of the bill, but before the Senate acted.

House Committee Action

The House Science and Technology Committee reported the authorization March 19 (H Rept 96-52) by a 39-0 vote. It authorized $4.76 billion. The budget authority represented an increase of nearly $159 million over fiscal 1979.

Funding of the space shuttle was the largest single item in the fiscal 1980 budget. To "allow for sufficient schedule flexibility in the event of requirements for orbiter modifications or repairs," the committee added $27 million to "retain the option" for the purchase of a fifth space shuttle. In fiscal 1979, $4 million was added to the program for the same option.

The first scheduled launch of the space shuttle had been pushed back several times. The manned orbital flight was originally scheduled for between March and June 1979. The flight was later set for September, but two fires during routine flight testing of the shuttle's engine in December 1978 forced NASA to delay the launch further. It was delayed again because of problems in installing heat-resistant tiles on the spacecraft. *(Background, 1972 Almanac p. 171)*

House Floor Action

The House rejected a move to cut research funding for supersonic transport (SST) aircraft and passed the fiscal 1980 authorization for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration March 28.

Funding levels recommended by the House Science and Technology Committee were left unchanged on the floor.

The House rejected 137-246 an amendment by Rep. Ted Weiss, D-N.Y., that would have cut $22.7 million for research on the SST. Weiss urged his colleagues to "end this backdoor approach to funding a program that is properly the responsibility of the private sector." *(Vote 58, p. 20-H)*

Congress voted in 1971 to terminate the program for construction of civilian supersonic aircraft. Although the authorization bill contained no direct reference to the SST, Weiss said it earmarked some $9.7 million for a supersonic cruise research program and $13 million for a variable-cycle engine program to examine new propulsion concepts with potential application to future supersonic transports. *(Background, 1971 Almanac p. 142)*

Opponents of the amendment argued that the funds singled out by Weiss authorized only research and not construction of a supersonic aircraft.

A motion by Rep. Clarence E. Miller, R-Ohio, to recommit the bill to committee was rejected by voice vote, and the bill was passed by a 323-57 margin. *(Vote 59, p. 20-H)*

Senate Committee

The Senate Commerce Committee June 11 reported an amended fiscal 1980 budget request by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration that provided additional funding for the space shuttle project (S Rept 96-207).

The authorization (HR 1786) was $183 million higher than a bill originally approved by the committee in April

before the administration submitted a revised budget request for the space agency. The panel added $220 million for the shuttle, but deleted $37 million in other funds previously approved during markup.

The revised budget request for the space shuttle was submitted May 14 by the Office of Management and Budget.

The Senate committee bill originally included a $185 million fiscal 1979 supplemental authorization for the space shuttle. This provision was later reported as a separate bill (HR 1787 — PL 96-16). *(NASA supplemental, p. 547)*

The Senate panel cut funds from the following projects:

- **Space Shuttle.** Some $27 million included for the option to purchase a fifth shuttle was cut. The administration had opposed a five-shuttle fleet for fiscal 1980.
- **Physics and Astronomy.** A $5 million gamma ray observatory program added by the Senate Science subcommittee was deleted.
- **Space Applications.** The committee deleted $4 million for development of a National Oceanic Satellite System.
- **Space Flight Operations.** The committee cut $1 million from this area.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate June 14 passed the authorization by voice vote.

It authorized nearly $5 billion for the space agency, $16 million higher than the revised administration request. The authorization included a $220 million budget amendment submitted by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to maintain the pace of the space shuttle program.

The authorization raised from $5,000 to $25,000 the maximum amount for which NASA could adjust or settle claims for damages caused by the agency's activities, such as the fall of Skylab.

Conference Action

House conferees agreed to accept the Senate authorization levels for the following programs:

- Space shuttle, $1,586,000,000, which was $193 million higher than the House bill;
- Aeronautical Research and Technology, $309,300,000, which was $1 million higher than the House bill;
- Space Research and Technology, $119,400,000, which was $3 million higher than the House version; and
- Energy Technology, $5 million, some $2 million higher than the House bill.

Senate conferees accepted the $463.3 million House figure for space flight operations, $4 million less than its version, and the $338.3 million House figure for space applications, $4 million more than its bill. ▮

Federal Procurement Policy

Congress, dissatisfied with the progress made by an office established to set up a uniform federal procurement system, cleared and sent to the president Sept. 28 a bill setting down strict performance guidelines for the agency to meet.

The standards were included in a bill (S 756) reauthorizing the agency, the Office of Federal Procurement Policy (OFPP). President Carter signed the measure into law Oct. 10 (PL 96-83).

S 756 also gave the director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) the power to rescind OFPP policy directives, which are issued to promote economy and efficiency in government.

The OFPP was set up in 1974 (PL 93-400) to give direction to the procurement activities of executive branch agencies, bringing uniformity to their procedures and forms. *(See Congress and the Nation Vol. IV, p. 812)*

But critics charged that the agency was far from its goal, having begun work on a proposed new procurement system only in 1978. Some procedures must be implemented by legislation, but the agency had made no proposals to Congress. In addition, the OFPP had adopted only one of the 32 suggestions made to it by the Federal Paperwork Commission, according to critics.

S 756 was reported by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee May 15 (S Rept 96-144), and passed the Senate May 21. As approved, the bill merely reauthorized the OFPP for five years without requiring it to follow any performance guidelines. However, the House Sept. 10 substituted its own bill (HR 3763), laying down the strict standards, and adopted the Senate number. HR 3763 had been reported by the House Government Operations Committee May 15 (H Rept 96-178).

The Senate Sept. 27 by voice vote accepted the House amendments, but added language clarifying the OFPP's authority to issue directives. The Senate also transferred the Federal Procurement Data Center, located in the Defense Department, to the General Services Administration (GSA). The center, meant to collect procurement information for the OFPP and other agencies, was benefiting solely the Pentagon, Senate aides explained.

By a voice vote, the House Sept. 28 agreed to the Senate amendments and cleared the bill.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 756 (PL 96-83):

- Compelled the OFPP to furnish Congress with a complete uniform procurement system within one year after the bill was enacted, to submit proposals for legislative action within two years and a recommendation for a central management system within two years.
- Spelled out that the OFPP has the responsibility to develop a system of uniform and simplified procurement forms and procedures. In awarding federal contracts, full and open competition must occur. Also the office must develop a computer-based procurement data system and provide leadership in formulating procurement legislation.
- Placed the Federal Acquisition Institute (FAI), previously part of the Defense Department, under the OFPP. The Federal Procurement Data Center was shifted from the Pentagon to the GSA.
- Allowed the OMB director to rescind OFPP policy directives issued to agencies that he deemed inconsistent with OFPP's mandate. He would have this authority until a uniform procurement system were in place.
- Established that nothing in the bill would affect existing authority to procure computers, telecommunications equipment, services or real estate. In addition, the powers of the OMB director would remain untouched by the bill.
- Authorized $4 million annually for 1980-83. One-third of each year's funds to go to the FAI. ▮

John Wayne Medal

Legislation authorizing $15,000 for production of a gold medal to honor actor John Wayne's patriotism and extensive film career was signed by President Carter May 26.

PL 96-15 (S 631 — S Rept 96-110) instructed the president to present the medal to the film star on behalf of Congress. Wayne, who celebrated his 72nd birthday the day Carter signed the legislation, had been hospitalized for surgery for abdominal cancer and other complications.

Wayne died June 11.

The Senate passed S 631 May 3 by voice vote after agreeing to a committee amendment to adjust the initial authorization to $15,000, from $5,000, to cover increases in gold prices.

The House substituted the text of its bill, HR 3767, under the Senate title and passed the legislation by voice vote May 23. The Senate agreed to a House floor amendment to inscribe "John Wayne, American" on the medal, and cleared the bill for the president May 23. ▮

Reorganization Plans

President Carter proposed three government reorganization plans during 1979, and Congress permitted all of them to go into effect.

A fourth plan, an ambitious proposal to create a new Department of Natural Resources, ran into stiff congressional opposition and was scrapped without being formally submitted to Congress.

The three organizational realignments that went into effect dealt with foreign economic aid, international trade and oil pipeline development.

Of the three, the plans to create foreign aid and international trade super-agencies sparked the most controversy. But none of the plans ran into major congressional opposition and all three were approved.

Under the president's reorganization powers (PL 95-17), which were authorized in 1977, the president can transfer federal components to other Cabinet departments, subject to a congressional veto. Either chamber, by a simple majority vote, can kill a plan. If a plan is not disapproved within 60 days after it is sent to Congreee, it goes into effect. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 749)*

Alaska Pipeline Inspector. The House May 31 and the Senate May 23 approved Reorganization Plan No. 1 creating a special federal inspector to expedite construction of a natural gas pipeline from Alaska to the lower 48 states.

The House rejected the resolution of disapproval (H Res 199 — H Rept 96-222) by voice vote. The Senate rejected a similar resolution of disapproval (S Res 126 — S Rept 96-191) also by voice vote.

Under the plan, the Office of Federal Inspector assumed the enforcement authority now spread among seven federal agencies overseeing pipeline construction. The program was designed to avoid delays similar to those encountered during construction of the Alaskan oil pipeline.

The plan transferred to the inspector the enforcement authorities held by the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Transportation and Treasury, along with those from the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Park Indictment Dismissed

The government's 2-1/2 year investigation into alleged South Korean influence-buying in Congress quietly ended Aug. 16 when the Justice Department moved to dismiss federal charges against Tongsun Park, the Korean rice dealer and one-time Washington social figure who had been accused of waging the influence-buying operation.

While the government probe brought embarrassment and worries to some representatives and senators, it produced only one conviction. Only two congressmen, former Reps. Richard T. Hanna, D-Calif. (1963-74), and Otto E. Passman, D-La. (1947-77), were tried.

Hanna pleaded guilty March 17, 1978, to one count of conspiracy to defraud the government. He was sentenced to between six months and 30 months in prison and was released after serving a little more than one year. *(1978 Almanac p. 804)*

Passman was acquitted April 1 of charges he took as much as $213,000 in bribes from Park, failed to report $143,000 on his income tax returns and evaded $77,000 in income taxes on the alleged bribes.

Perjury charges against former Rep. Nick Galifianakis, D-N.C. (1967-73), were dismissed Aug. 3. He had been charged with perjury for denying he had received a $10,000 campaign contribution from Park.

Park was indicted Aug. 28, 1977, on charges of conspiracy, bribery, mail fraud, making illegal political contributions and failing to register as a foreign agent. However, under a December 1977 deal with the Justice Department, Park was granted immunity in exchange for testifying about the influence-buying scheme.

Government prosecutor John Kotelly moved to dismiss the charges against Park in a brief proceeding Aug. 16 in federal court.

Carter proposed the federal inspector as part of the energy program he announced April 5. He sent the reorganization plan to Congress April 2. *(Text, p. 20-E)*

Foreign Aid Agency. Carter sent Congress April 10 Reorganization Plan No. 2, to create a new foreign economic aid super-agency. *(Text, p. 25-E).*

Both houses easily approved the plan. The Senate agreed to the foreign aid reorganization July 9, by rejecting, 45-51, a resolution (S Res 140 — S Rept 96-210) disapproving the plan. The House defeated a similar disapproval resolution (H Res 231 — H Rept 284) July 11 by a 156-256 vote. *(Senate vote 155, p. 29-S; House vote 290, p. 86-H)*

Congressional approval came in the midst of a controversy over whether the Peace Corps, currently under ACTION, should be moved to the new agency, called the International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA).

The House had voted in April during consideration of the fiscal 1980 foreign economic aid bill (HR 3324) to put the Peace Corps under IDCA. The administration opposed the move, and House-Senate conferees on the bill agreed to adopt a Senate provision keeping the Peace Corps under ACTION. *(Story, HEW chapter)*

Under the reorganization plan, IDCA was to oversee: the Agency for International Development, currently part of the State Department; the Overseas Private Investment Corporation; a new Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation; U.S. involvement in the United Nations

aid programs, and U.S. participation in the six international banks.

The new agency was scheduled to begin operations Oct. 1, 1979, the beginning of the 1980 fiscal year.

Trade Reorganization. Carter first announced his trade reorganization plan July 19 in calling for the consolidation of many of the government's trade functions in the Commerce Department. The president also proposed strengthening the policy role of the White House Office of the Special Trade Representative.

But because some members of Congress criticized the plan for not going far enough, Carter delayed sending the formal plan, Reorganization Plan No. 3, to Congress until Sept. 25. Many members favored creation of a new Cabinet-level trade department. *(Text, p. 59-E)*

Under the Sept. 25 proposal, the administration sought to mollify its critics by further enhancing the trade representative's policy leadership role. The trade representative would be the chief policy maker on trade matters, while most of the administrative responsibility for trade matters, including enforcing the anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws administered by the Treasury Department, would go to an expanded Commerce Department.

The House approved the plan by rejecting on a voice vote a resolution of disapproval (H Res 428 — H Rept 585) Nov. 8. The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee reported the plan (S Res 245 — S Rept 96-402) favorably Nov. 7, but the full Senate failed to act on the resolution before the 60-day period elapsed. The plan went into effect Nov. 30 and parts of the reorganization proposal were expected to be implemented early in 1980.

Natural Resources Plan. Faced with mounting congressional opposition, President Carter May 15 scrapped an ambitious attempt to create a new Department of Natural Resources (DNR).

The effort was abandoned after two key senators, Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, which had jurisdiction over the reorganization, and Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., told Carter the new department should be created through legislation.

The plan, which would have moved the Agriculture Department's Forest Service and the Commerce Department's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration into the Interior Department, was announced March 1. Although never submitted to Congress, the plan had already run into stiff opposition from timber interests who wanted the Agriculture Department to retain control over the Forest Service. Influential members of the Agriculture committees sought to block the move. ▮

Chanceries Act Veto

Congress Dec. 20 executed its first veto of a proposed District of Columbia law since the city was granted limited home rule in 1975.

The Senate Dec. 19 and the House Dec. 20 adopted by voice votes a resolution (S Con Res 63 and H Con Res 228) disapproving the city's Location of Chanceries Act of 1979. The measure would have restricted areas of the city in which foreign governments could establish chanceries — work offices for diplomatic missions.

The State Department and others had urged Congress to veto the bill.

A State Department spokesman had said it would "effectively freeze chancery construction" in the city, and cause "serious foreign policy repercussions."

The veto resolution did not require the president's signature to take effect.

There have been at least eight congressional attempts to veto district bills, but this was the first to succeed. The district began limited home rule in 1975, under authority of a 1973 law (PL 93-198). *(1973 Almanac p. 734)*

Background

The D.C. City Council Oct. 9 approved the chanceries bill. It was signed by Mayor Marion Barry, D, Nov. 9.

The bill would have invalidated a decision of the city's Zoning Commission to revise the zoning classification of two strictly residential areas and thus permit new diplomatic missions in those areas.

In support of its bill, the council cited the Fulbright act (PL 88-659), a 1964 federal law that prohibited any new chanceries in residential zones of the district.

But veto proponents, including spokesmen for the Zoning Commission and the National Capital Planning Commission, the body charged with mapping out a comprehensive land use plan for the district, accused the council of overstepping its authority, to the detriment of federal interests.

House Action

The House agreed to the veto resolution by voice vote Dec. 20. It had earlier approved a measure to limit debate on the resolution of disapproval by a recorded vote of 190-144. *(Vote 671, p. 198-H)*

Floor debate centered on whether, instead of a veto, Congress should allow the chancery bill to become law and then pass its own measure later to reverse it and permit chanceries in the affected areas.

Opponents of the veto argued that it would set an irreversible precedent against the principle of district home rule.

Just hours before it was taken up on the floor, the House District Affairs Committee had voted 8-6 to report the resolution (H Con Res 228 — H Rept 96-728).

The committee acted after Walter E. Fauntroy, the District of Columbia's non-voting delegate, and Rep. Ronald V. Dellums, D-Calif., failed to convince the city council to delay enactment of the bill in order to give Congress more time to review the matter.

Opposing the veto was a difficult position, Fauntroy said. The chanceries bill had been sought by residents of affluent, largely white neighborhoods, and it probably would have most affected Third World nations with limited budgets unable to afford high-priced diplomatic office space in Washington's fashionable "Embassy Row" area.

Proponents of the resolution argued that legislation initiated by Congress to solve the federal-local conflict would be a worse alternative.

Senate Action

The Senate Dec. 19 approved the veto resolution by voice vote without debate. The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee had filed its report on the resolution that day (S Con Res — S Rept 96-533), after voting 10-0 on Dec. 17 in support of the veto. ▮

Carter Election Package Fails to Advance

The last segments of a four-part election revision package that was proposed by President Carter in 1977 died in Congress in 1979.

Carter had urged adoption of a constitutional amendment that would have abolished the Electoral College and passage of legislation that would have established election-day voter registration, extended public financing to House and Senate election campaigns and relaxed the Hatch Act to permit most federal workers to participate in partisan politics. *(Carter election package, 1977 Almanac p. 798)*

With Senate rejection of abolition of the Electoral College and the blocking of a limited public financing plan in the House in 1979, Carter struck out completely. All four of his proposals were rebuffed by Congress and relegated to a back burner.

Early Defeats

Election-day registration and the Hatch Act relaxation died first. After a flurry of activity in 1977, there was no action on either measure in the first session of the 96th Congress.

Election-day registration was considered the centerpiece of the Carter package but never made it to the floor in either the House or Senate. Critics successfully contended that it would be an invitation to voter fraud.

Congressional enthusiasm for the plan evaporated completely in November 1977, when Ohio voters overwhelmingly backed repeal of the state's election-day registration law that was considered a model for the national plan.

The Hatch Act bill was passed by the House in June 1977. But it never moved beyond hearings in the Senate because of the opposition of Governmental Affairs Committee Chairman Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., and the threat of a filibuster by Republicans on the Senate floor.

In contrast to the Hatch Act and voter registration, public financing stayed in the spotlight during the past three years.

However, when the House Administration Committee rejected legislation in May to provide partial federal funding of House general election contests, public financing proponents began looking at alternative ways to curb the growth in campaign spending.

July 10 the Senate failed to adopt a joint resolution (S J Res 28) to propose a constitutional amendment that would have abolished the Electoral College and provided for the direct election of the president and vice president. It ran ahead by a vote of 51-48 but fell 15 votes short of the required two-thirds majority of those present and voting. *(Vote 156, p. 29-S)*

Partisan Obstructions

One of the major stumbling blocks for the Carter electoral revisions was a nearly solid Republican opposition. Carter proposed the package with the hope that it would win bipartisan support and speedy approval. Instead, the measures quickly bogged down in controversy. They drew massive opposition from Republicans, who joined with defecting Democrats to block the proposals.

Partisan voting was evident in the defeat of the public financing and direct vote measures. Republicans in the Administration Committee unanimously opposed public financing, while more than two-thirds of Senate GOP members lined up against direct presidential election.

The Carter package also suffered from an anti-reform mood in Congress. House Administration Committee counsel Bob Moss commented that some members reacted negatively to the expansion of post-Watergate reforms.

Moss cited the House and Senate rules passed in 1977 banning unofficial office accounts and placing a ceiling on outside earned income, as well as the complex disclosure requirements of recent federal campaign laws. *(Ethics codes, 1977 Almanac p. 763)*

"Members are reluctant to change the rules by which they got here," Moss said. "They want to go slow. . . ." ▮

Electoral College Revision

A diverse Senate coalition that crossed party and ideological lines combined in 1979 to defeat decisively a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the Electoral College and to elect the president by direct popular vote.

A few northern liberals aligned July 10 with a majority of Republicans and southern Democrats to thwart passage of the direct election amendment (S J Res 28). It ran ahead by a vote of 51-48, but fell 15 votes short of the required two-thirds majority of those present and voting needed to approve a constitutional amendment.

With no action on the amendment planned in the House, the Senate vote terminated consideration of the proposal during the 96th Congress.

For more than a decade, Sen. Birch, Bayh, D-Ind., Judiciary Constitution Subcommittee chairman, had promoted the direct vote bill but could not get it to the floor for a vote. In 1970, the amendment fell victim to a filibuster.

The large margin of defeat in 1979 could postpone for years any further effort to revamp the presidential election system.

The text of S J Res 28 was simple. It called for the elimination of the Electoral College and the election of the president by direct popular vote. If no candidate received 40 percent of the popular vote, there would be a runoff between the top two candidates. The amendment was to have taken effect two years after ratification by three-fourths of the state legislatures — in time for the 1984 election at the earliest.

Selection Arguments

Supporters of the amendment argued that the Electoral College system may have been adequate for electing a president in the nation's early years but was an anachronism in the 20th century. Proponents contended that it constantly ran the risk of a misfire — sending a popular vote loser to the White House because he had obtained an electoral vote majority. Such an event, they warned, could bring a constitutional crisis.

"Must we wait for a crisis in order to act?" asked Charles McC. Mathias Jr., R-Md., on the Senate floor July 10. "I think not."

Opponents argued that the system had not misfired since 1888 and that a constitutional change in the method

of electing the president could unhinge the whole federal system with its checks and balances, concurrent majorities and separation of powers.

"The question is whether we are going to retain federalism or not; it boils down to that," warned Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., who led the opposition along with Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah.

Since World War II, two major plans to revamp the presidential election system have won the approval of one chamber of Congress but have died in the other. A proportional method of dividing each state's electoral vote won Senate approval in 1950; the direct vote plan was passed by the House in 1969. *(Background, Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 1519; Vol. III, p. 1012)*

The House-passed direct vote plan was killed by a Senate filibuster in 1970 led by conservative southern and Mountain state senators, who feared their states would lose influence under a direct vote plan.

Efforts to revive the direct election vote plan were spurred by the 1976 election, in which the shift of less than 10,000 votes in Ohio and Hawaii from Jimmy Carter to Gerald R. Ford would have elected Ford despite a 1.7-million-vote deficit in the popular vote for Ford.

Bayh had hoped to push his amendment through the 95th Congress, when memories of the near-miss of 1976 were still fresh. But a filibuster within the Senate Judiciary Committee by Virginia Republican Bill Scott (House 1967-73, Senate 1973-79) delayed committee approval until September 1977. *(Committee action, 1977 Almanac p. 810)*

The press of Senate business kept the amendment off the floor in 1978 in spite of assurances by Bayh to the Senate leadership that he had more than the needed 60 votes to halt a filibuster.

Floor Manuevering

The Senate leadership promised Bayh early floor consideration for S J Res 28 in 1979. Bayh skirted the Judiciary Committee by placing the issue directly on the Senate calendar. "It's a simple question and you're either for it or you're not," he said.

But his move drew sharp criticism from Hatch, the ranking Republican on Bayh's Constitution Subcommittee. He threatened a filibuster when Bayh tried to bring the amendment to the floor in March. Hatch and other opponents argued that the Judiciary Committee had six new members who never had considered the issue and that bypassing the panel established a bad precedent.

Bayh countered that direct vote had been debated more extensively in the last decade than any other constitutional amendment and that opponents had been delaying consideration for years.

But Bayh agreed to a compromise that called for four more days of committee hearings in exchange for assurance from opponents that the amendment could be brought up on the floor any time after June 1 without the threat of a filibuster.

Senate debate began June 21, and at first it appeared that debate would be prolonged. Hatch filed 24 amendments to S J Res 28 which he termed handy "discussion vehicles." Also, there were four major alternatives to the direct vote plan that could have been brought up by any member for a vote.

Of the four, the proportional plan probably had the most support. But while a similar proposal had passed the Senate in 1950, backing for it had diminished as acceptance of the "one-man, one-vote" concept had spurred support for direct vote.

Even less interest was evident in the other three alternatives — the district, national bonus and automatic plans. The district plan would have allocated electoral votes to the highest vote-getter in each congressional district and awarded two electoral votes to the statewide winner.

The national bonus plan was drafted in 1978 by the Twentieth Century Fund, an independent research firm, as a compromise between proponents of change and defenders of the existing system. It would have added 102 electoral votes to the existing total of 538 and given all the bonus votes to the national popular vote winner.

The automatic plan would merely have fine tuned the existing system, eliminating the problem of "faithless electors" that have blossomed in recent elections by abolishing the position of elector and automatically casting a state's electoral vote for its popular vote winner.

But the vote on S J Res 28 came much sooner than expected. When the Senate had recessed for the July 4 holiday on June 27, a non-germane amendment introduced by Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., to require a balanced federal budget was pending.

On the eve of the recess, Bayh scheduled a cloture vote for July 10 to prevent the introduction of other non-germane amendments. But opponents of S J Res 28 gained strength steadily over the recess and returned confident that they could defeat the direct election amendment. If there were any lingering thoughts of mounting a filibuster, they were dropped by the foes.

When the Senate came back into session July 9, opponents proposed that the cloture vote be cancelled and that an up-or-down vote on S J Res 28 be scheduled for the following day. Bayh at first balked, explaining that senators were expecting a cloture vote July 10 and no final action until later in the week. Besides, he said, the Byrd balanced budget amendment had to be disposed of first.

But at the urging of Thurmond and Hatch, Byrd withdrew his amendment in return for assurances from Bayh that action on his balanced budget amendment would be completed in Bayh's Constitution Subcommittee by the end of the year. With the Byrd amendment out of the way, Bayh then agreed to a final vote on S J Res 28 on July 10.

In addition to barring non-germane amendments, the agreement prevented a vote on the four major alternatives to direct vote.

Although the vote on S J Res 28 was held earlier than Bayh first had wanted, only one senator, Bob Packwood, R-Ore., was unable to make the roll call. Supporters indicated that once the liberals began to defect, which was evident a day or two before the vote, the timing of the roll call made little difference.

Vote Breakdown

Bayh and his allies initially were expecting that at least 60 votes would be cast for S J Res 28 but were surprised by major defections from Northern liberals. Nine Northern Democrats and three of the Senate's most liberal Republicans — John Heinz, Pa.; Charles H. Percy, Ill.; and Lowell P. Weicker Jr., Conn. — voted against direct election of the president.

Of the dissenting Democrats, six were from the East and many had been Bayh's allies on other constitutional questions.

"We had always counted before on Democratic activists who were for equal rights," Bayh told Congressional Quarterly. "The defections that killed us were those who believed the large states would lose."

Bayh asserted Democrats Daniel Patrick Moynihan, N.Y., and Bill Bradley, N.J., were examples of large-state senators who believed their states would be hurt under the direct election system.

There also were "no" votes from small-state Democrats such as Joseph R. Biden Jr., Del.; John A. Durkin, N.H.; and Edmund S. Muskie, Maine, as well as Missouri's Thomas F. Eagleton and Maryland's Paul S. Sarbanes, who represented medium-sized states.

Bayh blamed the lobbying efforts of major Jewish and black groups, such as the New York-based American Jewish Congress and the Urban League, for the defection of key Northern liberals. Their lobbying campaigns focused on the contention that the voting strength of black and Jewish voters was maximized under the Electoral College system because both groups were concentrated in urban areas of the large electoral vote states.

"We had major defections from normally more liberal and progressive members of the Senate," said Bayh. "It was the direct result of lobbying led by New York Jewish lobbying groups."

Hatch disputed Bayh's contention. Arguing that while the Jewish and black lobbying efforts were of "inestimable" help, he asserted that many liberal senators had expressed to him other fears about direct vote — such as the possible fractionalizing of the two-party system and increased emphasis on media campaigns.

The proponents of direct election formed a coalition as diverse as the one built by the foes. Advocates ranged from Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., to Sen. Jake Garn, R-Utah, and from the American Civil Liberties Union to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Although national opinion polls consistently showed that a large majority of voters would favor direct vote, proponents of S J Res 28 were hurt by the absence of any public clamor for their amendment.

In Senate debate July 9, Bayh admitted that the amendment had not stirred much interest.

"I must say that if anybody, while I was back home on July 4, had come up and talked to me about direct election instead of inflation, gas rationing or SALT," Bayh said, "I would have thought he was out of his mind."

The absence of any sense of urgency was cited specifically by several senators for opposing the amendment.

"I do not think that the American agenda needs direct election of the president added to it now when we have so many other problems that need our urgent attention," commented Percy.

While party and ideological lines were blurred on the direct vote amendment, most Democrats voted for it and most Republicans against. The large majority of liberal senators backed direct vote, while the bulk of the more conservative senators opposed the amendment.

1970 Contrast

In comparison to the last test on the direct election proposal — a pair of unsuccessful cloture votes in 1970 to curb a filibuster against the amendment — proponents increased their strength among Southern Democrats but saw their inroads cancelled by gains for the opponents among Republicans and Northern Democrats.

In 1970 only three Southern Democrats voted for cloture — which could be interpreted as favoring direct election. In 1979 seven Southern Democrats backed direct vote. Most were newer members and three were elected in 1978 — David L. Boren, Okla.; David Pryor, Ark.; and Donald Stewart, Ala. In spite of the gains, a majority of Southern Democrats (11 of 18) still opposed direct vote.

Republicans split about evenly for cloture in 1970, but in 1979 more than two-thirds opposed the amendment (28 of 40). Percy and Richard S. Schweiker, Pa., who both had backed cloture in 1970, voted against the direct vote amendment.

As in 1970, Northern Democrats were overwhelmingly for direct vote. But there was more opposition to the Bayh plan in 1979, particularly among newer members such as Moynihan, Bradley, Biden, Sarbanes and Durkin. Muskie and Eagleton, two opponents of S J Res 28, were supporters of cloture in 1970. Altogether, nine of 41 northern Democrats voted against the direct election proposal. In 1970, only two voted against cloture.

The large class of 1978, which comprised one-fifth of the Senate, was courted heavily by both sides and ended up splitting about evenly — nine for and 11 against. All but two of the new Democrats — Bradley and Howell Heflin, Ala. — joined the proponents of direct election, while all but two of the new Republicans — William L. Armstrong, Colo., and David Durenberger, Minn. — voted with the opposition.

Regionally, direct vote drew its greatest support among Midwestern senators. Two-thirds of them (16 out of 24) backed the amendment. The most opposition was among Southern senators, with only 10 of 26 favoring S J Res 28. One of the major arguments in the direct vote debate was that small states would lose influence under S J Res 28 because their share of the national electoral vote was larger than their share of the national popular vote. Yet on the roll call, senators from the 27 states with eight electoral votes or less split nearly evenly — 26 for direct vote and 27 against.

Even with the Senate rejection of the direct vote amendment, states could switch to a district or proportional plan on their own. All states, except Maine, have a winner-take-all system, awarding all the electoral votes to the candidate that received the most popular votes in the state. Maine used the district plan.

But it was doubtful that many states would change on their own because they believed that they wielded more influence under the winner-take-all system. ▮

Public Campaign Funds

Legislation to establish partial federal funding of House general election campaigns was rejected by Congress in 1979 for the third straight year.

The bill could not overcome determined opposition, although it was backed by President Jimmy Carter, the Democratic congressional leadership, the Democratic Study Group and a host of outside groups led by Common Cause.

The bill, which was given the symbolically important designation HR 1 by the House leadership, was killed by the House Administration Committee May 24, when it voted 8-17 not to report it.

The bill was defeated by a coalition of Republicans and disaffected Democrats that had blocked earlier public financing efforts. Eight of the 16 Democrats on the committee defected to join all nine Republicans in opposing HR 1.

Two weeks later, House leaders sounded the official death knell for the measure when they announced that a whip count showed there were not enough votes in the House to consider other ways of bringing HR 1 to the floor.

Background

Since Congress voted federal funding for presidential campaigns in 1974, proponents of public financing have sought to extend it to congressional races.

They have failed repeatedly. In 1977 a Senate version covering Senate general election campaigns fell victim to a filibuster, while a House measure covering House general election campaigns was mired in the Administration Committee. *(1977 Almanac p. 798)*

In 1978, proponents led by Common Cause and some newer House members bypassed the Administration Committee with a public financing bill for House general election campaigns. But they fell 17 votes short in a parliamentary manuever on the House floor to pave the way for that chamber's consideration of the bill. *(1978 Almanac p. 769)*

After that setback, Democratic congressional leaders decided to take over control of the 1979 drive for public financing from Common Cause and the newer members. Administration Committee Chairman Frank Thompson Jr., D-N.J., described HR 1 as the committee's number one priority in 1979 and expressed optimism that with the strong backing of the Democratic leadership the bill could finally clear his committee.

Plan Details

HR 1 was similar to earlier, unsuccessful versions. It was a voluntary plan that applied only to House general election campaigns. It was scheduled to take effect in 1980.

House candidates who accepted public campaign funds would have had to agree to comply with a spending ceiling of approximately $220,000. They also would have had to agree not to spend more than $25,000 out of their own pockets.

To receive federal money, candidates first would have had to raise $10,000 on their own in contributions of $100 or less with at least 80 percent of the total from residents of their own state. Funds would have been matched in $10,000 increments up to $60,000.

Matching federal money was to have come from the income tax checkoff fund, originally established to finance the presidential campaign.

Public financing supporters argued that passage of HR 1 would clean up congressional politics, blunting the growing influence of political action committees (PACs) and decreasing a candidate's need to be personally wealthy. It would ensure funding for challengers, they added, and enhance competition in one-party districts.

Opponents disagreed, claiming that by placing a limit on total spending HR 1 would hinder challengers, who would have no way to surmount the incumbent advantages of congressional perquisites and name identification.

Critics further argued there was no national demand for congressional public financing. Enactment of HR 1, they warned, would increase federal spending while expanding the bureaucracy of the Federal Election Commission (FEC).

Attempted Compromise

From the outset, proponents expressed a willingness to compromise on key features of HR 1. But they received a public relations setback on the first day of hearings — held between March 15 and 27 — when FEC Chairman Joan D. Aikens surprised backers of HR 1 by disputing their cost estimates and the reliability of the bill's procedures for certifying that candidates qualified for public funds.

In her March 15 testimony, she estimated that HR 1 would cost between $35 million and $44 million per election year, well above sponsors' estimates of about $30 million. She added that it might require the FEC to hire up to 183 new employees to administer the program.

Even then, she said, it might be impossible to implement public financing the way the bill was written. She felt that no comprehensive review of submissions for matching funds could be properly carried out within the 48-hour time period called for in HR 1 and that to give public funds without a detailed review would "constitute a drastic departure from the type of review that the commission undertakes for presidential primary candidates," the model for the House plan.

Thompson sharply disputed her call for a comprehensive certification process, contending that it represented a reversal from FEC testimony in 1977 when the commission argued the necessity of a quicker review. Added one of the bill's co-sponsors, Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill.: "These [candidates] aren't fly-by-night used car salesmen you can't find after the election's over."

The three Democrats on the six-member FEC questioned the Republican chairman (Aikens) on a different point — the cost estimates — and asked for reconsideration of the testimony she presented. Democratic Commissioner Thomas E. Harris publicly complained that the "estimates were inflated and also rested on various unexpressed assumptions."

But on a 3-3 party-line vote, the FEC March 27 refused to alter its projections or to give the Administration Committee internal commission documents that were used to arrive at its cost estimate.

Yet Thompson pressed for a new study. At an Administration Committee hearing April 10, ostensibly on the FEC's fiscal 1980 budget but dominated by discussion of the public financing cost estimate, he won Aikens' approval for a new study.

She acknowledged that the original figures had been computed using a method that included several 1978 contribution figures that were not eligible for matching funds under the provision.

Revised Estimates

On April 23, the FEC released new figures lowering the cost of HR 1 to between $22.2 million and $29.7 million per election. Aikens stressed, however, that the new estimate was compiled with methodology requested by the committee.

Republican critics reacted by arguing that regardless of the new figures, the whole dispute with the FEC had undermined the case for public financing. "The central issue," said committee member Newt Gingrich of Georgia, "is can we trust the FEC? We can't have public financing if the agency isn't trustworthy."

In an effort to win support from wavering Administration Committee Democrats, supporters of HR 1 unveiled a revised version of the bill May 9. The major change provided a new role for state parties in the pre-election certification of matchable private contributions and a smaller role for the frequently criticized FEC.

But when this provision was presented to a caucus of committee Democrats the next day, it drew objections from some members who complained that they did not have good relations with their state chairmen.

Subsequently, the bill was changed again with secretaries of state in each state substituted for state parties in the certification process.

Committee Action

When committee markup began May 15, proponents scored an early victory when they defeated an amendment by Mendel J. Davis, D-S.C., to extend HR 1 to cover primary elections. The vote was 11-12.

Davis had succeeded in crippling the 1977 public financing bill by winning approval of a similar amendment. Proponents feared that the Davis language also would severely weaken its prospects for House passage in 1979.

But Thompson was prepared this time with a ruling from the House parliamentarian that any amendment relating to primaries, Senate elections or PAC contribution limits was not germane to HR 1. Davis argued that his amendment was in order, pointing to a similar amendment that was added to the 1974 campaign finance act extending public financing to presidential primaries as well as the presidential general election.

Thompson responded that in 1974 the committee had received a special waiver from the Rules Committee permitting such an amendment. He offered to seek a similar waiver after the bill was reported if a majority of the committee wanted it.

Davis argued for more immediate action and sought to overturn the chairman's ruling. Davis contended that since a large minority of the House came from one-party districts where the election was decided in the primaries, there would be "a great inequity" if HR 1 were to apply only to general elections. This also would mean that the PACs would buy influence in the primaries, Davis said.

Speaking for the Republicans, Bill Frenzel of Minnesota voiced support for the Davis primary proposal, declaring that without it HR 1 was inconsistent and cut "close to the bone."

Democrat John L. Burton of California countered that few one-party districts remained anywhere, even in the South, and that it would be wise to test public financing first in House general elections before extending it to primaries.

But it was Democrat Lucien N. Nedzi of Michigan that probably made the most significant argument. He contended that because the basic issue was maintaining orderly procedure, the chair's ruling should be upheld. He supported Thompson in urging that any vote to seek a waiver from the Rules Committee should be taken after HR 1 was reported.

By the one-vote margin, the committee rejected Davis' challenge to Thompson's ruling. Only Robert H. Mollohan of West Virginia and Davis defected from the Democratic majority to join the Republicans. Three veteran northern Democrats who helped gut the 1977 congressional public financing bill by voting to extend it to primaries, voted to sustain Thompson's ruling. All three — Frank Annunzio of Illinois, Augustus F. Hawkins of California and John G. Minish of New Jersey — were subcommittee chairmen.

GOP Amendments

Noting the top-heavy Democratic House majority in recent years, Republican committee members tried unsuccessfully throughout the committee markup to amend the bill to aid challengers. Their first effort came with a series of amendments to lower the eligibility threshold for participation in the public financing system.

HR 1 originally required candidates to raise only $1,000 to become eligible for matching funds. To eliminate fringe candidates Thompson won approval of an amendment raising the threshold to $10,000, although Republicans argued that the new figure was too high and discriminated against challengers who had limited fund-raising sources.

Gingrich suggested a dual threshold, with $10,000 for incumbents and $5,000 for challengers. Anticipating the reaction from Democratic incumbents, Thompson facetiously noted that "the chair registers a quake of about nine on the Richter scale." The Gingrich amendment and several others designed to lower the threshold were defeated.

Gingrich was more successful, though, in fashioning a compromise with Thompson that raised the amount of an individual contribution that could be matched from $100 to $150. Gingrich initially had sought a $250 match, noting that it would be easier for challengers than the $100 amount because it would require fewer contributors.

The Republicans' second major effort came when Dave Stockman of Michigan proposed removal of the bill's spending ceiling. Although a cosponsor of HR 1, Stockman argued that a spending lid was "inherently reactionary," locking in incumbents and preserving the status quo.

He contended that a spending lid in a public financing bill was like "blending oil and water." The only reason the two were combined, he claimed, was because the 1976 *Buckley v. Valeo* Supreme Court ruling struck down spending ceilings in all federal elections except the publicly-financed presidential campaign.

Stockman noted that by tying spending limits to public financing, Democrats were using the only method they could to curb challengers' expenditures. HR 1, he concluded, "is a Trojan horse to breach the walls of *Buckley v. Valeo*."

Freshman Democratic Rep. William R. Ratchford of Connecticut responded that the current system, without the Stockman amendment, Ratchford declared, seemed to be based on the assumption that "the most expensive campaign is the most representative campaign."

On the only party-line vote of the markup, nine Republicans voted to remove the spending limit, 12 Democrats voted to keep it.

Coalition Rejection

While Republicans were unable to win approval of any of their major amendments, they had no difficulty defeating the motion to report HR 1. Eight Democrats defected to join with all nine Republicans in opposing the bill.

The anti-public financing coalition included the committee's three southern Democrats — Ed Jones of Tennessee, Charlie Rose of North Carolina and Davis — plus five veteran northern Democrats — Joseph M. Gaydos of Pennsylvania, Annunzio, Minish, Mollohan and Nedzi.

Thompson indicated that part of the problem was that many of the bill's Democratic opponents represented safe, one-party districts and did not want to encourage potential challenges to their seats.

Yet proponents claimed that at least three of the Democrats were prepared to vote for public financing if their support made a difference. But with proponents unable to construct a majority, Thompson made no effort to sway them. "All three were reluctant dragons anyway," declared Common Cause's legislative director, Mike Cole.

Support within the committee for HR 1 was concentrated among the Democratic leadership — Thompson and House Majority Whip John Brademas of Indiana — and the newest Democratic members.

Public financing supporters contended that the revisions in HR 1 helped to bring them within one or two votes

of the necessary majority. But, according to Democratic Study Group Staff Director Richard P. Conlon, further changes to win more votes "all had a price."

Minish wanted a limit on political action committee contributions of $1,000 instead of $5,000 per primary, runoff or general election. Davis wanted to extend the bill to cover primaries. Stockman proposed removal of the bill's spending ceiling. Nedzi might have given his support if certification responsibility was returned to the state parties.

But if more changes were made to pick up individual votes, Conlon explained, "the bill would have gone to the floor with a hole in its bottom."

Lobbying

Backers of HR 1 also felt that they were undercut by effective lobbying by Democratic congressional opponents. While House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., was urging wavering Democrats to report out the bill, proponents contended that John P. Murtha of Pennsylvania and Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois were forcefully telling their colleagues to vote against it. They augmented an outside lobbying effort that included the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and other business groups.

The Republican National Committee and Republican Congressional Campaign Committee lobbied its party's members to oppose the measure, but there were few GOP public financing sympathizers on the committee to begin with.

After the overwhelming 8-17 vote against reporting HR 1, Brademas sought approval for a motion to report the bill to the floor without a recommendation. It was defeated by an identical 8-17 vote.

"This would do by indirection what the committee wouldn't do by direction," argued ranking Republican member William L. Dickinson of Alabama.

Following the vote, John Burton of California offered his own solution — a motion that HR 1 be sent to the floor with the recommendation "do not pass." The motion was not seconded.

The House defeat also spelled doom for a companion bill that would have applied only to Senate general elections (S 623). Following the Administration Committee action, the Senate Rules Committee cancelled three days of hearings on S 623, which had been scheduled for June. ▮

PAC Contribution Limits

The likelihood of a filibuster thwarted Senate consideration in 1979 of a House-passed plan that would curtail sharply the role of special interests in financing campaigns for the House.

Republican Sens. Mark O. Hatfield, Ore., and Gordon J. Humphrey, N.H., blocked action on the proposal by threatening a filibuster in the closing months of the Senate's 1979 session.

The plan would make a significant reduction in the amount of money that the political arms of corporations and labor unions and other groups could contribute to the election campaigns of House candidates.

By a 217-198 vote, the House Oct. 17 approved new limitations on campaign contributions by political action committees (PACs) as an amendment to the Federal Election Commission (FEC) authorization bill (S 832). *(Vote 515, p. 150-H)*

The legislation, which would not apply to Senate candidates, would prohibit any House candidate from receiving more than $70,000 in any two-year election cycle from PACs. Currently there was no limit on the amount a House candidate could receive from PACs.

It also would reduce the amount one PAC could give a candidate from $10,000 to $6,000 in primary and general elections combined. Of the $6,000, no more than $5,000 could be taken from a PAC in a single election. Candidates facing runoffs would have a $85,000 aggregate limit and could accept up to $9,000 from a single PAC with no more than $5,000 coming in any one election.

The House passage of the plan, sponsored by Democrat David R. Obey of Wisconsin and Republican Tom Railsback of Illinois, marked a major victory for Common Cause, the self-styled citizens lobby, and the AFL-CIO. Business groups and conservative organizations, who had lobbied strongly against the bill, were on the losing end.

The Obey-Railsback plan was proposed in the wake of the defeat of partial public financing for House general election campaigns — a measure that was rejected in the House Administration Committee in May.

Minnesota Republican Bill Frenzel, who led the opposition to the measure, attributed its passage in the House to pressure from that chamber's leadership.

"They felt this was a bill they had to have to protect their incumbents," Frenzel commented after the vote. "The leadership flexed its muscle," he said.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., and Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, made impassioned pleas on the House floor for the Democratic members to prevent PACs from gaining what O'Neill claimed was "excessive influence."

"A seat in the House of Representatives ought not to be like a seat on the New York Stock Exchange, up for sale to the highest bidder," Wright said to a chorus of boos from the Republican side.

Democrats voted 188-74 in favor of the Obey-Railsback plan, while Republicans lined up 29-124 in opposition. *(Vote 515, p. 150-H)*

The Obey-Railsback plan, originally introduced in July as HR 4970, was offered as an amendment to the non-controversial FEC authorization bill that passed the Senate April 4.

The rule that provided for House consideration of the Obey-Railsback proposal was adopted 228-182. *(Vote 513, p. 150-H)*

Rules Committee

The House Rules Committee cleared the way for floor action on the Obey-Railsback plan on Sept. 19.

By a 5-10 vote the committee rejected a move that would have prohibited floor consideration of the PAC limitation proposal as part of the FEC authorization bill.

To bypass the possibly hostile House Administration Committee, Obey and Railsback asked that the Rules Committee allow floor consideration of their plan as part of the debate on S 832. Even though the Obey-Railsback proposal was not germane, the Rules Committee permitted its consideration.

The Rules Committee killed an effort to place the same contribution limits on draft campaigns that applied to announced candidates. The effort, aimed primarily at the draft-Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., committees, would have imposed a $1,000 contribution limit for individuals. The Federal Election Commission had ruled in 1979 that

the law allowed an individual to give as much as $5,000 to a draft committee.

Floor Debate

The House debate on the Obey-Railsback proposal focused on supporters' objections to the recent growth in PAC spending and on the opponents' contention the plan was an "incumbent protection measure."

Just under a quarter of all money given to House candidates in the 1978 general election came from PACs. While the share of PAC money in House races increased only slightly between 1976 and 1978 — from 22.4 percent to 24.8 percent — the actual amount given by all PACs to general election House candidates rose from less than $15 million to nearly $23 million.

"We have a new arms race on our hands; only the arms, instead of missiles, are campaign dollars," said Obey. "Whatever business does one year, labor does the next."

But Republicans saw the limitation on PAC spending as a move to thwart challengers. Minority Leader John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz., claimed Obey-Railsback "would reduce the ability of the challenger to raise funds in the early stages of a campaign and reduce the ability of PACs to participate in the political process."

Responding to the claim by Frenzel that "challengers cannot make a viable challenge without PACs," Indiana Democrat Andy Jacobs Jr. remarked, "PAC contributions don't have the slightest thing to do with challengers or incumbents. PACs are in business to help those who agree with them, whether they are challengers or incumbents."

An FEC study of PAC contributions in 1978 showed that labor, corporate and trade association PACs all gave about three times as much money to incumbents as they did to challengers.

Amendments Adopted

One of the amendments adopted by the House raised the aggregate limit on PAC contributions that could be accepted by one candidate from $50,000, as the original Obey-Railsback plan proposed, to $70,000. It also increased the amount a PAC could contribute to a candidate from $5,000, as originally proposed, to $6,000 for primary and general elections combined.

Raising the aggregate limit may have made the difference in getting the votes to pass the bill. Nearly a third of the House elected in 1978 — 138 — received more than $50,000. But only 51 — 34 Democrats and 17 Republicans — topped the $70,000 mark. *(Box, this page)*

That amendment, offered by House Administration Committee Chairman Frank Thompson Jr., D-N.J., to raise the limits, was approved by a voice vote.

Two other amendments were accepted with the support of Obey and Railsback.

An amendment that was offered by California Democrat Vic Fazio would prohibit House candidates from using any contributions to repay themselves for more than $35,000 in personal loans to their own campaigns. Fazio charged that wealthy candidates were able to "have their cake and eat it too" by bankrolling their campaigns and then, once elected, accepting contributions to repay themselves.

Frenzel, opposing the amendment, predicted the provision "won't last five minutes in the Supreme Court," as it was "trying to do by indirect means what we can't do di-

Top 1978 PAC Money Recipients

Fifty-one winners in 1978 House elections received more than $70,000 from political action committees, according to a Federal Election Commission study. The chart lists those winners, ranked by the amount of PAC money received, and each member's vote on the adoption of the Obey-Railsback plan that would prohibit House candidates from receiving more than $70,000 from PACs.

	PAC Contributions	Vote on Obey-Railsback Amendment
John M. Murphy, D-N.Y.	$145,701	Paired For
Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash.	127,450	Against
Phil Gramm, D-Texas	124,487	Against
Larry J. Hopkins, R-Ky.	124,426	For
Martin Frost, D-Texas	113,795	Against
John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz.	112,661	Against
Thomas A. Luken, D-Ohio	110,758	Against
Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill.	110,709	For
Dan Marriott, R-Utah	110,228	Against
David W. Evans, D-Ind.	108,142	Against
Daniel B. Crane, R-Ill.	107,034	Against
Les AuCoin, D-Ore.	105,411	Against
Timothy E. Wirth, D-Colo.	99,447	For
Jim Wright, D-Texas	95,979	For
Vic Fazio, D-Calif.	95,949	For
Jerry Huckaby, D-La.	95,168	Against
James R. Jones, D-Okla.	95,070	Against
Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas	94,658	For
Samuel L. Devine, R-Ohio	92,579	Against
Marty Russo, D-Ill.	89,815	For
Jim Jeffries, R-Kan.	88,187	Against
E. Thomas Coleman, R-Mo.	84,374	Against
Robert A. Young, D-Mo.	83,565	For
Howard Wolpe, D-Mich.	83,423	For
John J. Duncan, R-Tenn.	83,229	Against
Tony P. Hall, D-Ohio	83,218	For
Tom Tauke, R-Iowa	81,843	For
Thomas A. Daschle, D-S.D.	81,216	For
James G. Martin, R-N.C.	81,005	Against
Claude Pepper, D-Fla.	80,600	For
Dan Lungren, R-Calif.	79,741	Against
Doug Walgren, D-Pa.	79,689	For
Guy Vander Jagt, R-Mich.	79,681	Against
Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill.	79,191	Resigned Seat
Floyd Fithian, D-Ind.	79,095	For
Jim Mattox, D-Texas	78,462	For
Gerald B. Solomon, R-N.Y.	78,136	Against
Charles H. Wilson, D-Calif.	77,693	Against
Richard Nolan, D-Minn.	77,626	For
James J. Florio, D-N.J.	77,372	For
Eldon Rudd, R-Ariz.	77,283	Against
Tony Coelho, D-Calif.	75,852	For
Joe Wyatt Jr., D-Texas	75,150	Against
Ken Holland, D-S.C.	74,953	Against
Don Young, R-Alaska	74,902	Against
Gillis W. Long, D-La.	74,375	For
Thomas L. Ashley, D-Ohio	73,950	Against
Toby Roth, R-Wis.	73,577	Against
Jim Santini, D-Nev.	73,095	For
James H. Quillen, R-Tenn.	72,583	Against
James C. Corman, D-Calif.	70,524	Not Voting

rectly" — limit the amount of money a candidate can give to his own campaign.

But Fazio argued the amendment was in accordance with the 1976 Supreme Court ruling in *Buckley v. Valeo* because it did not put any limit on the amount candidates could give their own campaigns — just how much they could recover from other contributions. The amendment was adopted by a voice vote.

The House also adopted a Thompson amendment that would prohibit the extension of credit for direct mail fund-raising operations and would ban advertising firms and other companies from extending credit for more than 60 days.

It was supported by members who contended direct mail fund raisers such as Richard A. Viguerie and advertising firms such as that run by Gerald Rafshoon were, in effect, making improper contributions by granting large amounts of credit.

Frenzel argued the amendment would prevent any candidate who could not get "up front" cash from using direct mail for fund raising. The amendment was adopted 298-114. *(Vote 514, p. 150-H)*

Opponents unsuccessfully sought to recommit the bill to the House Administration Committee with instructions to strike the $70,000 limit on how much one House candidate could receive from all PACs. The motion was rejected 189-222. *(Vote 516, p. 150-H)*

At the beginning of its 1980 deliberations, the Senate still was faced with the prospect of a filibuster. The Hatfield and Humphrey effort to block S 832 was aided by such groups as the National Right to Work Committee and other business groups.

Provisions

As passed by the House, S 832:

- Prohibited a House candidate from accepting more than $70,000 from all PACs during a two-year election cycle. If the candidate also faced a runoff, the overall limit would be $85,000.
- Reduced from $10,000 to $6,000 the amount a PAC could contribute to a House candidate for primary and general elections combined, with a stipulation that no more than $5,000 can be given in any one election. Candidates in general, runoff and primary elections could receive up to $9,000, with the same $5,000 per election restriction.
- Counted against a PAC's contribution limits individual political donations delivered by that PAC to a candidate.
- Prohibited a House candidate from using funds contributed to his campaign to repay personal loans of more than $35,000 that the candidate made to his campaign.
- Banned the extension of credit for direct mail fund-raising solicitation.
- Allowed advertising firms and other companies that provided advertising services to extend credit to House candidates for no more than 60 days. Newspapers, broadcasting stations and magazines were exempt from this provision but would remain subject to the present requirement that extension of credit to candidates be made in the "ordinary course of business."
- Authorized $8,998,823 for fiscal 1980 for the FEC.
- Prohibited any random audits by the FEC of House and Senate candidates and their campaign committees.
- Restricted to $400,000 FEC expenditures for providing services to state and local election administrators. ▮

Campaign Law Overhaul

In a rare demonstration of harmony on a campaign finance measure, Congress passed in late 1979 legislation to eliminate the red tape in the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) and to encourage political party activity.

The bill (HR 5010 — H Rept 96-422) cleared the Senate Dec. 18 and the House Dec. 20. Both actions occurred without objection on non-record votes.

Carter's Signature

The legislation (PL 96-187) was signed Jan. 8, 1980, by President Carter, although he had been advised by the Justice Department to veto it.

The Justice Department's objections focused on one provision of the wide-ranging bill. That section allowed federal employees to make campaign contributions to other federal officials with the exception that they could not give to their own employers.

Carter said in a statement that the section represented a "severe infringement of federal employees' First Amendment rights."

A literal reading of the law that existed prior to the enactment of HR 5010 prohibited any campaign contribution by one federal employee to another. But advisory letters from the Justice Department in 1974 and 1977 suggested that such contributions, if they were voluntary, were not prosecutable offenses.

One apparent White House concern was that HR 5010's provision would bar all federal workers from contributing to Carter's re-election campaign.

The Democratic and Republican leaders on election law legislation in the House and Senate told Carter in a Jan. 8 letter that the provision of HR 5010 was intended to be interpreted narrowly so that it, for example, barred only employees of the White House Office from contributing to the re-election campaign of an incumbent president. They added that legislation would be introduced to clarify the provision to that effect.

Congressional Action

HR 5010 initially passed the House Sept. 10. Leaders of the House Administration Committee and the Senate Rules Committee informally worked out a compromise between the original House bill and S 1757 (S Rept 96-319), which was approved by the Senate panel on July 26.

Agreement between the two chambers and between members of both parties was not difficult because the drafters concentrated on solving non-controversial problems caused by the FECA, which was enacted in 1972, and by the 1974 and 1976 amendments to it. *(Background, 1974 Almanac p. 611, 1976 Almanac p. 459, and 1978 Almanac p. 769)*

In putting together HR 5010, the drafters avoided politically explosive questions such as partial public financing of congressional campaigns and reduction in the amount of money that political parties and political action committees (PACs) could give to candidates.

A previous effort to solve the non-controversial problems of the FECA became embroiled in 1978 in a fight over public financing and the limits on contributions by parties and PACs and was scuttled.

"The committees of both the House and Senate decided to lay aside the difficult issues on which we enjoy go-

ing to war and instead to pass the items in this bill which will simplify and make life easier for the candidates, for the parties, for volunteers and for everybody," Rep. Bill Frenzel, R-Minn., told the House Dec. 20. "We all knew that these changes had to be made, and now they are being made."

Principal Remedies

None of the changes was dramatic by itself. But as a whole the amendments constituted a significant overhaul of the FECA.

The changes were designed to eliminate the difficulties that had become evident by the 1976 elections when candidates and political parties had the experience of several campaigns under the restrictions of the FECA.

The main complaints were that the law had imposed too much of a paperwork burden on candidates and political committees and that the FECA had stifled volunteer and grass-roots party activity by the burden of filing complicated reports or by outright restrictions.

Paper Work Burden

HR 5010 reduced the paperwork requirements in several ways. First, the bill reduced the maximum number of reports a federal candidate would have to file with the Federal Election Commission (FEC) during a two-year election cycle from 24 to nine.

Second, candidates who raised or spent less than $5,000 in their campaigns would not have to file reports at all. In 1978, there were about 70 House candidates, including five winners, who fell below the $5,000 threshold. Previously, all candidates were required to report their finances regardless of the amount.

Also, candidates would have to report in less detail. HR 5010 raised the threshold for itemizing both contributions and expenditures to $200 from $100.

Party Role

In 1976, political party leaders complained that the FECA almost completely eliminated state and local party organizations from the presidential campaign.

With federal funding of the presidential general election in effect for the first time in 1976, there were restrictions on spending and tight limits on additional fund raising by parties and campaign committees.

Because they had only limited funds from the federal government to spend, both the Democratic and Republican presidential campaigns focused on media advertising. At the same time, they cut back expenditures on items such as buttons and bumper stickers that traditionally are used in promoting grass-roots activity.

HR 5010 permitted state and local party groups to purchase, without limit, campaign materials for volunteer activities to promote any federal candidate. Those items included buttons, bumper stickers, handbills, brochures, posters and yard signs.

Also, those party organizations were allowed to conduct, without financial limit, certain kinds of voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives on behalf of presidential tickets.

The incidental mention of a presidential candidate on the campaign literature of local candidates was no longer counted as a campaign contribution. Previously, such references had been counted as contributions, and that resulted

House Campaign Fund Loophole

The U.S. House retained for itself in 1979 a campaign fund loophole through which unspent campaign money can pour into the pockets of retired members.

Legislation overhauling the Federal Election Campaign Act (HR 5010 — H Rept 96-422) had the effect of exempting only the 434 House members who were sitting in early 1980 once they were former legislators from a provision prohibiting the conversion of money collected for federal election campaigns to personal use. The bill cleared Congress Dec. 20.

The effect was that those 434 House members could accumulate campaign money — even if they had no election opponents — and then could use it for their personal expenses by paying income taxes on it after they left Congress.

The bill's provision stated that no one — including members of Congress, former members and candidates for Congress — could use campaign funds for personal purposes. But fearing objections from some House members, drafters of the provision specifically exempted the current 100 senators and 434 representatives.

The exemption meant that the sitting 534 members were controlled by their own chambers' rules on the use of campaign funds.

Senate rules prohibit personal use of campaign funds by former senators as well as incumbents. So the bill's loophole was of no benefit to the senators.

But the House rule barring the conversion of campaign funds to personal use applied only to sitting members and not former members. So the bill's loophole, coupled with the House rule, meant that the 434 representatives would be free after they left Congress to spend leftover campaign money for their personal use. Only House members elected in 1980 and after would be barred from converting campaign funds to personal use when they became ex-members.

The Senate Rules Committee July 26 approved a bill (S 1756) with a provision that would have banned anyone from using campaign funds for personal use. No exemption for current members of Congress was included.

The version of HR 5010 passed by the House Sept. 10 was silent on the personal use of campaign funds. The impact of that position was to leave the subject in the domain of legislative rules, where the House regulations were less restrictive than the Senate rules.

As passed unanimously by the Senate Dec. 18 and accepted by the House Dec. 20, both by voice votes, HR 5010 was a compromise of the two chambers' positions on the subject. The bill would allow leftover campaign funds to be contributed to charities or to other political committees.

When asked why a total ban on conversion of campaign funds to personal use was not adopted, Rep. Frank Thompson Jr., D-N.J., chairman of the House Administration Committee, said: "We thought it would present too many problems. Some members have stashed money for campaigns and other purposes. . . . They might have objected."

That might have endangered passage of the entire bill, Thompson commented.

in paperwork problems in reporting those costs to the FEC. The paperwork burden on local party groups would be eased by requiring them to report their finances only if annual spending for volunteer activities exceeded $5,000 or if costs for non-volunteer projects were more than $1,000. Currently such groups had to file campaign reports if total spending exceeded $1,000 a year.

Volunteer Activity

Volunteer political activity by individuals was encouraged by HR 5010 by raising to $1,000 from $500 the amount of money a person could spend in providing his home, food or personal travel on behalf of a candidate without reporting it to the FEC as a contribution.

If the volunteer activity were on behalf of a political party, the person could spend up to $2,000 before the amount was treated as a contribution.

Provisions

As passed by Congress, HR 5010 (PL 96-187):

- Required a federal candidate to file campaign finance reports if he received or expended more than $5,000. Previously any candidate, regardless of the amount raised or spent, had to file.
- Allowed local political party organizations to avoid filing reports with the FEC if expenditures for certain voluntary activities (get-out-the vote and voter registration drives for presidential tickets and purchase of buttons, bumper stickers and other materials) were less than $5,000 a year. If other types of expenditures were more than $1,000 a year, then such a group would be required to file. Previously local political party organizations were required to file when any class of expenditure exceeded $1,000 a year.
- Permitted an individual to spend up to $1,000 in behalf of a candidate or $2,000 in behalf of a political party in voluntary expenses for providing his home, food or personal travel without it being counted as a reportable contribution. Previously such expenses over $500 had to be reported.
- Allowed state and local party groups to buy, without limit, buttons, bumper stickers, handbills, brochures, posters and yard signs for voluntary activities.
- Permitted buttons and similar materials, but not commercial advertisements, that promoted one candidate to make a passing reference to another federal candidate without it being treated as a contribution to the second candidate.
- Authorized state and local party groups to conduct voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives on behalf of presidential tickets without financial limit.
- Eliminated the requirement that a political committee have a chairman, but continued the requirement that each have a treasurer.
- Allowed 10 days, instead of the previous five, for a person who received a contribution of more than $50 on behalf of a candidate's campaign committee to forward it to the committee's treasurer.
- Required a committee's treasurer to preserve records for three years. Previously, the FEC established the period of time that committee treasurers were required to keep records.
- Required a candidate's campaign committee to have the candidate's name in the title of the committee. Also, the title of a political action committee was required to include the name of the organization with which it was affiliated.
- Continued the requirement that candidates' campaign reports be filed initially with either the Senate secretary or the House clerk, who would forward them to the FEC.
- Established a "best effort" standard for the FEC to determine compliance by candidates' committees with the law. This was intended to ease the burden on committees, particularly in the area of meeting the requirement of filing the occupations of contributors. In the past some candidates believed that the FEC had been unreasonable in insisting that their campaign committees file that information when the contributors would not provide it.
- Reduced to six from 11 the categories of information required on registration statements of political committees. One of the categories eliminated was one requiring political action committees to name the candidates supported. That requirement meant that PACs were forced to file frequently lists of candidates to whom they contributed when that information already was given in their contribution reports.
- Reduced to nine from 24 the maximum number of reports that a candidate would be required to file during a two-year election cycle. Those nine reports would be a pre-primary, a pre-general, a post-general, four quarterly reports during an election year and two semiannual reports during the non-election year. The pre-election reports would be due 12 days before the election; the post-general report would be due 30 days after the election; the quarterly reports would be due 15 days after the end of each quarter and the semiannual reports would be due July 31 and Jan. 31.
- Required presidential campaign committees to file monthly reports, as well as pre- and post-general reports, during an election year if they had contributions or expenditures in excess of $100,000. All other presidential campaign committees would be required to file quarterly reports, as well as pre- and post-general reports, during an election year. During a non-election year presidential campaign committees were allowed to choose whether to file monthly or quarterly reports. This provision would not go into effect until Jan. 1, 1981.
- Required political committees other than those affiliated with a candidate to file either monthly reports in all years or nine reports during a two-year election cycle.
- Provided that the FEC be notified within 48 hours of contributions of $1,000 or more that were made between 20 days and 48 hours before an election. Previously the period had been between 15 days and 48 hours before an election.
- Required the names of contributors to be reported if they gave $200 or more instead of $100 or more.
- Required expenses to be itemized if they were $200 or more instead of $100 or more.
- Increased the threshold for reporting independent expenditures to $250 from $100.
- Allowed any person who had an inquiry about a specific campaign transaction — not just federal officeholders, candidates, political committees and the national party committees — to request advisory opinions from the FEC.
- Required the FEC to respond to advisory opinion requests within 60 days instead of within a "reasonable time." If such a request were made within the 60-day period before an election, the FEC would be required to issue an opinion within 20 days.
- Provided that within five days of receiving a complaint that the election campaign law had been violated the FEC must notify any person alleged to have committed a violation. The accused has 15 days in which to respond to the complaint.

• Required a vote of four of the six members of the FEC to make the determination it had "reason to believe" a violation of the law had occurred. An investigation then would be required, and the accused had to be notified.

• Provided that four votes of the FEC were necessary to determine "probable cause" that a violation had occurred. Then the commission would be required to take from 30 to 90 days to attempt to correct the violation by informal methods and to enter into a conciliation agreement, which also required the vote of four FEC members.

• Retained the substance of the existing law providing for civil and criminal relief of election campaign law violations.

• Continued the prohibition on the use of the contents of reports filed with the FEC for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for commercial purposes, but added the exception that the names of PACs registered with the FEC may be used for solicitation of contributions.

• Permitted political committees to include 10 pseudonyms on each report to protect against illegal use of the names of contributors. A list of those names would be provided to the FEC and would not be made public.

• Narrowed the scope of the FEC's national clearinghouse function from all elections to federal elections.

• Eliminated random audits of committees by the FEC and required a vote of four FEC members to conduct an audit after it had determined that a committee had not substantially complied with the election campaign law.

• Required secretaries of state in each state to keep copies of FEC reports on file for only two years compared to the previous requirement that all House candidate reports be retained for five years and all other reports for 10 years.

• Permitted leftover campaign funds to be given to other political committees, as well as charities.

• Prohibited anyone, with the exception of members of Congress at the time of HR 5010's enactment, to convert leftover campaign funds to personal use. *(Box, p. 559)*

• Continued the ban on solicitation by candidates for Congress or members of Congress and by federal employees of other federal workers for campaign contributions, but dropped the prohibition on the receipt of such contributions by federal employees. An inadvertent solicitation of a federal employee would not be a violation.

• Permitted federal employees to make a voluntary campaign contribution to other federal workers, other than their immediate employers.

This is the section to which the Justice Department objected, contending that it represented an infringement on First Amendment rights. Carter signed the bill and asked Congress "to remove its chilling effect on the rights of citizens to make voluntary contributions to the candidates of their choice." Congressional leaders pledged to introduce legislation to clarify the section so that it would not be interpreted in a sweeping way.

• Continued the ban on solicitation and receipt of contributions in a federal building. But it would not be a violation if contributions received at a federal building were forwarded within seven days to the appropriate political committee and if the contribution had not been directed initially to the federal building.

• Increased the allotment of federal funds for the Democrats and Republicans to finance their nominating conventions to $3 million from $2 million.

• Provided an expedited procedure for the Senate, as well as for the House, to disapprove a regulation proposed by the FEC. ▮

Censure of Rep. Diggs

Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., was censured by the House July 31 for misuse of his clerk-hire funds.

Diggs, who was first elected to Congress in 1955, became the first House member to be censured by his colleagues since 1921, when Thomas L. Blanton, D-Texas (1917-37), was disciplined for having objectionable language printed in the *Congressional Record*.

Including Diggs, only 18 members and one delegate had been censured in the history of the House as of the end of 1979. Of the 17 members and one delegate censured by the House prior to Diggs, 10 had been re-elected.

Diggs had been convicted in October 1978 on 29 felony counts centering on charges that he illegally diverted his employees' salaries to his personal and official use. He was sentenced to three years in prison, but the prison sentence was postponed to give Diggs an opportunity to appeal the conviction.

Diggs' conviction was upheld in November by a 2-1 decision of a three-judge panel of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Diggs sought reconsideration of that decision by the full appeals court, but at year's end the reconsideration plea was still pending.

The disciplinary proceeding against Diggs was marked throughout the year by bipartisan exploitation of the issue of ethics in Congress. While Democratic leaders pressed for an orderly investigation of Diggs' conduct by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, younger members — especially Republicans — attempted to move to expel Diggs before the House investigation could be concluded.

Diggs himself attempted to end the controversy by agreeing — just before public hearings in the case were to begin — to be censured for misconduct if the Standards Committee agreed to end its inquiry into his financial affairs.

The committee accepted Diggs' plea, but a Republican-led group moved to expel Diggs anyway. The expulsion attempt was defeated on the floor, and the House then went on to censure Diggs by a 414-0 vote.

Following the vote, Diggs said he expected to serve out the remainder of his term and run for re-election to the House in 1980.

Background

The controversy in the 96th Congress over Diggs and congressional ethics began even before the Congress convened. The House Democratic Caucus devoted a major portion of its December 1978 organizational meetings to a discussion of what privileges the House should extend to indicted or convicted members.

After his sentencing in November 1978, Diggs had announced he would give up his chairmanship of the House District of Columbia Committee but would fight to keep his chairmanship of the International Relations Subcommittee on Africa.

The caucus, however, approved a rules change Dec. 6 requiring a caucus vote on the election by a committee of any subcommittee chairman convicted of a felony carrying a sentence of at least two years.

Following adoption of the rules change, House Democratic leaders met with Diggs to ask him not to seek the Africa Subcommittee chairmanship. On Jan. 23, Diggs an-

Legal Actions Against Members of Congress

The celebrated bribery and kickback cases of Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., and Rep. Daniel J. Flood, D-Pa., continued to dominate news of members of Congress in trouble with the law. *(Criminal proceedings against members in previous years, 1978 Almanac p. 853; 1977 Almanac p. 63-A; CQ Guide to Congress, 2nd Edition, p. 716)*

But Diggs' and Flood's troubles were only one of a number of criminal problems faced by representatives and senators.

In addition, several former members were involved in criminal difficulties during 1979.

Another member, Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., was the subject of a grand jury investigation during 1979 as a result of allegations growing out of a Senate investigation of his finances. At year's end, however, the grand jury had taken no action against Talmadge. *(Separate story, p. 566)*

Following is a list of present or former members who faced criminal charges or were in prison during the period of the 95th Congress.

Former Rep. Frank M. Clark, D-Pa. (1955-74), was sentenced June 12 to two years in prison and fined $11,000 following a guilty plea on charges of mail fraud and income tax evasion. After he finished serving his prison term, Clark was to be placed on five years' probation.

Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., lost an appeal of his 1978 conviction on 29 felony counts centering on charges that he illegally diverted his congressional employees' salaries to his personal use. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit ruled 2-1 against Diggs, who said he would seek reconsideration from the full 10-member Court of Appeals. At the time of his 1978 conviction, Diggs was sentenced to three years in prison, but the sentence was postponed pending appeals.

Diggs was censured by the House July 31 for misuse of his clerk-hire funds. The Justice Department in September filed a suit seeking more than $240,000 from Diggs. *(Separate story, p. 561)*

Former Rep. Joshua Eilberg, D-Pa. (1967-79), pleaded guilty Feb. 24 to charges that he illegally accepted money for helping a Philadelphia hospital get a $14.5 million federal grant. Originally indicted on one conflict of interest charge in October 1978, Eilberg changed his plea to guilty and was sentenced to five years' probation and fined $10,000.

In May, the Justice Department filed a civil complaint against Eilberg, seeking payment of $149,172 for misuse of his congressional telephone credit card and for fees he allegedly received from his former law firm for helping the hospital obtain the federal grant.

Rep. Daniel J. Flood, D-Pa., whose trial on 11 counts of bribery, conspiracy and perjury, ended in a mistrial Feb. 3, 1979, was tentatively set to be retried early in 1980. Government prosecutors alleged that Flood received bribes totaling almost $60,000 in cash, checks and stock between 1971 and 1976 in return for using his influence as chairman of the House Labor-HEW Appropriations Subcommittee.

The House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct charged Flood June 7 with 25 violations of House rules, but put off indefinitely hearings on the charges because of Flood's ill health. Flood announced Nov. 7 he would resign from the House Jan. 31, 1980, for health reasons. *(1978 Almanac p. 854)*

Former Rep. Nick Galifianakis, D-N.C. (1967-73), was indicted by a Washington, D.C., federal grand jury April 10 for perjury during 1978 testimony before the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct in which Galifianakis denied receiving a $10,000 cash campaign contribution from South Korean businessman Tongsun Park.

The charges were dismissed Aug. 3, after a U.S. district court judge ruled that the alleged perjury actually had taken place during the taking of an unauthorized deposition by Rep. Millicent Fenwick, R-N.J., and a Standards Committee attorney.

Former Rep. Henry Helstoski, D-N.J. (1965-77), had seven bribery-related counts of a 12-count indictment against him dismissed Sept. 21. Helstoski was indicted in 1976 on charges that he accepted money from resident aliens in return for introducing private bills in Congress to allow them to remain in the United States. The charges were dismissed following a June 18 U.S. Supreme Court decision barring federal prosecutors from using any evidence of Helstoski's past legislative actions in prosecuting him.

Helstoski was seeking dismissal of five additional counts of obstruction of justice.

Rep. Claude "Buddy" Leach, D-La., was acquitted Nov. 3 by a federal jury in Lake Charles, La., on charges of vote-buying in the November 1978 general election. Leach was expected to face a second federal trial early in 1980 on charges he violated campaign finance laws. Acting at the request of government prosecutors, a federal judge in early 1980 dropped a third set of charges against Leach concerning allegations the Louisiana Democrat conspired to buy votes in the September 1978 primary election.

Rep. Michael "Ozzie" Myers, D-Pa., pleaded no contest April 10 to a charge of disorderly conduct stemming from a Jan. 16 incident in an Arlington, Va., hotel bar in which Myers allegedly attacked a hotel security guard and a female cashier. He was given a suspended six-month jail term.

Former Rep. Otto E. Passman, D-La. (1947-77), was acquitted April 1 of all conspiracy charges against him by a Monroe, La., federal district court jury. Passman had been indicted in the spring of 1978 on charges that he conspired to obtain $213,000 in bribes from South Korean businessman Tongsun Park and on other bribery and tax evasion charges.

nounced he would not seek the post in order "to avoid a confrontation that probably would even go beyond me and generate more bias against African interests."

Republicans Seek Expulsion

Republican leaders put the House on notice as early as Jan. 9 that they would push for Diggs' expulsion during the first session.

At a press conference, Minority Leader John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz., said he and other GOP members planned to file a complaint against Diggs with the Standards Committee shortly after the House began its business Jan. 15. The complaint, Rhodes said, would ask the committee to determine whether Diggs should be expelled.

Although outnumbered by nearly two to one, the House Republicans said they intended to vigorously pursue the complaint. If the committee did not appear to be acting quickly on the complaint, Republican Policy Committee Chairman Bud Shuster, R-Pa., said the party would take an expulsion motion directly to the floor.

Eighteen members of the House sent a letter to the ethics panel Feb. 2 asking for an investigation of Diggs. Although Republicans originally had said the letter would ask for an investigation of whether Diggs should be expelled from the House, the expulsion request was dropped.

Standards Committee Action

The Standards Committee began a preliminary investigations of Diggs on Feb. 7.

At a meeting to organize the panel, Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla., the new chairman, appointed a subcommittee to begin studying whether Diggs violated House rules. Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., was appointed head of the Diggs subcommittee. Under Bennett's plan, the subcommittee was to report its findings to the full Standards Committee, which then was to function as a grand jury in investigating whether to "indict" Diggs for misconduct.

Bennett's procedures were aimed at dividing what he considered the committee's conflicting roles as prosecutor, jury and judge of House members. He said he was considering a recommendation that a jury to hear evidence in an ethics committee investigation be chosen by lot from the full House. However, the committee did not act on that idea.

Republicans Seek Showdown

Before the Standards Committee could take action in the Diggs proceeding, House Republicans attempted to speed up the process.

The Democratic Caucus in December 1978 had put off consideration of two proposals by Peter H. Kostmayer, D-Pa., that could have inflicted additional punishments on Diggs.

One proposal recommended that a member convicted of a felony not vote until he had completed all prison terms and paid all fines resulting from the conviction. The second required the Standards Committee to send to the House for action a resolution recommending expulsion of any representative convicted of a felony. The committee action would have to occur within 30 days after the member had exhausted all legal appeals.

Existing House rules recommended — but did not require — that convicted House members refrain from voting unless they were re-elected after their conviction.

In late February, freshman Republican Newt Gingrich, Ga., announced that he would press for an immediate showdown on Diggs. If Diggs chose to vote despite his conviction, Gingrich informed Diggs in a Feb. 22 letter, Gingrich would move to expel Diggs from the House.

Meeting in caucus Feb. 28, House Democrats attempted to head off the Republican challenge by proposing action on their own. They did not succeed.

Caucus members adopted by voice vote a modification by Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas, of Kostmayer's earlier proposal. The Eckhardt version required that the Standards Committee complete action on its recommendations concerning punishment of a member within 30 legislative days of the member's "final" conviction. The Eckhardt proposal left to the discretion of the committee the nature of the punishment it should consider.

The proposal defined "final" conviction as the time at which appeals had been exhausted, and stipulated that the requirement be applied solely to crimes for which a sentence of two or more years of prison could be imposed.

The caucus proposal did not have the force of a House rule, however. Before it could go into effect, it had to be approved by the Rules Committee and then by the full House.

In addition, the caucus rejected at the same Feb. 28 meeting the Kostmayer proposal that would have avoided Gingrich's showdown attempt. That proposal was Kostmayer's resolution recommending that representatives convicted of crimes not vote even if they were re-elected after conviction.

Opponents of the rules change argued that to take away a member's vote after he had been re-elected would deprive his constituents of their voice in Congress. The resolution was tabled by voice vote.

Diggs Expulsion Debate

On the House floor Feb. 28, Diggs voted "yea" on a bill to increase the public debt limit. The next day, Gingrich offered a resolution (H Res 142) to expel Diggs from the House. Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, immediately moved to refer the resolution to the Standards Committee.

Gingrich, who knew that a resolution to expel was likely to fail because it required a two-thirds majority for approval, concentrated his efforts on obtaining a recorded vote on Wright's motion.

"Yesterday, a convicted felon voted on a $38 billion debt limit [increase]," Gingrich said. "We are permitting a convicted felon to vote on the laws of the United States."

Minority Leader Rhodes argued that the Standards Committee should be permitted to "work its will" and recommend a course of action to the House before the House considered expulsion. Parren J. Mitchell, D-Md., argued that the House should accept Diggs' presence as an expression of "the will of the people. . . . If they [the people] want to elect Hitler, that's their right."

The motion to refer the bill to Standards rather than to proceed immediately to a vote on Diggs' expulsion was adopted 322-77. Most of those voting against referral were younger Republicans. Most Democrats, older Republicans, members of the Michigan delegation and members of the Congressional Black Caucus supported referral of the expulsion resolution to the Standards Committee. *(Vote 17, p. 6-H)*

During debate on Wright's motion, Mitchell disputed the right of M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., to read from a transcript of Diggs' trial on the House floor because the House had not "constituted itself as a body to try Mr. Diggs." The

House voted 353-53 to permit Butler to read from the transcript. *(Vote 16, p. 6-H)*

Diggs himself voted against reading from court transcripts and in favor of referring the expulsion resolution to the Standards Committee. A point of order raised by Rhodes against Diggs' voting because he had a personal interest in the matters being decided was overruled by Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass.

Standards Committee Charges Issued

The Standards Committee April 4 formally charged Diggs with violating House rules.

A motion that the committee had "reason to believe" Diggs had violated House rules was adopted unanimously by the committee. The motion cited 18 alleged rules violations.

Most of the proposed charges reflected the federal charges on which he was convicted in 1978. Some of the charges, however, went beyond those at issue in his federal trial.

The Standards Committee alleged Diggs violated House rules by placing two employees on his payroll without duties in order to have their salaries help pay some of his personal bills; inflating the salaries' of three other employees to cover Diggs' personal and congressional expenses; and putting one employee on his congresssional payroll although her duties were to work for Diggs' private business, the House of Diggs Funeral Home in Detroit, Mich.

Diggs, in a printed statement, criticized the panel for proceeding with the case while the federal conviction still was being appealed. The committee earlier had rejected a request that its investigation be delayed until after Diggs' appeals were exhausted.

Legal Fees Asked

In a related development, Diggs asked the House in a March 29 letter to pay for the cost of his legal defense in the Standards Committee proceeding. For his criminal trial, subsequent appeals and the Standards Committee proceeding, Diggs had retained the prestigious Washington law firm of Williams and Connolly.

A House Administration Committee aide said he could recall no other instance in which a member of Congress charged by the Standards Committee had been reimbursed for the cost of his defense. The committee ultimately turned down Diggs' request.

Delays Sought

Following the Standards Committee action, Diggs' attorneys asked the panel to dismiss all the charges against him for lack of jurisdiction. Failing that, they asked the panel to defer action on the charges until after Diggs' appeals in the federal courts had been exhausted, and to dismiss two charges.

The two charges, according to the attorneys, relied on evidence presented confidentially to a grand jury that was then improperly turned over to the Standards Committee by federal prosecutors. However, William Geoghegan, committee special counsel, said the information was legally obtained.

The Diggs motions were turned down by the Standards Committee May 16 and 23.

Diggs' attorneys then filed a "general denial" to the committee's charges. On June 7, the committee voted to begin public disciplinary hearings on the charges June 25.

Personal Enrichment Acknowledged

June 25 came and went, but the Standards Committee delayed beginning its hearings.

Finally, on June 29, committee attorneys announced in a public meeting that extended secret negotiations between attorneys for Diggs and the Standards Committee had resulted in a proposed agreement.

In a June 27 letter to the Standards Committee laying out the proposed agreement, Diggs admitted he violated House rules and agreed to be censured by his colleagues in return for ending the committee's investigation into his financial affairs.

In the letter, Diggs admitted he had padded his office payroll and accepted kickbacks from five present and former employees. He said his personal gain from the kickbacks totaled $40,031.66.

Diggs offered to repay the sum with interest. The money would be repaid through monthly deductions of $500 from his congressional paycheck, he said in his letter.

In the letter, Diggs admitted he had "knowingly" authorized $11,646.64 in salary increases for his former office manager, Jean Stultz, with the understanding that the money would go to pay for Diggs' personal expenses.

He also acknowledged that he had been "personally enriched" or had "personally benefited" by a total of $28,385.02 in padding the paychecks of the four other employees mentioned in the letter. However, he denied that he had "intentionally" violated House rules in having personal services performed, or personal expenses paid for, by those four employees.

As part of the agreement accepted by the committee, Diggs agreed to have each of his employees certify for the remainder of the 96th Congress that they were being paid in compliance with House rules.

Diggs apologized to his colleagues for any "discredit" he may have brought to the House, adding, "I sincerely regret the errors in judgment which led to this proceeding."

In return for accepting a House censure, he asked that the committee end its investigation of his affairs and drop all of the 18 charges it had lodged against him in April. The Standards Committee unanimously approved the agreement June 29. Diggs was present at the session.

Diggs said after the committee meeting that his guilty plea would help a pending appeal of his federal conviction.

In his June 27 letter, Diggs acknowledged that he had diverted payroll funds for personal use. But he did not admit to charges — dropped by the Standards Committee — that he had channeled kickback money into official expenses. It was these charges that were in dispute in his appeal of his federal conviction, Diggs said.

Committee Report

In recommending censure rather than expulsion, the committee explained in its July 19 report (H Rept 96-351), that it had "considered his admission of guilt of serious offenses against the House rules, his apology to the House therefor, his agreement to make restitution of substantial amounts by which he was unjustly enriched, and the nature of the offenses charged."

House Floor Action

Diggs was censured by the House July 31. The vote to censure him was 414-0, with four members, including Diggs, voting present. The other three were Reps. Robert

Garcia, D-N.Y., Augustus F. Hawkins, D-Calif., and Mitchell, D-Md. *(Vote 366, p. 108-H)*

The House voted to censure Diggs (H Res 378) after rejecting a Republican-led move to force a vote on a separate resolution to expel him. The resolution (H Res 391) to expel Diggs was tabled — and thus killed — July 30 by a 205-197 vote. Twelve Republicans joined 193 Democrats in voting to table; 134 Republicans and 63 Democrats voted against tabling. *(Vote 361, p. 106-H)*

The close margin on the tabling vote wasn't a clear reflection of House sentiment on expulsion because, under the Constitution, a two-thirds majority is required to expel.

The vote on the censure resolution came after limited debate.

H Res 378 required that Diggs present himself in the well of the House and hear a public reading of the censure resolution by the House Speaker; that Diggs be required to give the House a note promising that he repay the $40,031.66 with interest, and that Diggs' employees be required to certify to the House for the remainder of the 96th Congress that the funds they receive from Diggs' clerk-hire allowance are received in full compliance with House rules. *(Text, box, this page)*

Following the vote to approve the resolution, House Speaker O'Neill asked Diggs to stand and approach the rostrum. With a full House chamber looking on, O'Neill then read Diggs the censure resolution.

After he had finished reading, O'Neill rapped his gavel once and announced: "The matter is closed."

With that, Diggs turned and began walking out of the chamber.

Outside the House chamber, Diggs told reporters he expected to serve out the remainder of his term and would seek re-election in 1980.

During debate on the censure resolution, Standards Committee members argued that expulsion was too severe a penalty for Diggs' crimes. They pointed out that only three members have ever been expelled in the history of the House. In those cases, all of which took place in 1861 at the beginning of the Civil War, the expelled members were accused of treason, they noted.

The three expelled members were Reps. Henry C. Burnett, D-Ky. (1855-61), John B. Clark, D-Mo. (1857-61), and John W. Reid, D-Mo. (1861). *(CQ Guide to Congress, 2d edition, p. 694)*

Standards Committee Chairman Bennett argued that members could reconsider Diggs' expulsion after the federal courts completed consideration of Diggs' appeal.

Richard B. Cheney, R-Wyo., said that "most men in Mr. Diggs' position would have resigned." Even though Diggs chose not to resign, however, the House should not assume the burden of expelling him, he argued. To do so, he maintained, would deprive Diggs' constituents of their right to choose their elected representatives.

F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., R-Wis., said the House's adoption of the censure resolution would end a precedent holding that the House could not punish a member convicted of a crime prior to the member's re-election.

Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, commended the House for the "high quality of debate" on the resolution to censure Diggs, and the Standards Committee for the "conscientious job" it did in investigating Diggs.

Expulsion Move Rejected

The effort to force a House vote on expelling Diggs was pushed by junior Republicans who had been pressing since the beginning of the session to have the Detroit congressman removed from the House.

Members of the group learned on July 27 that the censure resolution would be considered under a floor procedure that prevented amendments. Freshman California Republicans Dan Lungren and William E. Dannemeyer drafted a letter to Speaker O'Neill asking that the procedure be changed in order to permit a vote on an amendment calling for Diggs' expulsion. Their letter was signed by 40 other House members.

When their request was rejected, Lungren offered the resolution to expel Diggs; the procedure used permitted no debate and required immediate consideration. Majority Whip John Brademas, D-Ind., moved to table the Lungren resolution.

O'Neill later issued a statement criticizing the group of Republicans for introducing "partisanship . . . into the disciplinary process in an attempt to short-circuit the regular disciplinary procedures."

"I am hopeful," O'Neill said in the statement, "that the House will not treat disciplinary matters in a partisan fashion. To do so would undermine the very foundation of our newly established disciplinary process."

Justice Department Suit

Following the House action, the Justice Department filed a suit seeking more than $240,000 from Diggs. At year's end, the suit had not been decided.

The suit, filed Aug. 16, alleged Diggs personally benefitted by about $120,000 through the kickback scheme in which he knowingly inflated the salaries of five present and former employees on his congressional payroll for his personal gain.

The suit was filed under the False Claims Act of 1863, which empowered the government to recover double damages for fraudulently obtained funds.

The 1863 act also provided for a $2,000 fine for each violation of the law. The suit left it to the court to determine the exact number of violations of law involved in the payroll scheme.

Diggs Censure Resolution

Resolved,

(1) that Representative Charles C. Diggs, Junior, be censured;

(2) that Representative Charles C. Diggs, Junior, forthwith present himself in the well of the House for the pronouncement of censure;

(3) that Representative Charles C. Diggs, Junior, be censured with the public reading of this resolution by the Speaker;

(4) that Representative Charles C. Diggs, Junior, is ordered to execute and deliver to the House an interest-bearing demand promissory note for $40,031.66, made payable to the Treasury of the United States;

(5) that Representative Charles C. Diggs, Junior, is ordered, for the remainder of the Ninety-sixth Congress, to require his employees to certify to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct that the funds he or she receives from clerk-hire funds are received in full compliance with current House rules; and

(6) that the House of Representatives adopt the report of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct dated July 19, 1979, In The Matter of Representative Charles C. Diggs, Junior.

Censure Proceedings in the House

Congress	Session	Year	Member	Grounds	Disposition
5th	2nd	1798	Matthew Lyon (Anti-Fed Vt.)	Assault on representative	Not censured
5th	2nd	1798	Roger Griswold (Fed Conn.)	Assault on representative	Not censured
22nd	1st	1832	William Stanbery (D Ohio)	Insult to Speaker	*Censured*
24th	1st	1836	Sherrod Williams (Whig Ky.)	Insult to Speaker	Not censured
25th	2nd	1838	Henry A. Wise (Tyler Dem. Va.)	Service as second in duel	Not censured
25th	3rd	1839	Alexander Duncan (Whig Ohio)	Offensive publication	Not censured
27th	2nd	1842	John Q. Adams (Whig Mass.)	Treasonable petition	Not censured
27th	2nd	1842	Joshua R. Giddings (Whig Ohio)	Offensive paper	*Censured*
34th	2nd	1856	Henry A. Edmundson (D Va.)	Complicity in assault on senator	Not censured
34th	2nd	1856	Laurence M. Keitt (D S.C.)		*Censured*
36th	1st	1860	George S. Houston (D Ala.)	Insult to representative	Not censured
38th	1st	1864	Alexander Long (D Ohio)	Treasonable utterance	*Censured*
38th	1st	1864	Benjamin G. Harris (D Md.)	Treasonable utterance	*Censured*
39th	1st	1866	John W. Chanler (D N.Y.)	Insult to House	*Censured*
39th	1st	1866	Lovell H. Rousseau (R Ky.)	Assault on representative	*Censured*
40th	1st	1867	John W. Hunter (Ind N.Y.)	Insult to representative	*Censured*
40th	2nd	1868	Fernando Wood (D N.Y.)	Offensive utterance	*Censured*
40th	3rd	1868	E. D. Hobrook[1]	Offensive utterance	*Censured*
41st	2nd	1870	Benjamin F. Whittemore (R S.C.)	Corruption	*Censured*
41st	2nd	1870	Roderick R. Butler (R Tenn.)	Corruption	*Censured*
41st	2nd	1870	John T. Deweese (D N.C.)	Corruption	*Censured*
42nd	3rd	1873	Oakes Ames (R Mass.)	Corruption	*Censured*
42nd	3rd	1873	James Brooks (D N.Y.)	Corruption	*Censured*
43rd	2nd	1875	John Y. Brown (D Ky.)	Insult to representative	*Censured*[2]
44th	1st	1876	James G. Blaine (R Maine)	Corruption	Not censured
47th	1st	1882	William D. Kelley (R Pa.)	Offensive utterance	Not censured
47th	1st	1882	John D. White (R Ky.)	Offensive utterance	Not censured
47th	2nd	1883	John Van Voorhis (R N.Y.)	Offensive utterance	Not censured
51st	1st	1890	William D. Bynum (D Ind.)	Offensive utterance	*Censured*
67th	1st	1921	Thomas L. Blanton (D Texas)	Abuse of leave to print	*Censured*
96th	1st	1979	Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D Mich.)	Misuse of clerk-hire funds	*Censured*

1. Holbrook was a territorial delegate, not a representative.
2. The House later rescinded part of the censure resolution against Brown.

Sources: Hinds and Cannon, *Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States*, 11 vols. (1935-41); Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, *House of Representatives Exclusion, Censure and Expulsion Cases from 1789 to 1973*, committee print, 93rd Cong, 1st sess, 1973.

Any money Diggs already had paid back to the House would be deducted from the sum fixed by the court if the government won its suit.

If the government failed to win under the False Claims Act, the suit sought repayment of $120,000 on grounds that Diggs was "unjustly enriched" by the payroll scheme, or that he "breached his fiduciary duty and violated his position of public trust" by profiting from the scheme. ▮

Talmadge Denounced

In the first disciplinary proceeding to go to the Senate floor in more than 10 years, Georgia Democrat Herman E. Talmadge was denounced by the Senate Oct. 11 for financial misconduct. The vote was 81-15 with four members — including Talmadge — voting present.

The last such case to be taken up by the full Senate occurred in 1967 when Thomas J. Dodd, D-Conn. (House 1953-57, Senate 1959-71), was censured — also for financial misconduct.

Although in the Talmadge case the Senate did not vote the stronger penalty of "censure," it concluded the senator had committed "gross neglect of his duty" and conducted himself in a manner that was "reprehensible and tends to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute."

Talmadge, who had been a senator since 1957 and was chairman of the Agriculture Committee and ranking Democrat on the Finance Committee, was the fifth-ranking senator in seniority at the time he was denounced. He also was up for re-election in 1980, and carried on an active campaign throughout the proceeding in addition to mounting a defense before his colleagues.

Talmadge was the first senator to be "denounced" for misconduct. In the past, the Senate had chosen to "censure," "condemn" or expel its members as punishment.

In the history of the Senate prior to 1979, seven senators had been censured for misconduct. Only two of those seven senators were re-elected following their punishment by the Senate. *(See box, Censure Proceedings in the Senate, next page)*

No senator had been expelled from the Senate since 1862.

Censure Proceedings in the Senate

Congress	Session	Year	Member	Grounds	Disposition
11th	3rd	1811	Timothy Pickering, Fed-Mass.	Breach of Confidence	*Censured*
28th	1st	1844	Benjamin Tappan, D-Ohio	Breach of Confidence	*Censured*
31st	1st	1850	Thomas H. Benton, D-Mo.	Disorderly Conduct	Not censured
31st	1st	1850	Henry S. Foote, Unionist-Miss.	Disorderly Conduct	Not censured
57th	1st	1902	John L. McLaurin, D-S.C.	Assault	*Censured*
57th	1st	1902	Benjamin R. Tillman, D-S.C.	Assault	*Censured*
71st	1st	1929	Hiram Bingham, R-Conn.	Bringing Senate into disrepute	*Censured*
83rd	2nd	1954	Joseph R. McCarthy, R-Wis.	Obstruction of legislative process, insult to senators, etc.	*Censured*
90th	1st	1967	Thomas J. Dodd, D-Conn.	Financial misconduct	*Censured*
96th	1st	1979	Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga.	Financial misconduct	*Denounced*

SOURCE: U.S. Senate, Committee on Rules and Administration, Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, *Senate Election, Expulsion and Censure Cases from 1793 to 1972*, compiled by Richard D. Hupman, S Doc 92-7, 92nd Cong., 1st sess., 1972.

Senators chose to denounce Talmadge rather than invoke a more traditional penalty because of the unique nature of the proceeding, they said. The paucity of solid evidence linking Talmadge directly to the improprieties with which he was charged led the Ethics Committee to conclude only that Talmadge "knew or should have known" of those improper activities.

Throughout the proceeding, Talmadge blamed the charges against him on his staff. He claimed his denunciation by the Senate constituted a "personal victory" because the Senate had not specifically found that he had intentionally violated Senate rules.

Background

Five Violations Alleged

The investigation into Talmadge's conduct and finances began in the Ethics Committee in 1978 following press reports detailing irregularities in his campaign and office expense accounts.

Talmadge was informed Dec. 19, 1978, that the Ethics Committee had agreed by a vote of 4-1 that "there was substantial credible evidence to conclude that . . . possible violations [of Senate rules] may have occurred, and should be investigated."

In a letter to Talmadge, drafted after the vote, the Ethics Committee cited the alleged rules violations. The charges facing Talmadge were as follows:

Senate Expenses Payments. Sen. Talmadge acknowledged collecting an estimated $24,000 in reimbursements for official Senate expenses that had never been incurred and an estimated $13,000 in reimbursements for expenses that were not reimbursable under Senate rules.

Talmadge paid back the Senate a total of $37,125.90 for those funds, explaining that the reimbursements had been the result of "errors in judgment" made by his staff.

However, he did not acknowledge receipt of an additional $13,000 in reimbursements that former Talmadge aide Daniel Minchew said he collected on Talmadge's orders. Nor did he offer to pay back that money to the Senate. Those funds, Talmadge explained, "were procured without my knowledge or consent."

Minchew, a former member of the federal International Trade Commission, said the money was funneled to Talmadge and members of his family through a secret Washington bank account he established for Talmadge in 1973. Minchew's commission term expired June 16, 1978. He remained on the commission until the following Sept. 30, shortly before his replacement took office. He had not been reappointed to the post.

Cash gifts. Financial information made public during a bitterly contested divorce settlement revealed that Talmadge had written only one check to "cash" during the entire period 1970-76.

Talmadge said he was able to live without cashing checks because he accepted small amounts of cash from his constituents, friends and supporters throughout his public career. He also admitted to accepting meals, lodging and most of his clothes.

"Wherever I go [in Georgia], people entertain me, lodge me, give me small amounts of money," Talmadge told *The Washington Star* in May 1978.

Talmadge also acknowledged that he had not reported the money, goods or services as "income" or as campaign contributions because they were "gifts." A spokesman said the senator was unable to remember a single individual who had given him such gifts of cash and goods.

Campaign Expenses. Talmadge also acknowledged that he was paid about $27,000 by his campaign committee as reimbursement for personal funds he said he spent on his 1974 Senate campaign. Although he said he spent the money on travel, meals with constituents and other campaign expenses, he did not report these expenditures to the Federal Election Commission, as required by law. Talmadge later filed amended spending reports with the commission.

Taxes on Gifts. Talmadge's former wife Betty charged in a court motion that Talmadge had not paid an undetermined sum of gift taxes on stocks he gave her. In sworn statements, Talmadge said he had paid the taxes.

The charge was made during a proceeding before the Georgia Supreme Court to determine who was rightfully entitled to the profits from the sale of land purchased in 1967. Talmadge had purchased the land — in his wife's name — as part of an investment group, Terminal Facilities Inc.,

after getting inside information that an interstate highway interchange would be built on it. The land deal earned him a profit of more than $600,000 in 1972. Betty Talmadge claimed the senator had given her the land as a gift. However, he said he made the investment in her name solely in order to avoid drawing attention to his role in the investment.

Minchew Role Crucial

Former Talmadge aide Minchew played a key role in the events leading to the Ethics Committee proceeding.

Minchew told Senate investigators that, acting on Talmadge's orders, he illegally diverted about $39,000 in campaign funds and improper Senate reimbursements into the secret bank account he set up in 1973.

Although he said most of the money subsequently went to Talmadge and his family, Minchew acknowledged that he kept at least $7,000 for himself as reimbursement for official expenditures he said he had made. Talmadge said he didn't know about the secret account. The Georgia Democrat told the Justice Department the money which passed through the account was "embezzled" by Minchew.

Ethics Committee Hearings

The Ethics Committee began public hearings in the Talmadge proceeding April 30. Although the committee estimated its hearings would last only two weeks, they instead dragged on over a 12 week period.

Before the hearing began, Talmadge rejected an offer by the committee to drop its misconduct hearings in exchange for Talmadge's agreement to accept a Senate censure. The offer was made after Talmadge's lawyer contacted committee Chairman Adlai E. Stevenson, D-Ill., about the possibility of a negotiated settlement.

Under the proposed agreement, the committee would have reserved the right to reconvene hearings if Talmadge subsequently were found guilty of criminal charges as the result of a separate Justice Department probe.

Some Facts Admitted

In a dramatic and unexpected gesture, Talmadge surprised the committee by delivering his own opening statement.

In his unsworn statement, he called the bulk of the charges against him "trivial" and "petty" and appealed to his six colleagues on the ethics panel to use their common sense to conclude that the remainder of the charges — the "serious" ones — were untrue or the result of negligence.

Speaking forcefully, his voice sometimes strained with emotion, Talmadge acknowledged many of the basic facts concerning some of the charges against him. However, he disputed the significance that the committee's attorneys had given them in framing the charges.

Taxes on Gifts. Talmadge said he did not pay taxes on certain gifts of stock made to his wife because he owed no money on the gifts. He said his accountant had advised him that no taxes were due.

"At most, it is an argument between accountants," he said. "I ask the committee to dismiss this allegation now and save us all much time and needless bother." Even if the Ethics Committee's attorneys are right, Talmadge said, "if I owed $1,070 in tax, this is still a minor matter."

Campaign Reporting. He said a failure to file a campaign financial disclosure report for 1973 occurred because his staff had decided under Georgia law that he was not technically a candidate during that year.

Errors in his 1974 report, which initially listed no campaign receipts or expenditures for the year, were due to "confusion" by staff, he said.

Although he was reimbursed "around $12,000" by his campaign committee in January 1975 for his 1974 expenses — a total not reported to the Federal Election Commission until 1978 — Talmadge told the Ethics panel that "there is

Filling Ethics Jobs

The Senate had considerable difficulty in 1979 finding senators willing to serve on its least popular panel, the Select Ethics Committee.

One reason for the members' reluctance to serve was an impending investigation of one of the Senate's most senior members, Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., who was charged with five violations of Senate rules.

Adding to the problem was a committee rule requiring two of the panel's six members to be freshmen, two to be in their second term and two to have completed two terms or more of service.

To facilitate finding members for the committee, the Senate ended up doing away with the rule. In asking for its abolition Oct. 31, Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., said the rule made it "virtually impossible at times" to fill Ethics Committee vacancies.

The committee was forced to operate at half-strength for more than three months at the beginning of the year because Senate leaders could not find members who both fit the committee's requirements and were willing to serve.

Its three holdovers from the last Congress were Chairman Adlai E. Stevenson, D-Ill, Robert Morgan, D-N.C., and Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, R-N.M. All three said they were unhappy on the Ethics panel, but indicated they were willing to stay through the completion of the committee's investigation of Talmadge.

Senate leaders in April had decided to draft three freshmen to fill the three additional slots, and to seek a waiver of the committee rules on the floor. That would have meant that every member of the committee except the chairman was a freshman.

That did not sit well with Russell B. Long, D-La., and John C. Stennis, D-Miss., both longtime friends of Talmadge, who threatened a floor fight over the rules waiver. "The central point" of the investigation of Talmadge "is credibility," Long later told a reporter. "Sen. Talmadge has served here 23 years . . . . Those who have known him longer would tend to give him the benefit of the doubt."

To avoid a fight, the leaders convinced three more senior senators to serve: Quentin N. Burdick, D-N.D., Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., and Jesse Helms, R-N.C.

Stevenson and Schmitt resigned following the conclusion of the Talmadge proceeding, and Senate leaders were once more faced with filling Ethics Committee slots. After doing away with the restrictive membership rule, the Senate named freshmen Howell Heflin, D-Ala., and Malcolm Wallop, R-Wyo., to the panel. Heflin was named chairman of the committee, becoming the first senator in more than 70 years to head a standing committee in his first year in office.

not the slightest basis for concluding that those errors were due to anything but inadvertence and confusion."

Gifts of Cash and Property. Charged with failing to report the receipt of gifts, Talmadge told Ethics Committee members he received "only a few" during the period 1970-76 — "around $1,000" — as well as a number of free plane rides.

Evidence to be presented during the hearing concerning these gifts, he said, as well as a claim to ownership of stock in Terminal Facilities Inc. would establish that there was "no intent to conceal anything in this matter," he said.

Senate Expense Payments. Talmadge said the fact that he repaid the Senate more than $37,000 in 1978 for expenses that were claimed in prior years, but were not reimbursable under Senate rules, should put that charge to rest. He laid the improper claims to his staff.

Secret Bank Account. Talmadge reserved his harshest words for former aide Daniel Minchew, whom he called "a proven liar, cheat and embezzler."

Talmadge said that when he first decided to order the independent audit of his finances — which ultimately led to his discovery of the secret account — Minchew had tried to talk him out of it.

"No reasonable person could believe that I would have ordered that independent audit if I had known about the Minchew account and the theft," Talmadge said. "Even my enemies don't claim that I'm stupid!"

He implied the committee's attorneys had attempted to prejudice the case against him through "leaks" to the press.

Aides Support Talmadge

During the first week of hearings on the charges, the testimony of two Talmadge aides, administrative assistant T. Rogers Wade and personal secretary Rita L. Hubler, tended to bolster Talmadge's claim that his staff sought excessive Senate reimbursements for office expenses without his knowledge.

Wade said Minchew, who was his predecessor as administrative assistant, had instructed him to routinely draw the maximum allowable amount per month as reimbursement for official office expenses.

Hubler said Talmadge examined vouchers claiming the expenses "in a cursory manner" before signing them.

Senators appeared to react with skepticism, however, to Hubler's later statements concerning a transfer of $80,000 from an office account to Talmadge's personal account. The office account contained both personal and official funds.

Hubler first testified that she could not recall making the transfer despite a note in her handwriting that she had done so.

After reviewing the transaction, however, she agreed she had made the transfer, and said she felt the senator "would have trusted me" to carry out such a transaction without first consulting him.

During three days of testimony before the Ethics Committee, Talmadge assistant staff director Allyne Tisdale followed the pattern set by Talmadge aides who testified earlier by attacking Minchew's credibility and maintaining that Talmadge's staff acted without his knowledge in supervising his office finances.

Attorneys for the committee introduced as evidence two documents — turned over to the committee by Minchew — bearing Tisdale's typed initials. One read:

"DANIEL.....For info: These sums were given today to SENATOR. None is reported in any form, of course. And he asked this question. THANKS.

at

8-6-74

(As SENATOR said, this helps offset some of the campaign expenses which we are reluctant to pay from the campaign A/C.)"

The second asked Minchew to place $500 "in the cabinet under the TV" for Talmadge to pick up later.

Although Tisdale acknowledged both notes were written in her style and composed on her typewriter, she denied ever writing them.

"I don't ever recall handling cash in the office, and if there was a drawer under the TV, I'm sure I never used it," she said May 7. She did not accuse Minchew of forging the documents.

Committee special counsel Carl Eardley attempted to show that Tisdale could have learned of the secret bank account months before it was discovered by Senate and Justice Department investigators, but failed to pursue discrepancies in the senator's books.

Conflicting Polygraph Results

The committee next heard sharply contrasting accounts of Minchew's reliability from three lie detector examiners.

One of the polygraph operators, FBI examiner James K. Murphy, said three different tests given Minchew in January 1979 indicated Minchew lied concerning a key aspect of the case.

However, two private polygraph examiners, hired by Minchew's attorneys, said their tests indicated Minchew was truthful. They were former National Security Agency Chief of Security Operations Raymond J. Weir Jr., currently a private examiner, and Benjamin F. Malinowski, also a private operator.

"This is not the best day the polygraph has ever had," commented Jesse Helms, R-N.C.

Although the three examiners differed on Minchew's honesty, they agreed he was telling the truth on some key details. For example, both Murphy and Weir testified Minchew was truthful in stating that he and Tisdale worked together in diverting campaign funds to Talmadge's personal use.

The differences in opinion seemed to center on whether Minchew was lying when he told the polygraph operators that Talmadge had personal knowledge of the secret bank account. Malinowksi said he was truthful, Murphy said he lied, and Weir did not ask that particular question.

'Ultimate Insulation'

Daniel Minchew, Talmadge's chief accuser, appeared on the witness stand a total of eight days.

In his testimony, he told the Ethics Committee his role in laundering campaign contributions and Senate expense funds through a secret Washington bank account was to provide the senator with "insulation" and "deniability" in case the scheme ever was uncovered.

"Let's keep this between us," he quoted Talmadge as telling him in June 1978 when investigators first began looking into allegations of financial misconduct being made against Talmadge in the press. He said he and Talmadge agreed at that time that a full investigation of the senator's finances would be dangerous, and that a "sanitizing" of the

senator's records would be necessary in order to hide the secret account's existence.

He later learned, however, that a month after their talk Talmadge had gone to the Justice Department and labeled him an embezzler.

"The ultimate insulation was that I would have taken the fall for him," Minchew said. "If he had not said to me, 'Let's keep this between us,' if he had said to me, 'Take the fall,' I probably would have done it. That was the ultimate insulation for him."

He testified he established the secret account at Talmadge's direction and illegally diverted about $39,000 in campaign funds and improper Senate expense reimbursements into the account in order to funnel cash to the senator, his former wife Betty and their now-deceased son Robert.

Earlier Cover-up Role

Minchew acknowledged he had earlier participated in attempts to cover up Talmadge's involvement with the bogus bank account.

But after his role in the scheme came to the attention of Justice Department and Senate investigators, he told the committee, he became "no longer, I assure you, anything except a witness who seeks to assist your search for the truth."

Minchew said the Justice Department had granted him immunity from prosecution for his testimony at the Senate hearings. However, he added, he had waived immunity from the use of any evidence presented during the hearings, and remained open to prosecution for his acts.

Of the total $39,000 that passed through the secret account, Minchew testified, he said he specifically recalled personally giving Talmadge several thousand dollars.

He said he delivered the sums at Talmadge's request "on several occasions," usually in the senator's office but once in the lobby of the Embassy Row Hotel in Washington, D.C., following the 1974 election. At that time, Minchew had already left Talmadge's office and was a member of the International Trade Commission.

The money given Talmadge usually was in hundred dollar bills and usually was in sums greater than $1,000, Minchew testified. He added that he also kept a cash fund of about $5,000, taken from unreported campaign gifts, that he stored in a desk drawer for Talmadge's use.

Minchew also said he gave about $10,000 from the account to Talmadge's son Robert. Robert drowned at a family picnic in Georgia in 1975.

He gave Robert the cash, he said, after Robert called him and said his mother had informed him that Minchew could "raise some money for me." Minchew said he asked Talmadge if he should give money to Robert, and that the senator had agreed but had asked him to "keep the lid on" such payments.

General Accounting Office accountant Lawrence Sullivan told the committee Minchew had probably taken $16,510 from the account for his own use. Minchew said he did not "recall" taking that much money from the account but said the funds were to reimburse him for out-of-pocket expenses.

During six of the eight days Minchew spent on the witness stand, Talmadge's attorney subjected him to a continual barrage of questions intended to reveal flaws in his testimony and deceptions in his past conduct.

By the end of Minchew's testimony, two committee members — Helms and Schmitt — as well as the committee's own special counsel, Carl Eardley, had publicly expressed doubts concerning Minchew's credibility.

Unwilling Witness

During a one-day appearance before the Ethics Committee, Betty Talmadge, the former wife of the senator, told the committee that her husband had for years kept a roll of cash, most of it in hundred dollar bills, in his overcoat pocket in a closet of their Washington residence.

On at least one occasion, she said, the wad of bills in the overcoat may have totaled as much as $45,000. Both she and the senator drew regularly from the overcoat pocket "for years" to pay for their expenses, she testified.

"It was a way of life for me" to live off money from the overcoat pocket, she said. "I did it often."

Mrs. Talmadge's testimony was virtually unchallenged by lawyers for Sen. Talmadge.

Mrs. Talmadge, whose divorce from Sen. Talmadge became final in 1978 after 37 years of marriage, at first said she was a reluctant witness and would only testify if compelled to do so by the committee.

Breaking into tears at several points in her opening statement, she told the committee she was unwilling to testify because the law entitled her to refuse to testify against her former husband.

She added that she was reluctant to testify because she had been portrayed in the media as the individual responsible for her former husband's troubles. A lengthy court dispute over the property settlement in their divorce had led to the first media disclosures about irregularities in the senator's finances.

After 15 minutes of deliberation, the committee ruled that her immunity ended at the time of her divorce and requested that she testify on all matters except those concerning "confidential communications" between her and her former husband.

Although Mrs. Talmadge was not asked what she knew about the source of the hundred dollar bills in the overcoat pocket, she testified that the money was always to be found in a stack of envelopes in the coat pocket.

Following a spat over the involvement of the senator's staff aides in her personal and business affairs in January 1974, Mrs. Talmadge said, she once took "perhaps $12,000 to $15,000 — I did not count it" in hundred dollar bills from the overcoat pocket. She estimated the bills she took made up "about a third" of the total amount in the pocket at the time, she said.

After that incident, she testified, Talmadge removed the coat.

She said she kept the money in her own overcoat pocket for years, dipping into it from time to time for expense money. She later turned over to committee investigators 77 of the hundred dollar bills still remaining from the original fund. However, the investigators were unable to trace the money back to its source.

Minchew Role

Ironically, though Mrs. Talmadge's testimony was damaging to the senator, it did not help the committee attorneys' efforts to substantiate Minchew's earlier testimony concerning his role in turning over cash to the senator from the secret account.

In answer to questions from Talmadge's lawyer, Mrs. Talmadge said she did not like Minchew and had never communicated with him about his raising money for her or the Talmadges' son Robert.

According to testimony and evidence presented earlier by Minchew, Mrs. Talmadge not only would have been aware of the secret account's existence but would have played a key role in its establishment.

In a June 1978 note to Talmadge written after press reports first detailed irregularities in the senator's finances, Minchew said he had set up the secret bank account after he had received "a typed note from you through Mrs. Talmadge instructing me to arrange for her to get some money."

Minchew later explained he wrote the June 1978 note to remind Talmadge of the secret account's existence, and to warn him of the consequences of covering up its existence in case it should later be discovered by Senate investigators. However, Talmadge termed the Minchew note an attempt at blackmail and turned it over to the Justice Department in July 1978.

Motion to Dismiss Charges Filed

After the committee lawyers had completed the presentation of their case, James Hamilton, Talmadge's chief attorney, filed a motion June 14 asking that all the charges against the senator be dismissed.

In support of the motion, Hamilton said the evidence presented to the committee "demonstrates that [Talmadge] has not knowingly or intentionally violated any law or Senate rule."

In a memorandum opposing Hamilton's motion, Ethics Committee special counsel Eardley argued that "there is more than enough evidence to require [Talmadge] to proceed with his proof" on four of the five charges pending against him. Eardley offered no defense of the fifth charge against Talmadge, that he had incorrectly reported taxes on gifts to his former wife, indicating he would not oppose dismissal of this charge.

The Ethics Committee June 19 rejected the motion filed by Talmadge's attorney asking that all charges pending against the senator be dismissed. Ethics Chairman Stevenson said the decision not to drop the charges reflected no judgment on the merits of the case.

"We have drawn no conclusions and don't intend to until the end of the case," Stevenson told reporters after informing Talmadge's lawyers they should begin presenting their defense the next day. "We will be disappointed if we complete these proceedings without hearing from our colleague," Sen. Talmadge.

In a surprise move, however, Sen. Talmadge subsequently announced that his attorneys would offer the panel no formal defense. In a June 19 note, Talmadge's attorneys informed the committee that they felt no further defense of Talmadge's conduct was necessary.

The senator "should not have to prove his innocence with respect to charges that have not been sustained by special counsel's evidence," the attorneys said. "We perceive no need to rebut further the inadequate 'evidence' special counsel has produced."

Talmadge Agrees to Appear

The Ethics Committee responded to Talmadge's announcement June 26 with a unanimous "request" that he testify under oath on the allegations the committee was investigating.

Talmadge then said he would appear and present other evidence in his defense.

In a letter to the committee, Talmadge said that he originally had decided not to present a formal defense in order to "avoid painful, private matters relating to my personal and family life." The committee's request that he testify, he said, had "made it impossible to do this."

He said the committee's decision not to dismiss the charges against him "in my view was wrong. I believe that in any court in the land the case would have been dismissed."

Denies Responsibility

In two days of sworn testimony before the Ethics Committee July 11-12, Talmadge steadfastly maintained his innocence of all the charges against him and urged the committee to quickly conclude its investigation so he could "get on with my business." Talmadge's appearance concluded the committee's public hearings.

In his testimony, Talmadge said all the charges against him were the result of staff errors or were caused by staff members acting without his knowledge.

In the face of stiff questioning from several committee members, he acknowledged that, as a senator, he took responsibility for his staff's mistakes. However, he added, "I assume no responsibility whatever for any crime committed by any subordinate."

During close questioning by committee lawyers on every detail of his office and personal finances, Talmadge insisted over and over that he had permitted his staff to handle his money and never questioned their work.

Even after evidence came to his attention of over-reimbursements, a secret bank account and diversions of campaign funds, Talmadge acknowledged, he made no effort to determine who was responsible for the erroneous acts and how they had come about.

"We assume personal responsibility for everything we do as a senator," Talmadge told his colleagues on the panel, "but you know and I know . . . that we must delegate certain of our responsibilities."

"When senators are having to deal with matters such as war and peace and inflation and the energy crisis," he later told reporters, "I doubt it very much if [they] pay very much attention to vouchers for Senate reimbursements."

No Cash Hoard

Talmadge also denied that he had possessed a substantial roll of hundred dollar bills during his marriage to Betty Talmadge. His cash supply "at no time approached the huge amounts indicated by Mrs. Talmadge," he said. "At no time did I maintain a cash hoard in the pocket of an overcoat or anywhere else. In fact, I wore the overcoat apparently referred to by Mrs. Talmadge from time to time in 1973 and 1974, and still do."

At one point, Ethics Chairman Stevenson noted Talmadge had expressed no regret "for this whole sordid episode" and asked him point-blank if he felt any. "I am human," Talmadge responded. "I have made errors, and I am confident I will make errors in the future. But I have never used my office for profit and I never will."

"Let he who is without sin cast the first stone," Talmadge continued, quoting from the Bible. "I'm sure none of us has led exemplary lives. Please complete this as soon as you can so I can get on with my business."

Asked by reporters after the hearings whether he felt any contrition, Talmadge said: "I paid the Senate back $37,000. If that's not contrition, I don't know what is."

This was the money he repaid the Senate in 1978 for official Senate expenses that had never been incurred and for expenses that were not reimbursable under Senate rules.

'Embarrassments and Burdens'

The day after he concluded his Ethics Committee testimony, Talmadge wrote the committee expressing regret for the "embarrassments and burdens" the investigation of his finances had caused his colleagues and the public.

"I deeply regret the errors" that necessitated the investigation, Talmadge wrote.

In his July 13 letter, Talmadge said: "While I have always believed that it is most useful to address myself to the present and future without preoccupation over past errors and events, it would be a grievous mistake for anyone to think that I do not feel the profoundest sorrow for the embarrassments and burdens which the events investigated by this committee have caused to my colleagues, my constituents and the public."

Committee Action

Panel Urges Talmadge Be 'Denounced'

In its Oct. 3 report (S Rept 96-337) on the Talmadge inquiry, the Ethics Committee unanimously recommended that the Senate "denounce" the Georgia senator for financial misconduct.

The panel also asked that he be required to repay the Senate $12,894.57 plus interest, the sum Minchew had deposited in the secret Washington bank account.

The committee rejected 1-5 a proposal to "censure" Talmadge. The censure amendment was proposed by Schmitt, vice-chairman of the Ethics panel. Schmitt said the counsel had presented what he termed "clear and convincing evidence" that Talmadge knew about an alleged secret bank account maintained by a former aide as well as other financial abuses. He offered the amendment, he said, "because I think these are very serious activities, a neglect of the duties of the office, and deserve censure."

Committee Chairman Stevenson admitted he did not know exactly what the procedure would be if the Senate accepted the committee's recommendation to "denounce" Talmadge. "This is an entirely new experience to me," he said.

The committee report said that Talmadge's conduct was "reprehensible and tends to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute." The committee skirted the question of Talmadge's direct involvement in the financial misconduct. Instead, it said "Talmadge either knew, or should have known, of these improper acts and omissions, and, therefore, by the gross neglect of his duty to faithfully and carefully administer the affairs of his office, he is responsible for these acts and omissions."

Talmadge called the committee's action "a personal victory" and said the findings "support my basic contention . . . that I was negligent in the oversight of my office, but that I have committed no intentional wrongdoing."

The committee said that Talmadge:

- Improperly collected $43,435.83 in reimbursements after submitting false, unsigned expense vouchers from 1973 through 1978;
- Filed inaccurate reports and failed to file other reports in a timely fashion in accounting for the use of funds during his 1974 Senate race;
- Filed "inaccurate" Senate financial disclosure reports for 1972 through 1977;
- Failed to report more than $10,000 in campaign contributions that were deposited in the secret Washington bank account.

The committee said that allegations of improper conduct by Talmadge in real estate transactions were "without foundation." It also said that charges of non-payment of gift taxes were "not substantiated."

Schmitt's Additional Views

Sen. Schmitt, vice chairman of the committee, added to the report 22 pages of his own views plus a 12-page appendix.

Schmitt said he voted to support the committee language "to put the strongest possible interpretation on the words used in that resolution . . . . [E]ven though the committee avoided the use of the word censure . . . it none the less applied words defined in terms of 'censure' to the misconduct of Senator Talmadge."

Criminal Matters Referred to Justice

After it issued its report, the committee turned over its files to the Justice Department for possible federal prosecution.

In its report, the committee suggested that criminal laws may have been violated. The committee didn't say who may have committed the illegal acts, however.

Among the criminal offenses the committee report said may have been committed were perjury, false claims against the government, conspiracy to defraud the government, "willful" evasion of income and gift taxes, inadequate record-keeping for tax and election purposes, and receipt of campaign contributions in a federal building.

"And it does not claim to be an exhaustive list," Stevenson told reporters.

The committee also urged Senate accounting reforms, including: bookkeeping procedures to require separate books and accounts for senators' personal, official and campaign funds; rules on the use of machines that automatically sign a senator's signature; audits — in cases of possible financial irregularities — of a senator's financial accounts including a comparison of his records with those of the Senate Disbursing Office.

The panel also urged rules that "clearly define" official and reimbursable expenses.

Talmadge Response

Talmadge, responding to the report, said, "I am pleased to note that there is no finding of willful or intentional misconduct on my part. . . . I accept full responsibility for errors or negligence which occurred in past years in my office. I sincerely regret these mistakes."

Floor Action

The Senate Oct. 11 voted overwhelmingly to denounce Sen. Talmadge amid numerous testimonials to the Georgia Democrat's character.

The vote was 81-15 with four members — including Talmadge — voting present. *(Vote 342, p. 57-H)*

The others were Talmadge's Georgia colleague, Sam Nunn, D, George McGovern, D-S.D., and Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky. McGovern said he abstained because he was next in line to succeed Talmadge as Agriculture Committee chairman if Senate Democrats later ousted the Georgian as a result of the Oct. 11 vote. However, that action was considered unlikely.

After more than an hour and a half of debate, the Senate approved the resolution (S Res 249) denouncing Tal-

madge as drafted by the Ethics Committee. There was no effort on the floor to change the committee's recommendations.

Talmadge, who was silent during the floor debate, stood almost immediately after the vote to deny once more that he intentionally violated any law or Senate rule, and to "reaffirm," in his words, his earlier claim that the committee's conclusions were a "personal victory."

"Had the committee sought censure or made a finding of intentional wrongdoing, I would have fought such action with every ounce of strength I possess," he said.

The Georgia senator conceded, as he had on previous occasions, that he was "negligent in overseeing office and campaign financial matters."

But he strongly argued that his errors did not go beyond that. "I did not steal money from the Senate. I did not divert campaign contributions. I did not authorize or knowingly allow anyone else to misuse Senate or campaign funds. I did not conspire with my former administrative assistant to operate a secret bank account."

"I stand before you firmly criticized. But I am not found guilty of intentional wrongful, unlawful conduct. There is no recommendation of censure," Talmadge said.

Direct Involvement Denied

During floor debate, Talmadge's supporters repeatedly sought to emphasize that the Ethics Committee had not found Talmadge directly involved in misconduct.

In response to several queries, Ethics Chairman Stevenson replied that the committee made no finding that Talmadge had knowingly committed wrongdoing. Rather, he added, the panel had concluded only that Talmadge "knew or should have known" of the improprieties with which he was charged.

Minchew Guilty Plea

In a related development, former Talmadge administrative assistant Daniel Minchew pleaded guilty July 30 to one count of making false statements to the government.

In pleading guilty, he acknowledged in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia that he had submitted to the government a false Senate expense claim for $2,289.99. The voucher for the claim was signed with Talmadge's name by an automatic signature-writing device.

Minchew was sentenced to a 108-day prison term on Oct. 10, the day before the Senate considered the resolution to denounce his former boss, Sen. Talmadge.

Minchew began serving his sentence Nov. 7. However, he was released from prison after having served only 36 days. ▮

Lobby Reform Bill

The House Judiciary Committee reported a bill Nov. 5 that would impose new registration and reporting requirements on many groups that lobby members of Congress.

HR 4395, which did not reach the House floor in 1979, was considerably weaker than lobby disclosure legislation passed by the House in 1978, but not acted on by the Senate.

As in 1978, the decisive battle was thought likely to be waged on the House floor, where efforts were expected to be made to restore to the bill provisions rejected by the Judiciary Committee that would have broadened the legislation's applicability.

Background

HR 4395 would replace the loophole-ridden 1946 Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (PL 79-601). *(Background, Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 1566)*

The 33-year-old law failed to cover many major lobby groups. It was directed only at individuals and organizations whose "principal purpose" was to influence the defeat or passage of legislation, requiring them to register and file reports with the secretary of the Senate and the clerk of the House.

The 1946 law had proved largely unenforceable. A 1954 Supreme Court decision that upheld the constitutionality of the act also severely limited its application.

Efforts to pass a stronger lobby disclosure law were unsuccessful in both the 94th and 95th Congresses. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 782, 1976 Almanac p. 477)*

House Committee Action

The Judiciary Committee approved HR 4395 by a 26-2 vote Oct. 16.

During markup, the committee voted not to require lobby organizations to disclose expenditures for grass-roots lobbying or the names of their major organizational contributors.

Rejection of these two most controversial lobby disclosure amendments on Oct. 10 and 11 left the committee with a bill that was strikingly similar to the one it reported in the previous Congress.

Before completing its work on the legislation, the Judiciary Committee also approved an amendment to exempt tax-exempt church organizations from coverage by the bill. And the panel rejected an amendment that would have undermined the attorney general's ability to investigate violations of the act.

The committee was working from a bill approved by the Subcommittee on Administrative Law and Government Relations June 4.

Contributor Disclosure

The subcommittee bill contained a provision sponsored by Romano L. Mazzoli, D-Ky., that would have required registered lobby groups to disclose the names of organizations from which they received $3,000 or more a year. On a 16-11 vote, the full committee voted Oct. 10 to eliminate the provision.

Don Edwards, D-Calif., author of the amendment to delete the contributor disclosure requirement, argued it would be unconstitutional.

"Organizations, no less than individuals, have rights of privacy and anonymous political speech," Edwards said.

The bill would not have required lobby groups to disclose the names of individuals from whom they received money.

Supporters of the contributor disclosure provision argued that it would enable the public to determine which groups were really behind lobbying on a particular issue. There had been a number of highly publicized cases in which companies established "front" groups with pro-consumer names to lobby on their behalf.

The provision Edwards succeeded in deleting was the weakest contributor disclosure requirement attached to any lobby bill in recent years.

The provision would have exempted from the disclosure requirement groups able to show a "reasonable probability" that disclosure of the names of organizational contributors would subject the contributing organization to "threats, harassment or reprisals."

Opponents of the provision argued that sponsors had failed to state who would be responsible for determining what would be considered a "reasonable probability" of harassment or threats.

Backers said regulations issued by the clerk of the House with the approval of the attorney general would spell out the standards.

During floor action on lobby legislation in 1978, the House included a stronger contributor disclosure requirement.

Grass-roots Lobbying

The subcommittee had rejected another Mazzoli amendment that would have required organizations that had to register under the bill to report expenditures of $25,000 or more per calendar quarter on so-called grass-roots lobbying, such as paid advertisements and mass mailing campaigns designed to influence legislation.

When Mazzoli offered it again in the full committee, it was rejected on a voice vote.

Mazzoli's grass-roots amendment, offered in the full committee Oct. 11, was far less stringent than one approved by the full House in 1978. Mazzoli's amendment would have covered only major expenditures.

Under the amendment, an organization would not have had to report expenditures on grass-roots lobbying if it did not already have to register under the bill. Mazzoli's amendment contained no requirement to identify those persons solicited by grass-roots efforts, as did the earlier bill.

Opponents insisted the amendment would create difficult record-keeping problems for organizations and discourage citizen participation in government.

Nader Amendment

Assuring the committee his proposal had nothing to do with an "unwarranted personal and political attack" lodged against him in his home district the previous week by Ralph Nader, Robert McClory, R-Ill., offered an amendment specifically designed to cover Nader's lobbying activities.

The amendment, approved on a voice vote without objection from other members of the committee, would require lobbying organizations to report which issues the chief executive officer of an organization lobbied on.

Nader, who McClory identified as "the most prominent lobbyist in the country" was the president of Public Citizen, which financed Congress Watch, a lobbying group.

Congress Watch lobbyist Howard Symons said: "In past years there was a facade of covering other well-known lobbyists. This year it was a straight up 'get Ralph Nader' amendment."

Other Actions

During its final markup session Oct. 16, the Judiciary Committee rejected on a voice vote an amendment that would have seriously undermined the bill's enforcement section.

The amendment, by Thomas N. Kindness, R-Ohio, would have prohibited the attorney general's office from issuing "civil investigative demands" (CIDs) in probing possible violations of the proposed law.

A CID is a mechanism for obtaining information in a civil case prior to filing a lawsuit. It is similar to a subpoena.

The committee approved 12-11 an amendment by Carlos J. Moorhead, R-Calif., to exempt tax-exempt church and religious organizations from the bill's registration and reporting requirements.

Moorhead argued that church groups should be exempted because the bill's record-keeping and reporting requirements could interfere with the exercise of their religious and free speech rights.

John F. Seiberling, D-Ohio, countered that "to the extent that a church is lobbying it is engaging in political activities" and should not be exempted.

Also approved was a Kindness amendment requiring the attorney general to attempt conciliation with apparent first-time violators of the law prior to bringing a civil action. It would allow a lobby group to correct deficiencies in its reports.

Kindness succeeded in winning approval of another amendment — modified by Tom Railsback, R-Ill. — that would exempt from the bill's expenditure threshold test money spent on retained lobbyists (as opposed to in-house employees of a lobbying organization) hired to prepare and draft lobbying materials *if* those materials were not used for lobbying.

Kindness argued that counting expenditures for lobbying communications that were not made could result in requiring groups that actually did no lobbying to register and file reports because their expenditures on outside help were high. The amendment was agreed to on a voice vote.

Committee Report

The Judiciary Committee report on the bill, including a section-by-section analysis of the bill's provisions and examples of cases to which it would apply, was reported to the full House Nov. 5 (H Rept 96-590).

"An effective lobby disclosure law should . . . provide the electorate with information and a general perspective regarding the role that money and special influence play in the passage or defeat of legislation at the federal level," the committee stated.

The report concluded that an effective lobby law could help "deter corruption" by bringing lobbying into the public view.

Judiciary Committee members faulted the existing lobby regulation law, which required disclosure only by those whose "principal purpose" was to lobby, as "woefully inadequate and ineffective" and "almost completely unenforceable."

What Is Lobbying?

The definition of "lobbying communications" in HR 4395 was central to the purpose of the bill. The number of lobbying communications and the expenditures made on them would determine whether an organization had to register under the bill and file quarterly reports.

As reported by the committee, only communications with certain individuals — what the bill referred to as "federal officers or employees" — would be lobbying communications.

Lobbying communications would include both oral and written communications directed to members of Congress,

their staffs or to certain specified executive branch officials. The communications must be designed to influence the content or disposition of any bill, resolution, treaty or nomination transmitted to or introduced in either chamber of Congress.

Communications with executive branch officials concerning hearings or investigations being conducted by Congress also would be covered.

Lobbying communications under HR 4395 would *not* include the following:

- Communications by an individual to express a personal opinion or for redress of grievances. Only organizations, not individuals, would be covered by the bill's registration and reporting requirements.
- Communications which sought only to determine the existence or status of a legislative matter such as whether a bill had been introduced or whether hearings had begun.
- Communications to federal officers or employees made in response to a specific request by the officer or employee.
- Communications submitted for inclusion in a report of a legislative hearing.
- Communications to a federal officer or employee having to do with federal regulations, executive orders or contracts.
- Unpaid communications made through a speech or address, or a newspaper, book, periodical or magazine published for distribution to the general public or to the membership of an organization. Also exempt would be communications made through radio or television or through a regular publication of an organization for purposes substantially unrelated to influencing legislative matters.
- Communications to a representative or senator, or his or her staff, made by an organization whose principal place of business was located in the state represented by the senator or congressman.

While supporters of HR 4395 insisted that the bill's applicability had been greatly simplified and clarified over previous versions, the measure still was somewhat complicated.

For example, the committee report stated that "an individual who is a member or an officer, director or employee of an organization should not be presumed to be speaking on behalf of his organization in every instance."

Thus, simply because a lobby organization was working actively on a legislative issue, it was not to be assumed that every communication an employee of that organization made was a lobbying communication.

However, the employee's communication might be a lobbying communication if the employee was an officer or director of the organization who would normally be presumed to be speaking on the organization's behalf.

Who Can Be Lobbied?

Lobbying activities covered by HR 4395 were limited to those communications made to members of Congress and their personal staffs, as well as those made to a limited number of executive branch officials in policy-making positions.

Included among the executive branch employees covered by the bill were secretaries, deputy secretaries and assistant secretaries of the executive departments, the attorney general, the comptroller general and deputy comptroller and General Accounting Office employees paid at a rate equivalent to Executive Schedule Level V ($50,112) to Executive Schedule Level I ($69,630).

Lobbying Organizations

A major debate over HR 4395 revolved around which organizations would be covered.

The committee report stated that the bill was intended to cover "significant lobbying efforts by those organizations that spend money in a direct effort to infuence Congress."

A dual "threshold" test was used to determine what efforts were "significant" and, therefore, which organizations were covered.

The central threshold question an organization would have to answer in determining whether it was a lobbying organization subject to the bill's registration and reporting requirements, was whether it had spent more than $5,000 on lobbying in a calendar quarter.

Under HR 4395, a group would be covered if:

- The organization spent more than $5,000 in a calendar quarter to retain another organization, such as a law firm or consulting firm, or another individual, such as an independent contractor, to make lobbying communications, *or*
- The organization, using its own staff, employed at least one individual who made one or more direct lobbying communications on at least 13 days in a calendar quarter, or employed two indivduals each of whom made one or more lobbying communications on seven days in a quarterly filing period *and*, the organization spent more than $5,000 in the same quarter making lobbying communications.

The $5,000 threshold figure was arrived at after considerable debate, most members agreeing that it was high enough to exclude from coverage all organizations except those involved in major lobbying efforts.

Just about any private organization might come under the bill's purview. Specifically exempted, however, were tax-exempt religious organizations.

"Organization" was defined to include any non-government corporation, company, foundation, association, labor organization, firm, partnership, society or joint stock company.

The definition of an "organization" for purposes of the bill also covered colleges and universities, including some state colleges and universities, organizations of state or local elected or appointed officials such as the National Governors' Association and U.S. Conference of Mayors, groups of organizations and groups of individuals.

A foreign agent, covered by the Foreign Agents Registration Act, also might come under the bill's definition of a lobby organization.

Affiliates of the organizations covered by the bill also would be covered.

Affiliates were defined to include:

- Any organization which was associated with another organization through a formal relationship based upon ownership or an agreement (including a charter, franchise agreement or bylaws) under which one of the organizations maintained control or had the right of potential control over all or part of the activities of the organization.
- A national membership organization and any of its state or local membership units, a national trade association and its local associations, a national business league and its local units, and a national labor organization or federation of labor organizations and any of its state or local units.

Excluded from the definition of organizations covered by the bill were: Indian tribes, national and state political parties, associations comprised solely of members of Congress or members and congressional employees, and employees of federal, state and local governments.

Registration and Records

HR 4395 would require that lobbying organizations register with the clerk of the House and maintain records of their lobbying activities.

The bill prohibited the clerk from issuing rules or regulations that would require an organization to establish or maintain special records — in addition to those the organization normally maintained — in order to allow the clerk to determine if the organization was required to register.

The bill further provided that an organization that relied in good faith on information provided by its officers, directors, employees or retainees concerning their lobbying activities should not be considered to have violated the act.

The bill required that:

- Lobby organizations register with the clerk within 30 days after meeting one or more of the threshold tests and reregister by Jan. 15 of the following year. An organization could deregister if it determined that it would be making no lobbying communications during the remainder of the calendar year in which its registration was filed.
- Registering organizations publicly disclose their name, address, principal place of business, the nature of the organization's business or activities and the names of the organization's principal officers and directors, whether paid or unpaid.
- Lobby organizations identify those individuals or organizations retained by the registering organization to lobby.
- Lobby organizations and individuals and organizations retained to lobby maintain records necessary to comply with the bill's registration provisions.

Reports

Organizations meeting a threshold under HR 4395 would have to file reports on their lobbying activities within 30 days after the close of a quarterly reporting period.

If an organization did not meet a threshold in a quarterly filing period it would have to file a notification of that fact with the clerk.

Those organizations meeting a threshold test would have to report:

- Essential identification information similar to that required under the registration section, including the name of the organization and its principal place of business, and the names of up to 10 principal officers and directors, whether paid or unpaid.
- Total expenditures made during a quarterly filing period either for the services of an organization's own employees or for retained employees or organizations.

Where an organization had retained another organization or individual to lobby, it would have to report the amount of money paid to that person or organization.

The total expenditure figure would include costs related to the preparation or drafting of lobbying communications.

It also would include costs for mailing, printing, advertising, consultant fees, gifts or other expenditures valued at more than $35 made to or for the benefit of federal officers or employees.

Gifts and other expenditures made for the benefit of federal officers or employees would have to be itemized. These expenditures included loans of goods or services, lunches, entertainment, lodging and transportation paid by the lobbying organization.

Payments for rent, mortgages and utilities would not be included as lobbying expenditures in determining the total figure.

- Expenditures for any dinner, reception or similar event held for the benefit of one or more federal officers or employees and costing more than $500.
- Names of employees and retained organizations and individuals meeting the lobby threshold test during the last quarter. The reporting organization could disclose total aggregated expenditures for employees or retainees or the aggregated amount attributable to lobbying communications made by such employees or retainees.
- A description of up to 15 issues on which the organization lobbied and spent "the most significant amount of its efforts" in the reporting period. The names of any employees or retainees who lobbied on those issues must also be identified along with the name of any chief executive officer, paid or unpaid, who lobbied on the issues.
- The nature of each known direct business relationship between the reporting organization and a federal officer or employee lobbied in the calendar quarter. According to the committee report, "this provision is aimed at the disclosure of potential conflict of interest situations."

A direct business relationship between an organization and a federal officer or employee included situations in which:

1) The federal officer or employee was a partner in the organization.

2) The federal officer or employee was an employee of the lobbying organization or a member of its board of directors or similar governing body.

3) The organization and the federal officer or employee each held a legal or beneficial interest in excess of $1,000 in the same business or joint venture (excluding stock holdings in publicly traded corporations, policies of insurance, and leases made in the normal course of business that were provided on terms that would be available to the general public).

Public Records

Public record-keeping provisions in HR 4395 would require the clerk of the House to:

- Develop a filing, coding and cross-indexing system to make registrations and reports publicly available.
- Develop an index of retained individuals or organizations and the names of lobbying organizations reporting that they retained such persons or groups.
- Develop a list of individuals or organizations identified as retainees to be cross-indexed with a list of individuals or organizations reporting under the Federal Election Campaign Act.
- Make indexes available to the public and update them "regularly."
- Make registration statements and reports available for public inspection no later than five working days following their receipt.
- Preserve registration statements and reports for at least five years following their receipt.
- Compile and summarize the information contained in registration and reporting statements and make it available to the public within 60 days after the close of a reporting period.
- Issue, after consultation with the attorney general, such procedural regulations and forms as necessary.

With the approval of the attorney general, the clerk would be authorized to implement rules and regulations necessary for carrying out provisions of the sections of the bill dealing with its applicability, registration, record-keeping and reporting sections.

• Provide assistance upon request and "to the extent practicable" to organizations attempting to comply with the bill.

• Review filings for completeness, accuracy and timeliness so as to be able to inquire about violations of a technical or procedural nature.

• Notify the attorney general if an organization had failed to register or report. If the attorney general did not act within 90 days after notification, the clerk could then contact the organization involved, review the matter with the organization and endeavor to correct it.

If the attorney general chose not to handle a case, the clerk could endeavor to correct any problems with the organization. If the attorney general took action, the clerk had no further involvement other than to assist the attorney general.

• Submit an annual report to the Speaker of the House and president pro tempore of the Senate concerning the clerk's activities under the bill for the previous year, including any recommendations for legislative action.

Enforcement

Under the bill as reported by the Judiciary Committee, violations of the proposed lobby disclosure bill would carry civil penalties, including fines of up to $100,000, for knowing violations in any single case.

The attorney general was charged with enforcing the bill's provisions. The bill provided that:

• The attorney general notify an individual or organization in writing concerning any apparent violations unless the attorney general determined that notification would interfere with enforcement of the act.

• The attorney general attempt to correct first-time violations through informal methods of conference or conciliation.

• If conciliation failed, or if an organization had previously violated the lobby law, the attorney general could institute a civil action.

• The attorney general could issue a civil investigative demand (CID) to obtain documentary material from an offending lobby organization prior to bringing charges against the organization if he "has knowledge of facts or circumstances" which reasonably indicated that an organization or individual might have violated the act. Documentary materials received in this fashion were not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

• Private, "in camera" court proceedings were authorized for determining whether a CID should be enforced, modified, or set aside.

Legislative Veto

Under HR 4395, any rule or regulation promulgated by the clerk under the registration, record-keeping and reporting sections could be vetoed by majority vote of either the House or Senate within 90 days from the time the rule or regulation was issued. ▮

Franking Limits

The House Oct. 9 approved a bill to write into law existing House ethics code restrictions on the use of the frank in congressional mailings.

Postal Underbilling

According to a 1979 General Accounting Office (GAO) audit, the Postal Service may have been underbilling the House and Senate for franked mail since about mid-1977.

The franking privilege allowed members of Congress to mail letters and packages related to their official duties under a reproduction of their signature in place of a stamp. The Postal Service then billed the clerk of the House quarterly for what it calculated was the cost of the franked mail it delivered for both the House and Senate.

Because of the Postal Service's inexact sampling and data collection techniques, "we were unable to determine what relationship there may be between the bills sent to Congress and the amount that should have been charged," GAO General Government Division Director Allen R. Voss wrote Postmaster General William F. Bolger in April.

Congress estimated it would spend about $70 million in fiscal 1980 on franked mail.

The Wrong Answer

The underbilling came to light when the Senate Appropriations Committee — suspecting the Postal Service was charging it too much — asked the GAO to check whether the proper volume of mail was being calculated and the proper postage rates being applied.

Rather than turn up evidence of overbilling, however, the GAO found that the Senate and House probably weren't paying enough.

The GAO recommended improvements and the Postal Service subsequently changed its data collection, data reporting and mail sampling methods as well as the computer programs it used in calculating the franking bill.

But at year's end, no final determination had been made of what Congress owed, or even whether a bill actually will be submitted. "They have not billed us for anything yet," said a spokesman for the House clerk, adding that the Postal Service was still studying the matter.

Senate action on the measure was not expected until mid-1980.

Besides converting into statute form the franking rules already provided in rule 46 of the 1977 House ethics code, the legislation (HR 3777) placed additional restrictions on franked mail not in effect in either House or Senate. It also expanded the franking privilege in certain circumstances. *(Ethics code franking provisions, 1977 Almanac pp. 770, 778)*

The franking privilege allowed members of Congress to send letters and packages related to their official duties under a reproduction of their signature in place of a postage stamp.

For fiscal 1980, Congress estimated it would spend more than $70 million in federal funds to reimburse the U.S. Postal Service for the delivery of franked mail. *(Postal Service underbillings, box, this page)*

Legislation similar to HR 3777 passed the House in 1977 but died in the Senate at the end of the 95th Congress. *(1978 Almanac p. 813)*

Floor Action

HR 3777 was reported (H Rept 96-281) by the House Post Office Committee on June 18. The bill was taken up on the House floor under suspension of the rules, a procedure precluding floor amendments and requiring approval by two-thirds of those voting. The vote to pass the bill was 319-68. *(Vote 484, p. 142-H)*

In House floor debate on HR 3777, Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., the bill's floor manager, said its passage would frustrate a Common Cause lawsuit filed against Congress in 1974.

In that suit, the self-styled citizens lobby Common Cause charged that the franking privilege was unconstitutional because it promoted the re-election of incumbents and therefore denied equal protection of the laws to challengers.

As introduced, Udall's bill banned altogether the use of the frank for mail whose sole purpose was to laud a member. During the Post Office Committee's May 23 markup, however, William Clay, D-Mo., won approval of an amendment to delete that ban. Because existing law permitted use of the frank on material praising a member for performance of official duties, that use would continue under HR 3777.

On the floor, Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y., said the bill should be defeated because it would eliminate franked mailings of purely personal congratulations or condolences.

Udall defended the restriction. "I think if the gentleman really wants to congratulate these folks, he ought to be willing to put a stamp on the letter," Udall said.

Edward J. Derwinski, R-Ill., noted that members could purchase "unlimited" numbers of stamps for these kinds of letters with their official expense allowance.

Phillip Burton, D-Calif., said he opposed the legislation because to convert a House rule into law would permit the executive branch a role in what he said should remain purely a House matter.

Major Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 3777 would do the following:

(These provision were already contained in the House ethics code.)

- Prohibit franked mass mailings less than 60 days before any primary or general election in which the member making the mailing was a candidate.
- Prohibit a member who was a candidate for statewide public office from sending any franked mass mailings outside the member's congressional district.
- Require that "postal patron" mailings — in which mail was addressed simply to "postal patron" and delivered to every address in a designated congressional district — be sent by the most economical rate of postage practicable, and that a sample of each such mailing be submitted in advance to the House Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards to determine whether it complied with the law.
- Limit the total number of postal patron mailings during any calendar year to the equivalent of six district-wide mailings. A franked notice of a member's scheduled personal appearance in his or her district would not be included in the limitation.
- Require that the entire cost of preparing and printing any mass mailing be paid from federal funds. Mass mailings of "public service" materials of a "purely instructional or informational" nature could continue to be franked even if prepared and printed at outside expense.

The following provisions of HR 3777 were not in the House ethics code.

- Eliminate existing authority to frank letters expressing condolences or congratulations for purely "personal" distinctions. Letters expressing congratulations for "public distinctions" could continue to be franked. (According to the committee report, "public" distinctions could include election to public office, citizenship, scholastic honors including graduation or "other accomplishments of public note.")
- Extend jurisdiction of the House mailing standards commission to complaints against former House officials and members.
- Terminate the franking privilege for the mailing of official business letters, public documents and agricultural materials 90 days after a former member's term ended.
- Permit any designated surviving relative of a member who died in office to frank non-political correspondence relating to the member's death. (Under existing law, only a deceased member's spouse was eligible for the franking privilege.)
- Permit a committee chairman who was a candidate in a primary or general election to make mass mailings at any time prior to an election if they related to routine committee business.

Capitol Police Chief

Legislation to establish by law the position of chief of the Capitol Police was signed by President Carter Dec. 20.

HR 5651 (PL 96-152), passed by the Senate Dec. 6 and the House Nov. 8, also provided for phasing out a detail of District of Columbia Metropolitan Police officers assigned to the Capitol force.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the bill would eventually eliminate the $1.3 million reimbursement to the District of Columbia government for the Metropolitan Police detailed to the Capitol Police.

Officers detailed by the district police, after 20 years of service or by Sept. 1, 1980, whichever occurred later, would have to elect whether to transfer laterally into the Capitol Police, retire under the District of Columbia Policemen and Firemen's Retirement and Disability Act, or transfer back to the Metropolitan Police.

The legislation also established the Capitol Police chief as a congressional employee to be appointed by a Capitol Police Board. It allowed the continuation of the current chief, James M. Powell.

The House Administration Committee reported HR 5651 Nov. 1 (H Rept 96-581). The Senate Rules and Administration Committee filed its report Nov. 30 (S Rept 96-436). ▮

Senate Income Limit

In a surprise move, the Senate March 8 voted to delay for four years a strict limitation on the amount of outside income a senator may earn.

The action came on short notice and without a recorded vote. Only about six senators were on the floor when the delay resolution (S Res 93) was approved by voice vote.

Common Cause, a self-styled citizens' lobby that worked hard for the limit in 1977, denounced the action and said it would work to reverse it. But three weeks later, the Senate put itself on record, voting 44-54 March 28 to reject a resolution (S Res 115) reimposing the earnings limitation.

Based on past financial disclosure figures, probably more than half the Senate would have suffered income losses under the $8,625 limitation on outside earned income. At the time of the vote, senators' salaries were $57,500; in October 1979, Congress gave itself a payraise, and senators' salaries went to $60,662.50 *(Pay raise, p. 269)*

15 Percent Limit in Ethics Code

The cap on outside earned income was approved by the Senate in April 1977 as part of a new code of ethics, largely because senators in February 1976 had accepted a 29 percent pay increase amounting to $12,900 and the leadership pledged to support an outside earnings ceiling.

The limit went into effect Jan 1, 1979. It limited to 15 percent of a senator's salary the amount of money he or she could earn each year for work done outside of Congress. Because of other restrictions in the ethics code, this meant the limitation applied primarily to honoraria. The code also limited to a maximum of $1,000 the honorarium a senator could be paid for each speech or article.

There was no limit on unearned income such as dividends from stocks and bonds and money derived from family businesses — a distinction that many senators sharply criticized. *(1977 Almanac p. 771)*

Financial disclosure figures showed that 59 senators in office in 1979 earned more than $8,625 in honoraria and other earned income in 1978, the last year for which data were available.

Minority Whip Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., the two principal sponsors of S Res 93, earned $13,750 and $27,388 in honoraria in 1978. Moynihan donated part of his earnings to charity.

What They Earned in 1978

Fifty-nine members of the Senate in 1979 when the income ceiling was suspended reported earned income, including honoraria, of more than $8,625 in 1978, the last year for which figures were available. An asterisk (*) indicates that the senator was not a member of the Senate in 1978; a number sign (#) indicates that the senator donated all or part of his honoraria to charity or used it for speech-related expenses.

*Armstrong, R-Colo., $34,000; Baker, R-Tenn., $27,750; Bayh, D-Ind., $50,120; Biden, D-Del., $26,009; *Boren, D-Okla., $38,682; *Bradley, D-N.J., $168,334; Bumpers, D-Ark., $17,000; R. Byrd, D-W.Va., $25,000; Cannon, D-Nev., $33,646; Chafee, R-R.I., $15,364 #; Church, D-Idaho, $24,975; Cranston, D-Calif., $24,926; Culver, D-Iowa, $24,924; Dole, R-Kan., $27,000 #; *Durenberger, R-Minn., $49,690; Eagleton, D-Mo., $13,900; *Exon, D-Neb., $25,000; Ford, D-Ky., $12,000; Garn, R-Utah, $30,435 #; Goldwater, R-Ariz., $37,179; Gravel, D-Alaska, $9,000; Hatch, R-Utah, $24,875; Hatfield, R-Ore., $22,466; Hayakawa, R-Calif., $23,592; *Heflin, D-Ala., $66,484; Hollings, D-S.C., $25,000; Huddleston, D-Ky., $17,500; *Humphrey, R-N.H., $9,700; Inouye, D-Hawaii, $24,500; Jackson, D-Wash., $25,000 #; Javits, R-N.Y., $29,847; *Jepsen, R-Iowa, $19,500; Johnston, D-La., $24,350; Laxalt, R-Nev., $22,650; Leahy, D-Vt., $9,100; *Levin, D-Mich., $27,108; Lugar, R-Ind., $38,500 #; Mathias, R-Md., $23,558; McClure, R-Idaho, $12,000; McGovern, D-S.D., $29,995; Morgan, D-N.C., $23,824; Moynihan, D-N.Y., $27,388 #; Muskie, D-Maine, $25,000; Packwood, R-Ore., $24,500; Proxmire, D-Wis., $25,000; *Pryor, D-Ark., $34,999; Randolph, D-W.Va., $17,950; Ribicoff, D-Conn., $38,760; Riegle, D-Mich., $24,632; Sasser, D-Tenn., $11,900; Schweiker, R-Pa., $24,749; *Simpson, R-Wyo., $33,099; Stevens, R-Alaska, $13,750; *Stewart, D-Ala., $15,146; Talmadge, D-Ga., $23,150; Tower, R-Texas, $11,150; Wallop, R-Wyo., $9,050; Weicker, R-Conn., $21,955; Williams, D-N.J., $25,000.

Campaign Act Limit Remains

With the Senate rule delayed for four years, senators were limited solely by a ceiling on honoraria in the 1976 Federal Election Campaign Act (PL 94-283). That law limited to $25,000 annually the amount of money a senator could earn in honoraria; it also limited each honorarium to a maximum of $2,000. *(1976 Almanac p. 459)*

By contrast, House members were bound by the same 15 percent cap on outside earned income and a limit of $1,000 on each honorarium. With the new salary of $60,662.50, the income limit was $9,099.

The House approved the earnings limitation and a cap of $750 on each honoraium in its 1977 ethics code. The $750 limit was raised to $1,000 in January 1979 after the House Democratic Caucus recommended the hike at the end of the 95th Congress.

Limit Suspended

Minority Whip Stevens engineered the resolution to change the Senate rules and delay until Jan. 1, 1983, the limitation on outside earned income. He introduced the resolution at about 7 p.m. March 7 and asked that it be scheduled for debate at 10 a.m. the next morning and voted on at 12:30 p.m. the same day.

The resolution was debated for less than five minutes, with only about six senators on the floor at the time of the vote, including Select Ethics Chairman Adlai E. Stevenson, D-Ill. Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., who fought for the limit in 1977, left the floor just before the vote. Although three senators — Max Baucus, D-Mont., Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., and Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio — spoke against the resolution, none asked for a recorded vote.

"A couple of senators started to object" to the rules change and said they would seek a recorded vote, Stevens later told a reporter, "but when I went over and explained to them what my resolution was about, they changed their minds. I don't see anything controversial about it."

"I don't see any reason for the income limitation," Stevens added. Income disclosure was better, he said.

The March 28 recorded vote on reimposing the limitation resulted from public outcry following the March 8 voice vote. Common Cause worked to keep the issue in the public eye. President David Cohen called the delay "the Senate's version of 'Take the money and run and the public be damned.' " He said the Senate had "turned its back" on the 1977 ethics code, and accused Byrd of allowing "the Senate to quietly gut the code without following orderly procedures of committee consideration and advance notice."

Pressing behind the scenes for a recorded vote on the income cap issue were Sens. Baucus, DeConcini, Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., and Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich.

Though the 44-54 vote merely reaffirmed the Senate's earlier action, it appeared to satisfy senators stung by wide-

spread criticisms of the earlier action. Gary Hart, D-Colo who offered the resolution to reimpose the limitation, later said he was satisfied with the result because it forced senators to take a position. "The primary issue was that no one knew where we stood on this," Hart told reporters following the vote. *(Vote 29, p. 7-S)*

In 1977, an effort to kill the limit was rejected, 35-62. Eighteen senators who backed the income limitation then switched to vote to suspend it March 28. The 18 senators were Baker (Tenn.), Bentsen (Texas), Biden (Del.), Byrd (W. Va.), Chafee (R.I.), Cranston (Calif.), Culver (Iowa), Huddleston (Ky.), Jackson (Wash.), Johnston (La.), Matsunaga (Hawaii), Melcher (Mont.), Morgan (N.C.), Moynihan (N.Y.), Nunn (Ga.), Proxmire (Wis.), Stevens (Alaska) and Stevenson (Ill.). Three senators who voted against the cap in 1977 voted for it March 28: Percy (Ill.), Riegle (Mich.) and Schmitt (N.M.).

"We're not satisfied with the result, but we're satisfied that they no longer can escape accountability," Cohen said. Senators' "first priority, their immediate priority, is their own financial well-being and not the concerns of their constituents," Cohen added.

However, Stevens argued that the income limitation made senators "financial eunuchs" and compromised their independence. The more a senator depended on his Senate income, he argued, the less likely he was to take a stand in the Senate that might offend his constituents and therefore threaten his re-election. ▮

Regulatory Reform

Concerned about the growing cost of federal regulation — and its impact on the economy — Congress worked on a number of legislative proposals during 1979 to revamp the government's rulemaking process.

Progress was delayed for most of the year, however, by pulling and tugging over how far and in which direction Congress should move on the issue.

While the Carter administration supported the concept of regulatory reform and proposed legislation (S 755, HR 3263) to deal with the issue, it opposed as unconstitutional legislation to give Congress a veto over specific regulations.

Environmental, labor and consumer groups took a cautious stand on the general issue of regulatory reform. And they worried that the very existence of controversial safety and health agencies could be jeopardized by "sunset" legislation.

The most significant action on regulatory reform came in the closing days of 1979, when a Senate Judiciary subcommittee approved for consideration by the full panel sweeping legislation (S 2147) to streamline the federal regulatory process. *(Details, below)*

S 2147 had been introduced by key Democratic and Republican members of the Judiciary Committee. It was expected to be a major vehicle for regulatory reform during 1980.

Judiciary's Administrative Practice and Procedure Subcommittee also approved a more narrowly defined bill (S 299) designed to ease the regulatory burden on small businesses. S 299 had many provisions similar to legislation (HR 4660) reported Oct. 17 by the House Small Business Committee (H Rept 96-516, Part 1). *(HR 4660, story, next page)*

Other Reform Bills

The Carter administration plan (S 755, HR 3263) would mandate a detailed economic analysis of proposed rules by all regulatory bodies, both independent ones and those under presidential authority. Alternative regulations would have to be listed and reasons given for not choosing the least expensive option.

Under the plan, twice yearly an agency would have to publish an agenda of upcoming rules. To cut down on delays, agencies would have to set completion dates for rulemaking, licensing or adjudication. Every 10 years, an agency would review regulations having an impact on the economy of $100 million or more.

Both current and future administrative law judges would be limited to seven-year terms. If they failed periodic reviews, they would not be reappointed to their seats and would be transferred elsewhere in the civil service. Small businesses and consumer groups could apply for federal subsidies to participate in the regulatory process.

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee Chairman Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., proposed legislation (S 262) that was similar to the administration measure in many respects. It set a five-year period for review of existing rules, as opposed to Carter's 10 years. It also was not specific about the amount of financial impact a regulation must have on the economy before it would be subject to review.

Current administrative law judges would retain their indefinite terms. New judges would be reviewed every 10 years.

Sunset

In addition to these bills, Congress conducted a number of hearings but completed no action on several issues related to regulatory reform.

These included "sunset" (under which programs and agencies would be periodically evaluated by Congress and, if not reauthorized, terminated) and the legislative veto (which would allow either chamber of Congress to veto specific regulations proposed by federal agencies).

The most prominent sunset proposal was S 2, sponsored by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine. An earlier version of the Muskie sunset bill was passed by the Senate in 1978, but died when it was not acted upon by the House. During 1979, the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee completed hearings on S 2. *(1978 sunset action, 1978 Almanac p. 850)*

Another form of sunset was contained in a broader regulatory reform bill (S 1291) sponsored by Senate Judiciary Chairman Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass. Like Muskie's bill, S 1291 would require the periodic examination by Congress of federal programs. But unlike S 2, a program would not die if Congress failed to take action to reauthorize it.

Under the Kennedy approach — known as "high noon" to distinguish it from sunset — appropriate congressional committees simply would be required to review programs according to a timetable.

In the House, meanwhile, the Rules Subcommittee on Legislative Process, at the behest of its chairman, Gillis W. Long, D-La., began drafting its own sunset plan.

Under one draft, like the Kennedy bill, programs would not be terminated automatically. Congress would have to take specific action to kill a program.

Opponents of sunset had argued that, with automatic termination dates for regulatory agencies, a filibuster could

kill an unpopular agency that might be vital in safeguarding health or the environment.

Legislative Veto

In the regulatory reform debate, the most discord surrounded the legislative veto concept. Rep. Elliott H. Levitas, D-Ga., had 230 co-sponsors to his HR 1776, which would require that all proposed rules be reported to Congress for evaluation 60 days before they would become effective.

If either house disapproved a proposed rule and that decision were not reversed by the other house within 30 days, the regulation would die.

The House Democratic leadership was cool toward HR 1776 and Rules Committee Chairman Richard Bolling, D-Mo., was outright opposed to it. In a floor speech Sept. 27, Levitas warned the leadership against delaying action on the bill, noting that more than a majority of the House had signed on as co-sponsors.

Rep. Joe Moakley, D-Mass., chairman of the Rules Subcommittee on Rules of the House, which considered HR 1776, was publicly neutral — though skeptical — about the measure.

The Carter administration claimed that the legislative veto violated the constitutional doctrine of separation of powers.

Levitas rejected the administration's criticism, saying his bill offered the best chance of reining in "the unelected bureaucrats who rule by administrative fiat."

In a related action, the House added a legislative veto provision to a Federal Trade Commission authorization bill. It would allow either chamber of Congress to veto proposed FTC regulations. The authorization was not cleared by Congress. *(Story, p. 343)*

Other Action

The Senate Sept. 7 approved an amendment to S 1477, a bill to reorganize the federal courts, that would make it easier to challenge federal regulations in court.

The amendment, proposed by Sen. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., would shift the legal burden to the government to prove that its regulation was valid. S 1477, as amended, was sent to the House, but there was no further action on the measure. *(Story, p. 400)*

Subcommittee Action on S 2147

Senate Judiciary's Administrative Practice and Procedure Subcommittee approved Dec. 19 a comprehensive bill (S 2147) designed to streamline the federal regulatory process. The vote was 6-0.

S 2147 had been introduced only the day before by the subcommittee's chairman, John C. Culver, D-Iowa. Cosponsors included Kennedy, chairman of the full Judiciary Committee, and the full committee's ranking Republican, Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.

Full committee action was put off until 1980.

Major Provisions

As approved by the Administrative Practices Subcommittee Dec. 19, S 2147:

- Created a nine-member board to coordinate federal rulemaking, the Regulatory Policy Board, whose duties included making recommendations to the president for increasing efficiency of rulemaking, reviewing major regulations and submitting public views on regulatory analyses during rulemaking.
- Authorized $5 million for each of fiscal 1981, 1982 and 1983 for the board's operation.
- Required that a comprehensive index of existing federal regulations be established, with public access.
- Authorized $3 million for fiscal 1981 and 1982, and $500,000 for fiscal 1983 to compile and maintain the index.
- Required each federal department or agency to publish annually a regulatory agenda of subjects it would examine in the next year for possible new regulations.
- Required each agency to set and publish deadlines for final action on proposed regulations, at least 120 days in advance of the intended final action.
- Required agencies to analyze the impact of proposed major regulations and of possible alternative standards for compliance by small businesses.
- Made regulatory analyses subject to judicial review to determine the validity of agency regulations — but not to determine validity of the analyses themselves.
- Barred agencies from making rules with direct anti-competitive effects, unless the rule was the least anti-competitive alternative, both legally and practically.
- Required each agency to make cost-benefit assessments of half of its existing major regulations over a five-year period, and review all new rules within 10 years after they were made final.
- Established certain required rulemaking procedures, including maintenance of records of any communication between regulators and lobbyists on the merits of proposed rules.
- Gave agencies the right to subpoena witnesses, documents, or other evidence for hearings related to rulemaking.
- Established a 12-year schedule for Congress to review federal agency regulatory functions.
- Established a 13-member Committee on Regulatory Evaluation to examine agencies scheduled for congressional review and make recommendations to the president on needed reforms.
- Defined a "major rule" (regulation) as one with an annual effect on the economy of $100 million or more; or as causing significant price or cost changes for individual industries, regions, or government levels; or as greatly affecting employment or competition; or otherwise having a major impact. ▮

Small Business Regulations

The House Small Business Committee, swept up in Congress' growing anti-regulation mood, reported a bill designed to ease federal regulatory controls over small businesses.

HR 4660, reported Oct. 17 (H Rept 96-519, Part 1), would require federal departments and agencies issuing new regulations to consider their impact on small business operations.

The bill was referred to the House Judiciary Committee.

Federal regulators would be required, where possible, to provide exemptions or less stringent requirements for smaller enterprises.

HR 4660 also would direct departments and agencies to review their current regulations to identify for possible

elimination those "most burdensome to small businesses and small organizations."

Proponents said the bill would improve the regulatory climate that forced more than five million small-business men to spend $15 billion to $20 billion annually on paperwork to comply with federal regulations, according to a 1977 federal paperwork commission report.

The Carter administration, however, was critical of HR 4660, claiming that it would impose added delays on the regulatory process and frustrate efforts to enact a more comprehensive regulatory reform bill.

The Congressional Budget Office estimated the cost of HR 4660 at $500,000 a year — a figure it said would have been higher except that some federal departments were already required under a 1978 executive order to take certain actions that would be mandated by the bill.

Senate Bill

The Senate Judiciary Committee's Administrative Practice and Procedure Subcommittee approved a bill (S 299) Dec. 19 that was similar to HR 4660.

Like HR 4660, the Senate bill was designed to ease the regulatory burden on small businesses.

The major provisions of S 299 also were incorporated into a broader regulatory reform bill (S 2147). S 2147 was approved by the Senate subcommittee, also on Dec. 19, and sent to the full Judiciary panel for action. *(S 2147, preceding story)*

Markup by the full Senate committee on both bills was put off until 1980. ▮

GAO Subpoena Powers

A bill (HR 24) granting the General Accounting Office (GAO) subpoena powers and the authority to sue federal agencies or contractors for withheld information received House approval Oct. 29.

The measure, passed by voice vote under suspension of the rules, was designed to broaden the power of the GAO, an investigative arm of Congress, to conduct inquiries into federal programs. In the Senate, HR 24 was referred to the Governmental Affairs Committee Oct. 30.

The GAO had complained that some of its requests for data from government agencies and contractors — particularly those related to defense — had been denied.

The Carter administration was against giving the GAO subpoena and lawsuit powers. It argued that corporate confidentiality and privacy safeguards would be weakened.

The GAO had no formal authority to bring lawsuits against those ignoring its requests for information, with two exceptions. Generally, it had to rely entirely on the subjects of its investigations to furnish the material it needed.

The exceptions, in which the office had subpoena authority, were Department of Energy programs (PL 95-91) and Medicare-Medicaid functions (PL 95-142). *(DOE, 1977 Almanac p. 609; Medicare-Medicaid, 1977 Almanac p. 480)*

The House Government Operations Committee reported HR 24 Sept. 11 (H Rept 96-425). The committee had approved the bill, sponsored by Chairman Jack Brooks, D-Texas, by a 33-0 vote.

Similar legislation passed the House in late 1978 but did not receive consideration from the Senate in the waning days of the 95th Congress.

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 24:

- Allowed the GAO access to executive branch unvouchered expenditures — confidential funds spent at the discretion of the president or an agency head — except for those dealing with intelligence work. Disclosure of the information would be restricted to appropriate congressional committees.

Under existing law, only unvouchered expenditures for White House entertainment, maintenance and staff travel had to be accounted for to outside auditors. The GAO was given this task in a law (PL 95-570) passed in 1978. *(1978 Almanac p. 796)*

- Authorized the GAO to take a federal agency to court if it did not comply with a request for documents within 20 days. The U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia would consider the application. Non-compliance could lead to a contempt citation. The attorney general would defend the sued agency.
- Empowered the GAO to subpoena records of federal contractors and subcontractors or other entities that received federal money, such as universities, and state or local governments. If the subpoena were ignored, the GAO could take the matter to a U.S. district court.
- Stipulated that activities designated by the president as being foreign intelligence- or counterintelligence-related would be exempt from the GAO's judicial enforcement powers.

This provision was added to the bill to meet national security concerns expressed by Rep. Edward P. Boland, D-Mass., chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence.

- Provided for creation of a 10-member congressional commission to give the president a slate of at least five suggested nominees for the posts of comptroller general and deputy comptroller general, the top GAO positions.

Under existing law, the comptroller general was named by the president with Senate confirmation. This provision would not affect the current occupants of the posts.

- Placed a 30-day limit on how long investigated agencies could hold a draft copy of a pending GAO report. The provision was designed to prevent such agencies from stalling for time. ▮

GAO Personnel System

The House passed and a Senate committee reported nearly identical bills (HR 5176, S 1879) to establish an independent personnel system for the General Accounting Office (GAO).

The GAO is an investigative arm of Congress and the bills were designed to eliminate a potential conflict of interest. The GAO was required by law to monitor the activities of the executive branch, including the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) and the Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB), both executive branch agencies that operate the federal civil service system. But at the same time the two agencies had oversight over the GAO's personnel practices.

Backers of the legislation did not point to any instances of past abuse, but said that a potential conflict of interest existed. For example, the GAO might be tempted to give favorable treatment to the civil service agencies in return for a favorable personnel decision. Or, a critical GAO

report on the agencies might be issued in retaliation for an unfavorable ruling by them on GAO personnel practices.

As passed by voice vote of the House Oct. 15, HR 5176 (H Rept 96-494) established an independent personnel system for the GAO modeled after the one established for the executive branch in the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (PL 95-454). *(Civil Service reform, 1978 Almanac p. 818)*

The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee reported a similar bill (S 1879 — S Rept 96-540) Dec. 20. ▮

Civil Service Authorization

A bill (HR 5138) to put a tight rein on federal civil service agencies by terminating their "open-ended" authorization status was passed by the House Dec. 3.

HR 5138, passed on a voice vote under suspension of the rules, would authorize $152 million yearly for fiscal 1981 and 1982 for civil service agencies — giving the agencies their first budget ceilings and providing, in effect, a two-year "sunset" authorization.

The bill was reported by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee Oct. 22 (H Rept 96-540).

It would authorize funds for the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB), the MSPB's special counsel and the Federal Labor Relations Authority (FLRA) — agencies created by the 1978 reorganization of the federal employment system. *(1978 Almanac p. 818)*

The reorganization, through executive order and the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (PL 95-454), created OPM and MSPB by splitting functions of the old Civil Service Commission. OPM was given management responsibilities and the MSPB was charged with investigating and acting on employee complaints.

FLRA, a successor to the old Federal Labor Relations Council, had functions comparable to those of the National Labor Relations Board for the private sector. Duties included supervising union elections and hearing complaints about unfair labor practices in the federal government.

In the Senate, HR 5138 was referred to the Governmental Affairs Committee Dec. 4.

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 5138:

- Authorized $114 million for OPM for each of fiscal 1981 and 1982, and such sums as necessary for mandatory pay increases, increases in payments to the General Services Administration (GSA) and postage costs.
- Authorized $15 million for MSPB and $8 million for the MSPB special counsel in each of fiscal 1981 and 1982, and necessary amounts for increases in salaries, GSA payments, and postage.
- Authorized $15 million for FLRA for each of fiscal 1981 and 1982, and necessary amounts for increases in salaries, GSA payments, and postage.
- Repealed the section of the Civil Service Reform Act that provided an open-ended authorization for the civil service agencies. The repeal would be effective Sept. 30, 1980 — the end of the 1980 fiscal year.
- Authorized each of the civil service agencies only for fiscal 1981 and 1982.
- Required OPM to submit an annual report to Congress detailing the contracting practices of executive branch agencies for personnel management work, including each such contract entered into by an executive agency, its cost, the comparative cost had the work been performed by a government agency, the number of full-time employees that would have been required for the government to perform the work itself, and — in cases where the cost to the government for the work would have been lower — the authority and reasons for entering into the contract. ▮

Survivors Benefits

Congress cleared a bill (HR 2584 — PL 96-179) Dec. 20 to allow illegitimate children of deceased federal employees to be paid survivors' benefits even if they did not live with the parent who died.

HR 2584 (H Rept 96-499) also made some changes in federal health insurance provisions and in retirement benefit standards for members of Congress.

The House passed the bill Oct. 22 under suspension of the rules. The Senate Dec. 20 passed its version of the bill (S Rept 96-503) by voice vote after adding the provision relating to members of Congress. The House accepted the amended version the same day, clearing the bill for the president.

In revising survivors' payments, HR 2584 simply placed into law a three-year-old practice resulting from a court decision. A November 1977 Supreme Court ruling declared it illegal to exclude from survivors' payments illegitimate children who did not live with the deceased parent, but who were supported by that person.

Since that time the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), in administering federal survivors' benefits, had included illegitimate dependents as beneficiaries.

However, HR 2584 did not remove the "living with" requirement for stepchildren of deceased federal workers and retirees. Dependent stepchildren, therefore, would not be eligible for survivors' benefits unless they lived with the deceased federal worker.

OPM had argued against eliminating such a test for stepchildren — saying that such an action would open the door to a spate of lawsuits by stepchildren and retroactive payments to them.

The Senate attached to the bill a provision permitting persons elected to Congress who had started collecting federal retirement benefits to suspend the payments while in office — rather than have their salaries reduced by the amount of the pension payments.

The congressmen also could count the years they served in Congress in computing total work years for determining retirement benefits. The provision was similar to one applicable to top political appointees in the executive branch.

The amendment affected the pension of only one member — Rep. Eldon Rudd, R-Ariz. But the change apparently didn't give Rudd any benefit he would not have been entitled to had the law not been changed.

The bill also made minor changes in an experimental program requiring federal workers' health plans in certain areas to pay for treatment by licensed practitioners in addition to doctors. The experiment, to begin in 1980, would apply in "medically underserved" areas.

The program was created by a 1978 law (PL 95-368) to encourage use of medical personnel other than physicians in areas where they were in short supply. ▮

Martin Luther King Holiday

The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Senate Judiciary Committee reported nearly identical bills (HR 5461, S 25) during 1979 to make Jan. 15, the birthday of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a paid federal holiday.

HR 5461 failed to win House approval under suspension of the rules. Later it was brought back to the floor under regular procedures, significantly weakened by floor amendments, and then abruptly withdrawn from further consideration.

In the Senate, S 25 was reported to the floor Aug. 1 (S Rept 96-284), but not considered during 1979. It had been ordered reported by the Judiciary Committee July 17 on a 10-6 vote.

Earlier, the Senate panel defeated 6-10 an amendment by Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., to substitute a "National Day of Recognition" for a legal paid holiday to honor the slain civil rights leader.

House Action

The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee reported HR 5461 by voice vote Oct. 23 (H Rept 96-543).

The panel called the proposed legal holiday "an appropriate testimonial to an extraordinary individual . . . [that] would underscore the nation's continuing commitment to alleviate the invidious effects of discrimination and poverty which Dr. King struggled against."

Five committee Republicans, in dissenting views, said the bill would promote inflation.

Failure Under Suspension

The House Nov. 13 failed to pass HR 5461 under suspension of the rules.

Although the House voted 252-133 in favor of the bill, the measure fell four votes short of the two-thirds majority required for passage under the suspension procedure. *(Vote 578, p. 170-H)*

The vote was split along party lines. Democrats voted more than 6 to 1 in favor of the measure, but Republicans were opposed by almost a 3-to-1 margin.

King's widow, Coretta Scott King, watched the debate and vote from the public gallery above the House floor. She later declined comment on the outcome.

While backers argued that HR 5461 would give deserved recognition to King and the civil rights movement he led, opponents objected that it would be too costly and that King could be better recognized by a federal day of observance rather than another paid holiday for federal workers.

John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., chief sponsor of the bill, said, "In approving this legislation, Congress will have made the most positive statement it can that the sectional and racial chapter of America's history has been closed forever."

But Jon C. Hinson, R-Miss., characterized the bill as "unnecessary, expensive and most ill-advised," and other opponents said lost productivity from another paid holiday would hurt the economy.

Opponents contended the bill would cost $212 million in federal wages alone — $27 million in premium pay to employees who had to work on the holiday, and $185 million in regular wages to federal workers for the paid holiday.

After the chair ruled the bill had been passed by a voice vote, opponents demanded and got a record vote on the measure, and the measure was defeated.

Weakened and Withdrawn

After failing on suspension, backers brought HR 5461 back to the floor Dec. 5 under an open rule, permitting floor amendments to be considered.

It was significantly weakened and then withdrawn from further consideration.

The House first adopted an amendment that supporters of the bill had hoped would serve to effectively counter opponents' arguments that the bill would be too costly.

The amendment, offered by Robert McClory, R-Ill., and approved 291-106, called for celebrating King's birthday with a federal holiday on the third Monday in each January. As reported, HR 5461 would have made King's birthday a paid federal holiday. *(Vote 624, p. 184-H)*

McClory contended that putting the holiday on a Monday would "minimize" its economic effect. He estimated the proposal would reduce the cost of wages paid on the holiday by 20 percent to 25 percent.

McClory said the Monday holiday would have a smaller impact on productivity, since employers would not shut down in the middle of a week and absenteeism was less before and after a Monday holiday.

Moments after the House accepted McClory's proposal, however, a coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats won narrow approval of a substitute proposal to honor King's birthday on the third Sunday of each January.

The substitute, offered by Robin L. Beard Jr., R-Tenn., was adopted 207-191. It prohibited the government from providing paid leave for the day, as is the case when other federal holidays fall on weekends. *(Vote 625, p. 186-H)*

Republicans voted 124-21 for the proposal, but Democrats opposed it 83-170. Of the 83 Democrats supporting it, 48 were from the South.

Beard said Sunday would be an appropriate day to honor King, a Baptist minister, since many observances probably would be held in churches.

But supporters argued that honoring King on a Sunday would place the observance on a lower level than other federal holidays.

"This gives us a different day for a different class of people," said Thomas J. Downey, D-N.Y.

Supporters then moved to withdraw the bill from further consideration.

Robert Garcia, D-N.Y., floor manager for the bill, offered a motion to "rise" from the Committee of the Whole in which the bill was being considered, meaning that further action on the bill would be suspended. The motion was accepted on a recorded vote, 231-164. *(Vote 626, p. 186-H)* ▮

District of Columbia Bills

President Carter signed into law in late 1979 and early 1980 four bills cleared by Congress affecting the District of Columbia:

• **Civil Rights Suits.** Congress cleared a bill (HR 3343) to allow citizens of the District of the Columbia to sue local officials in federal court for alleged civil rights violations.

HR 3343 (PL 96-170) was signed by Carter Dec. 29. The Senate had passed the bill Dec. 18 by voice vote, almost a month after House passage Nov. 27, also by voice vote.

The bill amended a provision of an 1871 civil rights law that had permitted residents of states — but not the district — to bring suits in federal court against state officials who act under color of state law to deprive persons of constitutional rights, privileges or immunities.

The 1871 civil rights statute was designed to give individuals some recourse other than state courts for seeking to prove that state officials — acting under state law, regulations or practices, or through failure to enforce a law — had deprived them of federally based civil rights. (The law also applied to U.S. territories.)

HR 3343 was reported by the House District Committee Oct. 24 (H Rept 96-548). In the Senate, the bill was taken directly to the floor.

• **District Retirement System.** Legislation revising the retirement system for District of Columbia policemen, fire fighters, teachers and judges was signed by Carter Nov. 17. (S 1037 — PL 96-122).

The Senate had cleared the conference report (H Rept 96-584) on the bill Nov. 9, one day after the House had approved it. Both actions were by voice votes.

Carter in 1978 pocket vetoed a similar bill, saying it was too expensive and did not provide ways to reduce alleged abuses in retirement disability payments. *(1978 Almanac p. 815)*

S 1037 was designed to place the city's pension plans on a sound financial footing. It authorized a $1.3 billion federal contribution for fiscal 1980 through 2004 to cover 80 percent of the plans' unfunded liability for most current retirees, and created an 11-member board to manage the pension funds.

The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee filed its report (S Rept 96-237) on S 1037 July 9, and the Senate passed its version Aug. 1. The House passed an amended version of the bill Sept. 24. House-Senate conferees filed their report Nov. 2.

As cleared by Congress, S 1037 also required certain salary reductions to prevent "double-dipping" — a practice where individuals eligible for retirement take other jobs in government and thus receive two incomes.

• **District Borrowing Authority.** Legislation permitting the District of Columbia to borrow some $158 million from the federal government in fiscal 1980 to finance several construction projects was signed by Carter Dec. 28.

The Senate had approved the bill (HR 5537 — PL 96-160) by voice vote Dec. 20. The House passed it Nov. 27 by a vote of 283-99. *(Vote 603, 180-H)*

The bill extended through fiscal 1980 permission for the district to borrow federal funds until it could finance its public works projects through other means — primarily through issuing its own bonds.

Congress gave the city interim authority to borrow from the U.S. Treasury when it passed the city's home rule act in 1973 (PL 93-198). In 1977, that authority was extended (PL 95-131) for two years on the assumption that the city would install a new financial management system.

However, the system — which could help make city bonds viable — was not expected to be completely in place until sometime in 1980.

House opponents had argued that federal loans to the city for public works should be cut off. They charged that the city, in its current financial shape, could not attract buyers for bonds, and contended that defeating the bill would force the city to take necessary steps to get its financial house in order.

The House District Committee filed its report on HR 5537 Oct. 24 (H Rept 96-550). The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee filed a report Dec. 13 (S Rept 96-487).

• **Metro Authorization.** Carter signed legislation Jan. 3, 1980, authorizing up to $1.7 billion in federal loans for fiscal 1982 through 1987 for completion of the Washington, D.C., area subway system.

HR 3951 (PL 96-184) had been cleared by Congress Dec. 20. The House cleared the bill by voice vote, accepting amendments passed by the Senate 66-23 earlier that day. *(Vote 492, p. 82-S)*

The Senate version of the bill eliminated an earlier House provision that would have given the transit system an operating subsidy from fiscal 1981 to 1988.

During Senate floor debate, Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., chairman of the subcommittee that handled HR 3951, charged that the bill would unfairly continue a "special arrangement" exempting Metro from competition with other local transit systems for federal funds.

In addition to basic construction funding, the bill also authorized a two-thirds federal contribution to help pay off bonds issued by the transit authority.

It also required Washington area governments involved in the system's construction to submit plans by 1982 showing how they would provide reliable funding sources for paying operating costs and servicing the bonds.

HR 3951 was reported by the House District of Columbia Committee May 15 (H Rept 96-156) and passed by the House July 16, 261-125. *(Vote 306, p. 90-H)*

It was reported by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee Dec. 11 on a 10-1 vote (S Rept 96-475). ▮

Federal Contracting

The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee reported a bill (HR 4717) to crack down on federal departments and agencies that contract out government work to private companies and curb their end-of-the-year spending binges.

HR 4717 was ordered reported Nov. 14 by voice vote. A report was filed Dec. 20 (H Rept 96-729, Part 1). The bill was referred Dec. 20 to the House Government Operations Committee, which was given until May 15, 1980, to consider revising the legislation.

The bill would require the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to lower the personnel ceiling of any agency that contracted out work that feasibly could have been done by federal employees.

OMB also would have to raise the personnel ceiling of any agency that showed it could do a job cheaper in-house than by contracting it out, but did not have adequate personnel to do so.

Contracts of less than $100,000 would be excluded from coverage by the bill. A cost comparison would be required in connection with the renewal of existing contracts that would result in a "significant increase" in cost to the government.

HR 4717 also sought to stop wasteful year-end spending by federal agencies that must use appropriated funds in

a fiscal year or lose them, and to make sure any contracting out "is done in a responsible and orderly manner."

To accomplish that, the bill would prohibit the agencies from obligating more than 20 percent of their single year appropriations in the last two calendar months of the fiscal year.

Background

HR 4717 was introduced by Herbert E. Harris II, D-Va., chairman of the Human Resources Subcommittee. Harris represented a district in northern Virginia heavily populated by federal government workers and members of federal employee unions.

Backers argued that the legislation would help control the rapid growth of federal contracting out, a practice expected to result in some $150 billion in expenditures in fiscal 1980 — almost one-fifth of the entire federal budget.

But opponents contended that HR 4717 would be a poor solution to the contracting problem, serving only to expand the federal bureaucracy.

Opponents included the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and most Republican members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. ▮

Federal Pay Raise

President Carter gave certain federal employees a 7 percent pay increase in fiscal 1980, rather than the 5.5 percent hike he had earlier intended.

The raise affected 3.5 million federal workers — 1.4 million civilian white-collar employees and 2.1 million military personnel. It took effect the first pay period after Oct. 1, the start of fiscal 1980.

Higher-than-anticipated inflation forecasts for fiscal 1980 dictated the larger salary boost, said Carter in his message to Congress announcing the action Aug. 31.

The 7 percent raise, Carter explained, "will be within the pay standard being developed by the Council on Wage and Price Stability that will apply to all employees in the country for 1980."

In an anti-inflation move that outraged civil servants, the administration had held raises to 5.5 percent in fiscal 1979 and had planned to do the same in its fiscal 1980 budget. Several large private-sector labor contracts had far exceeded that level.

The president's decision was hailed by government worker unions and their allies in Congress. Some, however, saw the unexpected generosity as a bid to soften union opposition to the controversial federal pay reform plan that the administration was pushing on Capitol Hill.

According to administration estimates, civil servants were due a 10.4 percent pay boost in fiscal 1980 to stay on par with private-sector compensation. By law, federal and private-sector pay should be equivalent, a concept called "comparability." The president, though, had the power to trim the annually calculated comparability increase, subject to congressional veto. Congress took no action to disapprove the Carter proposal. *(Story, p. 269)*

Pay Hikes

The Carter action had no bearing on postal or federal blue-collar workers. Nor did it lift the statutory $47,500-per-year pay ceiling for career employees. Those career employees were granted a 5.5 percent pay raise in legislation (H J Res 412 — PL 96-86) cleared by Congress Oct. 12.

Carter's move gave the lowest ranking government workers — some 20,000 persons who earned below $8,900 yearly — more than a 7 percent pay hike, reasoning that they were suffering the most from higher prices. Of this group, GS-1s got a 9.81 percent raise and GS-2s a 9.51 percent hike.

The president could have given only civilian white-collar workers 7 percent and the armed forces less, with the money saved in Defense Department pay going to military subsistence and quarters allowances. Carter, though, chose to give the full 7 percent to the military.

The administration had budgeted $3.2 billion for fiscal 1980 to take care of another pay hike of 5.5 percent. With the 7 percent raise, however, an additional $940 million was needed.

In a press briefing, Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Deputy Director John P. White said the administration would seek the extra money in a supplemental appropriation in January 1980.

Carter Pay Reform Plan

Carter's pay reform plan, sent to Congress June 6, would revamp the way pay and fringe benefits rates were set for government workers. *(Carter message, text, p. 35-E)*

While the proposal (HR 4477, S 1340) would not cut the size of the government's civilian payroll, it would hold down the size of future increases.

Congressional hearings were held on the legislative package during 1979, but there was no further action. Federal employee unions expressed fierce opposition to the proposal, which would cover approximately 1.4 million white-collar and 500,000 blue-collar civilian federal employees.

The administration claimed its pay reform plan would save $3 billion per year beginning in fiscal 1982 by making government compensation scales truly comparable to private sector salaries.

Alan K. Campbell, director of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM) and chief salesman of the plan to Congress, said the existing comparability system had too many distortions to offer an accurate yardstick.

Comparability was calculated under existing law using data collected from a nationwide survey of private employers. In fiscal 1979, the federal civilian payroll was estimated at $43 billion. ▮

Postal Subsidy Increase

The House voted Sept. 7 to reverse federal policy by approving a fat increase in the federal subsidy of the deficit-plagued U.S. Postal Service (USPS).

By a 350-14 vote, the House passed a bill (HR 79) that would hike the annual postal "public service subsidy" to $1.3 billion in fiscal 1982 from $920 million in fiscal 1979. *(Vote 411, p. 120-H)*

Under existing law, that subsidy was slated to be reduced by 10 percent a year for five years starting in fiscal 1980. After that, the USPS could opt to continue a subsidy of $460 million annually or go without one.

Prior to passage, the House rejected, 125-242, a proposal to hold the public service subsidy at $920 million an-

nually for the five years it was scheduled to be declining under existing law. *(Vote 410, p. 120-H)*

HR 79 also would extend the life of other postal subsidies, known as "revenue foregone," which benefited commercial and non-profit mail users.

In addition, the bill aimed to make the independent USPS more accountable to the White House and Congress by abolishing the postal board of governors and mandating presidential selection of the postmaster general.

The bill, reported by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee May 8 (H Rept 96-126), would reverse the policy laid down by the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 (PL 91-375) to make the agency self-sufficient by phasing out its dependence on the U.S. Treasury.

In the Senate, HR 79 was referred to the Governmental Affairs Committee Sept. 10, but there was no further action on the bill during 1979.

Supporting HR 79 were the postal unions and major mail users, who long had bridled at the policy that the USPS should be run as a break-even business. The unions feared job losses and the users, such as the magazine industry, said low-cost mail service was a public benefit that should be retained.

Despite the sizable House vote, HR 79's prospects were uncertain in the Senate where sentiment toward the bill was cool. Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio, whose Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on Federal Services was to consider the measure, objected to its cost.

The USPS itself was against HR 79. The service said it didn't need the extra money and decried incursions on its autonomy. The Carter administration, while not outright opposed to the legislation, expressed reservations about several of its features, especially the price tag.

Financial Pressure

A primary aim of HR 79 was to hold down future mail rate increases. In May 1978, the price of a first-class stamp rose from 13 cents to 15 cents. The USPS said it would hold the rate there until early 1981, unless inflation exceeded an annual 6.9 percent.

Although HR 79 would not expressly freeze rates — decisions on mail rates would remain in the hands of the autonomous Postal Rate Commission — the bigger subsidies were designed to decrease the financial pressure for such hikes in the near future. Backers also hoped the higher subsidies would help preserve Saturday delivery and keep open small post offices.

The USPS correctly projected a surplus in fiscal 1979, the first time it had been in the black since 1945. In fiscal 1980, however, the service expected to slip back into the red.

In 1978 the House passed much more far-reaching postal legislation that, among other things, would have frozen rates and granted special mailing discounts. That bill died in the Senate during the hectic final days of the 95th Congress. *(1978 bill, 1978 Almanac p. 530)*

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 79:

- Abolished the 11-member Postal Service board of governors and provided for appointment of the postmaster general by the president, subject to Senate confirmation.
- Authorized the $920 million public service subsidy to rise to $1.1 billion in fiscal 1980, to $1.2 billion in fiscal 1981 and to $1.3 billion in subsequent years.
- Extended "revenue foregone" subsidies for commercial mail users, whose funding ended July 6, 1979, until 1981, and for non-profit users from 1987 to 1991. Estimated extra outlays under this provision were below $100 million per year, except for fiscal 1980, when the figure was projected to be $126 million.
- Allowed the USPS, with Postal Rate Commission approval, to set size and weight limits for all mail. Many of these were fixed by law, giving the Postal Service little flexibility. ▮

Postal Arbitration Bill

The House voted July 10 to establish arbitration procedures to settle disputes between middle-management postal supervisors and the U.S. Postal Service (USPS).

By a 306-94 vote, the House passed HR 827 (H Rept 96-234) over objections that it would fragment management of the USPS. Approval came on the suspension of the rules procedure, which requires a two-thirds majority for passage and permits no floor amendments. *(Vote 284, p. 86-H)*

Similar legislation won House approval in the two previous Congresses, but died each time in the Senate. The chances of Senate passage in the 96th Congress were uncertain. The bill was referred to the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee July 12.

Although HR 827 did not give collective bargaining rights to the 38,000 postal supervisors, it authorized creation of a three-member board to work out conflicts arising between the service's middle managers and its top leadership.

Postmaster General William F. Bolger, who opposed the measure, charged that it amounted to a grant of collective bargaining power because dissatisfied supervisors could appeal adverse decisions to the arbitration panel.

But the National Association of Postal Supervisors strongly backed HR 827. The organization had fought a series of legal battles with the USPS over pay and complained that some of its officers had been intimidated.

House supporters of the bill argued that it was needed to comply with a provision in the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 (PL 91-375) guaranteeing supervisors the right to participate directly in decisions on their pay and benefits. *(Postal Reorganization Act of 1970, Congress and the Nation Vol. III, p. 436)*

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 827:

- Set up a three-member arbitration board to resolve disputes between the USPS and the supervisors. It would be comprised of one person selected by the USPS, one by an organization representing the supervisors and the third to be selected by the other two members.
- Required that if the supervisors and the USPS could not agree within 60 days on a plan for pay, fringe benefits or other personnel policies, the matter could be referred to the board by either party.
- Established that the supervisors could refer an issue on which they were not negotiating directly to the board within 30 days.
- Mandated that the board's decisions would be final and that they must be rendered within 45 days after it was convened. ▮

Postal Service Safety

The House passed a bill Oct. 22 (HR 826) to extend federal occupational safety standards to the U.S. Postal Service (USPS).

In the Senate, the bill was referred to the Government Operations Committee Oct. 23, but no further action was taken.

Approved by a voice vote under suspension of the rules, HR 826 was spurred by the USPS's on-the-job injury rate, the highest of all federal agencies. In 1977, the USPS accounted for 34.4 percent of all illnesses and injuries reported for the federal work force.

Under the bill, the USPS would be subject to the same standards of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) as private employers, except criminal penalties would not apply. Penalties would be assessed up to $10,000 a violation and $1,000 per day for failure to correct a violation.

The USPS was not included in the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (PL 91-596), but 1975 amendments (PL 94-82) authorized the postmaster general to set up his own safety program. OSHA representatives could inspect postal facilities, but only after receiving USPS permission. *(Background, Congress and the Nation Vol. III, p. 713)*

"The Postal Service has established a pattern of disregarding, neglecting and minimizing allegations of unsafe working conditions," charged William Clay, D-Mo., a supporter of the bill.

HR 826 was reported (H Rept 96-487) by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee Sept. 28. ▮

Small Newspaper Postage

Small-circulation newspapers and magazines would save millions in mailing costs under legislation approved by the Senate Oct. 30.

The postal rate relief came as a floor amendment by Jennings Randolph, D-W.Va., to a mailing discount bill (S 1110 — S Rept 96-282) that was originally designed to help children's magazines.

Randolph's amendment and the bill were passed by voice votes. In the House, the bill was referred to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee Oct. 31.

Under Randolph's amendment, the first 250,000 copies that small newspapers and magazines mailed would be eligible for lower second-class rates, pruning an estimated $12 million to $16.5 million from their postal costs yearly.

The discount would reduce postage from 7 cents to 5.4 cents per copy. Most small publications had circulations of less than 250,000 copies.

The amendment would extend to the small publications a discount already given to larger periodicals that presorted their mail by delivery route before sending it out. Most small publications could not take advantage of the pre-sort discount because they did not mail enough copies to the same delivery routes to be eligible.

Randolph said his amendment would apply "to the small weekly and daily newspapers . . . [and] the small magazine journals of opinion, such as the *New Republic, Commonweal, Nation, Atlantic* and *Harper's*."

"These publications are the pamphleteers of the print media," he added.

S 1110 also would give advertising-free children's magazines a special discount granted to publications that were mailed to the classroom. This would cost the Postal Service an estimated $3 million yearly.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 1110:

- Extended the classroom postal rate to children's magazines designed for ages 14 and younger as supplemental educational material, containing no advertising and sent to a child's home, effective in fiscal 1981.
- Allowed small newspapers and magazines beginning in fiscal 1981 to take advantage of reduced mailing rates for the first 250,000 copies mailed per edition. ▮

SBA Authorization

House and Senate conferees reached agreement in December on a bill (S 918) to extend Small Business Administration (SBA) programs through fiscal 1982 and increase some federal subsidies for disaster aid.

Action on S 918 had been held up for six months by a conference deadlock over government disaster loans to farmers.

The House agreed to the conference report by voice vote Dec. 19, but the Senate quit work for the year without acting on the matter.

Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, the Senate Budget Committee chairman, indicated he would oppose the conference agreement when it was considered by the Senate in 1980.

In a letter to Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., Muskie objected to a conference action eliminating a provision that would have required the SBA to pay the Treasury Department the difference between the lower interest charged SBA borrowers and the higher interest charged the government when it borrowed the money.

Congress cleared a bill (HR 11445) in 1978 to reauthorize SBA programs, but it was pocket-vetoed by President Carter. That legislation would have authorized more than $2 billion in excess of the administration's budget projections through fiscal 1982. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 485)*

Conference Action

Conferees reached agreement on the terms of farm disaster loans — the major point of disagreement — the week of Dec. 10 and a conference report was filed in the House Dec. 13 (H Rept 96-705).

Under the agreement, the SBA would make fewer loans to small-scale farming operations hit by natural disasters. Instead, most farmers would be required first to seek aid through the Farmers Home Administration's (FmHA) emergency loan program.

S 918 also would lower interest rates for disaster loans to homeowners and businesses unable to get non-federal assistance — thus requiring the government to provide greater loan subsidies for these borrowers. The SBA rates already had been lowered in practice, under authority provided by the fiscal 1979 supplemental appropriation bill enacted in July (PL 96-38), but S 918 would reflect the

changes in the Small Business Act (PL 85-536). *(PL 96-38, p. 193; PL 85-536, Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 369)*

Farmers' Loans

Following enactment of a 1976 law (PL 94-305) that made agricultural enterprises eligible for SBA assistance, farmers practically flooded the agency with requests for disaster loans because SBA loan terms were more favorable than FmHA's. *(Background, 1976 Almanac p. 89)*

The administration wanted to reverse this pattern, claiming that it was more appropriate for farmers to go to FmHA for help, since the agency had more experience than SBA in farm assistance.

But farmers and their allies on Capitol Hill were not convinced. Bob Bor, chief counsel of the House Agriculture Committee, said members were cautious because they feared some farmers might be left without a source of aid in the switch back to FmHA as the primary loan agency.

Action on an earlier, tentative conference agreement June 12 became stalled after House Agriculture Committee conferees — concerned over farmers' disaster loans — refused to sign the conference report.

As passed by the House and Senate, S 918 contained provisions to make the interest rates for SBA and FmHA business disaster loans the same. Neither bill included any attempt to alter other loan terms such as the time for repayment, which also differed between the two lenders.

Conferees had tentatively agreed June 12 that the interest rates would be determined on the basis of an administration-backed two-tier system. Borrowers unable to get private loans would pay 5 percent interest on disaster loans from either agency.

Conferees also agreed that businesses able to obtain credit elsewhere could receive government loans at a higher interest rate — the cost-of-money to the government, as computed by FmHA — plus an optional 1 percent that the SBA or FmHA could add to cover administrative costs.

A House-passed provision required farmers first to request, and be denied, FmHA assistance before they could seek SBA aid.

Under the June 12 language, a farmer would have been obligated to go first to FmHA only if it offered loan *terms* that were "substantially similar" to those set by SBA.

Some differences in terms — such as length of repayment or eligibility standards — could make SBA loans more appealing, according to opponents of the language. The result, they charged, would be that farmers would continue to flock to SBA.

The deadlock lasted for months. Finally in December conferees agreed to language based on loan interest *rates* rather than loan *terms*. Under the agreement, where interest rates of the two agencies were "substantially similar," most farmers would be required first to seek, and be denied, FmHA disaster aid before they would be eligible for SBA assistance.

The agreement provided, and the administration pledged, that SBA and FmHA interest rates on disaster loans would be the same at both agencies.

Other Provisions

The conference agreement on S 918 also would:

- Authorize $952 million for SBA programs and expenditures for fiscal 1980, $1.2 billion for 1981, and $1.4 billion for 1982.
- Set program levels, for the direct loan program, of $484 million for fiscal 1980, $528 million for 1981 and $579 million for 1982; and for the guaranteed loan program, $4.1 billion for fiscal 1980, $4.5 billion for 1981 and $4.9 billion for 1982.
- Lower disaster loan rates from the government's cost-of-borrowing to 3 percent for homeowners unable to get credit elsewhere for the first $55,000 borrowed.
- Lower disaster loan rates from the government's cost-of-borrowing to 5 percent for businesses unable to get credit elsewhere.
- Impose a $500,000 ceiling on the total amount that could be committed to any single borrower unless an applicant constituted a major source of employment in an area suffering a disaster and had ceased operations because of the disaster, and made clear that the ceiling was applicable for each disaster.
- Provide that the revised interest rates be applied retroactively for disasters occurring on or after Oct. 1, 1978 (the beginning of fiscal 1979), and be effective until Oct. 1, 1982.
- Authorize $12 million in matching grants for Small Business Development Centers in fiscal 1980, and $20 million for 1981.

Senate Action

The Senate Small Business Committee reported S 918 (S Rept 96-125) by voice vote on May 8.

The Senate passed S 918 by voice vote May 16 after a move to reduce interest rates for disaster loans was rejected.

Thad Cochran, R-Miss., offered an amendment to lower interest rates for homeowners to 1 percent on the first $10,000 borrowed, 3 percent on the next $30,000, and the government's average cost-of-borrowing on amounts above $40,000. His amendment was killed 46-38 on a motion to table. *(Vote 100, p. 19-S)*

The Senate adopted the following amendments on voice votes to:

- Prohibit the SBA from reclaiming federal disaster assistance loans if a borrower had received a similar loan from the state, by John Heinz, R-Pa.
- Provide the SBA with $200,000 to acquire information on the effectiveness of the agency's timber set-aside program in the forest industry, by Max Baucus, D-Mont.
- Add $25 million for aid to minority-owned businesses, by Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky.

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 918:

- Authorized $677 million for SBA programs and expenditures for fiscal 1980 and $850 million in 1981.
- Established program levels, for the direct loan program, $297 million for fiscal 1980, and $322 million for 1981; and for the guaranteed loan program, $5.6 billion for fiscal 1980, and $6.1 billion for 1981.
- Set the interest rate for disaster loans to homeowners at 3 percent on the first $55,000 borrowed, and on all amounts over $55,0000, at a rate equal to the government's current cost-of-borrowing.
- Made available to businesses unable to obtain credit elsewhere, disaster loans from the FmHA and the SBA at 5 percent on all amounts. Businesses able to obtain credit from private sources could borrow at the government's cost-of-borrowing.
- Required the SBA and FmHA to review loans to borrowers able to obtain credit elsewhere after 5 years. If the borrower could obtain a loan from private sources after this

period, the SBA must direct the borrower to do so and pay the balance of the federal loan. The House bill required this after two years.

• Set a $350,000 ceiling on direct loans, and required the SBA to terminate the guaranteed loan program on Oct. 1, 1981. The agency would have to transfer its loan processing under the guarantee program to banks in the private sector.

• Authorized $8.5 million for the small business development center pilot program for fiscal 1980, and $18.6 million for 1981.

House Action

A bill (HR 90) to extend small business loan programs and increase federal subsidies for disaster assistance loans was ordered reported by the House Small Business Committee March 1. A report (H Rept 96-29) was filed March 5.

As reported, the bill was similar to legislation pocket-vetoed by the president in 1978.

The bill was ordered reported by a 25-2 vote with only J. William Stanton, R-Ohio, and Berkley Bedell, D-Iowa, voting against the measure. Stanton voted by proxy.

HR 90 was laid on the table by the House May 22 and a compromise bill (HR 4011) that had been brought directly to the House floor was passed, 398-5. *(Vote 149, p. 48-H)*

HR 4011 was similar to HR 90, but the later bill contained a number of provisions that were strongly opposed by the Carter administration. Neal Smith, D-Iowa, chairman of the Small Business panel, and others, prepared the compromise measure.

Immediately following House passage of HR 4011, the action was vacated and the House passed S 918, amended to include the text of the House bill.

In the House, attention focused on disaster loans to farmers. Under the compromise, agricultural enterprises could apply for SBA disaster loans only if they had first applied for such loans from the Farmers Home Administration and been found ineligible or denied a loan. Identical interest rates would be offered by the SBA and the FmHA.

The Senate earlier had adopted an identical provision.

Even with the lower interest rates in the compromise, some members argued that Congress should give to recent flood, fire and tornado victims throughout the country 1 percent loans — the same rate as that charged on money borrowed by foreign countries.

Jon C. Hinson, R-Miss., offered an amendment to provide homeowner loans at 1 percent on the first $10,000 borrowed, and 3 percent on amounts above $10,000 to $55,000. Hinson cited recent extensive flood damage to his district, but the House rejected his amendment, 174-232. *(Vote 148, p. 48-H)*

Other amendments rejected were:

• By Dan Marriott, R-Utah, to limit applications for the Small Business Development Center pilot program to states or state agencies, and to require existing centers to refer applicants to private consultants. Rejected, 192-216. *(Vote 147, p. 48-H)*

• By James M. Hanley, D-N.Y., to delete authority to reimburse participants at a White House Conference for Small Business and other provisions he said duplicated an executive order on the conference. Standing vote, 40-48.

By voice vote, the House adopted an amendment by Smith to waive the $500,000 limit on loans to businesses if the firm were a major source of employment in the area and had been essentially destroyed.

As passed by the House, S 918 (HR 4011):

• Authorized $1.6 billion for SBA programs and expenditures in fiscal 1980, $1.8 billion in 1981 and $1.9 billion in 1982.

• Set program levels for the direct loan program of $695 million for fiscal 1980, $764 million for 1981 and $840 million for 1982; and for the guaranteed loan program, $4.1 billion for fiscal 1980, $4.5 billion for 1981 and $5 billion for 1982.

• Lowered disaster loan rates for individuals from the government's average cost-of-borrowing to 3 percent for home and personal property damage on the first $55,000 borrowed. Loan rates for businesses unable to obtain credit from private sources would be lowered from the average cost-of-borrowing to 5 percent on amounts up to $500,000 from the SBA or the FmHA.

For businesses able to obtain credit elsewhere, loans would be made at a ceiling rate equivalent to the current cost-of-money to the government plus 1 percent on amounts up to $500,000. An exception to the $500,000 limit could be made by the SBA if the firm were a major employer that had been essentially destroyed.

• Applied the lower interest rates retroactively to loans for disasters that occurred on or after Oct. 1, 1978.

• Equalized interest rates between the SBA and FmHA business disaster assistance loan programs. Farmers would be required to apply for and be turned down for a loan by the FmHA before applying to the SBA.

• Authorized $18.7 million to extend through fiscal 1980 the small business development center program. ▮

Silver Dollar Sale Approved

Legislation authorizing the General Services Administration (GSA) to sell nearly one million rare silver coins was signed by President Carter March 7.

The bill (HR 1902 — PL 96-2) permitted the sale of 977,589 silver dollars produced in the 1880s at the Carson City, Nev., mint. Three million coins were originally discovered during a 1964 audit.

In 1970, Congress authorized the GSA to sell the silver dollars. About two million of the coins were sold between 1972 and 1974, when sales were halted because of cumbersome sales procedures and a saturation of the coins in the market. *(1970 Almanac p. 874)*

PL 96-2 authorized the GSA administrator to set the terms and prices for sale of the remaining coins.

A similar bill, which cleared Congress late in the 1978 session, was vetoed by President Carter because it included a controversial amendment dealing with textile tariffs. *(1978 Almanac p. 279)*

The House passed HR 1902 Feb. 13 by voice vote. The Senate passed the bill without amendment by voice vote Feb. 26. ▮

Hill Financial Disclosure

In separate actions, the House and Senate significantly trimmed back the financial disclosures that members of Congress and their top aides must make public every year.

The House changed its rules (H Res 5) on the first day of the 96th Congress with no debate and little public notice. The Senate changed its rules (S Res 220) Aug. 3 by a vote of 50-29. *(Vote 247, p. 42-S)*

In both instances, the House and Senate eliminated the generally tougher disclosure requirements in House and Senate rules and substituted for them the requirements of the 1978 Ethics in Government Act (PL 95-521). The law differed somewhat in its application to each chamber. The House rules change took effect in 1979; the Senate change was to take effect in 1980. *(Ethics law, story, this chapter and 1978 Almanac p. 835)*

Besides requiring less stringent disclosures, the Senate rules change eliminated audits of senators' disclosure statements by the General Accounting Office (GAO). The House rules had not called for GAO audits.

The net result of the changes in both the Senate and House was to make it more difficult for the public to determine their elected representatives' financial status and interests, including the value of their biggest assets, the detailed holdings of their spouses and dependents; the existence and value of their personal residences; their real estate dealings, and many details of their personal liabilities.

The change was the second made in the Senate ethics code since its adoption in April 1977. In March the Senate put off for four years a limitation on the amount of outside income a senator could earn. *(Details, see Senate income limitation story, this chapter)*

Senate Rules Changes

Senators and their aides were required for the first time in May 1979 to file disclosure forms that met the requirements of both Senate rule 42 governing financial disclosures and the 1978 Ethics Act. The forms filed at that time covered senators' 1978 financial activities.

Because of the subsequent rules change, senators would be able to file the less detailed reports beginning in May 1980. The reports due at that time would cover senators' 1979 financial activities.

The Senate did not wait until 1980 to stop the GAO from auditing senators' disclosure forms, however.

A Senate Select Ethics Committee aide told a reporter he already had notified the GAO that, in the opinion of the committee staff, the GAO now lacked authority to carry out such audits.

Under Senate rule 42, the audits were to have been conducted on a random basis, so that every senator was audited at least once each six-year term, and 5 percent of all staff forms were audited each year.

Under the new rule, senators would be subjected to an audit only if the Ethics Committee ordered one "for cause."

Only one disclosure form covering 1977 financial activities was brought to the attention of the Ethics Committee because of a GAO audit, according to an Ethics Committee aide. The aide would not identify whose form it was, or how many of the forms covering 1978 activities had been brought to the attention of the Ethics Committee.

A spokesman for Sen. Robert Morgan, D-N.C., sponsor of S Res 220, said the senator had never been audited by the GAO or the Ethics Committee.

The old rule also required senators to furnish the GAO with copies of their income tax returns to help with the audits. Following the rules change, senators would no longer be required to do that.

The GAO spent about $400,000 in 1978 advising senators on how to fill out their disclosure forms, receiving and storing Senate tax returns and conducting Senate audits, according to a GAO official.

Ethics Code Revisions

Two Senate committees urged the defeat of a proposal by Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., to substantially revise the Senate ethics code.

The proposed revisions were scheduled for a floor vote during 1980 under an agreement between Weicker and Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W. Va.

The Weicker proposal (S Res 109) would substitute comprehensive financial disclosure for the limited disclosure and express restrictions and prohibitions required by the existing ethics code. It also would transfer most ethics code enforcement and investigative functions from the Senate Select Ethics Committee to the Rules Committee and require fewer Senate employees to disclose information about their finances.

The Senate Aug. 3 had instructed its Rules and Governmental Affairs committees to consider the Weicker resolution when it voted to trim back its financial disclosure requirements and drop random audits of senators' disclosure statements.

The two committees filed a joint report (S Rept 96-417) on the proposal Nov. 15 recommending that the resolution be defeated. The committees said the Weicker proposal was "directly contradictory" to the approach set out in existing Senate rules and would not necessarily improve the Senate's ethics procedures.

In a separate statement, Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., endorsed one provision of S Res 109 and said he would work for its approval.

The provision would permit the senatorial campaign committees and state and national political party committees to provide senators with money for official office expenses. An identical provision (S Res 25) was approved by the Ethics Committee in January.

Although revisions in the Senate's financial disclosure requirements had been under consideration by the Ethics Committee since March, the Aug. 3 change was approved by the Ethics Committee and by the full Senate with uncharacteristic speed and with little forewarning.

Morgan's proposal was one of several concerning financial disclosures pending before the committee. The Senate approved a study by the Ethics Committee of Morgan's proposal on March 28. At the same time, the Senate also approved a study of a second proposal (S Res 109) drafted by Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., calling for a comprehensive revision of the disclosure requirements.

The committee had discussed the disclosure requirements several times during the spring and early summer months, according to a staff aide. The aide said he had been asked to prepare a series of recommendations for the committee's consideration, based on the committee's discussions.

Committee, Floor Action

The committee repeatedly had been forced to put off consideration of the entire disclosure matter because of its time-consuming investigation of Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga. *(Talmadge story, this chapter)*

At the Ethics panel's Aug. 1 meeting, however, the committee — at Morgan's behest — took up S Res 220 and put off consideration of S Res 109 and the staff-drafted revisions in the disclosure requirements.

Then the panel voted 5-1 to adopt Morgan's proposal. The only Ethics panel member voting against it was Sen. Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, R-N.M., who argued that the committee's consideration of the Morgan proposal was "premature" and that the audits should be continued. A committee report (S Rept 96-295) was filed Aug. 1.

The Senate took up and passed S Res 220 Aug. 3 only a few hours before it recessed until Sept. 5.

At the same time as it approved S Res 220, the Senate asked the Governmental Affairs and Rules committees to consider S Res 109 and report it back to the Senate floor by Nov. 16. *(Weicker proposal, see box, previous page)*

Provisions

The effect of the Morgan resolution was to weaken most existing disclosure requirements by eliminating those set out in Senate rule 42 and substituting for them the generally less stringent requirements of the 1978 Ethics in Government Act.

Disclosure Coverage. Perhaps the most important change made in the financial disclosure rules was the number of Senate employees that would be required to file annual disclosure forms.

Under Senate rule 42, about 1,600 top Senate employees — all those employed over 90 days and earning more than $25,000 a year — were required to file. Under the 1978 ethics law, only about 330 of the very highest paid Senate employees would have to file: those earning $44,756 a year or more, or a senator's top aide, if none are paid that much.

Auditing. Another important difference concerned auditing of the disclosure forms after they were filed. Under the Senate rule, audits were mandatory. Every senator would be audited at least once each term, and 5 percent of all staff forms would be audited each year. Under the 1978 ethics law, no audits were required. Instead, a study of whether the forms would be audited was to be completed by the General Accounting Office by Nov. 30, 1980.

Spouses, Dependents Holdings. Under the Senate rule, the holdings of senators, their spouses and dependents were to be disclosed according to categories of value up to "over $5 million." Under the law, however, the highest category of value was "in excess of $250,000."

Income Tax Returns. Under the Senate rule, senators and aides were required to file copies of their income tax returns, which were kept sealed at the General Accounting Office. Under the law, no filing of income tax returns was required.

Personal Residence. Under the rule, all real estate worth more than $1,000 had to be disclosed. Under the law, the existence and value of personal residences did not have to be disclosed.

Real Estate Transactions. Under the rule, all real estate transactions exceeding $1,000 in value had to be disclosed. Under the law, real estate deals were not required to be reported.

Liabilities. Under the rule, every liability over $2,500 had to be disclosed. Under the law, only liabilities of over $10,000 had to be reported; further, a senator or aide did not have to disclose the existence or details of a mortgage for a personal residence or of a personal loan for a car, household furniture or appliances.

Weaker Provisions. Although in most ways Senate rule 42 was tougher than the 1978 ethics law, in some ways it was weaker. The law, for example, provided for a civil penalty of up to $5,000 for failure to file or falsifying a disclosure form. Violation of a Senate rule usually brought only penalties the Senate normally would impose, such as censure.

1979 House Changes

The House acted to make its disclosure rules conform with the 1978 ethics law on Jan. 15, the first day of the 96th Congress. The new rules were approved by voice vote with little public notice as part of a package of changes proposed by the Democratic Caucus in December 1978.

The House rules change also significantly weakened that body's disclosure requirements, particularly in the number of House employees that were required to file. Under its rule 44, adopted in 1977, a member's "principal assistant" — designated by each member — and all professional committee staff members had been required to file annual disclosure forms. Under the 1978 law, however, disclosures were required only from principal assistants and other aides earning $44,756 a year or more.

The House clerk's office estimated that, in a typical year, only about 1,300 House employees would be required to file disclosure forms under the requirements of the 1978 ethics law; about 2,000 House employees had been required to file under the 1977 rule.

The 1977 House rule was stronger than the 1978 law in other respects, as well. For example, the rule had required disclosure of all income from any source, by specific amount. The law, on the other hand, permitted certain types of income (from dividends, interest, rent and capital gains) to be reported solely by category of value; the top category was "over $100,000."

The rule also had required disclosure of each liability of more than $2,500 outstanding at the end of the year, while the law required disclosure of all liabilites exceeding $10,000 incurred at any time during the year.

Although the rule had required disclosure of every savings account of more than $1,000, the law required disclosures of savings accounts only if their total deposits aggregated more than $5,000.

In other respects, however, because House rules were less stringent than their Senate counterparts, the effect of the January rules change was to strengthen rather than to weaken House members' required disclosures.

The 1978 act, for example, required representatives and their top aides to disclose any positions they held in any corporation or other institution while in office, and any agreement they might have with a past or future employer. Previous House rules did not require either type of disclosure.

House rules also did not address the question of disclosure of income from a blind trust, while the 1978 law defined a "qualified" trust and established disclosure guidelines for it. ▮

California's Wilson Charged

Rep. Charles H. Wilson, D-Calif., was charged by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct Dec. 13 with 15 violations of House rules.

The committee informed Wilson it had "reason to believe" Wilson had:

- Accepted cash gifts from an individual with a direct interest in legislation before Congress.

• Placed the same individual on his congressional payroll and paid him more than his duties required.

• Converted campaign funds to his personal use.

• Testified falsely under oath to a Standards Committee attorney.

Wilson faced a disciplinary proceeding on the charges during the second session of the 96th Congress. If found guilty, he faced expulsion, censure, reprimand, a fine or any other punishment as the House saw fit.

The California Democrat denied the charges and said he would remain a candidate for re-election in 1980.

The individual the committee said was placed on Wilson's payroll and who had kicked back money to the California Democrat was Lee Rogers, president of a Los Angeles mail order firm called the American Holiday Association.

House payroll records indicated Rogers was on Wilson's congressional office payroll from Aug. 1, 1971, through June 1974, and from January 1976 through December 1976. During that time, Rogers was paid $47,518.31, according to the records, which did not list a job title for him.

According to the Standards Committee, Wilson allegedly accepted $15,500 from Rogers during the period June 1971 to June 1973. During that entire period, Wilson was a member of the House Post Office Committee and chairman of a House Post Office subcommittee.

When asked what Rogers' duties were, Pamela M. Beer, Wilson's press secretary, commented: "I have no idea. I really do not." Rogers was not available for comment.

The committee alleged Wilson converted $28,961.11 in campaign funds to personal use during 1971, 1972 and 1974. Federal law permitted a member of Congress to convert campaign funds to personal use if the member paid income tax on them. House rules forbade such conversions, however.

Another of the charges alleged that Wilson testified falsely in April 1978 when he told a Standards Committee lawyer that funds he had transferred from his campaign account to his personal use "were intended to be reimbursements for expenses that I had put out during campaign time."

Wilson's difficulties with the Standards Committee reportedly came about when his finances were probed in 1978 as part of the committee's investigation of alleged South Korean influence peddling.

Wilson was reprimanded by the House in October 1978 after he first denied — and then acknowledged — he had received wedding gifts, including $600 in cash, from South Korean businessman Tongsun Park. *(1978 Almanac p. 803)*

Brooke Ethics Decision

Following a 10-month preliminary investigation, the Senate Select Committee on Ethics decided no Senate disciplinary action was warranted against former Sen. Edward W. Brooke, R-Mass. (1967-79).

In a report (S Rept 96-40) filed with the Senate March 21, the committee concluded there was "credible evidence" of wrongdoing on Brooke's part but that the violations were not sufficiently serious to continue the investigation or to warrant punishment by the Senate.

The committee's "initial review" had explored since June 1978 allegations that Brooke made false statements under oath, failed to list required information on his Senate financial disclosure statement, took improper deductions on his 1975 income tax return and used his official position to improperly obtain benefits for members of his family. *(1978 Almanac p. 858)*

The probe was begun after the *Boston Globe* reported discrepancies between the senator's financial disclosure report and sworn testimony he gave in a divorce proceeding.

The fact that the probe was not concluded before election day in 1978 was credited with contributing to Brooke's defeat by then-Rep. Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass.

In a statement, Brooke sharply criticized the committee probe. The panel, he said, had for the most part found nothing "more serious than poor recordkeeping."

Filibuster Rules Change

The Senate in early 1978 tightened its rules to prevent future use of the post-cloture filibuster tactic by a minority of members who want to kill a bill.

By a 78-16 vote Feb. 22, the Senate approved a resolution (S Res 61) guaranteeing that when three-fifths of the Senate had voted to invoke cloture (cut off debate) on a bill, a final vote on the bill must be taken after no more than 100 hours of debate. All time spent on quorum calls, roll-call votes and other parliamentary procedures would be counted in computing the 100-hour limit. *(Vote 6, p. 2-S)*

The vote came almost six weeks after Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., first brought a more ambitious proposal (S Res 9) to the Senate floor.

The 100-hour limit — the first major proposal approved by the Senate in 1979 — will curtail a tactic used by both conservatives and liberals to delay or threaten several major bills in recent years.

But despite its potentially far-reaching effect on controversial legislation, the often desultory debate on post-cloture limits drew few senators and little public attention during the weeks it occupied the Senate.

Much of the discussion of filibuster changes took place behind the scenes, with just a handful of Republicans and Democrats working on the issue.

Republicans drafted a substitute approach, which would have put new restrictions on post-cloture debate without setting an overall time limit. The substitute was defeated on a straight party-line vote Feb. 22. *(Vote 5, p. 2-S)*

After that loss, most Republicans supported Byrd's plan. Among those who voted against the final resolution were several conservative Republicans who had threatened to conduct post-cloture filibusters in the 95th Congress.

Cap Was Key Reform

The 100-hour cap on post-cloture debate was the most important change Byrd sought in the filibuster rules.

The Senate rejected a provision to permit as few as 30 hours. That limit would have been significant primarily at the end of a session when time for debate ran short.

Supporters said the final resolution still would prevent the emotional, divisive kind of filibuster conducted against

a natural gas pricing bill in 1977 and threatened on other bills since then.

"This takes away a chunk of the psychology of obstructionism," said Fred Wertheimer, vice president of Common Cause, whose group lobbied for the post-cloture limit.

The 100-hour limit was only one of seven changes in Byrd's original proposal. However, as soon as S Res 9 was unveiled Jan. 15, Republicans indicated that post-cloture debate limits were likely to be the only part of the proposal they were willing to discuss.

Byrd agreed Feb. 7 to split off the post-cloture time limit from his other proposals, but he indicated he would pursue the rest of S Res 9 later. However, Byrd told Republicans that if they allowed action on the scaled-down proposal, S Res 61, he would not try to push through his other rules changes by majority vote.

That promise was important to Republicans, who wanted to avoid a confrontation on the issue of whether Byrd could cut off a filibuster against rules changes by majority vote at the beginning of a Congress. Byrd had threatened to use majority cloture to pass S Res 9 when it was first introduced.

James A. McClure, R-Idaho, one of 15 Republicans who voted against S Res 61, said opponents of the change did not try to block it by filibuster partly because of Byrd's promise not to seek other changes by majority vote. Once S Res 61 was approved, Byrd adjourned the Senate, a parliamentary move which meant that any filibuster on other proposed rules changes during the 96th Congress could be stopped only by a two-thirds cloture vote.

In addition, said McClure, "It [was] obvious that Senator Byrd has been able to maintain strict party discipline" in voting on the issue.

New Filibuster Technique

Senate Rule 22, governing filibusters, already permitted each member just one hour to talk on a bill after cloture. For years, that limit was enough to restrain debate because the minority conducting a filibuster acknowledged defeat once cloture was invoked.

But the hour-per-senator limit was nullified in 1976 when James B. Allen, D-Ala. (1969-78), began using parliamentary tactics to eat up far more time than his one-hour allotment. *(1978 Almanac p. 3)*

Allen, often dubbed a parliamentary wizard by his contemporaries, managed to win compromises by continuing to filibuster after cloture with such parliamentary maneuvers as demanding quorum calls and roll-call votes on dozens of amendments. The time consumed in calling the roll did not count against Allen's one-hour limit.

Byrd first sought to end those tactics in early 1977, but wasn't successful. *(1977 Almanac p. 812)*

A few months later, filibuster history entered a new era when Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, and James Abourezk, D-S.D. (1971-79), used Allen's techniques to block a vote on a natural gas pricing bill.

Although the Senate voted 77-17 to invoke cloture, the two Democrats managed to tie up debate for nine more days. Byrd's maneuvering to cut them off provoked an emotional fight on the floor. *(1977 Almanac p. 735)*

Many members, recalling the fiasco of the natural gas debate, became worried by the increasing number of threatened filibusters against bills in 1978.

Many of the threats came from conservative Republicans who found they could delay bills and win compromises by introducing hundreds of amendments and implying each would be called up even if cloture were invoked.

In the final weeks of the 95th Congress, Byrd made no secret of his frustration in trying to out-maneuver would-be filibusterers. Byrd railed against a new "mind set" that he said had made obstructionism by a minority dangerously popular. That new mood of militant obstructionism helped Byrd win support for post-cloture limits in 1979.

Byrd Proposal

Byrd offered his package of proposed filibuster changes (S Res 9) Jan. 15. Most of Byrd's proposals were aimed at limiting dilatory tactics used to delay a final vote on a bill even after three-fifths of the Senate had voted to invoke cloture. However, S Res 9 also included pre-cloture debate limits.

In addition to limiting post-cloture debate to 100 hours, other changes in the Byrd package would:

- Limit debate on a motion to bring up a bill to 30 minutes. Existing rules permitted a filibuster on a motion to proceed to a bill unless the motion was made during the morning hour. The proposed change would require a vote after half an hour of debate.
- Allowed three-fifths of the Senate to vote to cut off consideration of non-germane amendments to a bill. There was no provision for cutting off such amendments under existing rules.
- Permitted a cloture motion filed after Sept. 1 to be brought up immediately and voted on after three hours of debate. Under existing rules, a cloture motion filed any time during the year could not be voted on until two days after it was filed.

Minority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., immediately named an ad hoc committee to study Byrd's proposals. Byrd subsequently named a Democratic ad hoc committee, led by Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., to negotiate with the Republicans.

The Debate

For the next three weeks, Byrd kept the Senate meeting most days on his proposals. However, repeated attempts to reach an agreement to end debate and vote on his proposals failed. Debate finally began in earnest after Byrd agreed Feb. 7 to bring up the post-cloture change by itself, breaking it out into a separate resolution (S Res 61).

But after Feb. 9, the Senate was interrupted for a week and a half by a Washington's birthday recess and a crippling snowstorm that kept many senators from getting back to the capital.

When debate resumed Feb. 21, Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, offered the Republican substitute.

Under that proposal, every member would have been entitled to one hour of debate after cloture but any time taken up by quorum calls or roll-call votes requested by a member would be charged to his or her time. The substitute allowed a senator to yield an hour to another senator, but no member could get more than 10 hours for debate.

Stevens' proposal didn't contain an overall cap on post-cloture debate, although he argued it effectively would limit debate to 100 hours. But Byrd charged that without an absolute limit, senators would find ways to string out debate after cloture.

Byrd's proposal did not charge individual members for time spent on roll calls or quorum calls, but it did count that time in computing the 100-hour limit.

Republicans objected to that approach, saying it would permit one member — employing the techniques developed by Allen — to use up the entire 100-hour period. They argued that each member should be guaranteed the opportunity to debate and offer amendments.

"We are looking to protect individual senators' rights while at the same time agreeing to a 100-hour cap," Stevens said. Byrd said S Res 61 did guarantee each member an opportunity to debate after cloture.

The proposal required that before any one senator could offer more than two amendments, all other senators must be given an opportunity to offer amendments. "I cannot envision there ever coming a time when senators are going to use up all the cap and a senator is going to be denied the opportunity to obtain recognition in order to call up an amendment," said Byrd.

Even after the 100 hours, a senator who had not spoken on the bill was guaranteed 10 minutes to talk, Byrd pointed out. But Republicans said that wasn't enough, because a senator couldn't offer an amendment during the 10 minutes.

The vote on the substitute was postponed until Feb. 22, when a Byrd motion to table Stevens' proposal was approved 51-38. Both Democrats and Republicans held ranks in the voting, although Robert Morgan, D-N.C., originally voted on Stevens' side until Byrd had an earnest discussion with him on the Senate floor. When asked later why he switched his vote to Byrd's side, Morgan said he did not want to talk about the vote. *(Vote 1, p. 2-S)*

Another Stevens amendment, to delete a provision allowing 60 senators to vote a reduction of the debate cap to 30 hours, was approved 92-2 after Byrd said he would support the change. The resolution still permitted 60 senators to vote to increase the 100-hour cap. *(Vote 3, p. 2-S)*

Other amendments tabled by the Senate were:

- A Stevens proposal to allow senators to transfer their post-cloture debate time to any member, which would allow some members up to three hours of debate time. Tabled, 51-43. *(Vote 4, p. 2-S)*

- A proposal by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to limit post-cloture Senate sessions to no more than eight hours each calendar day. Tabled, 52-39. *(Vote 2, p. 2-S)*

Provisions

As approved by the Senate Feb. 22, S Res 61:

- Required that after the Senate voted to invoke cloture on a measure, a final vote must occur after no more than 100 hours of post-cloture debate.

- Provided that if the 100-hour limit ran out, senators who had not used at least 10 minutes of their time were each guaranteed 10 minutes to speak on the issue.

- Permitted the Senate by a three-fifths majority vote to increase post-cloture debate time beyond 100 hours. Specified that any extended time agreed on would be divided equally between the majority and minority. Specified that a motion to extend the time was not debatable.

- Provided that if a bill were reprinted after cloture was invoked, amendments that were in order to the original version would continue to be in order.

- Prohibited any senator from calling up more than two amendments until every senator had a chance to call up an amendment.

- Permitted a senator to yield all or part of his or her hour of debate to the majority or minority floor managers of the bill or to the majority or minority leaders.

- Prohibited floor managers or party leaders from having over two hours of time yielded to each of them.

- Permitted waiver of the reading of any amendment after cloture if it were available to members in printed form 24 hours in advance.

- Required that, in order to be eligible for consideration after cloture, all amendments in the first degree must be submitted by 1 p.m. the day after filing of a cloture petition, and amendments in the second degree must be submitted at least one hour prior to the start of the vote on cloture. ▮

House Committee Changes

The House in 1979 approved a new attempt to reorganize its committee structure and jurisdictions.

From the start, however, there were indications that revisions would not come about easily.

The most controversial reorganization proposal to emerge from the reorganization effort — a plan to create a new standing committee on energy — had gone nowhere by year's end and faced rough sledding in 1980.

Incumbent Chairmen Opposed

The House approved a resolution (H Res 118) creating a Select Committee on Committees March 20, but by only eight votes, 208-200. *(Vote 39, p. 16-H)*

The vote to approve the new committee study was along party lines, but a number of liberal Democrats and eight House committee chairmen joined most Republicans in opposition. The opposition of chairmen was expected because reorganization could encroach on their committees' powers.

After the vote to create the new committee, third-term Jerry Patterson, D-Calif., was appointed chairman of the new 15-member panel.

The committee was given until Feb. 1, 1980, to issue its final report. It was to expire at the end of April 1980. In early 1980, that deadline was extended to April 1.

The panel was given the power to make recommendations on committee structure, jurisdiction, rules, procedures, staffing and facilities and on media coverage of meetings. The committee also was empowered to make recommendations concerning the optimum size of committees, the appropriate number of committee and subcommittee assignments per member and the number and jurisdiction of the House committees' subcommittees. However, these recommendations were to go to the Democratic Caucus and Republican Conference rather than to the House floor.

In floor debate March 19, opponents said reorganization should be handled by the Rules Committee rather than a new panel. But Rules members said they were too busy. Opponents also said the select committee's two-to-one ratio of Democrats to Republicans would make the reorganization effort partisan.

Reorganization Background

The vote marked the fourth time in about a decade that the House had attempted to reorganize its committee structure.

The existing committee structure resulted largely from the Legislative Reorganization Effort of 1946, the first full-scale effort to "modernize" the entire House committee system. That reorganization combined 48 existing committees into 19, clarified their jurisdictions and made significant changes in their powers, responsibilities and procedures.

The number of standing committees was increased to 22 when the House created the Science and Astronautics Committee in 1958, the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct in 1967 and the Budget Committee in 1974.

A 1979 House reform effort produced few changes in House committee jurisdiction but resulted in significant changes in committee procedures. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. III, p. 382)*

A second House-sanctioned effort, in 1973-74, produced a far-reaching committee reorganization plan that was rejected in favor of a much weaker proposal. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. IV, p. 761)*

Following the House's failure to accomplish a major reorganization in 1974, the Commission on Administrative Review, chaired by David R. Obey, D-Wis., proposed a package of House administrative and structural changes in 1977, including creation of a new select committee on committees. The House, however, defeated the package of changes in October of that year. *(1977 Almanac p. 792)*

The Republican Conference and Democratic Caucus voted in January 1979 to ask the House Rules Committee to send to the floor a resolution establishing a new Select Committee on Committees.

Cubbyholes Blocked

The committee in its first months met with some successes. It also had its share of setbacks, however.

The committee's first proposal was blocked almost immediately by a House vote. This was a plan by Chairman Patterson to build a cluster of cubbyholes, telephone booths and desks in an unused balcony above the Capitol Building's Statuary Hall. The additional space was intended to enable members to get some work done when legislative business on the House floor kept them from returning to their offices, located a few blocks away. The proposal, estimated to cost $129,000, was to have been paid for with funds from the House contingent fund. It was approved by the select committee by the narrow margin of 6-5.

The idea died when the House Sept. 19 adopted an amendment by Dan Lungren, R-Calif., to a fiscal 1980 continuing appropriations bill (H J Res 399) prohibiting use of any federal funds for remodeling Statuary Hall "or any other structure constituting additional office or work space for members of Congress." *(Vote 438, p. 128-H)*

"This proposal," Lungren said, "is not a good sign that the Select Committee will get down to the substantive work of reforming the House. Instead it seems bent on giving members a little present for the coming holiday season."

Committee Scheduling

Another Select Committee proposal was a plan to cut down on committee scheduling conflicts. The committee proposed specifying different days of the week on which major and minor committees could conduct committee business.

The plan (H Res 404 — H Rept 96-426, parts 1, 2) was unanimously approved by the Select Committee, and reported by the Rules Committee Sept. 25, but it never came to a floor vote during 1979.

Some members opposed the proposal because they maintained it would slow committee work and not speed the House overall. Several committee chairmen saw the proposal as robbing them of the right to run their committees as they wanted. Five Rules Committee Republicans urged their colleagues to limit the proposal to a short test.

Reducing Subcommittees

A third Select Committee proposal was given better odds for survival. The proposal limited each House member to a maximum of five subcommittee assignments, and would — on a phased-in basis — limit each House standing committee, except Appropriations, to a total of six subcommittees.

Following unanimous approval by the Select Committee, the proposal was referred to the party caucuses, which were responsible for doling out committee assignments. The plan was almost immediately approved by the Republican Conference, and the Republican Policy Committee then recommended that it be incorporated into House rules, as well. At the end of 1979, neither the House nor the Democratic Caucus had taken any action on the proposal.

No existing House rule limited members' subcommittee assignments, although a rule of the Democratic Caucus limited each House Democrat to five. The Select Committee staff calculated that 68 Democrats and 23 Republicans would lose one or more subcommittee posts under the plan.

There also was no existing rule on the number of subcommittees a committee could have. The committee said 13 House committees would lose a total of 26 subcommittees under the proposed limit. *(Committee list, p. 63)*

Energy Jurisdiction Shift

By far, the committee's most controversial proposal was a plan to untangle the overlapping and intertwining jurisdictions over energy legislation.

A proposal to create a new standing committee on energy was approved Dec. 20. At the close of 1979, the proposal was pending before the House Rules Committee.

The Democratic Caucus at a meeting on Jan. 23, 1980, voted to direct the Rules Committee to delay action on bringing the proposal to the floor until the caucus could study it further.

Under the Select Committee plan, the new committee was to have only slightly more jurisdiction over energy matters than the existing House Commerce Committee's Energy Subcommittee, chaired by John D. Dingell, D-Mich. The powers of this subcommittee were to go to the new committee. As a concession to environmentalists, the proposal required that all bills approved by the new committee be reviewed for their environmental impact by at least one other House committee.

However, the plan did not consolidate all energy powers in one place, as Senate reformers accomplished in a 1977 revamping of that chamber's committee jurisdictions. The House plan gave some additional authority to the Interior Committee and left the energy powers of the Science and Technology Committee untouched.

Tortuous Path

Patterson predicted the energy consolidation would pass only if its balance between energy development and environmental protection could be preserved on the floor. This could occur only if members were able to "rise above" their own desire to preserve existing jurisdictional lines and

resist the temptation to offer diluting amendments on the floor, Patterson said.

However, the difficulties the proposal encountered in the Select Committee hinted at the difficulties the proposal might encounter when taken up on the floor.

The restructuring went through 14 drafts before being introduced in committee Dec. 18. After members raised questions, it went through another draft that evening.

During committee markup the next day, the proposal was so altered by members' amendments that Patterson was moved to call it "a turkey" and urged its defeat by the committee.

Following an evening of frantic negotiation and a series of phone calls to committee members by House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., the committee Dec. 20 reversed itself on a key vote that had been taken the day before, satisfying Patterson's objections. The committee then voted 11-4 to order the unnumbered resolution reported.

Preserving Select Committees

On a related matter, the House met with only partial success in a 1979 attempt to trim back the number of House select committees. It ended up the year extending the life of two "temporary" panels and killing two others.

The House voted 187-214 March 21 to kill off the Select Committee on Population when it rejected an extension resolution (H Res 38). *(Vote 45, p. 16-H)*

Six days later, the House Rules Committee killed 5-10 a resolution to make the House Select Committee on Congressional Operations into a permanent committee. The committee operated a congressional placement office, edited a publication entitled "Staff Magazine" and monitored court proceedings affecting Congress.

On the other hand, a two-year extension of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse (H Res 13) was approved by the House March 21 by a vote of 338-75. *(Vote 44, p. 16-H)*

On March 29, the House voted 194-172 to extend the life of its Ad Hoc Select Committee on the Outer Continental Shelf for an additional year. *(Vote 62, p. 22-H)*

The panel was created in 1975 to write legislation regulating offshore oil drilling. Chairman John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., argued the committee should be extended to ensure adequate oversight of the new law. He promised the panel would work to accelerate the production of offshore oil and gas. A number of oil companies lobbied for the panel's extension. ▮

Congressional Perks

The House increased its members' expense allowances and raised its ceiling on the number of staff aides that could be put on a member's payroll during 1979.

The Senate, on the other hand, moved to tighten its control of senators' reimbursements for official expenses in the wake of a Senate Select Ethics Committee investigation of Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga.

Extra Staff

Acting without advance notice, the House July 20 approved a rules change (H Res 359) permitting members to add up to four additional employees to their payrolls. The House approved the resolution 214-120. Joining the 180 Democrats who voted for the resolution were 34 Republicans. *(Vote 335, p. 98-H)*

The resolution, drafted by Majority Whip John Brademas, D-Ind., was reported (H Rept 96-352) by the House Administration Committee July 19. Brademas also was chairman of the Administration Committee's Subcommittee on Accounts.

Under existing rules, a House member was permitted to hire a maximum of 18 "clerks" for his or her personal staff. The resolution permitted members to add up to four more staffers — without counting them toward the ceiling of 18 — if their job fit into one of five specified categories.

Brademas said both Democrats and Republicans had urged "a greater degree of flexibility" with their clerk-hire allowance.

Under the resolution, an employee did not count toward the 18-clerk ceiling if the employee was:

- A part-time employee, defined as one paid $750 per month or less.
- A "shared" employee, an employee who was on the payroll of two or more members simultaneously.
- An intern in the member's Washington office, defined as an employee hired for up to 120 days a year and paid less than $7,800 on an annual basis.
- A person who replaced an employee on leave without pay.
- A temporary employee, defined as a staff member hired for three months or less and assigned to a specific task or purpose.

The rules change didn't cost taxpayers anything because the resolution passed by the House provided members no additional money for their clerk-hire allowance.

House Allowance Increase

Once more acting with virtually no public notice, the House Administration Committee Oct. 25 quietly approved an increase in House members' expense allowances. The total cost to taxpayers of the increase was estimated at about $5 million a year.

The increase, which required no House vote, was made effective as of Oct. 1.

The increase was intended to "compensate for the increased cost of materials and services," according to House Administration Committee Chairman Frank Thompson Jr., D-N.J. It was the first inflation-produced hike since January 1977, committee aides said.

The Administration Committee increased the amount for a lump-sum "basic" allowance, for official travel and for office equipment. Funds for other official expenses were left unchanged. The amount provided for district office rental, which was determined by the General Services Administration, was not affected by the committee's action.

The increase provided a New York representative about $8,000 more a year for official expenses; a member from California was estimated to be eligible for about $14,000 more.

These were increases of from about 21 percent to 26 percent. The cost of consumer goods went up about 27 percent between January 1977 and September 1979, according to the Labor Department Consumer Price Index.

The authority for the Administration Committee to increase the allowance with almost no public attention was a little-noticed provision of a July 1976 change in House rules.

The rules change (H Res 1372) — later incorporated into law (PL 94-440) — was approved in the wake of a sex scandal involving the then-chairman of the Administration Committee, Wayne L. Hays, D-Ohio (1949-76).

The change was intended to limit the authority of the Administration Committee to increase allowances and staff sizes without the approval of the full House. But one provision permitted the committee to continue to adjust allowances to reflect increases in the cost of living. *(1976 Almanac, pp. 25, 808)*

Prior to the rules change, the Administration Committee was required to publish a notice in the *Congressional Record* when it adjusted allowances and staff ceilings. Ironically, the rules change did away with the public notice requirement for such committee actions.

Computer Funds for Senators

The Senate made changes in the rules governing its expense allowances.

On July 26, the Senate Rules Committee approved the use of senators' official expense allowances for the leasing of four new types of automatic letter-writing and -addressing units for senators' correspondence management needs.

The units were first authorized on a "test" basis after Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., used a discretionary portion of his official expense allowance to lease a sophisticated IBM correspondence management computer that was not authorized by the Senate Rules Committee at that time.

After Cranston used up his discretionary funds, he asked the Rules Committee to change its regulations to authorize the IBM unit. Although it didn't change the regulations, the committee permitted five senators — including Cranston — to try out the new mini-computers at Senate expense for a year.

All five senators involved in the "test" — Cranston, John A. Durkin, D-N.H., Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., Russell B. Long, D-La., and George McGovern, D-S.D. — were up for re-election in 1980.

Senate rules prohibited storage in the official Senate computer of mailing lists identifying individuals as campaign workers or contributors or as members of any political party. Extensive rules also governed the use of the free congressional mailing privilege in computerized mass mailings.

A regulation approved by the Rules Committee in June 1979 required that mini-computers installed in individual senators' offices comply with all the rules governing franked mailings, electronic mailing lists and the main computer.

A change to decentralized computers was expected to make the enforcement of those rules impossible, in the opinion of some computer experts. The experts said the centralized computer was the key to the rules' enforcement because it allowed Rules Committee staffers to monitor everything going into and coming out of it.

With decentralized computers, monitoring would not be possible, these experts said.

Senate Expense Rules Tightened

Following an investigation of accusations of financial misconduct by Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., the Senate Aug. 2 approved a proposal to require senators to document their official expenses before being reimbursed for them by the Senate. *(Talmadge story, this chapter)*

Under existing rules, senators were able to request reimbursement for office expenses on their signatures alone.

The proposal (S Res 170), offered by Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., originally was sponsored by all six members of the Select Ethics Committee. It was reported (S Rept 96-275) by the Rules Committee July 30. The Rules Committee adopted new regulations implementing the proposal on Sept. 19. The new rules required documentation for expenses greater than $25, and required that vouchers requesting reimbursement be "personally signed" by the senator whose office submitted them.

The Talmadge investigation involved charges the Georgia Democrat filed expense vouchers for reimbursement by the Senate for expenses not incurred or not legally reimbursable. During Ethics Committee hearings on these charges, some witnesses testified the vouchers for at least some of the improper expense claims had been signed by an automatic signature device.

How Expense Accounts Work

According to the 1979 "Senate Handbook," the Senatorial Official Office Expense Account was a "multipurpose lump-sum allowance" authorized each year. At the end of the year, any unused balance could not be carried over until the next year.

"Reimbursement may not exceed actual expenses," the handbook explained. Reimbursement was to be made by check upon presentation to the disbursing office of itemized and signed vouchers. The senator was required to sign beneath a statement printed on the voucher that stated: "I certify that the above expenses were officially incurred."

The account was to be used for official telegrams and long-distance telephone calls; phone calls incurred outside of Washington; stationery and office supplies; official airmail and special delivery postage (ordinary mail could be mailed under a senator's frank); district office expenses; subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals; official travel, and "reimbursement to the senator for such other official expenses as the senator determines are necessary." The latter category of expenses was limited to 10 percent of the total official expense account.

The maximum allowable amount that could be reimbursed varied according to state population and distance from Washington, from $33,000 annually for a senator from Delaware to $143,000 annually for a senator from Hawaii during 1979.

House Allowance

The House expense allowance also covered such official costs as telephone, postage, office supplies and equipment, district office rental and travel to the districts. The allowance was for the conduct of a member's "official and representational duties," according to a manual published by the House Administration Committee.

The amount of money available to House members depends on the distance between a member's district and Washington, D.C., the cost of a long-distance telephone call from Washington to the member's district, and the going rate per square foot for the rental of federal office space in the district.

The average House member's expense allowance totaled about $88,200 in 1980.

Under both House and Senate rules, members were required to submit documentation of expenses incurred in order to be reimbursed. The documentation was reviewed by the House clerk's office and the Senate Disbursing Office but was not available for public inspection.

Talmadge admitted that the improper claims occurred, but he attributed them to staff error and repaid the Senate more than $37,000 in 1978.

Official Expenses Definition Flops

In a related matter, the Senate within a two-week period first approved a formal definition (S Res 294) of "official expenses" and then reversed itself, sending the matter back to the Rules Committee. Though the Senate spent millions of dollars annually on official expenses, it had never defined what an official expense was.

By voice vote Dec. 6, the Senate defined official expenses as "ordinary and necessary business expenses incurred by a senator and his staff in the discharge of their official duties." Excluded from the definition were such expenses as commuting and parking, flowers and greeting cards, donations, gifts, dues, ads and moving expenses.

But on Dec. 20 — just hours before the Senate adjourned for the year — members by voice vote invalidated the passage of S Res 294. The action was taken at the request of Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., who said the definition needed "technical clarification."

A Senate aide said both Republican and Democratic members had complained about the definition, prompting the Senate's change of heart.

The attempt to define "official expense" grew out of a 1977 Senate rules change permitting senators to spend up to 10 percent of their total office allowance on whatever they decided was an official office expense.

Senators soon began asking for reimbursement for the purchase of chandeliers, sunglasses and a contribution to a hospital located in Jerusalem. The Rules Committee then put a hold on some reimbursement requests until "official expense" could be defined. ▮

Energy/Environment

The cost of energy for the United States, in terms of dollars, national security and environmental concerns, continued to rise in 1979.

Oil prices increased at a staggering rate, reflecting disruption in the oil markets and worldwide political uncertainty. During the year, the world price climbed from $16 to $30 a barrel. That was an even larger annual jump than was sparked by the initial price-fixing in 1973-74 by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Energy costs fueled inflation. Of the 13.3 percent increase in consumer prices, 2.5 percentage points were due to rising energy prices. By the end of the year, a dollar for a gallon of gasoline was a good price.

Price increases pushed to $70 billion the annual U.S. bill for imported oil. Almost half of U.S. oil supplies came from other countries. And oil provided about half of the energy used in the United States.

Foreign Policy Concerns

The dependence on oil imports increasingly influenced foreign policy. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December, U.S. officials immediately had to consider how that action might eventually affect oil production in adjacent Middle Eastern countries.

In the past decade that part of the world had become vital to the United States.

Other Western countries shared that dependence. More than 60 percent of the oil traded in world commerce was shipped daily through the narrow Strait of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

Arab oil had once been so inexpensive that domestic producers won government protection from the foreign competition. But by 1971 the situation had changed; the federal government had begun to protect consumers from rising domestic oil prices. President Nixon included oil prices in general wage and price controls, and then Congress extended oil price controls in 1973. Over the next few years, they shielded U.S. consumers from the full brunt of rising world oil prices.

However, in 1979, President Carter used executive authority to begin gradually ending the oil price controls. The controls were scheduled to expire in October 1981, and Carter wanted to cushion the jolt to the economy and consumers by spreading out the price hikes.

His action, and Congress' acquiescence, reflected the growing consensus that prices should represent the real costs of energy. Otherwise, industry and consumers would continue to make decisions as if energy were cheap, as it was in the 1950s and 1960s. That would delay the necessary economic transition to a society based on expensive energy.

As part of his decontrol plan, Carter asked Congress to pass a "windfall profits" tax on oil that would capture for the government some of the extra profits the oil industry would enjoy as domestic prices rose to world levels. The multibillion-dollar tax, the largest ever levied on a single industry, was headed toward passage when the first session of the 96th Congress ended. Carter wanted to use the extra revenues to help low-income families pay energy bills, improve mass transit and aid development of synthetic fuels, such as oil from shale, liquids and gases from coal and alcohol from farm wastes.

Oil Consumption Down

Total U.S. oil consumption did drop in 1979. Average daily use was 18.4 million barrels, down from 18.8 million barrels in 1978. It was the first drop in consumption since 1975, when the economy was still recovering from the first round of OPEC price hikes.

Oil imports also were down — to 7.6 million from 7.8 million barrels a day in 1978. That drop continued a trend that started in 1978, as Alaskan oil production reduced the need for imports.

Economists said the lower consumption level in 1979 was primarily a reaction to higher prices and a reflection of a slowdown in the economy.

The drop in consumption was also due in part to changing habits. Americans were driving smaller and more fuel efficient cars. Homeowners were switching from oil heat to natural gas and installing storm windows and insulation. Industry was continuing to make improvements in energy efficiency.

Conservation was becoming more attractive as energy prices continued to rise. Three major academic studies of energy published in 1979 noted the advantages of conservation as a quick and relatively inexpensive way to reduce the use of foreign oil. In one, *Energy Futures,* a group of Harvard Business School professors said conservation would be the key energy source for the rest of the century.

But still unclear was how much of a difference these changes would make in consumption over a period of several years. Congress still refused to mandate any drastic changes in the habits of U.S. consumers.

And there were no clear alternatives to oil. The growth of nuclear power, which generated about 13 percent of U.S. electricity, had already slowed prior to the March 1979 accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant. The incident led the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to overhaul its procedures and raised questions about whether the number of plants would ever exceed the 70 operating reactors and the 90 in various stages of construction.

Utilities did turn increasingly to coal. Coal use was up by 17 percent compared to 1978 and production was at a record 770 million tons. But production capacity still exceeded demand, and transportation and environmental problems plagued the coal industry.

Solar energy held promise, but growth was slow.

Energy Legislation

The year opened with a stark reminder of U.S. dependence on foreign oil. Iran's new leaders reduced oil produc-

tion, and officials warned that would mean tight gasoline supplies in the next few months. In response, the Carter administration sent a long overdue standby rationing proposal to Capitol Hill for approval, so that the government would be better prepared in case of an emergency. Also proposed were emergency conservation measures that could close gas stations on weekends, reduce lighted outdoor advertising and lower thermostats.

Rationing, Conservation. Congress was unhappy with the conservation proposals. Only the plan to reduce heating and cooling in non-residential buildings won approval.

The rationing plan, even though it was only a standby proposal, was even more controverisal. Changed three times to win Senate approval, the scheme then failed to get through the House. Everyone wanted to be sure his district didn't get cheated when the gasoline supplies were allocated. The politicians were also afraid voters would think they were voting in favor of rationing.

The frustrated legislators involved in the fight decided to rewrite the law so the president would have more responsibility for drafting the standby plan, with Congress still given a say in a decision to carry out rationing. Even that measure was hard to get through the House, but the Democratic leadership eventually prevailed.

Congress coupled the revisions in the rationing law with conservation proposals. The members wanted to give states the primary responsibility for conservation because of a general consensus that different conservation measures were appropriate depending on local circumstances. However, the legislation still authorized the federal government to step in and impose conservation measures on any uncooperative states. Final passage of the legislation came in October.

Oil Pricing. Though Congress and the president had passed major energy legislation in 1978, there was a major leftover issue — oil pricing. Carter believed that controls had to end, but worried about the effect on inflation.

In April, he announced his decision. Oil price controls would be gradually lifted until October 1981, when controls would end. To accompany this move, Carter asked Congress to pass an oil windfall profits tax.

The tax did better than expected. Senate Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., said Carter might stop lifting price controls if Congress didn't move along with the tax. At the end of the year, the legislation was in conference.

Both houses approved a stiff tax on oil discovered before 1979. But they were less enthusiastic about a tax on new discoveries. Carter had argued that future price increases by the oil cartel would produce a windfall for producers that was just as underserved as the windfall from decontrol. He wanted a permanent tax on all oil prices that exceeded a certain level. Congress ended up taxing new discoveries at a lower rate and for a limited period of time.

Congress was also moving ahead with energy proposals of its own. Legislation to subsidize development of synthetic fuels easily won approval from the House. Members wanted a chance to do something to calm the complaints of constituents waiting in gasoline lines. Also under consideration were proposals to put important energy projects on a "fast track" through the bureaucracy.

In July, Carter responded to the congressional ideas with formal proposals for an energy mobilization board and a massive goverment investment in synthetic fuels that would be handled by a special corporation.

Mobilization Board. The three-member mobilization board would expedite government decisions relating to priority energy projects. Hearings could be consolidated, and procedural requirements waived. If a state or local government missed a deadline for making decisions on the project, then the board could step in and act for the local agency. After construction started on a key project, developers wouldn't have to comply with newly passed laws.

Synthetic fuels development would be funded with revenues from the windfall profits tax. Carter wanted to spend $88 billion by 1990 to encourage industry to build plants that could convert coal to liquids or gases, tap the oil in shale rock and utilize other alternative energy sources. If private industry didn't respond to the incentives, then the special corporation could build and operate federal synthetic fuels plants.

The proposals were generally well received by the legislators, who had been thinking along the same lines.

The mobilization board was endorsed by both houses. The only major departure from Carter's proposal was a House decision to allow waiver of substantive federal laws. Under that plan, the board could recommend to the president, who could ask permission from Congress, that a priority energy project be exempted from laws such as those controlling air and water pollution. Pro-development forces offered a similar amendment in the Senate, but were unsuccessful.

At the end of the year, the issue of substantive waiver and other questions still divided House and Senate conferees meeting on the mobilization board.

Synthetic Fuels. Because the House had already voted a synthetic fuels bill, Carter's proposal for a special corporation and an $88 billion program was considered only by the Senate. Critics there convinced their colleagues that Carter's plan was too ambitious. Instead of $88 billion, the Senate agreed to authorize $20 billion, with more to come later when needed. A move to limit funding to only $3 billion failed. Another dispute was triggered by Carter's request to allow government ownership of synthetic fuels plants. That much government involvement was opposed by conservatives and those with limited enthusiasm for synthetic fuels. But their efforts to delete that authority were not successful.

The Environmental Picture

As motorists fumed in gas lines during the summer of 1979, conservationists realized that the environmental decade — when most major environmental laws were passed — was coming to a close. The 1980s, it seemed, would be the time when environmental concerns would take a back seat to worries about inflation and energy.

The gasoline lines produced the first indication of the change. Caught between the clamor for more fuel and the desire for clean air, the administration chose to lift two environmental bans in favor of boosting gasoline production.

Under pressure from the White House and the Energy Department, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) increased unleaded gas supplies by temporarily relaxing regulations governing two pollution-causing gasoline additives — lead and MMT — which extend gasoline supplies but cause smog.

Skyrocketing gasoline prices also made the administration more sensitive to the political and inflationary impact of environmental controls on the gasoline industry. EPA

put off decisions on what to do about controlling benzene — a suspected carcinogen found in gasoline — and what to do about controlling hydrocarbons emitted during automobile refueling at service stations. Controlling the pollutants would cost billions of dollars and add to spiraling gasoline prices.

Synthetic Fuel Fever

As the energy crisis threatened to bulldoze the environmental advancements of the 1970s, conservationists looked to the White House for support. But they were disappointed in the response.

As Carter outlined plans for an ambitious synthetic fuels program, environmentalists warned of danger. They said switching to coal-based fuel would upset the environment by increasing carbon dioxide and creating a global "greenhouse" effect.

The greenhouse effect is the phenomenon of carbon dioxide build-up in the Earth's atmosphere which causes a slow warming of the global temperature. Combustion of fossil fuels — and especially coal — increases the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. But scientists have found that synthetic liquids and gases made from coal release about 1.7 times the carbon dioxide released when coal, oil or natural gas are burned directly.

Environmentalists also disliked Carter's Energy Mobilization Board plan, fearing that putting energy projects on a "fast track" could allow them to bypass environmental laws.

In a televised speech July 15, Carter said, "We will protect the environment. But if the nation needs to build a pipeline or a refinery, we will build them."

The environmental community, which had worked hard to get Carter elected in 1976, felt betrayed.

Shortly after the July 15 speech, Carter sent his second environmental message to Congress, promising to be "sensitive both to energy needs and to environmental considerations." Environmentalists were not pacified.

"It takes more than a few vague words to mollify us about the enormous amounts of damage that could be done by his energy program," said David Zwick of the Clean Water Action Project.

As part of the push to produce coal for use in synfuels, the Senate Sept. 11 voted to strike down federal regulations carrying out the 1977 strip mining act (PL 95-87). The rules included controversial environmental protections that required coal producers to return the mined land to its original state after the coal had been removed.

The Senate action, which was blamed on "energy production fever" by an administration official, allowed states to design their strip mining plans without following the Interior Department regulations.

Environmentalists said it would gut the strip mining act, and House Interior Committee Chairman Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., refused to consider the measure.

Georges Bank Fishing

In another energy-environment confrontation, the Interior Department opened up one of the world's richest fisheries — Georges Bank off the New England coast — to offshore oil and gas leasing. Environmentalists and the state of Massachusetts waged a two-year legal battle to stop the sale of leases, but they were unsuccessful.

The Georges Bank sale was particularly unpopular because it came on the heels of the largest oil spill in history. An oil well in the Gulf of Mexico suffered a blowout in June and was still spewing millions of barrels of oil when the lease sale took place Dec. 18.

Air Pollution

The Clean Air Act survived 1979 intact, despite an effort to amend it by a coalition of business groups. The coalition, led by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Petroleum Institute, had complained that the act was stifling industrial and economic growth.

Additional pressure came from states unable to comply with the federal July 1 deadline for submitting air pollution control plans. Several bills were introduced to push the deadline back a year, but no action was taken on them.

Meanwhile, EPA relaxed the penalties for states that did not meet the July 1 deadline but which had made a good-faith effort to work out their plans. By Dec. 18, EPA reported that almost all states had submitted pollution control plans.

On May 25, EPA issued new emission standards for coal-fired power plants. The regulations were criticized by the power industry and environmentalists, both of whom threatened to sue. Environmentalists claimed the new rules were too lenient, while the industry charged that they were too stringent.

The rules, which went into effect June 11, strengthened sulfur dioxide emission standards and required the installation on smokestacks of devices called "scrubbers" to clean up emissions.

EPA Administrator Douglas M. Costle said the new standard would allow the country to move away from dependence on foreign oil by allowing the safe conversion to coal, which has a high sulfur content.

The prospect of increased coal use also spurred concern about acid rain, a mixture of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxide and rainwater. Sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide are produced when coal is burned. Acid rain was said to cause fish kills, damage farm and forest land and contribute to the erosion of steel and stone buildings.

In his second environmental message, President Carter pledged funding for an acid rain study. And in September, Canadian officials flew to Washington to push for a treaty that would cut Canadian pollution from coal-fired U.S. power plants in the Ohio River Valley.

A new study, released in November by the National Academy of Sciences, increased concern about the effect of fluorocarbons on the Earth's protective ozone layer. The study found that the ozone layer, which protects the Earth from harmful ultraviolet rays, was diminishing twice as fast as previously predicted. The U.S. had banned the use of fluorocarbons in aerosol sprays, but the higher rate of ozone depletion was blamed on increased fluorocarbon use in other countries and in air conditioners.

Tellico, Alaska Lands

On the two big environmental issues in Congress, environmentalists split. They won on Alaska lands, when the House overwhelmingly approved a pro-conservation bill. But they lost an endangered species battle on the controversial Tellico dam.

For the second time in as many years, an Alaska lands bill was passed by the House but got bogged down in the Senate. And by year's end, Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus had threatened to extend for 20 years some of the huge land withdrawals he had made in 1978.

Although buoyed by their Alaska success in the House, environmentalists were deeply disappointed when the president signed an energy and water appropriations bill containing funds for the Tellico Dam in Tennessee.

The almost-completed Tellico had been the center of controversy for years because it was found that the dam would threaten the survival of the snail darter, a tiny endangered fish. But before the flood gates closed on Nov. 30, scientists had transplanted the fish to another river where it was thriving.

'Sagebrush Rebellion'

If relations were strained between environmentalists and President Carter, they were stretched taut between Western state officials and Interior Secretary Andrus.

Western governors had hailed Andrus' 1977 appointment, hoping he would understand their frustrations in dealing with the Washington bureaucracy. But by 1979, Western discontent over the administration's water and land policy reform programs had developed into a full-fledged revolution, nicknamed the "Sagebrush Rebellion."

The rebellion, representing a general anti-Washington attitude, had its roots in the desire by Western states to control public lands within their boundaries.

The problems began in 1977 when the president challenged traditional methods for funding water projects. And it intensified in 1979 when he began pushing synfuels development. Much of the country's coal and nearly all of its oil shale was in the West, and Westerners did not want their their mineral-rich lands strip mined or their scarce water diverted for coal mining and shale oil production.

"This colonial treatment is going to get worse as the West is called upon to satisfy the nation's energy needs," said Rep. Jim Santini, D-Nev.

One object of the rebellion was the Federal Land Management and Policy Act of 1976, which called for comprehensive federal land use planning to protect timber, natural resources and wildlife on federal lands.

But some Westerners wanted jurisdiction over public lands — at least a third of the land in the 11 Western states — shifted from the federal Bureau of Land Management to the states.

The Nevada legislature passed a bill July 1 turning over to the state 49 million acres of federal land. Although the bill was signed by the Nevada governor, it had not been implemented because of constitutional questions involved. The Constitution gives federal laws precedence over state laws. The Nevada legislature wanted the federal government to challenge the constitutionality of its new law in order to clarify the federal government's role in controlling lands within state boundaries. But by year's end no litigation had been initiated by the federal government.

Similar legislation was pending in several other Western states. And a similar bill, the Western Lands Distribution Act of 1979, was introduced in the U.S. Senate by Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah. No action on it was taken.

Andrus charged that the rebellion was really a thinly veiled attempt to open public lands to questionable development and to other special interest exploitation.

"Speculators believe that if they can pry the land loose from federal jurisdiction they will have an easy time carving it up," Andrus said.

Toxic Substances

The hazardous waste "time bomb" continued to tick in 1979, with discoveries of toxic chemical dumps periodically hitting the newspaper headlines.

But legislation dealing with abandoned wastes sites — the last gap in federal laws governing the chemical industry — did not get out of committee in 1979. Among them was an administration proposal to set up a $1.6 billion "superfund," partially funded by chemical industry fees, to pay for the cleanup.

Still undetermined was who should pay for cleaning up abandoned waste sites, what company liability levels should be and whether victims should be compensated.

In October, the House Commerce Oversight Subcommittee reported that since 1950 some 700 million tons of toxic wastes had been dumped at 3,383 sites around the country.

Subcommittee Chairman Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas, criticized EPA for not taking "vigorous enforcement actions" to bring the hazardous waste problem under control. He also complained that EPA had failed to meet deadlines for developing regulations to carry out the Resources Conservation and Recovery Act of 1976, which required cradle-to-grave federal control of chemical wastes.

Meanwhile EPA, with the aid of the FBI and a newly organized hazardous waste unit at the Justice Department, began charging chemical companies with violation of federal waste disposal laws. In one precedent setting action, Hooker Chemical Co. — the firm responsible for dumping pollutants at Love Canal, N.Y. — was sued for $124 million in cleanup costs.

Hooker also was charged in a separate suit in California with "knowingly and willingly" polluting groundwater supplies near Stockton, with radioactive and cancer-causing wastes.

—By Ann Pelham and Kathy Koch

Carter and Congress on Energy:

Oil Tax, Synfuels and a 'Fast Track' Board

Convinced that a realistic national energy policy required Americans to pay as much for domestic as for imported oil, President Carter began in 1979 to lift the oil price controls that had kept American fuel bills unrealistically low since the early 1970s.

The decontrol plan was part of a larger 1979 energy program that Carter proposed in two parts. In the first, announced in April, the president presented his decontrol plan and asked Congress for a windfall tax on the profits the oil companies would get as domestic prices rose to world levels.

The second, announced in July, mirrored legislation already moving through Congress. Carter proposed that a special government corporation be set up to handle an $88 billion federal program to encourage production of synthetic fuels, such as liquids from coal. He also asked Congress to establish an energy mobilization board to cut red tape and speed up government decisions related to priority energy projects such as refineries, pipelines and synthetic fuel plants.

Both the April and July packages also contained other less dramatic steps to reduce oil imports, such as increasing fuel production from federal lands, delaying a scheduled reduction in the lead content of gasoline and turning down thermostats in non-residential buildings.

By the end of the year, both chambers had passed windfall profits tax, mobilization board and synthetic fuels production legislation. But House-Senate conferees were still working out the final details.

Major Programs

April Announcement

Carter went on television April 5 to announce his decision to use executive authority to begin gradually ending price controls on domestic oil. Decontrol would begin on June 1, 1979. All controls would end by Oct. 1, 1981, when the price control provisions of the 1975 Energy Policy and Conservation Act were scheduled to expire.

Decontrol meant that domestically produced oil selling for $6 and $13 a barrel would suddenly bring a producer the world oil price, which by the end of 1979 was about $30 a barrel. Carter called that additional money for the oil companies "huge and undeserved windfall profits." And he asked Congress to pass a tax that would capture some of it for public use. He proposed that the revenues be used to help low-income families pay their fuel bills, to fund mass transit projects and to underwrite the cost of developing new sources of energy, particularly synthetic fuels.

The president's program extended only through fiscal 1982, and estimates of anticipated revenues from decontrol and the tax covered only the first few years. Later, Congress and Carter began to talk in terms of revenues expected over a five-year period and finally over a 10-year period. The estimates of revenues were also revised to reflect further increases in world oil prices.

July Proposals

By mid-summer, U.S. energy problems were visible in the waiting lines at gasoline pumps in many cities. Carter's standing in public opinion polls dropped to its lowest level in late June.

The president scheduled a major televised address on energy for July 5. But then he abruptly cancelled it and called a 10-day "domestic summit" at Camp David, the Maryland presidential retreat, where he conferred with Americans from all segments of life.

On July 15, in a televised speech, Carter assessed for the nation what he had learned at the summit. He described the United States as suffering from "a crisis of confidence." And he said the energy crisis could be the issue through which the nation could generate "a rebirth of the American spirit."

"On the battlefield of energy, we can win for our nation a new confidence, and we can seize control again of our common destiny," Carter said. *(Texts, pp. 23-E, 27-E, 45-E)*

The president announced he was setting import quotas that would limit oil imports to 1977 levels, which were an all-time high.

He also asked Congress to authorize "the most massive peacetime commitment of funds and resources in our nation's history to develop America's own alternative sources of fuel." He proposed that a special Energy Security Corporation spearhead this effort. In addition, he asked Congress to establish an energy mobilization board with the authority to place energy projects on a "fast track" through the bureaucracy in order to speed construction.

Other Proposals

In addition to oil price decontrol, the windfall profits tax and import quotas, synthetic fuels production and an energy mobilization board, President Carter proposed in 1979 a long list of steps that Congress, the executive and the average citizen could take to help solve the nation's energy problems.

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President Carter's Energy Programs . . .

Here is a status report, as of the end of 1979, on the major portions of the energy program President Carter proposed April 5 and July 15:

WINDFALL PROFITS TAX

Issue: Carter called for a windfall profits tax that would recoup about half the profits oil companies would reap under decontrol. He proposed placing the revenues in an Energy Security Trust Fund to be used for development of alternative energy sources, mass transit and fuel assistance to low-income families.

Legislation: HR 3919.

The House version of **HR 3919**, passed June 28, was expected to bring in $277 billion by 1990. It provided a tax rate of 50 to 60 percent. The tax would be phased out at the end of 1990.

The version reported by the Senate Finance Committee Nov. 1 would produce an estimated $138 billion by 1990. Much weaker than the original Carter version and the House bill, it would capture just over a quarter of oil company windfall profits.

After five weeks of debate that included a filibuster, the Senate Dec. 17 passed a stiffer version than the one reported by Finance. The Senate bill was expected to raise $178 billion by 1990. But senators also voted to reduce the tax rate on newly discovered oil and to exempt from the tax the first 1,000 barrels of oil produced by independent producers. The senators abandoned the trust fund idea.

The measure then went to a House-Senate conference committee, where it was pending at year's end. Conferees had agreed on a total figure they wanted to raise with the tax. They split the difference between the House and Senate bills and came up with a $227.3 billion goal.

Key Controversies: Supporters of a stiff windfall tax, many of whom opposed decontrol of oil prices, wanted to prevent the oil companies from reaping large profits while poor and middle income Americans paid increasingly high energy bills. They wanted to use the money for alternative energy and conservation. Opponents, found largely among Republicans and oil-state Democrats, argued that the effect of the tax and continued price controls were the same — to inhibit production.

ENERGY MOBILIZATION BOARD

Issue: The Carter proposal for an energy mobilization board was designed to speed construction of priority energy projects by cutting red tape. Over the years, companies seeking to build major energy facilities had encountered numerous delays in getting permits from federal, state and local agencies.

Legislation: S 1308, HR 4985.

The House and Senate bills created a board to which members would be appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate. In both versions, the board could give priority status to an unlimited number of projects. It could speed up their construction by acting in place of federal, state or local agencies that did not meet deadlines related to priority projects. A "grandfather clause" would permit the waiver of any new law for priority projects already under construction.

HR 4985, passed by the House Nov. 1, allowed the board to waive substantive federal law if the president and both houses of Congress approved.

S 1308, passed by the Senate Oct. 4, allowed the board to waive procedural rules, such as time requirements, but not substantive laws, such as air quality standards.

The bill was in conference at the end of the year.

Key Controversies: The extent of the board's power dominated congressional debate. Proponents of a powerful board emphasized the country's need for energy production. They argued that the board should have the authority to waive substantive and procedural laws at the state and local levels. Opponents, finding support among environmentalists and states' rights advocates, contended that a powerful board could undo environmental and health legislation passed over the last decade. The board, they argued, would also infringe on state and local decision-making powers.

SYNTHETIC AND ALTERNATIVE FUELS

Issue: Amid growing concern over U.S. dependence on oil imported from unstable parts of the world, Carter proposed, and Congress endorsed, a program to spur development of synthetic fuels. The program was designed to use plentiful natural resources to produce such new fuels as liquids and gas from coal, oil from shale and alcohol from grain. The government hoped to spur development through purchase agreements, loans and loan guarantees.

Legislation: HR 3930, S 932, HR 4930 — PL 96-126.

HR 3930, passed by the House June 26, authorized a $3 billion program of price supports for synfuels. No ceiling was placed on other expenditures, such as loans and guarantees to private companies engaged in synfuels development. The cost of the bill would be determined by the future price of conventional oil and gas, whether the government built its own plants to produce synfuels and how much the substitutes cost to produce.

S 932, passed by the Senate Nov. 8, authorized a five-year, $20 billion synfuels development program and created a synthetic fuels corporation to manage it. After five years, the corporation would report to Congress on its plans for meeting production goals. If House and Senate agreed, the board would be authorized to spend another $68 billion.

The bill was in conference at the end of the year.

HR 4930, the Interior and Energy Department appropriations bill, was signed into law Nov. 27. It appropriated $19 billion for alternative and synthetic fuels development and $1 billion for solar and energy conservation. Of the $19 billion, $2.2 billion was made available immediately. The bill defined alternative fuels as those from coal, shale,

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tar sands, lignite, biomass, peat, solid waste, unconventional natural gas or any other material not made from crude oil.

Key Controversies: Carter had called for an ambitious $88 billion synfuels program. But Congress, insisting on a go-slow approach to development, whittled the initial effort to $20 billion with more funds likely later.

Opponents, arguing the virtues of the free market system, hoped to ward off government involvement in the fuels industry. But the bills passed easily in both houses.

GASOLINE RATIONING

Issue: Gasoline shortages focused attention on the need for an emergency gasoline rationing plan. After a standby rationing plan proposed by Carter early in the year was vetoed by Congress, members revised the law to make it more difficult for Congress to reject future plans.

Legislation: S 1030 — PL 96-102.

Enactment of **S 1030** came only after a protracted battle. House Republicans and conservative Democrats particularly were reluctant to appear to be voting for rationing, even if only for emergency planning. The House dispute also showed a sharp regional split between the smaller, more congested states, where mass transit was available, and the huge, rural states with substantial travel distances.

The bill required the president to submit a standby rationing plan to Congress. If the legislators failed to pass a joint resolution of disapproval within 30 days, the plan would go "on the shelf" for use in an emergency. The president could not actually impose rationing unless there were a 20 percent shortage of gasoline, diesel fuel or home heating oil, but Congress could waive that restriction. Congress also could veto a presidential decision to impose rationing.

The bill was passed by the Senate June 5 and by the House Aug. 1. The conference report was adopted by the Senate Oct. 17 and by the House Oct. 23. The measure was signed into law Nov. 5.

Key Controversies: The most controversial provision before the House was the requirement that there be a 20 percent shortage before rationing could be imposed. Opponents argued that rationing could be necessary with a shortage as small as 5 percent, and the administration complained that the provison tied the president's hands. Senators were more concerned with giving Congress a role in drafting a standby plan.

CONSERVATION

Issue: Many felt the best way to cut oil imports was for Americans to use less energy, but getting people to conserve had been difficult.

Proposals to spur conservation ranged from coercion in the form of rationing to providing incentives, such as tax credits, to encourage the use of alternative fuels and energy-saving devices.

Legislation: S 1030 — PL 96-102, HR 3919, S 932, HR 605, HR 4930 — PL 96-126.

S 1030, the gasoline rationing bill, also gave the president the authority, in an emergency, to set conservation targets for the federal government and each state. States were required to draw up their own conservation plans. The president could impose the federal standards on states that did not meet their targets if supply was at least 8 percent short of demand. The 8 percent restriction did not apply to states without an approved plan.

HR 3919, as reported by the Senate Finance Committee, increased the existing tax credit for residential energy conservation from $300 to $1,000, effectively making the credit 50 percent for the first $2,000 in expenditures. Eligibility for the credit was expanded to heat pumps and wood stoves.

S 932, as passed by the Senate, established a conservation bank, funded at $3.35 billion for five years, to provide loans at below-market rates to homeowners and businesses for conservation equipment, such as insulation.

HR 605, reported by the House Banking Committee Nov. 15, established a multibillion-dollar bank to provide financial aid for installation of solar or wind energy systems or conservation improvements, such as caulking or weatherstripping. Owners of homes, including rental units, and commercial and agricultural buildings would be eligible.

The bill directed the government to assist solar and energy conservation loan programs by buying and selling loans made by financial institutions for these undertakings.

HR 4930, the Interior and Energy appropriations bill, provided $1 billion for solar energy and conservation.

SOLAR

Issue: On June 20, Carter proposed creation of a solar development bank, new tax credits to stimulate solar technologies and other programs. His goal: that by the year 2000 the nation would get one-fifth of its energy from the sun and other renewable energy sources. Although solar technology was fairly well-developed, it was still a fledgling industry, and government efforts to promote it had been poorly organized. Solar energy had broad public support, but legislative action had been slow.

Legislation. S 932, HR 605, HR 4930 — PL 96-126 and numerous other bills.

S 932, as passed by the Senate, established a solar bank to provide loans at below-market rates to homeowners and businesses for solar equipment. The bill provided $750 million for the bank over a four-year period.

The bank created in **HR 605** provided funding for conservation and solar projects. *(See Conservation and Solar Energy stories, this chapter)*

HR 4930, the Interior and Energy appropriations bill, provided $1 billion for solar energy and conservation.

Conservation

April Proposals

In April, Carter's list included these additional conservation proposals:

• **Mandatory Building Thermostat Settings.** Carter asked Congress for swift action on a pending measure that would give him authority to require that thermostats in non-residential buildings be set no higher than 65 degrees in winter and no lower than 80 degrees in summer. *(Details in gas rationing story, this chapter)*

• **State Plans to Cut Gasoline Consumption.** He directed the Energy Department to set state-by-state targets for reduction of gasoline consumption. Each state would develop its own plan to meet the targets.

• **Mandatory Weekend Closings of Gas Stations.** Carter said he would mandate weekend closings of gasoline stations if states did not meet the targets.

• **Electricity Transfers.** He asked utilities to cooperate with the Energy Department in sharing electricity generated by means other than oil-fired plants.

• **Switching from Oil to Natural Gas.** He directed the Energy Department to continue to make it easier for utilities and major industrial users to switch from oil to natural gas because of the existing surplus of gas.

• **Low Sulfur Fuel Oil.** Carter directed the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) — when reviewing state requests for a temporary suspension of the Clean Air Act to burn dirtier, low-sulfur fuel oil — to consider price differentials between low- and high-sulfur fuels.

• **Deferral of Scheduled Phasedown of Lead in Gasoline.** He directed EPA to postpone the scheduled Oct. 1 deadline for reduction of the average lead content in gasoline to .5 grams per gallon. Carter extended the deadline for one year, and directed that the standard be set at .8 grams per gallon.

• **Reduction in Federal Energy Use.** Carter directed the heads of executive agencies to reduce their energy use by 5 percent during the year beginning April 1, 1979.

• **Voluntary Actions.** The president asked Americans to conserve energy by lowering thermostats, obeying the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit and improving the energy efficiency of their homes. He asked each driver to cut travel by 10 to 20 miles a week and make sure his car was well-tuned, with tires properly inflated.

• **Phase-out Free Parking for Federal Employees.** He directed the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to begin phasing out subsidized parking for federal employees when the market value of the space exceeded $10 a month. He also asked state and local governments and private employers to end subsidized parking to encourage car pooling and use of mass transit.

• **Utilities' Steps to Help Homeowners Conserve.** Carter asked utilities and heating oil dealers to begin giving voluntary help to homeowners seeking to conserve energy instead of waiting until 1980, when they would be required to do so by law.

July Proposals

In July, Carter added these conservation requests:

• **Utility Fuel Switching.** Carter asked Congress to require that the nation's utilities cut in half — to 750,000 barrels a day by 1990 — their consumption of oil to produce electricity. As an incentive for this cut, which would require a shift to another fuel, Carter proposed that Congress authorize $5 billion in grants and loan guarantees to help utilities buy generators fired by energy sources other than oil.

• **Building Conservation.** Carter proposed that Congress encourage the conservation of oil used for heat and hot water in residential and commercial buildings by:

1) Requiring utilities to offer commercial and residential customers long-term loans for making conservation improvements.

2) Providing an interest subsidy on loans to owners of buildings heated by oil if the loans were for conservation measures or conversion of the building's heating system to natural gas.

3) Requiring utilities to provide an energy audit to owners of commercial buildings, as well as to residential customers, to determine where insulation and other measures could save energy.

• **Mass Transit.** Carter called for spending $10 billion in the next decade on mass transportation.

• **Auto Efficiency.** Carter proposed that the federal government spend $6.5 billion in the next decade to improve the fuel burning efficiency of automobile engines.

Supply Initiatives

Supply initiatives were designed to enhance domestic production of oil, natural gas and coal.

April Proposals

The president in his April message:

• **Reform of Foreign Tax Credits for Oil Companies.** Asked Congress to close loopholes in tax laws that allowed credits for oil exploration in foreign countries to shelter income from refineries, shipping and other operations.

• **Enhanced Production from Federally Owned Lands.** Directed continuation of an aggressive program to lease offshore federal land for oil and gas exploration and development. He also proposed that private companies be allowed to explore and develop the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska, a move that required congressional approval. *(Details in naval petroleum reserves story, this chapter)*

• **Coal Leasing and Development.** Asked the heads of the three major federal agencies regulating the coal industry — Interior, Energy and EPA — to report to him within 60 days on how coal production, development and use could be increased.

• **Coal Gasification.** Asked the Energy Department to continue efforts to minimize regulatory, financial and institutional barriers to commercialization of processes that would convert coal into a gaseous fuel.

• **Coal Slurry Pipelines.** Reiterated his support for legislation to ease the granting of rights of way to coal slurry pipelines, which transport a mixture of pulverized coal and water from mines to users.

• **Loan Guarantee Authority.** Directed the Energy Department to submit to Congess a plan to streamline the department's existing authority to issue loan guarantees to industries experimenting with new energy technologies.

• **Sohio Pipeline Legislation.** Directed the Energy Department to work with California officials and Congress to pass legislation to ensure construction of the oil pipeline from California to Texas planned by Standard Oil of Ohio (Sohio).

• **Pipelines to Northern Tier States.** Directed federal agencies to expedite the issuing of permits for pipelines that

would move Alaskan oil across Canada or the northern United States to northeastern markets.

• **Changes in Restrictions on Alaskan Oil Exports.** Opposed extension of restrictions on his authority to sell or swap Alaskan oil. *(Export control bill, p. 300)*

• **Federal Energy Facility Siting.** Said he would sign an executive order instructing OMB to establish a system for setting deadlines for federal decisions on applications for critical energy facilities, such as refineries and pipelines.

• **Energy Management Partnership Act.** Said he would seek legislation reforming existing state energy grant programs handled by the Energy Department.

• **Nuclear Energy.** Directed that a fully independent presidential commission of experts be established to investigate the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant in Pennsylvania. He also asked the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to accelerate plans to place a permanent, resident inspector at each reactor site. *(Details in nuclear licensing story, this chapter)*

July Proposals

In July, Carter set out these additional steps to increase the nation's energy supplies:

• **Heavy Oil.** Immediate decontrol of price controls on heavy oil, a thick viscous type of oil found primarily in California, which must be heated before it can be extracted from the ground. Decontrol would make increased production of this oil more feasible.

• **Unconventional Natural Gas.** To encourage increased production of natural gas located in unconventional formations, Carter proposed that a special incentive price be set by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for gas from tight sands. In addition, he proposed that Congress grant natural gas producers a tax credit of 50 cents per thousand cubic feet for all unconventional gas production. *(Related action, p. 28)*

Earlier, Carter proposed creation of a Solar Bank to subsidize loans to homeowners buying and installing solar systems. He had also proposed that tax credits be available to consumers in all sectors of the economy — residential, commercial, industrial and agricultural — for passive solar construction, solar process heat, wood stoves and gasohol.

Consumer Financial Assistance

Carter also proposed repeatedly in 1979 that Congress provide federal aid to help low-income families pay their rising fuel bills.

He suggested in April that some of the revenues generated by the income and windfall profits taxes on the oil companies be used for this purpose. In July he suggested that this program be funded at a level of about $2.4 billion per year, at least part of which would be available as matching grants to states. Congress responded by providing $1.6 billion for this purpose in fiscal 1980. *(Fuel assistance for low-income families, HEW chapter; box, elsewhere in this chapter)*

Windfall Profits Tax

In 1979 for the first time the president and Congress agreed to use a new tax to capture for public benefit some of the record-high profits that oil companies would reap as decontrolled domestic oil rose to the rapidly escalating world price.

At year's end conferees were still working to reconcile the House and Senate versions of the tax measure (HR 3919), but they had reached agreement on one key point: The windfall tax would produce $227.3 billion in revenues for the government by 1990.

Impetus for passage of the tax measure came both from public recognition of — and outrage about — energy shortages, a fact underscored in early summer by long gasoline lines that occurred in many cities. As the oil companies reported higher profits with each quarter, consumers became more and more convinced that they were being victimized for the benefit of the oil industry.

Key stages in congressional action on the windfall tax measure coincided with the industry's announcement of each quarter's profits. President Carter sent his plan to Capitol Hill in April, as the first quarter profit figures were announced — some as much as 80 percent above comparable 1978 figures.

At that time the president described the forthcoming legislative battle as "a classic confrontation pitting the common and public good against the enormous power of a well-organized special interest."

The House passed its version of the tax bill June 28, just after the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) announced the largest increase in world oil prices since 1973. The House bill was expected to produce $277 billion by 1990 — returning to the government in taxes about half the industry's profits attributable to the end of domestic price controls.

In mid-July, in his "crisis of confidence" speech, President Carter reiterated his call for passage of the tax bill, urging citizens to express their support of the proposal to their representatives in Congress. Late that month oil company profits were announced for the second quarter, soaring as high as 132 percent above the same period in 1978. *(Text of speech, p. 45-E)*

Late in October, as the Senate Finance Committee completed work on its version of the tax bill, the oil companies again reported their profit figures. Four of the major companies reported increases of more than 100 percent over the third quarter of 1978.

The Senate passed its version of the bill in mid-December. It was estimated to produce tax revenues of $178 billion by 1990, substantially less than the House measure.

Conferees, beginning their work before the Christmas recess, agreed upon the final figure of $227.3 billion. They split the difference between the House and Senate totals.

Approval of the tax was a major victory for President Carter, although Congress refused his request to channel the tax revenues into an Energy Security Trust Fund — from which the money would be used for energy-related projects. The House did not act on this aspect of his proposal and the Senate rejected it, approving instead a broad range of tax credits that would offset the expected income.

The Carter Program

President Carter's challenge to Congress to enact a windfall profits tax was closely linked to his own politically risky decision to phase out price controls on domestic oil, beginning June 1, 1979.

In his nationally televised speech April 5, Carter said lifting the controls was the best way to encourage energy conservation and production.

"Each one of us will have to use less oil and pay more for it," he said, calling decontrol a "painful step."

Democrats and Decontrol: A Losing Battle

President Carter's decision to end federal controls on the price of domestic oil put his former teammates the liberal Democrats in Congress, on the losing side of the price control issue without a quarterback.

Thus, despite vigorous protest and some symbolic votes opposing decontrol, the president's plan went unchallenged by the 96th Congress in 1979. The only vote by either chamber on the measure came in October, when the House — by a vote of 135-257 — rejected a proposal to retain controls. Only seven Republicans voted for retaining controls; the Democrats voting divided almost evenly on the issue.

A Decade of Controls

Oil price controls, which would expire in October 1981, would have been a fact of American life for a decade. They were imposed by President Nixon in 1971, part of his general wage and price controls intended to combat inflation. In 1973, Congress approved continuation of controls as part of the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act, enacted during the Arab oil embargo of 1973-74.

Endorsing "conservation by price," President Ford in 1975 moved to lift price controls. The Democratic-dominated Congress protested, arguing that decontrol would benefit the oil companies at the expense of the already pressed consumer. The result was the extension, in the 1975 Energy Policy and Conservation Act, of mandatory price controls on oil until June 1, 1979. After that date, the act gave the president power to continue, modify or remove the controls.

The act provided for the final expiration of controls on Oct. 1, 1981.

The Shrinking Opposition

In the four years between 1975 and 1979, advocates of price controls steadily lost strength as energy prices rose despite controls, inflation continued unabated, and energy supplies diminished. Thus, when Carter in 1979 endorsed a program quite similar to Ford's "conservation by price" philosophy, it encountered no serious opposition in Congress.

In the Senate, the move to retain controls was directed by Energy Committee Chairman Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., who proposed extending controls until 1982. Jackson admitted early in the year, however, that he was the underdog in that fight. Most members of his committee, for example, supported decontrol. The Senate did not vote on the issue in 1979.

In the House, Toby Moffett, D-Conn., a member of the House Commerce Committee, led the battle to retain controls.

Moffett argued that decontrol would "line the pockets of American [oil] producers with no assurance we are going to get anything for it."

May: Symbolic Opposition

A week after Carter had sent his windfall profits tax proposal to Congress, the House Commerce Committee May 2 rejected, by a tie vote of 21-21, a proposal to extend price controls. The tie vote demonstrated considerably more pro-control strength than had been expected. The proposal, offered by Moffett, came as an amendment to the Energy Department authorization bill for fiscal 1980 (HR 3000). *(See energy authorization story, this chapter)*

The pro-control members of the House Commerce Committee were operating without the support of the panel's Energy Subcommittee chairman, John D. Dingell, D-Mich., who saw the effort to extend controls as a lost cause. "Politically, it is totally impossible for this Congress to succeed in this amendment," he said. "There are not the votes in the Senate." House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., also a supporter of controls, agreed, saying, "I can't conceive of it [an extension of price controls] being enacted into law."

Late in May the House Democratic Caucus voted overwhelmingly to retain old price controls. The 138-69 vote in the caucus on May 24 placed House Democrats clearly on record in opposition to their Democratic president's plan to begin to phase out those controls a week later. The caucus rejected a compromise proposal that would have urged Carter to delay lifting controls until Congress had approved the windfall profits tax.

But O'Neill continued to view the pro-control effort as doomed. "We are going through a bit of a charade," he said, predicting that any House-approved measure extending controls would be blocked by a Senate filibuster.

White House press secretary Jody Powell blasted the caucus for its action, calling it "a politically attractive non-answer to our energy problems."

October: House Support

In October, the full House gave a strong endorsement to Carter's plan to phase out oil price controls. When Moffett proposed Oct. 11 his price-control extension amendment to the Energy Department authorization bill, the House rejected it by a vote of 135-257. *(Vote 495, p. 144-H)*

The following day, the House in a surprise for the White House and the Democratic leadership also voted to end price controls on gasoline, a move not endorsed by Carter. By a three-vote margin the House, 191-188, approved a gasoline decontrol amendment. *(Vote 498, p. 146-H)*

Three weeks later, as the oil industry again reported sharply higher profits for the preceding quarter, the House reversed the gasoline decontrol vote. The reversal came by a tally of 189-225. *(Vote 532, p. 156-H; details, Energy Department authorization bill, this chapter)*

The nation's energy problem was "serious — and it's getting worse," Carter said. "There is no single answer. We must produce more. We must conserve more."

Carter's Steps to Decontrol

The administration's complicated schedule for phasing out controls on oil prices was based in part on existing law — the 1975 Energy Policy and Conservation Act (PL 94-163), which mandated oil price controls until June 1, 1979, but after that date gave the president discretionary power to lift or modify the controls.

That law would end price controls on Oct. 1, 1981, no matter what the president did. It also put oil into categories depending on when it was discovered. The philosophy of the law was to reward new production with higher prices and to hold down the price of oil discovered when costs were low.

Oil discovered and flowing before the 1973-74 Arab oil embargo was given the lowest controlled price — about $6 a barrel — and was dubbed "lower tier." "Upper tier" oil, discovered after the embargo, was allowed a higher price of about $13 a barrel. About a third of domestically produced oil — in neither category — was not controlled and drew the world price of about $16 a barrel.

Under Carter's scheduled increases, the definition of oil eligible for world prices was broadened on June 1, 1979. Controls would be lifted on oil discovered after June 1; on oil from marginal wells, which are deep and produce low volumes; and on oil recovered by certain expensive techniques, called tertiary recovery.

Also on June 1, the volume of oil in the lower tier category started to decline and was gradually redefined as upper tier. The rate of decline between June 1 and Jan. 1, 1980, was 1 percent to 1.5 percent a month. After Jan. 1, the decline rate increased to 3 percent a month.

On Jan. 1, 1980, the price of upper tier oil started to rise so that equal monthly increments would take it to world levels by Oct. 1, 1981.

Any remaining controls would be lifted Oct. 1, 1981.

The president's action meant that the average price of U.S. oil, about $9.50 a 42-gallon barrel in April 1979, would rise to the world price.

The administration expected that decontrol would spur additional production of 330,000 barrels a day in 1981 and up to 800,000 barrels a day in 1985. Officials also estimated the higher prices would bring oil savings of up to 110,000 barrels a day by 1981 and up to 250,000 barrels a day by 1985.

Consumer and labor groups were outraged at the president's endorsement of decontrol. The move was the "height of hypocrisy" at a time when "inflation is raging at 14 percent and Carter is asking workers to keep wage increases at 7 percent," said Ellen Berman of the Consumer Energy Council, a coalition of labor and consumer groups.

The oil industry, while pleased with the end of controls, opposed new taxes. "We believe additional taxes are not necessary," said Charles DiBona, president of the American Petroleum Institute, an industry association. The new revenues from decontrol were "greatly needed for reinvestment" in energy development, he said.

Liberal Democrats in the House and the Senate protested Carter's move to end price controls, but it was never considered likely that Congress would block decontrol in 1979. When a proposal to retain price controls came to the House floor late in the year, it was soundly rejected. *(See box on price decontrol)*

The Windfall Tax Plan

Carter's windfall profits tax plan had two parts. Under the first part, in effect until 1981, 50 percent of the price increase the oil industry would get for most already-flowing oil as a result of decontrol would go to the government. Oil that was expensive to produce or that was discovered in the future would not be taxed.

The second part of the plan called for an "OPEC tax" that would apply indefinitely to all oil once it was decontrolled. If OPEC raised prices again, thus boosting the market price of all oil, the tax would take 50 percent of the increased revenues of U.S. companies.

Without the tax, the administration estimated, oil company revenues from decontrol would be $26 billion to $31 billion through 1982, depending on OPEC action. With the tax, the oil companies would get an extra $12 billion to $13 billion through 1982.

In his April 5 speech, Carter fired the opening rounds in what promised to be a lengthy battle with Congress.

"Every vote against [the tax] will be a vote for excessive oil company profits and for reliance on the whims of the foreign oil cartel," Carter said.

"As surely as the sun will rise," he said, the oil industry will "fight to keep the profits which they have not earned. Unless you speak out, they will have more influence on the Congress than you do."

Carter asked Congress for an oil tax in 1977, in his first energy plan, but he didn't get it. However, administration officials argued that tax — called the crude oil equalization tax — required the legislators to vote for higher prices. This time "the president has taken on himself the political burden of raising prices," said a top official. "The only issue before Congress is whether to tax windfall profits." *(1977 energy plan, 1977 Almanac p. 708)*

President Carter April 26 sent Congress details of his proposed tax. The president urged its prompt enactment as the "only thing that stands between the oil companies and a huge bonanza of unearned, unnecessary and unjustified profits." *(Text, p. 27-E)*

Stuart Eizenstat, White House domestic policy chief, predicted that lifting price controls would produce $15.4 billion through 1981 in increased income for domestic oil producers. Of that, $3.3 billion — about 21 percent — would be collected as windfall profits taxes under the president's plan, he said.

An additional $5.1 billion would go to the federal government as income taxes and the states would get $1 billion in taxes. The rest — $6 billion — would go to the oil companies.

Through 1981, the federal government would recover about 55 percent of producer revenues from decontrol through the windfall profits tax and higher federal income tax revenues.

Energy Security Trust Fund

That money would go into an Energy Security Trust Fund that would be used to help low-income families deal with higher energy costs, improve mass transit and reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil.

Of the billions of dollars that the windfall profits tax would generate, the administration proposed devoting about $6 of every $100 to aid mass transit projects, particularly those that would quickly offer tangible benefits in terms of reducing individual automobile use. Another $18 of each $100 would be used to aid low-income families

Quotas on Oil Imports Not New to U.S. . . .

President Carter's 1979 decision to limit total U.S. oil imports brought the nation back to the quota system that dominated oil import policy from 1959 to 1973.

While Carter imposed the new quotas as part of an effort to reduce the nation's heavy dependence on foreign oil, the earlier quotas were designed primarily to protect domestic oil producers from foreign competition.

The effects of the old quota system may have served to aggravate the current situation. Some analysts think it amounted to a "drain America first" policy that rapidly depleted domestic reserves while passing up foreign oil when it was cheap.

Carter announced July 15 that he would limit 1979 oil imports to an average of 8.2 million barrels a day, and hold all future oil imports to below the 1977 average net import level of 8.6 million barrels. Gross imports, an Energy Department measure that counts refined products from Puerto Rico but does not consider North American oil swaps, were 8.8 million barrels a day in 1977. *(Carter announcement, p. 45-E)*

Two weeks before Carter's announcement, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) had voted to increase the price of a barrel of crude oil from $14.55 to anywhere between $18 and $23.50. The 24 percent increase announced June 28 was the largest since 1974, when prices quadrupled during the Arab oil embargo. In March 1979 OPEC prices had risen 9 percent.

The day after the OPEC announcement, the United States and six other major industrial nations — France, Britain, Canada, Japan, West Germany and Italy — agreed at a meeting in Tokyo that they would reduce their future oil imports. The United States pledged to hold its imports to 8.5 million barrels a day through 1985. By decreasing the demand for oil, the countries hoped to curb OPEC's power to increase prices. Without restraints the U.S. demand for imported oil had been expected to rise to 9.5 million or 10 million barrels a day by 1985.

Carter's July 15 goal — of reducing imports to 8.2 million barrels per day — went beyond the Tokyo pledge.

Import Quota Authority

In 1955 Congress gave the president virtually unlimited authority to curb imports that threatened the national security. That authority was provided in a set of amendments to the 1953 Trade Expansion Act. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. I, p. 199)*

Although the stated purpose of the 1955 provisions was to protect the U.S. economy from disruption by the loss of certain essential materials, some thought that the application of this import quota limit to oil was in fact designed to protect domestic producers from foreign competition.

When the quotas were first imposed, there was a surplus of oil. Worried about declining profits caused by the influx of foreign oil, some oil companies tried voluntarily to limit imports. But because not all companies complied, President Eisenhower in 1959 used his authority to impose mandatory import quotas. They remained until 1973, when President Nixon removed them.

Unlike Carter's action, which set an absolute limit on the number of barrels imported, the earlier quotas were tied to the level of domestic production and consumption. For most of the program, imports were limited to about one-eighth of domestic production. During the early 1970s, the quota allowed importation of enough oil to fill the gap between domestic production and consumption.

Quota System Criticism

Criticism of the quota system grew during the 1960s. Analysts argued that the quotas added several billion dollars a year to consumer energy costs, since domestic oil averaged about $1.25 more a barrel than foreign oil, and that they helped to deplete domestic energy reserves.

In 1973, however, with energy supplies growing short, Nixon did away with the quotas. In their place he ordered fees on imports of 10-1/2 cents for every barrel of crude oil and 52 cents for each barrel of gasoline. The fees were set much higher for refined products, like gasoline, in an effort to encourage domestic refining.

An attempt to reimpose the quotas came in 1975, when the House passed a bill that would have held imports below 6.5 million barrels a day after 1980. But the bill was not acted on by the Senate, and the proposal was not included in the energy policy act (PL 94-163) that passed that year. *(1975 Almanac pp. 207-220)*

(those earning less than $7,500 per year) to pay their fuel bills. And the remaining funds — $76 per $100 — would be used to develop new energy technologies and supplies.

Committee Hearings

President Carter's proposal to tax the oil industry's excess profits resulting from decontrol played to mixed reviews in its first Capitol Hill appearances.

The Senate Finance Subcommittee on Energy, dominated by oil state members, expressed its displeasure with the tax in a May 7 hearing. Members called for a "plowback" provision that would exempt from the tax oil company revenues that were used to produce more energy.

Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., argued that the existing oil shortage dictated that energy production be made more profitable.

Long said that under the administration's program the oil industry would not make enough money to invest in increased domestic production.

The Administration's Case

The House Ways and Means Committee was not nearly so hostile May 9 and 10 as it listened to Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal and Energy Secretary James R. Schlesinger make the administration's case.

In marked contrast to Long, Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman, D-Ore., said it was "absolutely essential that Congress act quickly to pass a windfall tax."

Ullman said Ways and Means would consider the proposal in two stages. First, it would decide the form and size of the tax and set up a trust fund for the revenues. Then it would tackle the problem of how to spend the money.

. . . But Carter Hoped for Different Effects

Import Fees

Congress had more than once resisted an alternative method of restricting foreign oil — import fees.

In 1975, President Ford moved to reduce imports by increasing the fee on foreign oil. His plan would have raised the fee on each barrel by $3.

But the attempt ran into strong opposition from Congress. While Ford successfully vetoed a bill that would have delayed the increases, he later agreed to rescind the additional fees. *(1975 Almanac, p. 191)*

In 1978, in an effort to pressure Congress to finish his energy bill, Carter hinted that he was considering new import fees of up to $5 a barrel. That produced strong opposition from the Senate, particularly from members representing northeastern states heavily dependent on imported oil.

The Senate approved an amendment, to the Treasury appropriations bill, to prevent Carter from imposing new fees. The House narrowly rejected the provision, which was dropped in conference. *(1978 Almanac, p. 99)*

Import Trends

Total oil imports almost doubled in the seven years after quotas were removed in 1973. In 1972, the last full year of the quota system, the United States imported an average of 4.7 million barrels a day — 29 percent of domestic demand.

By contrast, figures for the first six months of 1979 indicated that imports were averaging about 7.7 million barrels daily — about 43 percent of domestic demand.

Moreover, imports had experienced a sharp rise during the last few years of the quotas. Because of the change in quota rules allowing importation of enough oil to fill the gap between domestic demand and production, imports had grown from a 3.4 million barrel per day average in 1970 to 4.7 million in 1972.

The Arab oil embargo and the recession of the mid-1970s kept imports from growing during the first few years after quotas were removed. Imports in 1975 were well below the 1973 level.

With economic improvement, however, imports soared dramatically. They grew by about 45 percent from 1975 to 1977, bringing total net imports to their highest level in history, an 8.6 million barrel daily average in 1977.

Oil analysts saw hopeful signs in 1978, when imports fell from their 1977 high to an average of 8.2 million barrels daily. With the addition of new oil from Alaska and intensified exploitation of old domestic sources, production rose and imports fell.

But the decline was temporary. Imports fell during the first half of 1978, but rose after that until the cutback in Iranian production reduced imports in early 1979.

The Role of Congress

The Senate in 1979 attempted to claim a role for Congress in the decision to impose oil import quotas, but that effort failed when the House refused to approve the relevant language.

In late October the Senate Energy Committee, by the narrow vote of 10-8, approved an amendment proposed by J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., to require that both the House and Senate approve an import quota before the president could put the limitation into effect.

The committee attached this language to legislation (S 1871) which exempted oil companies from federal antitrust laws to the degree necessary for the United States to participate in an international oil-sharing arrangement.

A week later, on Oct. 30, the full Senate agreed to a modified version of the Johnston amendment by a vote of 70-23. *(Vote 372, p. 62-S)*

Under the language approved by the full Senate, still as part of S 1871, Congress could block imposition of quotas if both houses passed a resolution of disapproval. The president could veto that measure, but Congress could override the veto.

The modified language was a compromise worked out by the Carter administration and Johnston. The administration was forced to negotiate the matter because passage of S 1871 was deemed essential by President Carter.

But the House Nov. 8 formally objected to the import quota amendment, claiming that because it was tax-related, it should have originated in the House. The Senate Nov. 16 agreed to drop the provision. S 1871 was subsequently enacted without it (PL 96-133).

Liberal Democrats criticized the president's decision to lift price controls and then attacked the windfall profits tax as too weak.

William R. Cotter, D-Conn., who introduced a bill (HR 3421) to tax 85 percent of industry profits, asked Blumenthal for assurances that oil companies would use their additional profits for further energy production.

Blumenthal responded, "There are no assurances they will not take the cash flow and invest it for other purposes."

Both Blumenthal and Schlesinger heartily defended the tax plan against charges that it was weak.

"This is not so," Blumenthal said. "Our goal is to capture windfall profits without prejudicing production incentives. This we have done."

And Schlesinger argued the "tax strikes the appropriate balance between equity considerations and the need to assure that adequate funds are available to expand domestic oil production capacity."

Asked if the administration would object to a tougher tax, Blumenthal said, "I'd rather see it tightened than loosened."

Republicans and oil state Democrats blasted the tax, arguing that it would discourage exploration and tax "new" upper tier oil, traditionally found by independent producers, more than "old" lower tier oil, owned mostly by the major oil companies.

Ranking Republican Barber B. Conable Jr., R-N.Y., said he hoped the committee would consider some form of "plowback" to allow oil companies to reduce the tax by investing in exploration and development.

But Blumenthal said, "Plowback should be recognized for what it is — a subterfuge for repealing the windfall prof-

its tax." Blumenthal added that a plowback would not necessarily add to domestic production and would inhibit new oil businesses while causing "interminable administrative disputes and litigation."

Industry Opposition

The oil industry, in official statements, continued to oppose any tax, despite advice from legislators that they should accept it in some form to avoid even stiffer penalties.

"Any new or additional tax on domestic crude oil operations would hinder an aggressive domestic exploration, development and production program and interfere with natural market incentives to increase domestic energy supplies," Harold D. Hoopman, president of Marathon Oil Co., told the Ways and Means Committee May 17. He also said additional taxes would "represent an unwarranted, inappropriate and inequitable treatment of the petroleum industry compared with other industries in this country."

To the oil industry, the most onerous aspect of Carter's plan was the so-called "OPEC" tax.

This permanent tax would capture 50 percent of the higher profits domestic producers would get as a result of OPEC price hikes. The tax would apply only to OPEC increases that exceeded the inflation rate.

If, for example, OPEC prices increased from $16 a barrel to $20 by 1985 to keep pace with inflation, but OPEC added another $5 a barrel to bring the price to $25 a barrel, the tax would be half of $5 or $2.50.

Though the administration's charts of revenues from the windfall profits tax usually stopped at 1985, the OPEC tax had the potential to bring the government billions of dollars in the 1990s and beyond — after other parts of the windfall profits tax had expired.

The specter of the OPEC tax was one reason Mobil Oil Corp. gave on May 3 when it broke with the rest of the industry and endorsed continued controls on old oil. In return, Mobil said, it wanted no OPEC tax.

Mobil President William Tavoulareas said his company believed decontrol of oil currently being produced was less important than being able to get the world price for future production.

"By concentrating the debate on the short-term receipt of a limited amount of money, we obscure the most damaging aspect of the administration program — namely the concept of permanent controls over the price we can receive for oil that we have not yet found," Tavoulareas said.

Consumer Advocates

Consumer and labor groups testified against putting the receipts from the new tax in an Energy Security Fund, arguing that all the tax revenues should simply be redistributed to consumers. "Trust funds tend to develop lives of their own," Dorothy K. Powers, energy chairwoman of the League of Women Voters, told the committee May 16. "By handling the proceeds from the windfall tax through the regular budget process, Congress can assure itself and the American people that there is very close, yearly oversight on the use of the funds."

Environmentalists also opposed the fund because they said the billions of dollars earmarked for energy research would be wasted on outmoded technologies. They also wanted the revenues returned to oil consumers.

"What gives us the greatest concern," said Jonathan Gibson of the Sierra Club, "is that this vast pool of money waiting to be spent under the umbrella of an Energy Trust Fund will attract the white elephants that cannot obtain funding in the private marketplace. The most expensive, least energy-efficient and most environmentally objectionable technologies are those most likely to receive the lion's share of funding."

Ways and Means Committee Action

The House Ways and Means Committee substantially tightened President Carter's windfall profits tax on oil already being produced.

But the panel eased the tax bite on future discoveries, hoping to encourage new drilling and development.

The changes would cost the oil industry $6.7 billion more than the $21.8 billion that would be paid between 1980 and 1984 under Carter's tax proposal. But in the long run the Ways and Means bill would cost the industry much less because it lowered the tax on future production.

The committee formally reported the windfall tax bill (HR 3919 — H Rept 96-304) June 22. The vote to report the bill was 20-16.

Carter said he would support a tax stiffer than his proposal, and administration officials at the Ways and Means markup did not object to the committee's major changes.

The committee action reflected the philosophy of moderate Democrats, such as Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri and Joseph L. Fisher of Virginia, who cast key votes on several amendments. They, along with committee liberals, wanted to close loopholes in the Carter proposal that would allow millions of dollars of current oil production to escape a big chunk of the tax.

The true windfall, they argued, came when decontrol allowed the cost of this lower-priced oil to go up dramatically, tripling in some cases. They wanted the tax to apply to all of the windfall.

But the moderates joined with the panel's 12 Republicans and two oil-state Democrats to weaken what the oil industry considered the most onerous aspect of Carter's proposal — a permanent tax that would take half of what oil companies got from world price increases above $16 a barrel. The change was designed to encourage additional exploration and development, which Republicans argued was hindered by the tax.

Another major issue before the committee was the tax rate, which Carter had set at 50 percent of the "windfall." Ways and Means raised the rate to 70 percent, after defeating by two votes a Republican attempt to keep the rate increase to 60 percent.

Republicans also offered a substitute that would have allowed oil companies a "plowback" — a tax credit of 75 cents of every dollar they reinvested in energy production in excess of historic investment patterns. Ranking Republican Conable made the proposal, but lost, 14-22.

Tax Rate Change

The administration had proposed a 50 percent tax rate on the "windfall" that oil producers would receive when prices rose from controlled prices to world levels. But liberal and many moderate Democrats felt this rate was too low, particularly because Carter gave special treatment to certain categories of oil and thus did not levy the 50 percent tax across-the-board.

Though the committee removed this preferential treatment for oil currently being produced, a majority still felt the overall rate should be raised.

Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., proposed June 13 that the rate be raised to 70 percent. But before his proposal was voted on, a coalition of liberal Democrats, led by William R. Cotter, D-Conn., Raymond F. Lederer, D-Pa., and James M. Shannon, D-Mass., tried to raise the rate to 85 percent. The committee rejected that proposal, 12-21.

Committee Republicans, realizing the Democrats had the votes to increase the 50 percent rate, tried for a compromise. W. Henson Moore, R-La., proposed a 60 percent rate, instead of 70 percent. He lost by two votes, 17-19.

Then Bill Archer, R-Texas, proposed a 65 percent rate, but lost, 16-19.

At that point the Democrats, voting together except for the two oil-state representatives — James R. Jones, D-Okla., and J. J. Pickle, D-Texas — passed the Rostenkowski proposal for the 70 percent rate, 22-14.

Old Oil Tax

About a third of the 8.6 million barrels a day produced domestically in 1979 came from "old" wells — those producing before 1973 — and had a controlled price of $6 a barrel.

Decline Rate

As wells became depleted naturally, total production of old oil declined by .5 to 1.5 percent a month. Under the administration's decontrol scheme, the decline rate would be set arbitrarily, so the amount of old oil would be gradually reduced and finally eliminated by October 1981, when all controls would be lifted. In 1979, the decline rate was 1.5 percent a month; in 1980 and 1981, it would jump to 3 percent a month.

The windfall profits tax would continue beyond 1981 when price controls would end. As a result, oil from old wells would still be taxed on the price increase from $6 to the world price, even if its selling price were no longer controlled.

The tax system, like the pricing system, would have a monthly rate at which old oil would be gradually redefined for tax purposes as upper tier "new" oil. New oil, from wells producing between 1973 and 1979, would be priced at $13 a barrel.

However, the administration had proposed raising the decline rate from 1.5 to 2 percent in 1980, primarily to simplify administration of the tax. This would phase out the tax at an earlier stage.

Democrats on Ways and Means were concerned that this would allow some old oil to escape the tax when the price jumped from $6 to $13 a barrel. For some of the old oil the administration tax would apply only to the increase from $13 to $17 a barrel — the difference between the new oil price and the current world price.

Fisher proposed making the decline rate for tax purposes 1.5 percent a month, which was close to the natural decline rate. This would mean that as long as the old wells produced their output would be taxed on the difference between $6 a barrel and the world price.

After rejecting two more liberal proposals, the panel June 11 agreed to Fisher's proposal, 19-17.

This tightening of the tax on old oil was expected to cost the oil industry about $1 billion more in taxes through 1984 than Carter's proposal.

The committee rejected, 13-23, an amendment by Thomas J. Downey, D-N.Y., that would have set the monthly decline rate at 1.25 percent, thus bringing in more taxes. The panel also voted down, 11-25, a proposal by Fortney H. "Pete" Stark, D-Calif., to use the natural decline rate for each well.

Marginal Wells

As part of its efforts to encourage production and end controls, the administration earlier had set up a new category of old oil from "marginal" wells that would be priced at $13 a barrel. These were wells producing 35 barrels a day or less in 1978, depending on their depth.

But Democrats were concerned because this old oil would be taxed only on the price increase from $13 to the world price, with no tax on the increase from $6 to $13 a barrel. They wanted to tax marginal wells as old oil, so the full windfall would be subject to the tax.

Gephardt June 11 offered an amendment to tax marginal wells as old oil. His fellow Democrats agreed, except for Jones and Pickle, who joined Republicans in opposition to the amendment. The vote was 22-14.

The change would cost oil producers more than $1 billion more through 1984 than under Carter's plan.

The Joint Tax Committee staff estimated that the two changes tightening the tax on old oil would cost producers an extra $557 million in 1980; $570 million in 1984; $579 million in 1982; $493 million in 1983 and declining to $72 million in 1984.

Upper Tier Phaseout

The administration proposal would have gradually phased out the tax on new, or upper tier, oil as it increased from $13 a barrel to the world price. Instead of waiting until the wells were depleted, the administration would use an artificial decline rate to accelerate the phaseout of this category so the tax would end by 1990.

But Democrats felt this artificial phaseout, like that of the old oil tax, allowed some producer windfall to escape the tax. So Shannon June 13 proposed replacing the accelerated decline rate with the slower natural decline rate for each well. The committee agreed, 18-17.

This change would not increase tax revenues over the Carter proposal until 1987, when oil producers would have to pay an additional $110 million. In 1988, they would pay an additional $267 million; in 1989, $400 million, and in 1990, $500 million. The impact would decline in the years following 1990.

Current Alaskan Production

The administration had exempted all Alaskan oil from the tax. Because of high transportation costs, the wellhead price of Alaskan oil was kept low, about $7 a barrel, making it competitive on the East Coast with imported oil. This low price meant the windfall for Alaskan producers would be much less than for other producers, reasoned the administration, which also wanted to encourage production there.

But members of Ways and Means did not want Alaskan oil already being produced to escape the tax. William M. Brodhead, D-Mich., June 12 proposed a limited tax on Alaskan oil from the one reservoir at Prudhoe Bay producing oil. The committee agreed, 22-14.

The Brodhead amendment applied a 50 percent tax to the difference between a $7.50 a barrel base price and the selling price. The change, compared to the administration proposal, was expected to cost producers an additional $205 million in 1980; $217 million in 1981, $237 million in 1982, $257 million in 1983 and $286 million in 1984, for a total through 1984 of $1.204 billion.

Later, on June 13, the committee rejected, 16-18, an amendment by Wyche Fowler Jr., D-Ga., that would have added a limited tax on future Alaskan production. Fowler argued that Alaskan oil should be treated the same way as oil in the lower 48 states.

Changes to Encourage Production

The top priority for oil-state Democrats and Republicans, such as Jones, Pickle, Archer and Moore, was to ease the tax bite on newly discovered and hard-to-get oil. They felt producers deserved the full world price, without a tax, for new production. The Carter proposal would tax 50 percent of the difference between the selling price and a base price of $16 a barrel.

"We're asking them [producers] to take enormous risks and then be penalized for their successes," Jones said, describing the Carter tax.

Newly Discovered Oil

The committee spent most of June 13 dickering over compromises that would reduce the tax on newly discovered oil. Jones wanted this category exempted from the tax to encourage new production. But, admitting he was one vote shy of victory, he eventually accepted an amendment by Andy Jacobs Jr., D-Ind., which the committee approved, 23-13. Then the committee endorsed the amended Jones proposal, 23-13.

The Jacobs amendment exempted from the tax annual price increases equal to inflation plus 2 percent. For increases in excess of that amount, the tax rate would be 50 percent when the selling price was between $17 and $26 a barrel. The rate would increase to 70 percent when the price went above $26 a barrel.

Loosening the tax was expected to bring in $62 million less in tax revenues in 1980 than Carter's proposal; $146 million less in 1981; $296 million less in 1982; $539 million less in 1983 and $899 million less in 1984. The savings to producers over Carter's proposal would continue to increase in future years.

Tertiary Well Production

Tertiary wells are those from which additional oil can be produced only by costly extraction methods, such as injecting fluid or gaseous chemicals into the wells. The administration decontrol plan allowed a producer to boost his price for old oil if he used the money to finance tertiary projects. The Carter plan would not tax the additional production from tertiary wells except when the price exceeded $16 a barrel.

Pickle proposed an exemption from the tax of all production from fields with tertiary projects for price increases up to $16 a barrel. He argued that the break on extra well production was not enough because two of every three barrels of oil would be left in the ground unless high cost techniques, such as tertiary recovery, were used.

However, other Democrats opposed such a broad exemption. They eventually agreed, by voice vote, to a compromise by Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., that defined the extra production from tertiary recovery methods that would qualify for the tax break. The amendment assumed that the additional production would be at the rate of 2.5 percent a month, a more liberal arrangement than under the Carter plan. This change would save the oil industry $530 million over the Carter plan through 1984.

Exemption of Revenues for Education

The committee also agreed, 20-13, to exempt from the tax royalties paid to state and local governments if the money was used for educational purposes. The proposal was by Pickle of Texas, whose state earmarked all revenues from oil on its public lands for educational purposes.

A Divided Committee

Deep divisions within the committee's ranks were evident in several close votes taken on June 19, the day that the committee ordered the windfall tax bill reported to the full House.

By a vote of 16-20, the committee rejected a Republican-backed substitute measure proposed by James R. Jones, D-Okla., and W. Henson Moore, R-La. Their proposal discarded the stiffening amendments added by Ways and Means to the administration proposal, deleted the permanent tax on future increases in world oil prices and provided for an end to the windfall profits tax after 1990.

Joining the panel's 12 Republicans and Jones in voting for the substitute were Democrats Pickle, Ken Holland of South Carolina and Ed Jenkins of Georgia.

After rejecting the Jones-Moore substitute, the committee also defeated a proposal by Conable that the committee strike out the section channeling revenue from the tax into an energy security trust fund. The vote on Conable's proposal was also 16-20, with Stark, Mikva, Fowler and James C. Corman, D-Calif., joining the Republicans to support it.

The committee narrowly rejected a proposal that would have allowed floor votes by the full House on two substitutes for HR 3919, as reported. It then voted 18-17 to seek a rule that would allow no changes on the floor.

Rules Committee Action

On June 26, the Rules Committee refused to grant the rule requested by the Ways and Means Committee.

Instead, the Rules Committee stipulated that the House could vote on four points: the Ways and Means Committee amendments to the Carter proposal, that is, HR 3919 as reported; the Jones-Moore substitute for the bill; an amendment proposed by Shannon and Gephardt to tighten the tax on oil currently being produced; and a Republican recommittal motion calling for a tax credit for profits "plowed back" into energy development.

By a tie vote, the committee refused to allow a floor vote on a proposal to exempt from the tax producers of less than 1,000 barrels per day.

House Floor Action

The House June 28 tossed out the recommendations of the Ways and Means Committee and adopted a weaker version of the windfall tax bill.

By a vote of 236-183 the House adopted the Jones-Moore substitute measure. Ninety moderate and conservative Democrats voted for the bill, with all but 11 Republicans. Passage of the amended bill (HR 3919) came by voice vote. *(Vote 279, p. 84-H)*

The House-passed bill, which set the windfall profit tax rate at 60 percent, was expected to generate an additional $40 billion in tax revenues through 1984. Adoption of

the substitute by the House was a major victory for the oil industry, because it provided for an end to the tax in 1990. Both President Carter and the Ways and Means Committee had endorsed a permanent tax to capture part of future world price increases.

The tax rate approved by the House was actually higher than the 50 percent rate proposed by Carter, allowing its sponsors to argue that it would actually bring in more revenue than the original Carter proposal. The tax rate approved by the Ways and Means Committee was 70 percent.

Preliminary Skirmishes

The House took up the tax bill just after OPEC agreed to the largest increase in world oil prices since 1973.

Ullman told the House the OPEC increase was a good reason to reject the Jones-Moore bill and pass the stiffer Ways and Means measure.

First up was the package of amendments that Ways and Means had added to the original Carter bill. William R. Cotter, D-Conn., arguing for the package, said the OPEC cartel set prices artificially, which meant profits from decontrolled domestic oil would be "unjustifiably high." Under decontrol, the price of domestic oil would rise to the world price set by OPEC.

But Moore argued that the tax would discourage new production. "All the people will have to show for this entire exercise will be a new tax, no additional energy," Moore said. "That is not what the people want."

Though committee amendments to a bill were usually accepted routinely, Moore and Conable urged that the amendments be rejected. That would have left the House with Carter's original proposal.

But the House disagreed, accepting the committee amendments by a 230-185 vote. *(Vote 278, p. 84-H)*

The Jones-Moore Substitute

The House then voted to adopt the Jones-Moore substitute, which revised the Ways and Means measure with provisions that:

- Reduced the tax rate from 70 percent to 60 percent.
- Ended taxes on new discoveries at the end of 1990.
- Taxed oil from marginal wells at a lower rate. The tax was on the difference between the selling price and a base price of $13 a barrel, instead of a base price of $6 a barrel.
- Gave a tax break to revenue from some tertiary wells, making the base price $17 a barrel, instead of $13 a barrel.

The Jones-Moore version retained other Ways and Means revisions in the Carter proposal.

Figures computed prior to the June 28 OPEC increases showed that the Jones-Moore substitute would, through 1984, bring to the Treasury $23.3 billion, compared to $21.2 billion under Carter's plan. The Ways and Means bill would bring in $29.1 billion by 1984.

But the OPEC increases pushed the estimates of revenues much higher. According to preliminary estimates by the Joint Tax Committee, the higher prices would mean revenues of $35.3 billion from the Carter plan and $40.7 billion from the House-passed bill.

How the different versions would affect production was the subject of some dispute. Jones argued that production increases from decontrol and the tax would be 350,000 barrels a day under the Ways and Means bill, 700,000 barrels a day under the administration proposal and 800,000 barrels a day under his amendment.

Plowback Proposal

Conable and other Republicans felt the Jones-Moore revisions did not go far enough. They wanted to send the bill back to the Ways and Means Committee with instructions to write in a "plowback" provision. Such a proposal would give oil companies a tax credit for 75 cents of every dollar they invested in energy production in excess of historic investment patterns. But the House rejected the plan, 186-229. *(Vote 281, p. 84-H)*

Senate Committee Action

Carter administration officials appeared before the Senate Finance Committee July 10 and 11 to ask the panel to approve a stiffer measure than the House had passed two weeks before.

Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal said that the administration would accept the 60 percent tax rate approved by the House, but urged the Senate to reinstate the permanent tax on future increases in world oil prices.

Without the tax, Blumenthal told the panel, "a future surge in oil prices could compel a return" to price controls. That danger, he said, made it "preferable to risk sacrificing the very small potential [production increases] in order to avoid such a situation."

Blumenthal also asked the Senate to stiffen the tax on newly discovered oil and on extra production yielded by special techniques, such as injection of chemicals into wells. The House had given this oil a break by taxing only increases above $17 a barrel, with that price adjusted annually for inflation plus 2 percent.

Blumenthal asked the Senate to tax increases above $16 a barrel, adjusted for inflation, without the 2 percent "kicker," which he said "seems excessive."

Blumenthal also argued against giving producers a tax credit for profits invested in additional production.

A plowback would not necessarily add to domestic production, Blumenthal said, and would be impossible to administer and it would reward only present owners of oil, thus discouraging competition in the oil industry.

Alaskan oil had been exempted from the tax under the administration proposal, but the House had voted to tax price increases above $7.50 a barrel. Blumenthal went along with the decision to tax Alaskan oil but suggested taxing only increases above $13 a barrel.

Presidential Lobbying

At a White House news conference July 25, President Carter sought to mobilize public opinion behind his tax proposal, urging citizens to let the Senate know that they wanted a stiff tax imposed on the oil industry's windfall profits.

Carter's request came as the nation's oil companies reported their highest profits in history for the second quarter of 1979.

Exxon Corp., the largest company, had an increase of 20 percent over the same period in 1978; Mobil Oil Corp. — a 30 percent increase; Shell Oil Co. — 55 percent; Standard Oil of California — 61 percent.

Texaco Inc. topped the list, with an increase of 132 percent over the same period in 1978. Texaco officials said that earnings the previous year had been "abnormally low."

"I think that I cannot prevail alone here in Washington with an oil lobby working quietly, unless the American peo-

ple let their voice be heard," Carter said at the news conference. The president warned of a "massive struggle to gut" the tax bill.

Carter said the Senate threatened to make changes in the tax that would "rob" it of $54 billion of the $142 billion he expected the tax to generate by 1990.

Without the additional money, Carter said, it would be "impossible to have an adequate synthetic fuels program, to have an adequate mass transit program, to have adequate care for the poor people who are severely impacted by rapidly rising energy costs."

The appeal came the day after Carter did some lobbying of his own. He called the Senate Finance Committee to the White House to discuss his proposal and to ask them for fast action.

But the session led only to a promise from Finance Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., that Congress would complete action in October. The powerful chairman said later, "There's a good chance we'll pass a bill the president will be pleased to sign."

A Long and Leisurely Markup

The Finance Committee markup began Sept. 6 and ended Oct. 25.

Heavy Oil. The committee agreed unanimously Sept. 6 to exempt "heavy oil" from the proposed tax.

The exemption of heavy oil, produced mostly in California, had been proposed by the administration and would cost the Treasury an estimated $200 million a year in lost revenues in 1980 and about twice that by 1985. Heavy oil, a highly viscous substance, was difficult to extract and had not been profitable to produce.

Carter issued an executive order Aug. 17 removing price controls on heavy oil, which accounted for only about 1 percent of daily U.S. production. The Energy Department projected that decontrol would double production of heavy oil by 1980.

Government Exemption. The committee Sept. 11 agreed to exempt from the proposed tax the income that state and local governments derived from oil when that money was used for a public purpose. (In October, the committee rejected an attempt to delete this exemption. The vote against deletion was 5-12.)

The amendment, proposed by Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, was prompted by the Texas policy of dedicating state income from oil for public education.

Bentsen originally wanted the exemption to apply only to income used for education, but other senators said that would force states to use their money for education in order to get the exemption. A similar amendment exempting only funds used for education was adopted by the House.

Oil Shale Credit. The committee rejected a proposal by Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., to grant a tax credit to encourage production of hard-to-get natural gas and oil from shale rock.

The credit, for $3 a barrel or 50 cents per thousand cubic feet of gas, would be phased out when oil prices reached $29.06 a barrel. But Talmadge insisted that the phase-out be indexed, so it would increase with the rate of inflation. He also wanted the credit to swell with inflation.

Eleven of the panel's 20 members voted on the Talmadge amendment, which was supported by the administration, but the absent members were still to be recorded. The vote as of Sept. 12 was 5-6 against the credit.

Alternative Energy Sources. In action Sept. 18, the committee approved a broader tax credit provision, giving producers of various alternative kinds of energy a tax credit of $3 for each amount equivalent to a barrel of oil.

Eligible for the credit would be the following: oil produced from shale; liquids, gases or pellets from wood and other organic materials; liquids or other fuels from coal; and gas from geopressured brine.

The credit would be available as the price of imported oil rose from $23.50 to $29.50 a barrel, adjusted for inflation. The credit would also be adjusted for inflation.

Solar Energy. The committee decided Sept. 19 to double the existing tax credit for installation of residential solar equipment and to extend its life to the year 2000 from 1985. The maximum credit already available was $2,200, and the revision, offered by Bob Packwood, R-Ore., would raise the ceiling to $5,000.

Existing law allowed a homeowner to reduce his tax bill by 30 percent of the first $2,000, and 20 percent of the next $8,000, spent on solar equipment. The Finance action allowed a credit for 50 percent of expenditures of as much as $10,000. *(1978 Almanac p. 639)*

Residential Conservation. The committee voted Sept. 20 to increase from $300 to $1,000, the tax credit available to homeowners and landlords who installed insulation and other eligible energy-conserving equipment.

The existing credit was 15 percent of the first $2,000 in expenditures. The Packwood proposal increased that to 50 percent, and made heat pumps eligible. The panel also agreed to make wood stoves eligible for a credit of 25 percent of the first $2,000 of expenditures.

Too Many Exemptions

By Sept. 27, the Finance Committee had done little to toughen the tax portion of the House bill although it had approved many tax credits and exemptions.

The Treasury Department estimated that the Finance Committee had agreed to exemptions and credits that would cost $127.4 billion by 1990 — $23.4 billion more than the House-passed bill was expected to raise in revenues by then.

The committee had voted to exempt from the tax newly discovered oil, from wells tapped after 1978, and oil recovered using tertiary techniques.

By 1990, exempting newly discovered oil would reduce revenues by $14 billion, and the break for tertiary oil would cut income to the Treasury by $7.5 billion.

About 43 percent of U.S. crude oil subject to the tax in 1990 was expected to be newly discovered. About 13 percent was expected to be recovered using tertiary methods.

Combined with an earlier tax break for heavy oil, the exemptions approved by the committee would cut tax receipts by $26.5 billion.

Higher Rate on Old Oil. The panel made only one change in the House-passed bill that increased tax revenues. By a 12-8 margin, the committee decided to increase from 60 percent to 75 percent the tax on increases in old oil prices when controls were lifted.

However, as old oil became depleted, revenues were estimated at only $1 billion in the next 10 years.

On the vote, six Democrats and six Republicans from oil-consuming states joined together to defeat six Democrats and two Republicans from producing states.

Tax Credits. Adding to billions in tax credits approved the week of Sept. 17, the committee agreed to a Bob Packwood, R-Ore., amendment to give businesses a 40 percent credit against their income taxes for money spent

on energy equipment that tapped power from the sun, wind, ocean or earth's heat, falling water or biological waste. Estimated cost of that tax credit by 1990 was $36 billion.

By Sept. 27, business credits approved by the panel, including credits for energy production from alternative sources, were expected to reduce tax revenues by $53.9 billion by 1990, according to estimates by the Treasury.

Residential credits, for installing solar equipment, insulation, heat pumps, wood stoves and other energy equipment, would cost the Treasury $47 billion by 1990. Business and residential credits would cut revenues by $100.9 billion by 1990.

Stripper Wells Exemption

A desire to have enough revenue for tax credits was a major reason the panel began in October to reject attempts to weaken the tax. "The committee is clearly alarmed by the amount of revenue loss" from proposed exemptions, said David L. Boren, D-Okla., who urged a focus instead on how much oil production would be discouraged by the tax. Moderate Republicans played a key role in aiding Democrats to defeat efforts by oil-state members to reduce the tax bite on oil industry revenues.

Boren proposed that oil from "stripper" wells be exempt from the tax. Stripper wells were those with an average annual production of 10 or fewer barrels a day. The nation's 369,000 stripper wells contributed 14 percent of U.S. production.

The Finance Committee Oct. 3 voted 6-12 against the Boren proposal, which would have reduced revenues from the tax by $24 billion by 1990.

Voting for the Boren amendment were Democrats Long, Mike Gravel of Alaska, Lloyd Bentsen of Texas and Boren. They were joined by only two of the panel's eight Republicans, Dole, Kan., and Malcolm Wallop, Wyo.

Bentsen wanted to exempt the first 3,000 barrels a day of oil produced by independent producers. "Independents" usually only extracted crude oil, instead of also refining and marketing it as did major oil companies.

Bentsen argued that independents should not be taxed because they reinvested their profits in oil exploration. Independents were responsible for finding more than 75 percent of new fields. "They will not be out buying department store chains," he said.

But Bentsen's amendment would have reduced revenue by from $13 billion to $23 billion over 10 years.

The Finance panel rejected his proposal, 6-10. The same six senators that supported the Boren amendment voted for the Bentsen amendment.

'Stripped Down Stripper'. Over a lunch break Oct. 3, Dole devised a compromise amendment that combined elements of the Bentsen and Boren proposals. Dole proposed a tax exemption for the first 1,000 barrels a day of oil produced from stripper wells worked by independent producers.

He called his proposal a "stripped down stripper" amendment. The compromise gave a break to independents and encouraged production from marginal wells, but was not so expensive as the other amendments. Estimated revenue loss from his proposal was $7.7 billion by 1990.

The Finance Committee accepted Dole's proposal, 11-7. Switching to the pro-exemption column were Max Baucus, D-Mont., and four moderate Republicans: Packwood, William V. Roth Jr. of Delaware, John Heinz of Pennsylvania and David Durenberger of Minnesota.

The committee Oct. 4 agreed to a Boren amendment to give a tax break to wells that yielded nine or more barrels of water for every barrel of oil produced. The break was expected to reduce tax revenues by $350 million by 1990.

The panel Oct. 4 rejected, 9-11, a proposal by John H. Chafee, R-R.I., to increase from 60 percent to 75 percent the tax rate on newly discovered oil. The tax would be phased out by 1995.

The committee also agreed to exempt from the tax oil produced from Indian lands.

Energy Security Fund

The committee agreed by an 11-7 vote Oct. 4 to set up a trust fund for revenues from the proposed windfall profits tax on oil producers.

That vote made it less likely that the tax revenues could be diverted to programs unrelated to energy, as some senators would have preferred.

The vote was a victory for the Carter administration, which proposed the Energy Security Fund as a mechanism for directing the windfall profits tax revenues toward energy programs, including synthetic fuels development, mass transit improvements and aid to poor families with higher heating bills.

As of Oct. 5, the panel had reduced the estimated revenues of the House-passed bill from $104 billion by 1990 to about $70 billion.

Finance Chairman Long suggested that the committee use about half the revenue, or $35 billion, for tax credits. The rest of the money, another $35 billion, would be distributed by other committees for programs such as subsidies for heating bills and loan guarantees for synthetic fuels plants.

Tax Phase Out, Rates

By a 12-8 vote, the Finance Committee agreed Oct. 10 to phase out the tax when revenues hit a certain level. The move was a major victory for the oil industry.

In another major action, the committee agreed Oct. 9 on a 60 percent tax rate on upper tier oil, from wells produced between 1973 and 1978.

The decision to phase out the tax severed the link between the tax and world oil prices, a link that would have meant more taxes for the industry — and revenue for the government — every time the world oil cartel raised oil prices.

The committee did not set a revenue total after which the tax would be phased out. But if oil prices increased more rapidly than the panel projected, the tax could be phased out years earlier than expected, saving the oil industry billions of dollars.

Depending on what assumption was made about the annual increase in oil prices, estimated revenues from the tax approved by Finance ranged from $65 billion to $103 billion over the next decade.

Moderate Republicans on the committee, who had opposed several proposals by oil-state senators, joined with them to adopt the phase-out amendment offered by Wallop.

Upper Tier. The decision to tax upper tier oil at a 60 percent rate followed unsuccessful attempts to set the rate higher or lower.

Dole proposed a 50 percent rate, but the plan was rejected, 6-13. Chafee's suggested rate of 70 percent was also rejected, 9-11. Dole then proposed a rate of 60 percent, and the committee agreed, 12-7.

Alaskan Oil. On Oct. 9, the committee refused, 5-12, to exempt Alaskan oil from the tax. But the panel agreed Oct. 11 not to apply the tax to any additional income oil producers would receive if charges for using the Alaskan oil pipeline were reduced.

No House Action

The House, which passed the tax in June, had not by October begun to consider proposals for spending the tax revenues.

The House Democratic leadership originally planned to pass a second windfall profits bill earmarking the revenues for certain programs. But it appeared increasingly unlikely that the House would vote on a spending proposal before going to conference with the Senate. Democratic strategists thought that their bargaining position in conference might be enhanced if the House began with no tax credits.

Oil Company Profits

Even as the Finance Committee completed work on the tax measure, the nation's oil companies — for the third consecutive quarter — reported record-high profits. The figures were from the third quarter of 1979, July through September.

President Carter said Oct. 25 that the figures "vividly demonstrate the need for a major portion of unearned profits from the oil companies to go into the general service of the American people."

Treasury Secretary G. William Miller said Oct. 23 that the profits "reinforce the urgent need for the Congress to enact promptly the administration's windfall profits tax.

"The third-quarter earnings reports of the major U.S. oil companies dramatize the merits of our proposed windfall profits tax, which is fair both to the oil companies and to the American people."

The first report came from the world's largest oil company, Exxon Corp., which said Oct. 22 that profits were up 118 percent from the same period a year before.

But then on Oct. 24, Mobil Corp., the nation's second largest oil company, reported that its earnings were up 130 percent.

Exxon and Mobil were partners in Aramco, the Arabian American Oil Co., a consortium of eight companies based in Saudi Arabia. That gave them access to Saudi oil, which at $18 a barrel was a bargain. Other OPEC nations had raised prices, to as much as $26 a barrel.

Gulf Oil Corp. reported Oct. 23 that its third quarter earnings were up 97 percent. Conoco Inc. showed a gain of 134 percent. Standard Oil Co. of Indiana said its profits were up 49 percent, and Atlantic Richfield Co.'s earnings increased by 45 percent. Standard Oil of Ohio reported a jump of 191.3 percent. For the Sun Oil Co., the increase was 65.4 percent.

The Senate Committee Bill

The Finance Committee completed action on HR 3919 Oct. 25. The report (S Rept 96-394) was filed Nov. 1.

As reported, the Finance Committee version of the measure authorized a substantially weaker oil windfall profits tax than the Carter administration proposed.

Revenues from the Finance bill were expected to be roughly half of what the administration or the House versions of the legislation would bring in by 1990. Preliminary estimates put revenues from the Finance measure at $138 billion by 1990.

The committee bill would capture just over a quarter of the extra income the oil industry was expected to get by 1990 from decontrol of oil prices.

In contrast, the administration and the House would tax away about half of that extra industry income.

President Carter Oct. 25 called on the full Senate to strengthen the committee bill. If it doesn't, he said, "we'll then shift our combat zone" to the House-Senate conference committee that would work out final details of the tax.

If the final bill was still not to his liking, Carter said, "We'll move toward additional proposals to the Congress which could be quite punitive to the oil industry. I will not hestitate to do that if necessary."

The Finance bill was weaker than the Carter and House versions primarily because the committee exempted from the tax several types of oil, including oil discovered after 1978 and most hard-to-get oil.

In addition, the panel decided to phase out the tax as soon as the government received 90 percent of the anticipated revenues, or $124.2 billion. Under the House bill, the tax was likely to be in effect longer. Carter had proposed a permanent tax.

At the last session, Dole, the ranking Republican made one last stab at reducing the tax bite on oil produced before mid-1973, the category that would be taxed at the highest rate under the bill. But his move was rejected by the same coalition of Democrats and Republicans from consuming states that earlier had rebuffed several attempts to make the tax even weaker.

The panel Oct. 25 did adopt an amendment by Roth to set aside an unspecified amount of revenues in a "Taxpayer's Trust Fund." The money could be used to pay for an $11 billion increase in Social Security taxes scheduled for 1981. The funds would come from increased corporate income taxes on profits from decontrolled oil prices.

COMPONENTS OF THE TAX

The "windfall profits" tax was a severance tax on the difference between the controlled selling price of oil and the price it would bring when controls were lifted.

For example, oil selling for $13 a barrel might sell for as much as $25 a barrel once price controls were lifted. The tax would apply to the difference between $13 and $25, taking a percentage of the $12 "windfall."

The Finance Committee decided to set the stiffest tax rate — 75 percent — on oil from wells producing before mid-1973. This was so-called "old," or lower tier oil. This oil had the lowest price, about $6 a barrel.

The committee set a lower tax rate — 60 percent — on "new," or upper tier oil, which covered oil from wells producing between mid-1973 and 1978. Under controls, new oil was priced at about $13 a barrel.

The panel totally exempted from the tax:

- "Newly discovered oil," found after 1978.
- "Incremental tertiary" oil, which was extra oil produced after injection of chemicals into a well.
- Heavy oil.
- Hard-to-get oil from stripper wells owned by independent producers.
- Oil owned by Indians; by state and local governments,which used oil income for public purposes; and by non-profit schools and medical facilities.

The Finance panel also decided to put a ceiling on the amount of revenues the government could get from the windfall profits tax. The tax would be phased out within three years of the time when revenues totaled 90 percent of $138 billion.

Credits, Spending Plans

The biggest chunk of revenues from the windfall profits tax would go to fuel assistance — funds to help poor and low-income families pay higher heating bills.

The panel decided to earmark half of the tax revenues for fuel assistance, putting the money into a fuel assistance trust fund. Of the $138 billion in anticipated revenues, about $40 billion would be used for fuel assistance.

Most of the money would be used to assist poor families already qualified for government aid. However, the panel was only one of many congressional groups to act on fuel assistance. *(See Fuel Assistance box, this chapter)*

In addition to aid for the poor, the committee voted assistance for families with annual incomes of up to $22,000. The program would cost $4 billion through fiscal 1981, at which point Congress would review it.

Though the committee originally limited the middle-income program to families that heated with oil, propane or Canadian natural gas, the panel voted Oct. 24 to expand it to all types of energy, giving any family in the nation a chance to qualify for the aid. The committee already had decided the formula for distributing the aid would be based half on a state's poverty level and half on its weather.

Mass Transportation. The Finance panel put $15 billion in tax revenues into a fund for mass transportation. Details of the program were expected to come from the Senate Commerce Committee in separate legislation.

Residential Credits. The committee also decided to offer additional tax credits to homeowners and landlords for installation of conservation and alternative energy equipment. Total cost of these credits by 1990 was expected to be $8.3 billion. In 1978, Congress voted a number of tax credits for homeowners and businesses that installed energy-saving or renewable source energy equipment. *(1978 Almanac p. 645)*

The committee voted to:

- Extend the existing $300 tax credit for homeowners to cover installation of heat pumps, wood stoves, coal-fired furnaces and oil or gas furnaces that met certain efficiency standards.
- Raise to $5,000 from $2,200 the existing maximum credit for homeowners who installed solar, wind and geothermal equipment.
- Make the above two types of credit available for second homes and to landlords.

Business Credits. The panel voted to offer additional tax credits to industry for conserving and producing energy. Those credits were expected to cost $15.2 billion over the next decade.

To encourage conservation, the committee decided to:

- Extend the existing 10 percent energy tax credit, passed in 1978, to business installation of industrial heat pumps, boilers fueled by sludge left over from oil refining and use of "cogeneration" equipment, which used waste energy, except in facilities heated with oil. That credit would be in addition to the regular 10 percent investment credit available for plant, equipment and certain other expenses.
- Extend the regular 10 percent credit to all equipment eligible for the special energy credit and also to hydroelectric dams and power plants.

To encourage production of energy, the panel voted to provide energy producers a $3 tax credit for production of each energy unit equivalent to a barrel of oil. Eligible for the credit would be energy from agricultural and forest by-products; oil from shale, coal or tar sands, and gas from Devonian shale, coal or geopressurized brine.

However, the $3 credit would be phased out by the time the price of imported oil reached $29.50 a barrel.

The committee also decided to revise existing tax breaks for gasohol. Gasoline that contained at least 10 percent alcohol was exempted from the 4-cent-a-gallon federal excise tax. The committee decided to replace that exemption with a credit of 40 cents a gallon to producers for every gallon of alcohol mixed with gasoline.

The committee also decided to give a tax break to alcohol produced from coal. Under existing law, the tax credit applied only to alcohol produced from biomass — agricultural and forest products and wastes. The Finance panel decided every gallon of alcohol produced from coal and combined with gasoline would receive a 10-cent tax credit.

Carryover Basis

Also included in the windfall profits tax was an unrelated provision — repeal of the so-called carryover basis, one of the major "reforms" of the 1976 Tax Reform Act.

The provision was passed by Congress in 1976, but it was not to go into effect until 1980. It meant higher capital gains taxes for those who inherited wealth. The revision would require a seller of inherited wealth to pay taxes on the appreciation in the property since it was purchased, not just the appreciation since the seller inherited it. The American Bankers Association led a campaign to repeal the tax. *(Story, p. 326)*

Carter had said he would veto legislation that repealed the provision. So Finance members Harry F. Byrd, Jr., Ind-Va., and Republican Dole attached the repeal to the oil tax bill, which Carter was not likely to veto.

Senate Floor Action

After a month of consideration, the Senate approved its version of the oil windfall profits tax Dec. 17 by a vote of 74-24. *(Vote 484, p. 81-S)*

The Senate bill was estimated to raise about $178 billion in revenues by 1990, compared to about $277 billion from the House bill.

The Senate adopted a number of amendments that stiffened the measure reported by the Senate Finance Committee, rebuffing efforts to weaken the tax bite on industry profits. It did, however, grant independent producers a break from the new tax, and virtually eliminated any link between windfall tax revenues and energy development programs.

Tax Rate Reduction

The Senate took up the bill Nov. 15. In the first major test of strength on the measure, a coalition of Republicans and oil-state Democrats twice failed by wide margins to weaken the windfall tax.

On Nov. 16, the Senate rejected a proposal to reduce, from 60 to 50 percent, the tax rate in the House-passed bill. This amendment was proposed by Boren, who conceded that he offered it in part as a test of Senate sentiment toward efforts to ease the tax bite on the industry. The vote rejecting the amendment was 32-53. Voting for the amend-

ment were 24 Republicans and eight Democrats, most of whom represented oil-producing states. *(Vote 410, p. 69-S)*

Three days later, by an even wider margin of 32-58, the Senate rejected a proposal to reduce the tax rate on old oil from 75 to 60 percent. *(Vote 414, p. 69-S)*

Robert Dole, R-Kan., sponsor of this amendment, argued that the high tax rate would result in a drop-off in production from these wells, which were already producing as of 1973. But others argued that "old oil" should be taxed at the highest rate because it would bring producers their largest windfall, since the costs of producing it were quite low.

Carryover Basis

The Senate ratified the Finance Committee's decision to attach to HR 3919 a provision repealing the "carryover basis rule" adopted by the 1976 Tax Reform Act. Repeal of this rule, which would benefit persons who inherited wealth, was approved by a vote of 81-4. *(Vote 413, p. 69-S)*

Under the carryover basis rule, heirs would have to pay capital gains taxes on the full appreciation of property they inherited and then sold, rather than paying just on the increase in value occurring during the time they owned the property.

House Version Rejected

Resuming consideration of the bill after the Thanksgiving recess, the Senate refused Nov. 26 to approve the House version of HR 3919 in place of the Senate Finance Committee proposal. Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., proposed approval of the House bill, but the Senate tabled his proposal, 50-32. *(Vote 420, p. 71-S)*

Import Quota Veto

Also Nov. 26 the Senate agreed by voice vote to an amendment proposed by J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., that would allow Congress, if both houses agreed, to block a presidential decision to impose oil import quotas. *(Oil Import Quotas box, p. 612)*

Exemption for Independent Producers

By a vote of 53-41 the Senate Nov. 27 gave independent producers an exemption from the windfall profits tax for the first 1,000 barrels they produced each day. Independent producers did not refine or transport oil, but engaged solely in exploration and production. *(Vote 422, p. 71-S)*

Bentsen of Texas, sponsor of this exemption, said it would result in additional oil production of 1 billion barrels by 1990. He said the loss of $10 billion in revenues, "if that figure is correct," was "a cheap investment" in return for that much oil.

But others disputed his figures, saying the exemption would spur little additional production.

Bentsen's victory depended in large part on support from 11 Democratic senators up for re-election who usually voted against the oil industry.

Voting for the Bentsen amendment were: Birch Bayh, Ind.; Bumpers, Ark.; Frank Church, Idaho; Alan Cranston, Calif.; John C. Culver, Iowa; Wendell H. Ford, Ky.; Gary Hart, Colo.; Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii; George McGovern, S.D.; Donald Stewart, Ala., and Richard Stone, Fla.

Their voting pattern also was followed by a few others, including two Republican Finance Committee members: Heinz, Pa., and Roth, Del.

Trust Funds Deleted

On Nov. 27, the Senate all but eliminated the link between windfall tax revenues and spending programs for energy. However, new energy tax credits in the bill still would be covered by the revenues.

By an 81-14 vote, the Senate agreed to delete the two trust funds, for transportation and low-income fuel assistance, that the Finance Committee had established. About $15 billion would have been set aside for transportation and $40 billion for fuel assistance. *(Vote 427, p. 72-S)*

President Carter had argued that the oil tax revenues should be spent on energy-related activities, such as transportation, fuel assistance and synthetic fuels programs.

Some congressional committees had begun to grumble about earmarking the revenues soon after Carter's July 15 proposal. The worry was that once Congress had set aside tax revenues, it would lose control over how the money was spent. The tax-writing committees would be handing over to the executive branch the responsibilities of the appropriating and authorizing committees, they argued.

The Finance panel did just that, voting to "spend" almost all of the revenues by setting up trust funds and voting tax credits for energy conservation and production. Synthetic fuels development, for which Carter wanted two-thirds of the revenues, got short shrift from Finance.

Appropriations Committee Chairman Warren G. Magnuson, D-Wash., who offered the amendment to strike the trust funds, argued that Congress would not have any control over tax revenues placed into trust funds.

"This bill contains the worst kind of spending, spending that mortgages the future, spending that prevents any future Congress from having any leeway," said Magnuson. "It is the type of spending that must be stopped if Congress is ever to achieve some kind of balance in the federal budget."

Budget Committee Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, echoed Magnuson's arguments. "Congress will literally lose its power over a huge portion of the purse if HR 3919 is enacted as reported," said Muskie.

Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., ranking minority member of the Budget Committee, also argued for the amendment. "We should not now be placing outside the regular budget and appropriations processes a new, very large slice of federal spending," he said.

The Finance bill still "spent" a portion of the revenue because it provided tax credits to encourage energy production and conservation. But the Magnuson amendment reduced the cost of the credits by allowing the credit only as a deduction from taxes owed. If the amount of the credit exceeded the amount owed, then the government was not obligated to pay cash to the taxpayer. The Finance bill would have required the cash payment, which "effectively used the tax system to create new grants," as Roth put it.

The Senate bill still authorized spending for transportation and fuel assistance, but the programs would not exist unless Congress provided money through the appropriations process.

In other action, the senators agreed to a proposal by McGovern to authorize $1 billion for railroad improvements. The action followed a 54-41 vote Nov. 27 to kill a McGovern proposal to reserve $10 billion for the railroads. *(Vote 424, p. 71-S)*

The senators Nov. 28 rejected, 19-79, an amendment by Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., to authorize $1 billion to encourage exploration and production of oil in non-OPEC countries. *(Vote 428, p. 72-S)*

Fuel Aid for Poor Sparks Regional Fight

After resolving a sharp regional fight over how the aid should be distributed, the Senate approved an authorization for a $7 billion program to help low-income households pay their fuel bills in the winters of 1980-81 and 1981-82.

Originally considered by the Senate as a separate bill (S 1724), the authorization was added to HR 3919 Nov. 16.

Regional differences over the fuel aid formula were so strong that a filibuster on S 1724 had been a distinct possibility. Both northern and southern senators argued that a formula more favorable to the other region would lead to suffering, even death, for their poor constituents.

Northerners, who thought the bill should be limited to help with heating bills, backed a formula that favored states with the coldest winters. Southerners, who thought the poor needed help with all their energy bills, not just heating, wanted a formula that put more emphasis on total energy costs in each state.

The compromise formula, which was approved 69-14 on Nov. 15, basically split the difference between the formulas more favorable to the North and to the South. *(Vote 408, p. 68-S)*

S 1724 authorized a fuel assistance program for fiscal 1981 and 1982. Maximum funding allowed by the bill was $3 billion in 1981 and $4 billion in 1982, to be financed out of the Energy Trust Fund established by the windfall profits tax bill. Funds would be distributed in block grants to the states on the basis of a formula taking into account climate, energy costs and low-income populations. States would then set up their own programs to make the aid available to welfare and food stamp recipients and other low-income families. Sponsors estimated nearly 18 million households — one-fourth of the U.S. population — would be eligible for aid.

The Labor and Human Resources Committee reported S 1724 Oct. 25 (S Rept 96-378). *(Other fuel assistance measures, p. 535)*

Formula Fight

Northern senators, led by Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, and Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., made it clear during the first two days of debate on S 1724, Nov. 13 and 14, that they would talk the bill to death if there was no change in the Human Resources Committee's formula for allocation of the money to states.

The formula, similar to the one adopted by the Finance Committee in the fuel assistance section of HR 3919, based the state allocation on two factors: half on total residential energy costs in each state, and half on a factor ("heating degree days") that measured how cold the winters were in the state, multiplied by the number of low-income people.

The effect of this formula, compared with the formula in the Interior appropriations bill for the 1979-80 winter, was to sharply cut funds going to northern states, and increase money for the South. *(Interior appropriations, p. 229)*

Although there were some early attempts at compromise, the situation appeared headed for a confrontation and filibuster after Boschwitz, a freshman making his first sally into a major floor fight, introduced, with Muskie, an amendment that would have radically altered the formula in favor of the North. It would have based three-fourths of the money on the square of the number of heating degree days times the number of poor, and only one-fourth on total home energy expenditures.

Supporters of the amendment argued that fuel aid should be heavily concentrated in the North because the real purpose of the bill was to keep people from freezing to death. It was wrong to reduce help for people who were cold in order to help those who wanted to pay for air conditioning and other energy uses, they argued.

But southern opponents of the amendment said poor people had other essential energy needs that were also threatened by rising prices. Citing the heavy death toll from a heat wave in Dallas one summer, Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, said many ill and elderly people needed air conditioning to stay alive just as much as others needed heat.

Although Boschwitz's amendment would have benefited more states than the committee bill, he and Muskie did not have the votes to win because northern members of the Human Resources and Finance committees had lined up behind the committee formula.

The compromise finally reached was more favorable to the North than the committee bill was, but substantially less so than the Boschwitz amendment.

The compromise formula retained the 50-50 split between the climate factor and the energy cost factor. But it used the square of the number of heating degree days, thereby giving added emphasis to the severity of each state's winter. The compromise also guaranteed each state a minimum equal to $120 a year times the number of low-income households — a provision that benefited only Hawaii, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Amendments Rejected

The Senate rejected by roll-call votes amendments:

- By Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., to remove from the bill a provision allowing assistance for medically necessary air conditioning. Rejected 27-68. *(Vote 398, p. 66-S)*
- By Bentsen, to count the number of poor people in each state on the basis of poverty figures used by the Office of Management and Budget, rather than on low-income living standard figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Rejected 33-56. *(Vote 399, p. 66-S)*
- By Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H., to reduce the specific requirements imposed on state plans for distributing the fuel aid. Rejected 34-55. *(Vote 400, p. 67-S)*

The Senate also refused, 41-50, to table a Robert Dole, R-Kan., amendment to retain the Human Resources Committee formula for aid, with the addition of a minimum level for each state based on the number of poor households times $120. (The Dole amendment was subsequently ruled out of order.) *(Vote 403, p. 67-S)*

Tax Rate Increase

Oil-state senators Nov. 28 threatened to filibuster the tax bill after the Senate moved to stiffen the tax rate on new oil, discovered between 1973 and 1978.

Bill Bradley, D-N.J., and Chafee, both members of the Finance Committee, proposed an increase from 60 to 75 percent in the tax rate on this category of new oil. It was estimated to cost the oil industry $22.5 billion in new taxes over the next decade.

Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., criticized the proposal as "confiscatory," and moved to table it. But the Senate by a vote of 39-58, refused. *(Vote 430, p. 72-S)*

That vote prompted the filibuster threat, forcing proponents of the higher tax rate to the bargaining table. Both sides met Nov. 29-30 to work on a compromise.

But, despite the efforts of Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., Finance Chairman Long, Minority Leader Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, Robert Dole, R-Kan. and others, no compromise was reached.

However, the oil-state senators did decide to allow a vote on the Bradley-Chafee amendment in return for a procedural agreement that gave them a chance to offer several amendments weakening the tax. In addition, Republicans Roth and William L. Armstrong, Colo., would be able to offer unrelated amendments limiting federal taxing and adjusting income taxes to account for inflation.

After four days of back-room negotiations, the Senate Dec. 4 went back to work on the oil windfall profits tax and then promptly approved the Bradley-Chafee amendment and a second amendment extending the life of the tax.

The Bradley-Chafee amendment was approved by a vote of 58-35 on Dec. 4. It was estimated to increase anticipated revenues from the bill to $150.5 billion by 1990. *(Vote 438, p. 73-S)*

The Finance Committee, however, had agreed that the tax would begin to be phased out when 90 percent of anticipated revenues had been collected, sometime between 1988 and 1991.

However, Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, wanted to make the tax permanent. "If there is going to be a phase-out, the oil companies are going to withhold their production until the tax is no longer applicable," he said.

But the Senate disagreed, voting 39-54 against his amendment. *(Vote 439, p. 73-S)*

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., was more successful with his proposal to delay, not eliminate, the phase-out and extend the life of the tax, thus increasing total revenues collected.

Moynihan proposed that the phase-out begin when 90 percent of $210 billion — $189 billion — had been collected. He said that would mean a total of $214 billion in revenues would have been collected by 1997, when the tax would be completely phased out. The Senate adopted his amendment, 68-26. *(Vote 440, p. 73-S)*

Senators from oil-producing states continued to argue that the tax would discourage production. Since it was clear the tax would eventually pass, the senators proposed tax breaks they said would encourage production. But the weakening amendments were rejected.

Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., wanted to give oil producers a tax break for any increase in production over the previous year. His amendment, offered Dec. 6, would give producers a 25 percent credit against the windfall tax for every 1 percent in increased production. The maximum credit allowed was 75 percent.

Bellmon noted that average production from oil-producing properties usually declined about 12 percent a year. He argued that qualifying for the credit would actually require increased production of 13 to 15 percent over the previous year. But Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., who opposed the amendment, said production increased annually on 30 percent of oil properties, so that owners of those properties would get an undeserved tax break.

Although Bellmon said he had no estimate of how his amendment would affect windfall tax revenues, Ribicoff argued it would reduce revenues by $30 billion by 1990.

Ribicoff also said the oil industry had testified against proposals such as Bellmon's that exempted from the tax income that was "plowed back" into oil production. The industry objected to government interference in its decisions about investments.

The Senate Dec. 6 tabled the Bellmon amendment, 50-35. *(Vote 448, p. 75-S)*

Independents Win Again

Though the Senate voted a stiffer tax on the major oil companies, an attempt to tighten the tax on the nation's 12,000 independent producers failed. Independents already had won a major exemption from the tax Nov. 27.

In 1980, independent producers would be able to reduce their oil sale revenues by 22 percent before they computed their taxes.

Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., wanted to deny the independents this percentage depletion allowance for income in excess of $15.30 a barrel. The proposal would add $14.6 billion to federal revenues by 1990.

Leahy's amendment was strongly opposed by oil-state senators. John Tower, R-Texas, argued it would discourage production. If the amendment were approved, Tower said, "there will probably be dancing in the streets of the OPEC country capitals because it means that they have got us even tighter now than ever before."

The Senate Dec. 5 tabled the Leahy amendment, 57-37. *(Vote 442, p. 74-S)*

Other Energy Amendments

Senators proposed several amendments related to energy, but not to the windfall profits tax.

The Senate Dec. 7 adopted, 82-1, an amendment by Hart of Colorado to provide a $2,000 tax credit to homebuilders for installing solar energy equipment in residences. *(Vote 450, p. 76-S)*

The Senate rejected amendments by Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., and Jesse Helms, R-N.C.

The Weicker amendment required the president to set mandatory state conservation targets and authorized the federal government to impose conservation measures on states that didn't meet their targets. The amendment would basically have superseded a provision in a new conservation and gasoline rationing law (S 1030 — PL 96-102) that prevented federal moves in a state with a federally approved conservation plan unless there were an 8 percent fuel shortage. *(Gas rationing story, this chapter)*

The Senate Dec. 6 rejected the Weicker amendment, 26-60. *(Vote 447, p. 75-S)*

Helms wanted to allow personal income tax deductions for state and local gasoline taxes. The deduction had been allowed for years until Congress removed it in 1978. *(1978 Almanac p. 219)*

Helms said loss of the deduction would hurt middle-income taxpayers. But Long said the deduction would "en-

courage people to use more energy." The amendment was defeated Dec. 6, 39-40. *(Vote 449, p. 75-S)*

An attempt was made Dec. 7 to have the vote reconsidered. But the Senate killed that move, 44-42. *(Vote 451, p. 76-S)*

The Filibuster

Republicans and oil-state senators began a filibuster Dec. 12 in an effort to block action on an amendment to extend the tax to newly discovered oil, oil produced by tertiary recovery methods and heavy oil, all exempted from the tax by the Finance Committee.

The amendment was offered originally by Ribicoff, Bradley and Byrd. The crucial vote came on Dec. 12, with Energy Secretary Charles W. Duncan Jr. and Treasury Secretary G. William Miller watching from the Senate gallery. The senators voted 44-53 to reject a move by Long to table the amendment. *(Vote 459, p. 77-S)*

The amendment would increase tax revenues by $30.8 billion by 1990, putting total revenues from the Senate bill at about $185 billion by that year.

The tax rate would be 20 percent, as compared to the 75 percent rate the bill set on most other types of oil. In the House bill, the three types of oil would be taxed at from 50 to 60 percent, depending on the current selling price.

The tax would apply to the difference between a base price of $16 a barrel, plus inflation, and the selling price. Because the tax had a lower rate than the rest of the bill and applied to previously exempted categories, supporters called their amendment a "minimum tax."

The major oil companies would bear the brunt of the minimum tax because the Senate exempted from the overall tax most production by independent companies.

The failure of the tabling motion set off the filibuster. The Democratic leadership moved immediately to invoke cloture and cut off debate. But the first effort, on Dec. 12, fell seven votes short of the 60 needed. The vote was 53-46. *(Vote 460, p. 77-S)*

Five Republicans joined all but 10 of the voting Democrats in favor of cloture. The Republicans were Charles McC. Mathias Jr. of Maryland, Javits of New York, Mark O. Hatfield, and Bob Packwood, both of Oregon, and Richard S. Schweiker of Pennsylvania.

Majority Leader Byrd had predicted the first cloture move would fail, and said he would try again the next day if the filibuster continued. In the meantime, he encouraged proponents and opponents of the minimum tax to negotiate. To spur their efforts and discourage the filibuster, Byrd kept the Senate in session from 10 a.m. Dec. 12 until 3:45 a.m. Dec. 13.

In the early hours of Dec. 13, senators sympathetic to the oil industry tried to force a second vote on cloture, certain it would fail because of the sparse attendance. But Byrd, an expert on the Senate rules, claimed their move was out of order. The Senate eventually agreed with him, 43-32, after turning down, 30-44, a motion to table Byrd's point of order and defeating by a similar vote a motion that the Senate recess. *(Votes 466, 464, 465, p. 78-S)*

Negotiations

The closed door discussions were protracted. The proponents of a stiff tax were stubborn. They knew that if they could get to a vote on their amendment, they had the support needed to win, as the Dec. 12 test vote had shown. They were willing to compromise, perhaps by reducing the tax on newly discovered oil. But they would only go so far.

The two sides had radically different philosophies, which they voiced time and again during the debate. Their dispute came to a head over the question of taxing newly discovered oil.

Opponents of such a tax argued that any tax at all on newly discovered oil would discourage needed production. "You cannot have a windfall profit on something you have not found," said Dole.

The amendment's supporters, including Majority Leader Byrd, said escalating oil prices would give the oil industry more than enough for exploration, even with a tax. And they wanted the tax revenues to cushion consumers from higher prices and to fund alternative energy programs.

Without a tough tax, asked Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., "what will the American people get back from the oil companies in exchange for the $1 trillion to $2 trillion they will be asked to cough up and pay over to the oil companies" in the next decade?

Even Dole alluded to the public sentiment in favor of a windfall tax. "Let's not destroy the oil industry in the process of politics," he said.

Bradley argued that a stiffer tax would still leave oil producers $300 billion to invest in exploration and development, which he said was twice as much as they were investing then.

But Finance Chairman Long called the proposed tax on new discoveries "ludicrous." To Bradley, he replied, "You ought to want them to invest a trillion dollars between now and 1990."

Possibly aiding the cause of those wanting a stiffer tax was the action Dec. 13 by Saudi Arabia to increase oil prices by 33 percent. The move indicated that OPEC would substantially increase world prices at its scheduled Dec. 17 meeting in Caracas.

One senator involved in the negotiations said, "I'd just as soon wait until Monday [Dec. 17] when OPEC meets." By his thinking, escalating world prices increased the windfall to the oil industry, strengthening the justification for a strong windfall profits tax, even on new discoveries.

Late in the afternoon of Dec. 13, Dole reported that Democrats were considering a Republican proposal to lower the tax rate on newly discovered oil to 5 percent. But that plan failed to win support from the Democratic negotiators and the administration.

Earlier on Dec. 13, the Senate voted for a second time on cloture. But that also failed, 56-40. *(Vote 467, p. 78-S)*

The Democrats picked up votes from four more senators: John C. Stennis, D-Miss., Jennings Randolph, D-W.Va., Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev., and Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., who had supported the earlier vote, was absent.

"I am encouraged by the vote," Byrd told his colleagues. "It indicates the Senate wants to reach a final decision on this bill and is tiring of the continual delay."

But Dole had another interpretation. "I think we are making progress because we didn't vote cloture," he said.

A third effort to shut off debate failed early in the afternoon of Dec. 14, by a vote of 56-39, four votes short of the 60 required. *(Vote 469, p. 79-S)*

Byrd warned those stalling action that he would have enough votes for cloture on Monday, Dec. 17.

After the flurry of activity on the floor for the cloture vote, the pace slowed almost to a halt, as it had many other times during the more than four weeks of debate on the tax

bill. Byrd recessed the Senate several times during the afternoon for five to 30 minutes at a time, and the Senate took time out to consider other legislation.

More Negotiations

Meanwhile, the real action was in Byrd's nearby office, where negotiations continued between proponents of a stiffer tax and those opposing their efforts.

Their fight was over the form of the last major stiffening amendment to be offered by supporters of a heavier tax. Dole and a contingent of Republicans and oil-state Democrats were blocking the vote on the pending amendment, hoping to use the delay to win modifications from its supporters.

But Bradley, Ribicoff, Byrd and others held firm. They had the votes for their original amendment, as the Senate had indicated Dec. 12, when it refused, 44-53, to kill the proposal.

They wanted to place a "minimum tax," with a 20 percent rate, on newly discovered, tertiary and heavy oil, three types of oil that were exempted by the bill reported by the Finance Committee.

The negotiations reached a new stage after the third cloture vote. Both sides were tired, and the prospect of a successful cloture move on Dec. 17 cooled the tenacity of Dole and his allies. A new compromise emerged.

Compromise Adopted

Under the compromise, the amendment's tax rate on new discoveries would be lowered from 20 to 10 percent. And the base price for new discoveries, from which the tax was calculated, would be increased from about $17 to $20, thus reducing the tax bite. The original amendment would have brought in $25.7 billion by 1990; the compromise would cost the industry $2.3 billion less.

Byrd and others had set as a goal a Senate-passed tax that would bring in $185 billion by 1990, compared with the $138 billion the original Finance Committee version would raise. The compromise reflected a reduction in that goal because it would put total revenues from the Senate tax at $178 billion over the next decade. That total included revenue increases from other floor amendments adopted earlier.

Once the negotiators had reached agreement on the minimum tax, things happened quickly.

About 4:30 p.m., Byrd strolled back onto the Senate floor. All of the key players, who knew the deal had been sealed, began to make speeches, praising one another for cooperating and for hard work.

Dole summed up the feelings on his side, saying he had not changed his position, "but I have become more realistic every time we have another cloture vote."

Byrd then proposed the compromise as an amendment to the original "minimum tax" proposal by Ribicoff. It was adopted, 78-13. *(Vote 470, p. 79-S)*

The vote on the amended proposal was closer, 52-38. *(Vote 471, p. 79-S)*

State-Owned Oil Wells

Another shadow looming over final passage of the tax was a proposal by John C. Danforth, R-Mo., to tax state-owned oil wells. But it eventually died in an unusual Saturday session.

The amendment would have cost oil-producing states about $10.5 billion by 1990. Louisiana, home of Finance Chairman Long, would be a major loser.

Danforth also wanted to limit to existing levels state severance taxes on oil production.

Both proposals prompted several lengthy outbursts from Long, who claimed Danforth's proposal would be "unconstitutional in three different ways."

Though it appeared that Long had the votes to table Danforth's proposal, he was covering all bases. Just before the Senate session on Dec. 12, he and two other oil-state senators filed with the Senate clerk more than 100 amendments to Danforth's proposal, in preparation for a filibuster.

Long, Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, and J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., sat at a table on the Senate floor, rapidly signing their names to dozens of sheets of paper. At the top of each page were a couple of typed lines suggesting a change in the wording of Danforth's amendment.

"They'll find out what happens when they gang up against Louisiana and Texas," said Bentsen with a smile.

"And we'll come up with a hundred more amendments if we need to," Long said, laughing.

Danforth's major argument was that oil-producing states, like the oil industry, would enjoy an enormous windfall from rapidly escalating oil prices after price decontrol. His theory was that the suddenly richer states would then "conduct the most effective economic warfare against the rest of the country ever dreamed of."

Later, Danforth continued, "There is no possibility that this tremendous increase in funds, tens of billions of dollars over a decade, can occur without its having wrenching economic effects on the rest of the country. I mean the loss of factories, the loss of jobs, the loss of economic opportunities for people."

Long responded with a complex argument challenging the constitutionality of Danforth's proposal. And he punctuated his lecture with some blunt statements. "To tax the states on their property is to strip the states of whatever is left of their sovereignty," Long said.

He also reminded his colleagues that Louisiana was a poor state, with a per capita income of 70 percent of the average for all states.

Other senators echoed Long's reasoning. Danforth "proposes, quite simply, to break with 200 years of history and slap a federal tax on state property," said Bentsen.

"It is under our ground. It is our heritage. It is our birthright," said Johnston, of his state's oil as he argued against the Danforth proposal.

And Magnuson of Washington stirred up senators from states without oil when he expressed concern about other natural resources. "What bothers me is that, although the Danforth amendment deals with oil, the next thing to come would be timber," Magnuson said.

It had become obvious before the final exchange on the floor that Danforth was very short of votes. In addition to Long and other powerful Democrats, he also faced opposition from senior senators in his own party, including Acting Minority Leader Stevens, Bellmon, Dole and others.

At one point, a fellow Republican, Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, commended Danforth for standing "bloody, but unbowed" on the floor, fighting for his proposal.

Long asked the Senate to table Danforth's amendment, which would kill the proposal. The Senate agreed, 65-28. *(Vote 473, p. 79-S)*

Other Amendments Adopted

Several other amendments were adopted by the Senate during the last 10 days of debate on HR 3919.

Cook Inlet. Stevens of Alaska argued for reducing the tax on oil produced in Alaska's Cook Inlet. Stevens said production costs were increasing annually at the 80 or so wells there because of harsh weather conditions and transportation costs. He said that could lead producers to shut down wells, thus cutting back the current Cook Inlet production level of about 125,000 barrels a day. Major oil producers there included Union Oil Co., Marathon Oil Co. and Atlantic Richfield Co.

Stevens proposed that Cook Inlet oil be reclassified as upper tier.

The tax would then take 75 percent of the difference between the selling price and $13 a barrel. Stevens estimated his amendment would reduce revenues from the tax measure by $110 million by 1990.

The Senate adopted the Stevens amendment Dec. 10, 61-19. *(Vote 453, p. 76-S)*

Phaseout of Decontrol. Armstrong, Colo., had wanted the windfall tax to end automatically if the president tampered with the existing two-year schedule for ending price controls on oil. But Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., crafted a less onerous substitute to the Armstrong amendment. His proposal, adopted 42-40 Dec. 7, required the president to give Congress 30 days notice before modifying the price decontrol scheme. *(Vote 452, p. 76-S)*

Passive Solar. In earlier action, the Senate had agreed, 82-1, to provide a tax break to homebuilders for installing passive solar equipment in new houses. *(Vote 450, p. 76-S)*

The amendment, by Gary Hart, D-Colo., was supported by President Carter. The administration had asked for the passive solar credits, but the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee had been dissatisfied with the plans for defining the equipment that qualified for the credit. Some members were afraid homeowners would claim a credit for every south-facing window, which the legislators considered a waste of federal money.

But Hart said his amendment incorporated a recently devised method by which the government would decide what qualified for the credit. The credit was expected to cost the Treasury about $324 million through 1985.

Gasohol. Existing law gave gasohol a 4-cent-a-gallon exemption from the federal excise tax on gasoline. But the Finance Committee had repealed that exemption, replacing it with a refundable 40-cent-a-gallon tax credit to gasohol producers. Making the tax "refundable" meant that a producer who owed no tax could actually get a government payment for the credit.

But the production credit was expensive and was opposed by Budget Chairman Muskie and others as a classic example of government spending outside of congressional control. And gasohol proponents didn't want to lose the excise tax exemption, which was visible to the consumer. They weren't sure consumers would ever benefit directly from the production tax credit.

So several senators, including Dole, Magnuson, Agriculture Chairman Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., and others worked out a compromise, which the Senate adopted Dec. 15 by voice vote. Their amendment:

- Extended through the year 2000 the existing exemption for gasohol from the 4-cent-a-gallon federal excise tax. Under existing law, the exemption expired in 1984.

- For alcohol fuel not covered by the excise tax, provided a non-refundable tax credit to the blender or user of 30 to 40 cents per gallon, depending on the alcoholic content. For example, the credit would be available to a farmer who produced alcohol fuel from agricultural waste products and then used it in his farm truck.
- Provided a 20-cent-a-gallon non-refundable tax credit for producers of alcohol fuels from coal.
- Established a new category of distilled spirits plant, the alcohol fuel plant, which could be exempted from existing Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms regulations. Special rules were to be drafted for small alcohol fuel producers.
- Provided that a person buying gasoline for the purpose of combining it with alcohol in order to create tax-exempt gasohol would be eligible for a payment equivalent to the amount of federal excise tax paid on the gasoline.

Tight Sands. The Finance Committee had provided tax credits designed to encourage production of alternative and hard-to-get energy. On Dec. 15, Max Baucus, D-Mont., proposed an extension of the credit to natural gas produced from tight sands. Because the gas is trapped in tightly compressed sand, it is expensive to produce. The Senate agreed by voice vote with Baucus' proposal to provide a credit of 50 cents for every thousand cubic feet of natural gas produced from tight sands.

Small Savers. On Dec. 17, proponents of a tax break for middle-income savers and stockholders attached an amendment to the energy tax bill. Their proposal, offered by Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, and adopted, 94-4, gave a personal income tax exemption for the first $201, or $400 per couple, of interest earned on savings accounts or dividends from stock. *(Vote 481, p. 80-S)*

Other Action

The Senate also adopted amendments by:

- Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., Dec. 14, to apply the 15 percent residential energy tax credit to expenditures for airtight wood-burning stoves purchased after July 15, 1979.
- Spark M. Matsunaga, D-Hawaii, and Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., Dec. 14, to allow a production tax credit for qualifying processed wood fuel and solid agricultural byproducts.
- McClure, R-Idaho, to provide a tax credit to taxpayers acquiring a vehicle powered by electricity, or converting a vehicle to use electricity, equal to 10 percent of the cost, up to $1,000.
- John A. Durkin, D-N.H., Dec. 14, to extend the residential energy credits to include wood burning furnaces and boilers that were part of central heating systems and to expand the bill's financial assistance for lower income persons to those suffering increased energy costs because of higher wood costs.
- Bumpers, Dec. 15, to require that oil companies file monthly reports with the Energy Department comparing the price they paid for foreign oil with the price for which that oil was sold in the United States.
- Nelson, Dec. 15, to provide that municipally owned solid waste disposal plants financed with tax-exempt bonds could sell electricity produced by the facility to the private sector. It also provided that solid waste disposal facilities that converted waste material into alcohol-based fuels could be financed with tax-exempt bonds.
- McClure, Dec. 17, to extend a 20 percent tax credit to investments in facilities that produced alcohol fuels. The amendment was adopted, 74-16. *(Vote 477, p. 80-S)*

Amendments Rejected

The Senate rejected two attempts to relate the tax to the oil industry's investment in oil exploration and development, so-called "plowback" proposals.

On Dec. 10, the Senate rejected, 31-51, a Stevens proposal that would have allowed producers to deduct from any windfall taxes owed an amount equal to 50 percent of their expenditures for development of oil and gas in Alaska's Prudhoe Bay or for construction of a pipeline to move Alaskan oil or natural gas. *(Vote 456, p. 76-S)*

Long, who opposed the amendment, estimated that it would have reduced tax revenues by $7.2 billion over the next decade.

Also on Dec. 10, the Senate voted 29-56 against a revised tax proposed by McClure. McClure wanted to tax 90 percent of oil industry profits that exceeded the average rate of return enjoyed by all U.S. manufacturers on their capital investments. He would have allowed oil companies to avoid that tax by reinvesting their income in oil exploration and development. *(Vote 454, p. 76-S)*

William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., who earlier had tried to limit federal taxes, proposed Dec. 10 to limit federal spending to a percentage of the national wealth. For example, in fiscal 1981, Roth's amendment would have limited spending levels to 21 percent of the gross national product. But the amendment violated congressional rules that required the Budget committees to initiate budget-related amendments.

When Roth sought an exemption from those rules for his amendment, Byrd moved to table, or kill, Roth's motion. The Senate agreed, 43-40, on Dec. 10. Then Roth's amendment was ruled out of order. *(Vote 454, p. 76-S)*

The Senate rejected several other amendments, including those offered by:

- Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., Dec. 15, to increase from 10 to 20 percent and extend from 1982 to 1984 the existing tax credit for investment in coal-burning boilers and other equipment. The amendment, expected to cost the government $1.1 billion by 1984, was rejected 42-49. *(Vote 476, p. 80-S)*
- Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash, to require that producers of newly discovered, tertiary and heavy oil plow back into oil production income received for that oil or pay a higher tax rate of 75 percent (instead of 10 to 20 percent). The amendment also would have required that oil producers plow back into oil production income received in excess of $30 a barrel, adjusted annually to reflect inflation and a 2 percent increase, or face a 100 percent tax on that extra income. The amendment was ruled non-germane.
- Melcher, to repeal the tax credits available to oil companies for overseas investments. The amendment was ruled non-germane.

Senate Provisions

As passed by the Senate Dec. 17, HR 3919 established a windfall profits tax on domestically produced oil. The tax was expected to bring in $178 billion in revenues by 1990, according to estimates by the congressional Joint Tax Committee.

But the Senate also approved various energy tax credits and other tax breaks that were expected to cost the Treasury a total of $61.8 billion over the same period.

These included:

- $8.7 billion in credits to homeowners and landlords for investments in conservation equipment or alternative energy equipment, such as solar panels or windmills.
- $17 billion for the creation or expansion of a variety of investment credits and incentives for energy conservation by business and industry.
- $4.8 billion by the end of 1981, when it would expire, for a credit to help middle-income families with home heating and other energy costs.
- $4.3 billion for repeal of the "carryover basis" provision of the 1976 Tax Reform Act. The provision, scheduled to go into effect on Jan. 1, 1980, would increase capital gains taxes on sales of inherited property. *(Story, p. 326)*
- $27 billion for a tax exemption for small savers and stockholders. It exempted from income taxes the first $201 a year ($400 for joint returns) in savings account interest and investment dividends.

The bill also included help for low-income families trying to pay higher home heating bills and meet other residential energy costs.

Windfall Profits Tax

The windfall profits tax was applied at different rates to various categories of oil. The tax would take a certain percentage of the difference between the selling price on the oil and a base price, which varied according to when it was discovered and how difficult it was to recover.

Major provisions of the Senate bill:

- Set a tax rate of 75 percent on oil discovered before 1973, a category known as tier 1 (also called old or upper tier). The base price would be $6 a barrel, adjusted annually for inflation. Each month, the base price for 1.5 percent of this oil would be increased from $6 to $13 a barrel, thus phasing tier 1 oil into another category — tier 2 (also called new or upper tier). By July 1984, all of the oil that once had a base price of $6 would be taxed on a base price of $13, adjusted for inflation.
- Set a tax rate of 75 percent on tier 2 oil, discovered between 1973 and 1978. The base price would be $13 a barrel, adjusted for inflation.

(The House bill set a tax rate of 60 percent on tier 1 and tier 2 oil. By setting a rate of 75 percent on those two oil categories, the Senate increased revenues over the House bill in the next decade by about $21 billion.)

- Set a tax rate of 60 percent on stripper oil, oil from wells producing 10 or fewer barrels a day. The base price would be $16 a barrel, adjusted for inflation.
- Set a tax rate of 75 percent on oil produced from the Sadlerochit reservoir in Alaska. All other oil from the Alaskan North Slope was exempt from the tax. The base price of Sadlerochit oil would be $13 a barrel, adjusted for inflation.
- Set a tax rate of 10 percent on oil discovered after 1978, a category known as newly discovered oil. The base price would be $20 a barrel, adjusted annually for inflation and increased annually by 2 percent.

(The House bill set a tax rate of 50 percent on new discoveries, with a base price of $17 a barrel. The rate would increase to 60 percent on the windfall that exceeded $9 a barrel, adjusted for inflation. By setting a lower tax rate on newly discovered oil, the Senate reduced expected revenues from the House bill in the next decade by $42.7 billion.)

- Set a tax rate of 20 percent on heavy oil, a thick substance that was expensive to produce. The base price would be $17 a barrel, adjusted annually for inflation and increased annually by 2 percent.

The Numbers Game

By dramatically revising its estimates of current and future oil prices, the Senate Finance Committee — in the middle of marking up the windfall tax bill (HR 3919) — managed to more than double the amount of tax revenues available for spending. The revised estimate, of $138 billion by 1990, was from preliminary figures developed by the Joint Committee on Taxation.

In September, when the Finance Committee was voting on tax rates and exemptions, the panel used conservative assumptions about current and future oil prices. That kept at relatively low levels the estimates of how much money the oil industry would pay the government in taxes over the next decade.

But by October, when the committee got around to decisions about how to spend the tax revenues, senators decided their earlier estimates had been too conservative. By changing the assumptions about oil prices, the Finance panel suddenly, almost magically, had more than twice as much money to spend.

Instead of using an average oil price of about $22 a barrel, as the House did, the panel decided that $30 a barrel was more accurate, or would be by the end of 1979.

Hard figures on recent average world oil prices were not available. The official Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries ceiling price was $23.50 a barrel, but several oil-producing countries were charging more. In addition, an undetermined percentage of oil was sold on the so-called spot market, where buyers without supply contracts were willing to pay as much as $40 a barrel.

In addition to changing its assumption about current oil prices, the Finance Committee also agreed that its earlier projection of a 1 percent annual increase in prices, above increases due to inflation, was too low. Instead, the panel agreed to assume a 2 percent annual growth rate in oil prices by 1990.

By setting the current price at $30 a barrel and then increasing that price at a 2 percent annual rate, the committee drastically increased the government's projected revenues from the windfall profits tax.

Under the first set of assumptions, with oil at $20 a barrel and annual price increases of 1 percent, the Finance bill had been expected to bring the government an estimated $65 billion in net revenues over the next decade. That compared with $104 billion from the bill passed by the House in June.

Under the revised assumptions, with oil at $30 a barrel and annual price increases of 2 percent, the totals changed dramatically. The oil tax approved by Finance would raise $138 billion in revenues by 1990, compared with $273 billion from the House bill.

By changing the price assumptions, the Finance panel increased estimated revenues from its bill by 112 percent, from $65 billion to $138 billion.

In addition to paying the windfall profits tax, the oil industry would also be paying higher income taxes as decontrol raised the price the companies could charge for oil. Using the Finance Committee's set of assumptions, that additional revenue was expected to total $388 billion by 1990.

Still another source of increased federal revenue was higher royalty fees paid by producers on oil taken from lands leased from the federal government. That was expected to bring the government another $21 billion by 1990.

Total government income by 1990 from the tax and other oil pricing changes would be $547 billion.

That amount was more than the total amount of tax revenue the government was expecting in fiscal 1980.

Higher Industry Income

In addition to swelling the estimates of federal tax revenues, the revised assumptions about prices also meant higher income for the oil industry.

As domestic oil prices were decontrolled, the companies were expected to take in an extra $893 billion, after state and local taxes and royalty payments. Before taxes, a net increase of $1.1 trillion was expected in oil industry income.

Once federal income taxes were paid — about $388 billion — the industry would be left with about $506 billion. Of that, $138 billion would go to the government because of the windfall profits tax.

Comparing the $138 billion in taxes with the $506 billion in revenues showed that the effective overall rate of the windfall profits tax was 27 percent.

The House version of the windfall profits tax was expected to bring in $273 billion by 1990, for a tax rate of about 54 percent. The administration proposals called for an overall rate of about 58 percent.

Under the Finance bill, the oil industry would still have at least an extra $368 billion in income by 1990. And that figure was expected to be closer to $378 billion because many state and local governments allowed a deduction of the windfall profits tax before state and local taxes were computed.

(The House bill considered heavy oil a part of tiers 1 and 2, which meant a tax rate of 60 percent. Senate treatment of heavy oil reduced anticipated revenues from the House bill in the next decade by $2.5 billion.)

- Set a tax rate of 20 percent on oil produced by tertiary recovery methods on the amounts produced in excess of estimated production if no tertiary recovery were used. The base price for this incremental tertiary oil would be $17 a barrel, adjusted annually for inflation and increased annually by 2 percent.

(The House bill set a rate of 50 percent on incremental tertiary oil, with the rate increasing to 60 percent on the windfall that exceeded $9 a barrel. By taxing this category at a lower rate, the Senate reduced expected revenues from the House bill over the next decade by $19.6 billion.)

- Allowed a deduction of severance taxes, levied by oil-producing states, from the amount taxable by the windfall profits tax.

- Exempted from the tax the first 1,000 barrels a day produced by independent producers and royalty owners after Sept. 30, 1980.

Legally, independent producers were defined as those who were not retailers with annual sales of more than $5 million or refiners with daily runs of more than 50,000 barrels.

(The House bill did not contain a similar exemption. The Senate's special treatment of independent producers reduced expected revenues from the House bill by $42.7 billion.)

• Allowed independent producers to reduce the amount of income to which any windfall profits tax would apply by a percentage depletion allowance. The allowance permitted a producer to reduce his taxable income by 22 percent of the cost of producing up to 1,000 barrels a day.

(The House bill allowed only a limited percentage depletion. The Senate's more liberal provision reduced expected revenues from the House bill in the next decade by $12.9 billion.)

• Exempted from the tax oil owned by 1) state and local governments, 2) federally recognized Indian tribes, 3) nonprofit schools and hospitals and 4) churches that dedicated the revenues to schools or hospitals.

(This provision reduced by $700 million expected revenues from the House bill, which exempted only government revenues dedicated to education.)

• Phased out the tax, by exempting 3 percent of taxable production each month, after the net revenues were equal to $189 billion, thus limiting revenues to $214 billion.

(The House bill ended the tax on newly discovered and incremental tertiary oil at the end of 1990. The tax on all other oil was permanent, though production from those properties would have been declining after imposition of the tax.)

Residential Energy Credits

The Senate bill broadened existing credits allowed for investment in equipment used to conserve energy or produce alternative energy in a home. Congress provided the credits in the 1978 energy tax bill (PL 95-618). *(1978 Almanac p. 639)*

The Senate measure:

• Extended existing residential energy credits to second homes.

• Made landlords eligible for the credits.

• Made additional items eligible for the energy conservation credit, including 1) heat pumps that replaced electric heating systems or served as a backup for a solar hot water heater, 2) a replacement oil furnace that was 80 percent efficient or a replacement gas furnace that was 75 percent efficient, 3) an airtight wood-burning stove, 4) a replacement coal furnace in a central heating system (for a 25 percent credit) or 5) a replacement wood-burning furnace in a central heating system, provided it was energy efficient. Existing law allowed a credit equal to 15 percent of the first $2,000 spent on insulation or other energy-saving devices, with a maximum credit of $300.

• Increased the existing credit for renewable energy equipment, such as solar, to 50 percent of the first $10,000 spent, with a $5,000 maximum credit, and made eligible equipment that generated electricity from solar, geothermal or wind energy systems. Existing law allowed a credit equal to 30 percent of the first $2,000 of expenditures and 20 percent of the next $8,000, with a maximum credit of $2,200.

• Provided a credit of up to $2,000 to homebuilders who constructed new houses heated by passive solar equipment.

Business Energy Tax Incentives

The 1978 energy tax bill also provided credits to business and industry for energy-saving equipment and production from alternative sources. The Senate bill expanded or extended these credits and established some new provisions. The measure:

• Increased from 10 to 20 percent and extended from 1982 through 1990 the existing credit for solar or wind energy equipment. The credit was also made non-refundable.

• Increased from 10 to 20 percent and extended from 1982 through 1990 the existing credit for equipment used to produce, distribute or use geothermal energy, which would tap hot water or steam trapped beneath the earth's surface.

• Provided a 20 percent credit for equipment used to convert ocean thermal energy into electricity or other forms of energy. The credit would be available through 1990.

• Provided a 10 percent credit for equipment used to produce hydroelectric power from existing dams or waterways if the facility had a generating capacity of 25 megawatts or less. The credit would be available through 1990.

• Provided a 10 percent credit for cogeneration equipment used to produce steam, heat or other useful energy by tapping excess heat from manufacturing or other processes. The credit would be available when the cogeneration equipment was used in connection with an existing facility that 1) used less than 25 percent oil, 2) used natural gas prior to Jan. 1, 1980, or 3) used coal or another fuel. Oil-burning facilities would also be eligible for the credit if the cogeneration resulted in a fuel saving of at least 30 percent. The credit would be available through 1982.

• Expanded the definition of property eligible for a 10 percent credit to include industrial heat pumps.

• Extended the 10 percent energy investment credit to equipment that used petroleum coke or pitch as fuel and allowed use of the regular investment credit and accelerated depreciation, provided to most industrial investments, for investments in such equipment.

• Extended the 10 percent energy production credit to cover equipment used to produce coke or coke gas.

• Increased from 10 to 20 percent and extended from 1982 through 1990 the credit for equipment that used biomass from sources other than wood or converted nonwood biomass into a synthetic solid fuel.

• Extended, through 1990, the 10 percent production credit to equipment used to produce a synthetic solid fuel from wood biomass, to burn wood biomass or to burn synthetic solid fuel derived from wood biomass.

• Made eligible for the regular investment credit any equipment eligible for an energy credit.

• Made eligible for the energy credits any qualified equipment purchased by a public utility.

• Extended the existing provisions making vans eligible for the regular 10 percent investment credit to employees or third parties who owned vans used for vanpooling.

• Provided a 10 percent credit through 1985 for certain intercity buses.

• Provided, through 1982, a 10 percent energy credit for fuel-efficient wind deflectors and similar equipment added to existing trucks.

• Provided, through 1986, a 10 percent credit to persons buying new electric motor vehicles or converting existing vehicles to use electricty.

• Provided a tax credit of $3 for energy production equivalent to a barrel of oil, with the credit phasing out as the average refiner cost of acquiring imported oil increased from $23.50 to $29.50, adjusted for inflation. Eligible energy sources included 1) oil from shale, 2) oil from tar sands, 3) natural gas from tight sands, geopressured brine, coal seams or Devonian shale, 4) synthetic fuel from coal liquefaction or gasification, 5) gas from biomass, including

wood, 6) byproducts and residues from agricultural crops, 7) steam from agricultural byproducts and 8) certain processed wood.

• Extended from 1984 through 2000 the existing 4-cent-a-gallon excise tax exemption for fuels that were at least 10 percent alcohol. For alcohol fuels not covered by an excise tax, a tax credit of 30 to 40 cents a gallon would be provided to the blender or user. For alcohol made from coal, the credit would be 20 cents a gallon. Gasoline used to produce tax-exempt gasohol would be exempt from the 4-cent-a-gallon excise tax.

• Provided that municipally owned solid waste disposal plants financed with tax-exempt bonds could sell to the private sector electricity produced by the facility. In addition, financing with tax-exempt bonds was authorized for solid waste disposal facilities that converted waste material into alcohol-based fuels.

• Authorized financing with tax-exempt bonds for 1) hydroelectric facilities installed at existing dams, with a generating capacity of 25 megawatts or less, 2) facilities that produced energy from renewable energy sources, such as wind, and 3) cogeneration equipment.

• Provided a non-refundable tax credit to public utility companies participating in a federally contracted residential energy efficiency program where the utility could show that the residential conservation had caused it to suffer a net revenue loss. The amount of the credit could not exceed the amount of revenue loss that would cause a decline in the rate of return.

Low-Income Fuel Assistance

Legislation (S 1724) providing fuel assistance to the poor, which the Senate tentatively approved Nov. 15, was attached to the Senate bill Nov. 16. The measure provided block grants to states, with $3 billion authorized in fiscal 1981, and $4 billion in fiscal 1982. The 1982 funding level would be continued in fiscal 1983 unless either house voted to stop the program. *(See box, this story)*

The bill:

• Made eligible for the assistance households receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Supplemental Security Income, food stamps or certain income-tested veterans' benefits; also made eligible households containing a severely handicapped person, or with incomes at or below the Bureau of Labor Statistics living standard.

• Distributed 95 percent of the funds to states on the basis of the following formula: 50 percent on the basis of the state's total residential energy expenditures, and 50 percent on the basis of the square of the state's "heating degree days" times the number of its low-income households.

• Authorized $100 million a year for energy crisis intervention programs, to be distributed to states by the Community Services Administration; set aside 20 percent of the funds for crisis intervention on the national level.

• Provided that the programs be run by states, subject to federal approval of their plans; allowed states to distribute the aid in the form of direct grants, tax credits, fuel stamps, or direct payments to fuel suppliers.

• Allowed use of funds for medically necessary air conditioning.

Credit for Home Heating

The Senate bill also provided home heating assistance to taxpayers with annual incomes of up to $22,000. The credit, a minimum of $30 and a maximum of $200, was available to only one taxpayer per household.

The bill provided a non-refundable credit, available in 1979, 1980 and 1981, equal to a percentage of the amount of money spent during the year for heating a principal U.S. residence. The percentage would be computed by a complicated formula. First, the Treasury would determine the amount by which the energy source exceeded what it would have cost if the price had increased only by an amount equal to the overall inflation rate since 1978. Then that figure would be multiplied by 25 percent to determine the "relative energy price percentage," or REPP, for each source, such as oil, natural gas or wood.

Other Provisions

The legislation also:

• Established a trust fund, called the Taxpayer Trust Fund, to receive deposits from general revenues equal to the increased revenues attributable to decontrol of oil prices. The deposits would be limited to the scheduled $16.6 billion increase in Social Security taxes for 1981.

• Provided that $1 billion of windfall tax revenues be set aside until Congress authorized or appropriated the funds for railroad system improvements.

• Repealed the carryover basis provision of the 1976 Tax Reform Act. The provision, scheduled to go into effect Jan. 1, 1980, would increase capital gains taxes on sales of inherited property.

• Provided an exemption of $201 ($400 on a joint return) from gross income for savings account interest and investment dividends.

• Amended the Energy Production and Conservation Act of 1975 to grant Congress authority to disapprove, by joint resolution, any presidential action establishing oil import fees or setting oil import quotas. Congress would have 30 days to act. If the president vetoed the resolution of disapproval, Congress could override his veto. The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 gave the president authority, without congressional approval, to restrict oil imports by a variety of methods.

Conference Action

Before leaving Washington for the Christmas holidays, House and Senate conferees on HR 3919 reached one key decision. Bowing to the wishes of the Carter administration, they agreed that the final version of the bill would raise a total of $227.3 billion in revenue by 1990.

Compromise Reached

Conferees arrived at that figure Dec. 20 by splitting the difference between the Senate and the House measures. For President Carter, this decision indicated that the conferees would approve a measure that he could sign.

That was the conferees' only major decision before the holiday recess between the first and second sessions of the 96th Congress. They were scheduled to resume work in January 1980.

Republican Dole, a key opponent of a stiff tax, complained that setting a revenue total before agreeing on the details was like "getting your dinner before you read the menu."

But his side lost when the Senate conferees voted 6-3 for the compromise figure. Voting with Dole against the compromise were Byrd, Ind.-Va., and Packwood, R-Ore.

Among those accepting the 50-50 split were two key senators from oil-producing states: Finance Chairman Long, D-La., and Bentsen, D-Texas.

The House conferees did not take a formal recorded vote on the proposal.

Long said he agreed to a quick decision on the revenue figure because he assumed the total would end up there anyway. "We could be here from now until February or March and still not get anywhere," if they continued to argue over some other figure, he said.

Long had also been pushed by two high-level Carter administration lobbyists: Treasury Secretary G. William Miller and Energy Secretary Charles W. Duncan Jr.

Long and others had hoped to finish the conference before the holidays, but House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., squashed that idea a couple of days later. Noting the lengthy Senate debate on the bill, O'Neill told reporters, "They can't expect us to agree to come up with a final bill in 48 hours. Haste makes waste."

The first session of the 26-member conference was held Dec. 19. But it broke up after members listened for two hours to explanations of the complex tax by staff members.

Issues Facing Conferees

The major differences in the House and Senate versions of the tax centered on the way they treated new oil discoveries and production by independent producers, those who did not refine oil or market it.

The Senate bill took only 10 percent of extra profits on new discoveries, while the House taxed about 50 percent. The Senate bill exempted most production by independents, but the House gave no special treatment to their production.

To reach their revenue goal of $227 billion, the conferees would have to tax either new discoveries by the major companies, or all or part of production by the independents. For example, increasing the Senate tax on new discoveries by the majors would raise an additional $43 billion in taxes by 1990.

Another major question facing the conferees was when the tax would end. The House bill ended the tax on new discoveries by 1990, but continued the tax on oil found before 1979 until those wells ran dry.

The Senate, instead of setting a date to end the tax, used a revenue total.

In the Senate bill, the tax could raise only $214 billion, a total that probably would be reached by 1994, according to assumptions by congressional economists. They assumed that oil would cost $30 a barrel at the end of 1979 and would increase annually thereafter by 2 percent, plus inflation.

But if world prices escalated more rapidly, the Senate tax would end several years earlier. The industry "windfall" could be increased, but the tax could never bring in more than $214 billion.

The Senate bill included a variety of energy tax credits and other tax breaks, but the House bill did not. The conferees would have to decide what Senate credits to keep in the bill.

One potentially divisive issue was generally resolved Dec. 18, when the House voted 326-77 to instruct their conferees to go along with a Senate change in inheritance tax laws that was not included in the House bill. Though their instruction wasn't binding on the House conferees, House conferees agreed Dec. 20 to repeal the carryover basis provision that would give a tax break to those inheriting property. ∎

Synthetic Fuels Programs

Congress and President Carter agreed in 1979 to commit billions of federal dollars to encourage private industry to create new synthetic fuels from coal, farm wastes, grain and oil shale.

The goal of the program was the production, by the mid-1990s, of 1.5 million to 2.5 million barrels per day in substitute fuels to replace that amount of oil.

President Carter in July proposed a decade-long $88 billion synfuels program to be managed by an Energy Security Corp. Several weeks earlier, the House had acted to encourage synthetic fuel development by adding to a measure extending the Defense Production Act provisions requiring the federal government to buy the equivalent of 500,000 barrels a day of synthetic fuels by 1984. The measure also provided price supports, loans and loan guarantees for synthetic fuels producers.

Late in the year, the Senate approved Carter's proposal after dividing it into a two-step program. The Senate approved a five-year $20 billion program under the direction of a new Synthetic Fuels Corp. If Congress approved the progress made in the first five years, the corporation would then be authorized to spend an additional $68 billion.

As the year ended, conferees were still working on the final version of the bill (S 932). They had already agreed to authorize $20 billion for the first years of the program and to create the new corporation to administer the program.

Carter had proposed that funding for the synthetic fuels program be provided by a trust fund set up to receive the revenues generated by the windfall profits tax he proposed to impose upon the oil industry. *(Windfall profits bill, previous story)*

Although neither the House nor the Senate provided this link between the new tax and the synfuels program, initial funding for the synfuels program appeared assured. Congress included $19 billion for alternative and synthetic fuels development in the interior and energy development appropriations bill for fiscal 1980 (HR 4930 — PL 96-126). Of that amount $2.2 billion was immediately available while the remainder would be available after the enactment of authorizing legislation, such as S 932. *(Details, p. 229)*

Background

The technology for creating oil and gas-like fuels from coal, oil shale or other natural resources had existed for years. But the high cost of producing fuel in this way discouraged entrepreneurs from undertaking such an enterprise on a commercial scale.

President Gerald R. Ford in 1975 and 1976 backed proposals for federal programs to encourage such commercialization of synthetic fuels.

In 1975 Congress rejected a provision authorizing federal guarantees of up to $6 billion in loans to private companies willing to undertake commercial production of these fuels. In 1976 the House refused, by a one-vote margin, to consider legislation authorizing federal loan guarantees and price supports for the development of a synthetic fuels industry. *(Congress and the Nation Vol. IV, pp. 245, 267)*

By 1979, however, the plain reality of the nation's need to develop alternatives to imported oil — and the steadily rising price of oil and natural gas — convinced Congress that it was time to move ahead to foster the development of this new industry.

House Committee Action

The House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee June 15 reported a measure (HR 3930 — H Rept 96-165) to spur development of a synthetic fuels industry by assuring producers of such fuels a government market for their product.

This synfuels measure came in the form of an amendment to the Defense Production Act of 1950 (PL 81-774). In the name of national security, HR 3930 required the Defense Department to buy the equivalent of 500,000 barrels a day of synthetic fuels by 1984. That was about the amount of gasoline and other oil products the agency consumed daily in 1979. Total U.S. demand for petroleum averaged close to 19 million barrels a day.

"We are spending $139 billion on defense, and we are an indefensible nation because we are dependent upon [outside sources] for 50 percent of our energy," said Stewart B. McKinney, R-Conn., during committee debate.

The bill authorized the government to provide a potential synthetic fuel supplier with loans to build his plant, loan guarantees to back up commercial loans or a contract to buy what he produced at a price that covered all costs. Under the legislation, no supplier could provide more than 100,000 barrels a day.

The bill, sponsored by William S. Moorhead, D-Pa., authorized $2 billion for fiscal 1980. But the Congressional Budget Office estimated the bill could cost the Treasury up to $18 billion over the five-year period specified.

Both the House leadership and the Carter administration supported HR 3930.

House Floor Action

The House passed HR 3930 June 26 by a vote of 368-25. *(Vote 262, p. 80-H)*

Even critics, whose proposed amendments were shunted aside, joined supporters for the final vote approving the measure.

The bill was touted as a chance to show constituents that Congress was doing something about energy shortages. "They want action," Millicent Fenwick, R-N.J., told her colleagues. "They don't really care how much it costs."

The push for synthetic fuels, controversial in past years, developed bipartisan, almost feverish support as gasoline shortages spread across the country in the early summer of 1979.

The enthusiasm led to quick approval, without a pause for a recorded vote, of a proposal to quadruple the bill's goal for production of substitute fuels.

The public wants "bold action; they do not want timid action," said Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, urging that the production goal be raised to 2 million barrels a day by 1990.

"The time has come for us to do everything within our power to break the stranglehold upon this country that foreign nations are asserting," said Wright.

The bill called on the government to encourage production of the equivalent of 500,000 barrels a day in synthetic fuels by 1985, with the additional goal of 2 million barrels a day by 1990. *(PL 81-774, Congress and the Nation, Vol. I, p. 356)*

The ostensible reason for the goals was to ease U.S. dependence on imported oil, which in an emergency would cripple defense efforts. The United States imported about 8.6 million barrels of oil a day, or about 43 percent of consumption in 1979.

But the much broader intent was to boost the infant synthetic fuels industry with price supports, loan guarantees and, if necessary, government-backed corporations. "This is defense in its broadest terms: military, economic and poliical," said Moorhead, D-Pa., chairman of the Banking subcommittee that drafted the bill.

The House agreed to authorize $3 billion for price supports for synfuels, an increase over the 42 billion recommended by the Banking Committee. That change was part of the package offered by Wright. No ceiling was placed on other expenditures.

The federal government had already spent millions of dollars on research and development of synthetic fuels. It was working in partnership with private industry to demonstrate the commercial feasibility of various techniques, such as using chemical solvents to convert coal to a liquid. *(See synfuels box, this story)*

Long-Term Costs Uncertain

Although the measure authorized up to $3 billion in price supports for the new fuels, no ceiling was placed on loans and loan guarantees that could be made to private companies engaged in synfuels production. Congress was given power to review large loans and purchase contracts.

Cost of the legislation would depend on the future price of conventional oil and gas, whether the government set up its own plants to produce synthetic fuels and how much the substitutes cost to produce. If synthetic fuels ended up costing less than the world price for oil, the program could make money.

In the "worst" case, with heavy government investment in plants and a wide price gap between synfuels and conventional oil and gas, the price could approach $80 billion, according to congressional analysts.

But, as one economist put it, "It's the job of the political system to gamble." The gamble in this case was that world oil prices would continue to rise and that supplies would remain tight.

Several critics, led by John D. Dingell, D-Mich., and Richard L. Ottinger, D-N.Y., warned that the bill gave Congress little control over expensive programs.

In the energy area were "some of the largest and most voracious sharks that appear in the waters who would like to get their teeth into the federal Treasury," said Ottinger. If Congress doesn't maintain control, he said, "We are in effect telling the taxpayer we are going to 'roll out the barrel and damn the cost.' "

But the House wasn't interested in most tightening amendments. Instead, the legislators heeded the advice of Moorhead, who tenaciously resisted amendments, arguing that time-consuming procedures would make the measure unworkable. Twice, by 3-to-1 margins, the legislators rejected amendments offered by Dingell.

National Security Threat

Dingell first tried to limit the bill's sweeping authority just to defense-related energy production. But McKinney argued that providing for the Defense Department wasn't enough.

Fuel shortages are "basically threatening our national security in every fashion," McKinney said, complaining that the Dingell amendment would "philosophically totally destroy this bill." The amendment was rejected, 69-351. *(Vote 258, p. 78-H)*

Dingell also tried to delete a sentence that he claimed gave the president authority to command everyone engaged in the petroleum business to provide the government with synthetic fuels.

But Moorhead and McKinney argued that the president needed that authority. "This is a way of pushing the oil companies, who maybe figure they can get a bigger profit from natural petroleum, into the synthetic business," said Moorhead.

Dingell demanded a recorded vote on his amendment, which was rejected, 94-291. *(Vote 260, p. 78-H)*

Also rejected were proposals by Ottinger to require congressional approval of loan guarantees in excess of $250 million and contracts of more than $500 million. The bill gave Congress a chance to disapprove only loan guarantees in excess of $38 million and loans of more than $48 million.

However, Moorhead later endorsed, and the House accepted, an amendment by Banking Chairman Henry S. Reuss, D-Wis., to allow either house to veto, within 30 days, government contracts for more than 75,000 barrels a day of crude oil equivalent in synthetic fuels.

'Windfall' Tie

Though the House had not voted on the proposed "windfall profits" tax on crude oil, Robert H. Michel, R-Ill., proposed funding the synthetic fuels program with revenues from that tax. But the House disagreed, and rejected his proposal on a 33-55 standing vote.

Later, Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., proposed an amendment prohibiting the government from contracting to purchase synfuels from the eight largest oil companies. Udall said the restriction would mean development of energy sources not controlled by the oil industry. But his suggestion was rejected, 127-263. *(Vote 261, p. 80-H)*

The often raucous House session, which dragged on into the evening, frequently got tangled in procedural questions. At one point members voted, 209-183, on whether to end debate on a particular section at 6:40 p.m. *(Vote 259, p. 78-H)*

Provisions

As passed by the House June 26, HR 3930:

- Extended the Defense Production Act of 1950 for one year, to Sept. 30, 1980. The act gave the president broad authority to purchase, stockpile and sell critical materials and encourage exploration, development and mining of critical minerals.
- Authorized the president to make loans and guarantee loans to encourage production or manufacture of defense-related materials; make improvements to a privately owned facility involved in production of defense materials; allocate materials for defense production and control general distribution of defense materials in the civilian market.
- Specified petroleum as a critical and strategic material.
- Increased loan guarantee authority without congressional review from $20 million to $38 million.
- Increased direct loan authority without congressional review from $25 million to $48 million.
- Allowed the president to exceed the loan guarantee and direct loan ceilings if he notified Congress and neither house adopted a resolution of disapproval within 60 days.
- Directed the president to achieve within five years a national production goal of at least 500,000 barrels a day crude oil equivalent of synthetic fuels and synthetic chemical feedstocks; and within 10 years a goal of at least 2 million barrels a day.
- Authorized contracts for purchase of synthetic fuels and chemical feedstocks and commitments to purchase, including advance payments, until attainment of the national goal. No contracts could extend beyond Sept. 30, 2015.
- Directed the president to require supplies of synthetic fuels from suppliers when he determined they were needed for the national defense.
- Required that contracts be made by sealed competitive bidding. If no competitive bids were received, bids could be negotiated.
- Authorized the president to set up government corporations for production of synthetic fuels, providing Congress had been notified and neither house had passed a resolution of disapproval in a 60-day period.
- Authorized transfer of excess synthetic fuels to the national stockpile or the strategic petroleum reserve, or the sale of such fuels to U.S. buyers.
- Specified that nothing in the act authorized the president to institute gasoline rationing without the approval of Congress.
- Defined synthetic fuels as fuels and chemical feedstocks produced by the conversion of renewable and non-renewable resources including, but not limited to, products produced from coal gasification, coal liquefaction, shale, lignite, peat, tar sands, heavy oils, solid waste and other mineral gasification, liquefaction or other conversion and the conversion of any organic material into fuel.
- Authorized appropriations of $3 billion to carry out the provision directing the president to make contracts designed to achieve the national production goals.
- Limited a single contractor to providing no more than 100,000 barrels a day of crude oil equivalent to prevent one contractor from cornering the market.
- Required that all contracts be for fuels produced in U.S. plants.
- Required federal agencies using the synthetic fuels to pay the market price and required the president to pay the difference between the contract price and the market price.

The President's Proposal

About a month after passage of the House synfuels bill, Carter revealed his second energy plan. At the heart of his program, announced July 15, to reduce the nation's imports of foreign oil was an $88-billion, 10-year effort to boost production of synthetic fuels. *(Text, p. 45-E)*

Carter proposed that Congress create a special Energy Security Corp., run by a board of seven members, to manage investment of the funds — which would be provided by the windfall profits tax he proposed to levy on the oil companies.

The corporation's goal would be the production of 2.5 million barrels a day in substitute fuels by 1990. These fuels were to include liquids and gases produced from coal, biomass (agricultural wastes, urban garbage, or other organic matter) and peat; oil shale (rock permeated with oil) and "unconventional" natural gas (located in rock crevices and other hard-to-get areas that cannot be tapped by conventional methods).

The corporation would be an independent, government-sponsored entity managed by its board. The board

would consist of the energy secretary, the Treasury secretary, and the secretary of another Cabinet department. The four other directors, including the chairman, would be appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate.

The board would not have to follow Civil Service rules or other requirements that usually applied.

The board of directors would decide how to invest the $88 billion and could even set up synfuels plants owned and operated by the government. It could offer price guarantees, which would amount to subsidies, contracts for federal purchase of synfuels, direct loans and loan guarantees.

The bulk of funding for the corporation — $83 billion — would come from receipts from the proposed windfall profits tax. The corporation would get another $5 billion from the sale of special energy bonds.

The energy bonds would be sold in small denominations by the Treasury and would pay the same interest rate as U.S. savings bonds. Carter said he wanted small denominations for the bonds "so that average Americans can invest directly in America's energy security."

Senate Committee Action

Two Senate committees — Banking and Energy — had jurisdiction over synthetic fuels. The Finance Committee was the panel considering the windfall profits tax proposal — and the question of how to use the revenues it would generate. In addition, the Budget Committee named a special task force to study the question.

The Senate Energy Committee tentatively agreed Aug. 1 to a scaled-down synthetic fuels program that would give Congress more control over the expensive projects than Carter had proposed.

"The sensible thing is to start down the road with every possible safeguard, recognizing there are problems," said Energy Chairman Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.

The Energy panel agreed to the concept of a corporation, which had been criticized by other committees, but disagreed with the scope of Carter's plans.

The president's goal was for production of 2.5 million barrels a day of synthetic fuels by 1990, but the committee suggested that 1995 was a more realistic date.

Though Carter wanted the full $88 billion authorized at once, the Energy panel was more cautious. In what a staff proposal called the first stage, the corporation could obligate $20 billion, with the idea that Congress would review the program in a few years before authorizing additional funds for the second stage.

Senators on the panel were concerned that the president's program expected too much from technologies that were untried on such a large scale. A top committee aide said the only way to reach the president's goal by 1990 was to have several synfuels plants owned and operated by the government — the most expensive alternative.

Presidential Concessions

Early in September, President Carter agreed to accept congressional plans to approve a scaled-down synfuels development program.

The concession, made to senators at a White House meeting Sept. 11, was a bow to political reality. Three Senate committees — Budget, Energy and Banking — were heading toward approval of a two-stage development program instead of the sweeping all-out effort Carter proposed.

Carter's plan had been criticized by industry experts and others who said it was neither economically nor technologically feasible. Instead, they endorsed a two-stage program, which called for building four to eight plants and then, after a few years, plotting a more ambitious second stage.

The senators drafting the legislation agreed with that approach. They would fund six to 12 pioneer plants at a cost of $20 billion to $30 billion. Later, after approval from Congress, would additional funds be provided.

Carter told the Senate Energy panel that he would go along with their preference for a slower, initially less costly program. However, he said he wanted to retain the goal of 1.75 million barrels a day in synfuels by 1990.

Carter also said at the meeting that he would not press Congress for synfuels plants owned or operated by the government.

The infant synfuels industry, dominated by oil companies, was worried that government plants would be unfair competition for privately owned facilities.

Critics of the Goal

Synfuels experts told Congress that a crash synfuels program could lock the new industry into tested but inefficient technologies. That haste could hurt emerging technologies that were not quite ready to be tried in full-scale facilities, they argued.

"A thoughtful, half-million-barrel-a-day program" would be much better than a crash program for 1.75 million barrels a day that "probably wouldn't create all that much more," Bruce A. Pasternack told the Senate Budget Committee task force Sept. 5. He was vice president of Booz, Allen and Hamilton Inc., one of three consulting firms hired by the panel.

Meeting the president's goal would require a "wartime level of effort and significant diversions from the rest of the economy," said S. Frank Culberson, president of Cameron Engineers Inc., in testimony before the Budget task force.

Also endorsing a two-phased program was Raymond C. Scheppach, an assistant director of the Congressional Budget Office. "The first stage would provide information about costs, technology and environmental effects that would reduce the risks to both the private sector and the government in initiating a full-scale program," Scheppach told the task force Sept. 6.

Carter's acceptance of a reduced government role put him more in line with increasing congressional sentiment to emphasize price subsidies and tax breaks rather than loans and grants.

The legislators felt that minimal government involvement was more likely to lead to an economically viable synfuels industry. That view was shared by both Republicans and Democrats on the committees handling the legislation.

In addition, government assistance linked to production, such as price subsidies, meant less risk to federal revenues. If a pioneer plant didn't produce anything, it wouldn't require a price subsidy to make its product competitive in the marketplace. But the government would lose its investment if it spent $2 billion to build a plant using a technology that proved commercially unsuccessful.

Two Different Bills

The Senate Banking Committee and the Senate Energy Committee reported their versions of the synthetic fuels bill (S 932 — S Rept 96-387) Oct. 30. Banking completed action on the measure Sept. 13, and Energy ordered S 932 reported on Oct. 24.

Multibillion Dollar Synfuels Investment . . .

The United States has enough coal to last 300 years. But chunks of coal cannot run automobiles.

That was one reason, among many, why the United States had not been able to use its coal resources to reduce oil imports. Half of U.S. oil consumption in 1979 was used for transportation.

Coal can be converted into a liquid fuel, like gasoline. But the process had been prohibitively expensive. Even with the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries pushing world oil prices to around $30 a barrel, synthetic fuel still was expected to cost more — as much as $45 a barrel.

But President Carter and many in Congress believed that cost should no longer be a barrier. They were willing to spend billions for a domestic industry that produced coal liquids and other substitutes for imported oil.

The heart of the president's July 15 program to cut imports was an $88 billion, 10-year effort to boost production of synthetic fuels. A special Energy Security Corp., run by a seven-member board, would manage investment of the funds, which would be generated by the proposed "windfall profits" tax on oil. *(See story on windfall profits tax)*

The goal of the corporation would be production of 2.5 million barrels a day in substitute fuels by 1990.

The administration cited four major types of synthetic fuels:

Liquids from Coal

Coal could be converted to liquids by two principal methods:

- **Indirect.** Heating the coal with steam and oxygen, which creates a gas, and then chemically changing the gas into a liquid. This method had been used in South Africa for 25 years.
- **Direct.** Pulverizing coal with heat and pressure and then adding a solvent or catalyst to promote chemical reactions that lead to liquid byproducts. This method was more efficient and preferred over indirect liquefaction.

For years, the government and private industry had been working to improve the methods for converting coal to liquids. But high costs prevented commercial marketing.

Despite these economic constraints, the Energy Department philosophy had been to support commercial development of coal liquefaction as an insurance policy against future oil embargoes.

Partnership

In partnership with private industry, the agency had supported construction of pilot and demonstration plants in Tacoma, Wash., with a Gulf Oil Co. subsidiary; Baytown, Texas, with Exxon Corp., Carter Oil Co. and others; Wilsonville, Ala., with a Southern Co. subsidiary; and Catlettsburg, Ky., with Ashland Oil Co., and others. These plants were designed to produce less than 1,000 barrels of synfuels a day.

Larger plants, to produce the equivalent of 20,000 or more barrels a day, were planned for Morgantown, W.Va., and Owensboro, Ky., near coal fields. The Owensboro plant would produce a clean-burning solid instead of a liquid substitute. Each of these plants was expected to cost $700 million to build. A commercial plant producing 50,000 to 100,000 barrels a day was expected to cost $2 billion to $3 billion, though experts said accurate estimates were difficult.

Reaching the daily production goal of 2.5 million barrels was expected to require 10 to 15 plants.

Coal liquefaction produced about 2.5 to 3 barrels of liquid or its equivalent from each ton of coal.

Gases from Coal

In the early 1900s, before major oil discoveries and before pipelines brought natural gas to cities, gasified coal was used to fire ovens and street lamps. But the dirty, low-grade gas in use then was not what supporters of coal gasification were aiming for. Their product was comparable in quality to natural gas.

One coalition of pipeline companies and a gas company — Great Plains Gasification Associates — wanted to market coal gas from a proposed $1.5 billion project in Mercer, N.D. But the coalition, spearheaded by American Natural Resources Co., ran into a roadblock — the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

FERC rejected the coalition's plan to require pipeline customers to pay rates that would cover costs of the Great Plains facility before it began operating — even if it never worked. FERC objected to having customers pay for a project before they start benefiting from it.

Although the report on the measure was filed jointly by the two committees, each had approved very different versions of the bill.

The Energy Committee basically embraced the Carter administration's idea of a crash program with heavy government involvement. But the Banking Committee soundly rejected it, preferring to use only limited government funds to spur development of synfuels by private industry.

Energy agreed to establish a Synthetic Fuels Corp., similar to Carter's Energy Security Corp., which could own or operate plants if the corporation decided that was necessary to promote synfuels. But of the $88 billion requested by Carter, only $20 billion was authorized in the first phase. After three years, if Congress didn't object, the other $68 billion would be provided.

The Banking Committee decided the special corporation wasn't needed and instead gave the president authority to decide how to distribute the financial assistance. The government could not own or operate synfuels plants. Only $3 billion to $9 billion in government funds would be available, primarily for loans, loan guarantees and price supports.

Banking Committee

The Banking Committee rejected the "all-out commercialization effort" embodied in the administration and House proposals. It labeled as unrealistic both the administration and House goals for substantial synfuels production by 1990.

. . . Is the Heart of Carter's Energy Program

Though the technology was well developed for making gas from western coal, eastern coal tended to cake and clog the gasifier equipment. To boost gasification processes for eastern coal, the Energy Department planned to help finance a demonstration plant.

Gasification of a ton of coal usually yielded the equivalent of 2 to 2.5 barrels of oil, or roughly 12,000 to 15,000 cubic feet of gas.

Oil Shale

In a 16,500 square mile area straddling Colorado, Utah and Wyoming are deposits of oil shale that the administration estimated contained more recoverable oil than Saudi Arabia — between 400 billion and 700 billion barrels.

The hardened clay, which splits easily into layers, is permeated with oil. To extract the oil, the shale must be heated to extremely high temperatures — more than 900 degrees. Then a ton of good quality shale yields about two-thirds of a barrel of oil.

If the shale production takes place above ground, it requires large amounts of water and yields massive amounts of leftover rock that must be disposed of. Once crushed, the rock expands in volume by about 20 percent, so it cannot be simply returned to where it came from.

To avoid this disposal problem, an *in situ* method, an underground process for converting shale to oil, was developed. An explosive is detonated wihin the shale deposit, triggering a slow-burning fire that releases the oil. The liquid then drips into a cavity below the heated deposit and is pumped out.

Four shale projects had been proposed by private concerns. Each would cost more than $1 billion. The White House estimated the cost of shale oil at $25 to $35 a barrel, noting it probably would be "the first synthetic fuel to compete economically with imported oil." Extensive oil-shale properties were held by Occidental Petroleum Corp.

Biomass

About 600 million tons a year of biomass are available annually for conversion to alcohol and fuel oil. Biomass includes farm and forest products or residues and municipal solid waste.

The best known product of biomass was gasohol, a mixture of gasoline and alcohol that could be used in automobiles. Most gasohol blends were 10 to 20 percent alcohol.

Though some biomass plants simply burned wastes to create steam, a more sophisticated method of recovering energy was pyrolysis — heating the material in an oxygen-free chamber until it broke down into gases, liquids and solids. Another method was fermentation of corn and wheat residues to produce ethanol. A ton of biomass yielded .5 to 1.25 barrels of liquid fuel or its equivalent.

Environmental Problems

Major questions about the effect of synthetic fuels on the environment remained unanswered.

A study by the Energy Department released in July 1979 concluded that production of up to 2 million barrels a day in synthetic fuels "appears feasible in terms of current environmental constraints." However, the study did say production of 2 million barrels a day could bring "rapidly increasing siting difficulties." Possible problems included:

- Air pollution from synfuels plants that would violate clean air laws. In addition, carbon dioxide emissions would be multiplied because some synfuels processes, such as coal liquefaction, required that the fuel be burned twice. High levels of carbon dioxide could blanket the earth and retain heat, a situation environmentalists called the "greenhouse effect." Sulfur and nitrogen emissions could also cause "acid" rain, polluted rainfall that can damage crops and cause water pollution.
- Heavy demand for water, which could cause serious problems in the arid West. The lack of water would mean that polluted discharges could not be absorbed into streams and lakes without raising pollution levels above those allowed by clean water laws.
- Tons and tons of solid waste that could include toxic materials. The volume of waste from shale, for example, was expected to exceed 150,000 tons a day from a plant producing 100,000 barrels of oil a day.
- Land disruption from strip mining of coal and mining of shale that could lead to water pollution, soil erosion and loss of farm land.
- Carcinogens from coal liquefaction that could affect workers and those using or transporting the fuel.

Instead, the Banking panel set no long-range goal. The thrust of its bill was to encourage private industry to produce synfuels by providing financial assistance for a limited number of plants.

The committee authorized $3 billion in loans, loan guarantees and purchase or price guarantees for up to 12 synthetic fuels plants. For every $1 appropriated for loan guarantees, $3 of loan guarantee authority would be available, making the maximum possible investment $9 billion. Loan guarantees could not be made for more than 75 percent of a project's expected cost.

The financial assistance would be offered to developers by the president, who would choose from among applicants. However, no one could receive assistance for the production of more than the equivalent of 50,000 barrels of oil a day. The committee stipulated that the government could not own or operate synfuels plants.

Though agreeing that government assistance, in the form of loans and regulatory changes, could help synfuels, the Banking panel concluded that "many of the limitations on synfuels development are beyond the control of the federal government." One limitation was that "many synfuels technologies are in a relatively primitive and untested state of development," the report stated.

"Nor can Congress change the cost penalties associated with a crash program, the water limitations in the prime resource areas and the significant environmental and socio-economic deterioration which would accompany an effort to increase greatly synfuels production capacity over the short term."

The committee insisted that its plan to test a number of technologies in what it called "minimum-size commercial plants" would be more efficient and less costly and would also maximize the long-term potential for a synfuels industry.

"A crash program would be guaranteed to fail because it would attempt to do too much too soon," the report contended. The government "could be left with costly and inefficient 'white elephants' that would be less efficient, more environmentally offensive and more expensive to operate than future plants."

Energy Committee

The Energy Committee took an entirely different approach. The panel lamented that critics had blocked past attempts to launch a major government synfuels development program.

"Domestically, we are still immersed in academic arguments over the potential merits, hazards and economic viability of synthetic fuels as a part of our energy future," said the Energy panel in its half of the report.

But despite its general enthusiasm for synfuels, the Energy Committee did not accept the administration's goal of producing the equivalent of 2.5 million barrels of oil a day from substitute fuels by 1990. Instead, the panel set a more modest goal of producing the equivalent of 1.5 million barrels a day by 1995.

To reach that goal, the committee set up the special Synthetic Fuels Corp. and outlined a two-phase program, with an authorization of $20 billion for the first phase and another $68 billion for the second phase. That provided a total authorization of $88 billion, which was what the administration asked for.

The first phase of the program, for $20 billion, would emphasize "diversity of technologies," the report said. Construction and operation of plants using different processes would reveal which technologies were most promising.

Three years after the law was enacted, the corporation would report to Congress with its plans for phase two, which would concentrate on increasing production. If neither house disapproved the plan within 60 days, the authorization level for the corporation would increase to $88 billion. But the report noted that the funding would be subject to appropriations.

Decisions about how to distribute this financial assistance would be left to the corporation.

The board would be empowered to provide purchase agreements and price guarantees, loans, loan guarantees of up to 75 percent of project costs and capital for joint ventures with private industry.

The committee said the corporation was to be "chiefly a banking organization making predominantly banking decisions." However, the panel did authorize more direct involvement, such as government-owned plants, if there was not sufficient interest from the private sector and it appeared the production goal would not be met.

The corporation would also present "a reliable federal negotiating presence to the developing synfuels industry," the panel said. In the past, synfuels development had "fallen victim to annual budgetary competition or to changes of policy within the executive hierarchy," the report noted.

Solar, Conservation Banks

Both the Banking and Energy committees realized the high interest in the synfuels bill would enable the measure to carry other less visible proposals through Congress. The two panels attached to S 932 programs to aid conservation, solar energy, gasohol and other energy alternatives.

Included in the Banking bill were proposals for a conservation bank and a solar bank. Both would channel federal funds to commercial banks, which would offer loans to homeowners and businesses at below market rates. The loans could be used to purchase and install insulation, solar panels, wood-burning stoves or other energy-saving equipment.

The conservation bank, to be placed in the Government National Mortgage Association, would have a five-year authorization of $6.1 billion. The solar bank, to be located in the Department of Housing and Urban Development, would be authorized to spend $1.125 billion over five years.

The Energy Committee basically adopted the Banking proposals for conservation and solar banks and included them in its version of S 932. However, the Energy panel authorized $2.4 billion for the conservation bank and $475 million for the solar bank. In addition, the Energy bill included other conservation initiatives. *(Solar/Conservation stories, this chapter)*

Gasohol

The Energy and Banking committees both endorsed expanded government involvement in the production of alcohol and other fuels from agricultural and forest products and wastes. Alcohol can be mixed with gasoline to form gasohol, which was most commonly a blend of 90 percent gasoline and 10 percent alcohol.

The Energy Committee set a goal for production of alcohol fuels from renewable resources. By 1990, the panel said, 10 percent of the motor fuel used in the United States should be alcohol from renewable resources. It also ordered the president to achieve a production level of 60,000 barrels per day of alcohol fuels from renewable resources by 1982.

In addition, the panel authorized a $650 million program of loans, loan guarantees and price supports that would be operated by a new office of alcohol fuels in the Department of Energy.

The Banking Committee did not set a goal for alcohol production, but authorized a more ambitious program in the Department of Agriculture, instead of the Energy Department. The agriculture secretary would be authorized to provide loan guarantees of up to $4 billion over five years and could provide up to $250 million in grants for demonstration projects in the same period.

Other Programs

The Energy Committee also included funding authorizations for several other energy programs in its version of S 932.

Conservation. States would have responsibility for giving homeowners and renters grants to fund home improvements designed to save energy. This program, available to those with incomes below the national median ($16,000), would be authorized at $2.4 billion.

Energy Doctors. A pilot conservation program was authorized under which energy conservation companies would contract with local or state agencies to audit and make improvements in local residences. The "energy doctors" would be paid by the local agency on the basis of the amount of energy the improvements actually saved compared to previous consumption levels. The local agency would be repaid for its expenses by the Energy Department, which would in

turn require the area's utilities to pay the government the savings they enjoyed because energy demand was lowered. Such savings could come from not having to expand generating capacity. The program would be initially financed at a level of $500 million.

Energy Auditors. The Energy Department would be authorized to provide $25 million in grants to states that used the funds to train energy auditors.

Industry Efficiency. Industrial energy efficiency programs would be eligible for $120 million in grants.

Geothermal Energy. A $650 million program of loans and guarantees would be offered to producers of geothermal energy. Also provided was $100 million to insure against the failure of geothermal reservoirs.

Renewable Resources. The low-income weatherization program would be expanded to include assistance for installation of solar energy equipment. Another $40 million would be authorized for that program. A solar information center would be established and funded at $10 million.

Wind Energy. A $100 million program to support wind energy would finance loans and federal acquisition of wind energy systems.

In addition to authorizing financial assistance for energy conservation and alternatives, the Energy Committee also included provisions that:

- Required the president to submit to Congress annually a set of targets for consumption and production of various types of energy through the year 2000. Congress would be required to debate and approve the targets, which would not be legally binding.
- Required the president to prepare an energy impact report on any bill reported by a congressional committee, any regulation put out by a federal agency or any executive order. The report would have to estimate the impact of the bill or the rule on the energy targets.
- Permitted utilities to make loans to residential customers for improvements designed to save energy.
- Required that an energy inspection be completed before the sale of a house.
- Required that solar energy be used in new federal buildings when practical.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate Nov. 8 endorsed President Carter's plan for speeding synthetic fuels production, adopting the Senate Energy Committee's version of S 932 by a vote of 65-19. *(Vote 391, p. 65-S)*

But before final passage, the Senate added a number of other programs, converting the legislation into a $34 billion measure. In addition to synthetic fuels, the chief beneficiaries of the Senate measure were gasohol, conservation and solar energy.

The Senate rejected Nov. 7 the Banking Committee version of S 932 by a vote of 37-57. *(Vote 385, p. 64-S)*

The Energy Committee's $20 billion synthetic fuels plan survived attack from a coalition of conservatives and environmentalists who opposed the crash program. They tried unsuccessfully to reduce funding and to trim the power of a special new government corporation that would hand out financial incentives to private industry to develop synfuels.

Money to actually carry out the synfuels program was provided in the Interior Department appropriations bill (HR 4930). *(Story, p. 229)*

Carter Victory

The victory was another in a series for Carter as his energy program moved through Congress.

Carter said passage of S 932 had "insured there will be a strong synthetic fuels program and a significant institution to carry it out." He called the bill's conservation program a "strong, substantial initiative."

The administration did oppose a Senate decision to require the president to put 100,000 barrels of oil a day into the underground Strategic Petroleum Reserve for use in an emergency. The Senate refused, 36-53, to kill that requirement. *(Vote 389, p. 65-S)*

The Carter administration stopped filling the reserve late in 1978, when oil supplies were tight and prices skyrocketed. Congress had appropriated $1.5 billion to purchase oil for the reserve.

A factor in the synfuels debate was the crisis in Iran, where militants were holding U.S. Embassy officials hostage. About 5 percent of total U.S. oil supplies came from Iran. *(Iranian situation, p. 160)*

In addition to the $20 billion for synfuels, S 932 earmarked $6.2 billion for gasohol, $5.75 billion for conservation and $2 billion for solar, wind and geothermal energy.

Floor amendments swelled the authorization level by $6.775 billion over the amount recommended by the Energy Committee. The major change was an amendment that added $5 billion for gasohol.

The administration's key Senate vote came when members endorsed the Energy Committee version of the synthetic fuels program.

Carter had another important win Nov. 8 when the Senate insisted, 47-44, that the government have authority to own synthetic fuels plants. *(Vote 388, p. 65-S)*

Carter wanted to pay for his energy program with revenues from the proposed windfall profits tax. However, neither the House nor the Senate Finance Committee linked synfuels development or other energy programs to the tax (HR 3919).

Push for Infant Industry

Under the bill passed by the Senate, development of synthetic fuels would be managed by a special Synthetic Fuels Corp., which would not be bound by regular federal agency procedures, such as those governing hiring. The corporation and its five-member board would be responsible for investing $20 billion in the next five years.

Using purchase contracts, price guarantees, loans and loan guarantees, the corporation would push along the infant synthetic fuels industry. Its goal would be production of the equivalent of 1.5 million barrels a day in synfuels by 1995.

After five years, the corporation board would report to Congress on plans for meeting the production goal. If both the House and Senate agreed, the board would be authorized to spend another $68 billion.

The fight for a crash synthetic fuels program was led by Energy Chairman Jackson, senior Energy members J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., and Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., and the Carter administration.

Jackson, who had fought unsuccessfully for synthetic fuels commercialization in 1975 and 1976, said the United States had "dawdled" long enough in launching a major synthetic fuels program. He said $20 billion over five years was a small amount compared to the $70 billion the United States would spend on oil imports in 1979. *(1975 Almanac, p. 288; 1976 Almanac p. 153)*

"I suggest we send a strong signal, not a muted or confused signal, so the world will know we are making a beginning," said Jackson, who called the Banking Committee bill "puny."

Domenici complained that the Banking version was "a popgun response to the moral equivalent of war."

But there were a few doubters even among supporters of the Energy Committee bill. "This piece of legislation could create one of the major boondoggles in the history of our country, or it could do what it is framed to do, which is help us develop a synthetic fuels industry," said Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio. Because he decided the program has "a good chance of working," Metzenbaum said it "makes sense for us to take this calculated gamble."

Opponents included Banking Chairman William Proxmire, D-Wis., Gary Hart, D-Colo., and William L. Armstrong, R-Colo.

They said they wanted synthetic fuels development, but not at the pace pushed by the Energy Committee. Proxmire said the crash program would create an extraordinary demand for professionals and equipment in the construction industry. "The inflationary effect of the Energy Committee bill is transparently clear," Proxmire said.

Armstrong told his colleagues, "Business sees this bill for what it is — a giant step toward a total takeover of the energy industry by the government."

Another major objection was to the special corporation, which would have more independence from Congress and the executive branch than other federal agencies.

"What many of us fear about the Energy Security Corporation is not its getting around the bureaucracy, but its getting around the Congress of the United States," said Hart, whose state had the nation's largest oil shale deposits. "I do not want to hand over my constitutional responsibilities to any non-elected, autonomous body as to the future of the state of Colorado. And that is what is at stake here."

Also working against the bill was an odd coalition that included the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the American Petroleum Institute, the Sierra Club and Common Cause.

Because many senators had not declared their position on the two versions of the bill, both sides had expected the vote to be close. Vice President Walter F. Mondale was presiding over the Senate in case his vote was needed. But the defeat of the Banking Committee bill came by a comfortable 20-vote margin.

After the vote on the Banking Committee bill, the Senate adopted an amendment giving the corporation five years, instead of three, to report back to Congress on its future plans. It also provided that both houses of Congress would have to agree before the additional $68 billion was authorized. The original Energy bill had given either house a chance to veto the $68 billion before it was automatically authorized.

Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., and Hart then offered another substitute for the synthetic fuels section of the Energy bill. Though similar to the Banking bill, it authorized $14 billion. But that proposal was tabled, 55-37. *(Vote 386, p. 64-S)*

Opponents of the provision allowing government-owned plants tried to delete it. But that attempt, offered by Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., was tabled, 47-44. *(Vote 388, p. 65-S)*

The administration had not fought for the ownership provision. In August, when it appeared that authority was unpopular in the Energy Committee, Carter had told the committee he could live without it. But it turned out the ownership provision was a key to winning support from Energy Committee liberals.

Other Major Amendments

The Energy bill, which was the version on the floor, provided more than $7 billion for conservation, gasohol, solar and other programs. Floor amendments added $6.775 million.

The major change was the amendment providing $5 billion for gasohol over the next five years. The amendment was adopted by voice vote with little discussion of its high price tag.

The senators also increased funding in the gasohol title drafted by the Energy Committee from $650 million to $1.2 billion.

The other major floor changes were offered by Tsongas, who had sponsored the conservation and solar banks in both the Banking and Energy committees. The amendments, worked out with Johnston, reconciled the two committees' versions of the banks.

The revisions, adopted by voice vote, provided:

- An increase from $475 million to $750 million for the solar bank. The period of the authorization was changed from five to four years.
- An increase from $2.4 billion to $3.35 billion in the five-year authorization for the conservation bank.
- An income cap on eligibility for the subsidized loans. The cap would go into effect after the solar bank had been operating for two years. A $50,000 ceiling on family income was set that would be indexed for inflation.
- That one person would head both banks, which would be located within the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The committees had placed the conservation bank in the Government National Mortgage Association.

Conference Action

House and Senate conferees began work on the synthetic fuels bill before Christmas, but did not complete their task before the Dec. 20 recess. They did reach general agreement, however, on the outlines of the final legislation, agreeing to provide $20 billion for synthetic fuels development and to set up the special corporation to manage the program.

Energy Mobilization Board

Work was already under way to create a new agency empowered to put priority energy projects on a "fast track" to completion when President Carter July 15 asked Congress to approve creation of an Energy Mobilization Board.

Carter described the board as similar to the "War Production Board in World War II," an agency that "will have the responsibility and authority to cut through the red tape, the delays and the endless road blocks to completing key energy projects." *(Text, p. 45-E)*

Early in July, both House and Senate committees had held hearings on similar proposals. The House measure (HR 4573) had been introduced by Interior Committee Chairman Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz.; the Senate version was included in an omnibus energy bill (S 1308) co-sponsored by many members of the Senate Energy Committee.

Despite this fast start, it was October before the Senate approved its version of the board, and November when the House acted. Conferees began work early in December but did not complete their task before the Christmas recess.

The major difference between the House and Senate versions of S 1308 — and the major point of controversy during consideration of the bill — was whether the board would have the power to waive or override substantive requirements of federal laws that threatened to delay priority energy projects. The Senate approved an agency without such power; the House granted this power to the agency it endorsed.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Energy Committee reported its version of the Energy Mobilization Board measure Sept. 25 (S 1308 — S Rept 96-331).

As authorized by the committee bill, the new board had the power to waive only procedural federal state and local laws that hindered construction of an energy project such as a pipeline or refinery. The measure reported to the Senate was very similar to the Carter administration's original proposal.

A group of senators on the committee wanted the board to have power to waive substantive laws also. But, according to J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., he and his colleagues lacked the votes for that position.

Had they prevailed, a major floor fight was expected. Members of both the Senate Environment and Public Works and Governmental Affairs committees had objected to giving the board authority to waive substantive laws.

The rejection of the proposal to waive substantive laws was a victory for environmentalists and western states.

However, the Energy Mobilization Board legislation still included some controversial provisions. Among the remaining issues were:

- The difference between substantive and procedural laws was hazy.
- The National Governors' Association and others were opposed to a provision giving the board authority to make decisions in place of federal, state or local agencies that failed to meet deadlines.
- Environmentalists opposed a clause that exempted a special energy project from substantive and procedural provisions of laws passed after the date construction began on the project.

Provisions

As reported by the Senate Energy Committee, S 1308:

- Authorized the president to appoint, subject to Senate confirmation, the chairman and three members of the Energy Mobilization Board that would oversee government actions relating to designated "priority" energy projects.
- Excluded nuclear facilities from consideration as priority energy projects.
- Required the board to decide whether to designate a project as priority within 60 days of receipt of an application. The chairman and two of the three board members would have to concur in the designation.
- Authorized the board to decide whether the project would constitute "a major federal action," requiring an environmental impact statement, and then designate a lead agency to prepare one final impact statement.
- Provided that within 30 days after designation of a priority project, all affected federal agencies give the board a list of upcoming decisions related to the project and a tentative schedule for making those decisions, and that the governor of the affected state provide similar information for state and local actions.
- Provided that within 60 days after designating a priority project, the board publish a project decision schedule setting deadlines for agency actions.
- Authorized the board to adopt special procedures for agencies to follow in expediting consideration of priority projects.
- Authorized the board to waive any federal, state or local regulation or requirement enacted or promulgated after construction was initiated on a priority project.
- Authorized the board to remove a project from priority status if its developer was not cooperating in good faith or if a necessary permit were refused.
- Authorized the board, if a federal, state or local agency failed to make a decision by the deadline set by the board, to make the decision or perform the action in lieu of the agency, applying the applicable law.
- Provided that no actions by the board interfere with state laws and interstate compacts governing water rights.
- Provided that court challenges of board actions or of agency actions relating to deadlines set by the board be filed in the Temporary Emergency Court of Appeals.
- Limited injunctive relief relating to board actions to 90 days.
- Provided that the board cease to exist 10 years after the date of enactment.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate Oct. 4 approved creation of an Energy Mobilization Board, voting 68-25 to pass S 1308 *(Vote 331, p. 55-S)*

The wide margin reflected the consensus of the Senate that the nation's need to develop new sources of energy was sufficiently compelling to merit special treatment outside the regular system of laws and procedures.

By giving broad powers to this new federal agency, the senators hoped to speed construction of refineries, synthetic fuels plants and other high-priority energy projects.

The vote for the Energy Mobilization Board was a major victory for President Carter. "That vote represents a major step forward in the joint effort of the Congress and my administration to achieve energy security for our nation," he said.

Opponents of the board — an unusual coalition of liberals and conservatives — warned that it would ignore environmental dangers and trample states' rights. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, called it an "unprecedented intrusion into state and local prerogatives to protect the health and safety of citizens."

But the opponents failed in several efforts to curb the board's powers, which include authority to act in place of federal, state and local agencies in certain instances and to modify procedures in federal, state and local laws.

For help in staving off attempts to weaken the board, the administration called in lobbyists from the energy industry, labor and business. Carter made a few phone calls to senators who were undecided.

And members of the Senate Energy Committee, deeply split in the past on many energy issues, were strongly united in support of their bill. Their votes were a key reason for the roughly 20-vote margin by which repeated attempts to weaken the board were defeated.

They also helped defeat, 37-56, a sweeping proposal to authorize the president, on the board's recommendation, to override any existing federal law. Supporters of the amendment, by Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky., were signaling their readiness to set aside environmental protection laws in favor of all-out energy development. *(Vote 326, p. 54-S)*

In the end, the board approved by the Senate was very similar to that proposed by President Carter July 15 as part of a program to reduce oil imports. The heart of that program was development of synthetic fuels, such as liquids from coal. The administration felt that the board was the only way to avoid crippling delays in construction of those plants.

The Senate Board

Under the Senate bill, sponsors of energy projects could apply to the four-member Energy Mobilization Board for special status. The board could choose projects that would "reduce U.S. dependence on insecure foreign oil or petroleum products." But there were no other limits placed on which projects could be given priority status.

The board would have the power to set deadlines for federal, state and local agencies faced with priority project decisions, such as whether to grant a zoning variance or an air pollution permit. The board also could alter procedural aspects of federal, state and local laws, such as the amount of time set aside for public hearings, but not substantive provisions, such as air quality standards. The board chairman would have the power to act alone, except in designating priority projects.

If an agency missed a deadline, the federal board could step in and make the decision for the agency, applying the relevant federal, state or local law. However, an agency decision not to allow a project to proceed could not be overruled by the board.

Most judicial review of actions related to priority projects would be by the Temporary Emergency Court of Appeals, which was set up in 1971 to handle challenges to wage and price guidelines. A decision to select a project for special status could not be challenged in court, but rejection of a request for priority status could be challenged. There was no limit on the number of priority projects.

Senators agreed to alter a key committee provision — the so-called "grandfather clause" — that would have allowed the board to waive any law or regulation enacted after construction began on a priority project. The compromise allowed the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency or the interior secretary to veto waiver of a new law or rule, but also required that the president concur in that decision.

Senate Debate: How Much Power?

Opponents of the Energy Committee bill focused their arguments on two aspects of the board's power:

- The "grandfather clause" giving it the power to waive any laws or regulations enacted after construction began on a priority project, and

- Its authority to step in and make decisions for federal, state and local agencies that missed deadlines for actions related to a priority project.

Critics of those powers were led by two veteran committee chairmen — Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., of Governmental Affairs and Muskie of Budget, who was the Senate's leading environmentalist as chairman of the Environmental Pollution Subcommittee of the Environment and Public Works Committee.

On their side were a host of liberal Democrats, Minority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., and others. The coalition also embraced such conservatives as Utah Republicans Orrin G. Hatch and Jake Garn and Jesse Helms, R-N.C., who wanted to protect states' rights.

Also arguing against the Energy Committee bill were the associations representing state and local officials, including the National Governors' Association, the National League of Cities and the National Association of Counties. They were joined by several environmental groups, including the National Wildlife Federation, the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth.

Ribicoff, Muskie and others considered the Energy Committee's version of the board a threat to the federal system because of its authority over traditional state and local activities. They also worried it would ignore threats to the environment and public health in its haste to build energy projects.

"If the members of the Senate believe that a project can be forcibly rammed down the throats of an objecting public, they are deceiving themselves," said Robert T. Stafford, R-Vt. "Federal force will not expedite projects. It will delay them."

The senators specifically opposed the concept of allowing the board to act for federal, state and local agencies.

"When a federal bureau comes in to make that decision under state law, without the expertise, without the background, the whole state will rally against the federal bureaucracy," said Muskie, who made several impassioned speeches during the three days of debate. A decision by the federal board "is not going to stand up. It is not going to last. It is just not the kind of thing that the American political system will accept."

Stafford said the board would require an enormous staff to handle all of the decisions taken over from other agencies. "The members and chairman would be entangled in the net of their own power, unable to carry out all of their functions," he said. "The board would become the ultimate unresponsive bureaucracy."

Ribicoff shared that concern. "There will be a real problem of the quality of the board's decisions if it is called upon to decide a Clean Air Act question one day, a strip mining issue the next and a local zoning variance the third," said Ribicoff, who argued that decisions poorly justified by the board would be overturned in court. "And more delay will result."

"I would not deny there are risks in creating a strong Energy Mobilization Board and giving it the power to get things done," said Energy Chairman Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.

"But I will tell you one thing. The kinds of risks we are talking about are nothing compared to the price we pay each day for our dependence upon imported oil."

Jackson argued that a strong board was the key to ending the nation's dependence on imported oil. "In fighting the threat of oil dependence, the greatest obstacle to success is ourselves," he said. "We have created an institutional crisis in this country. We no longer can get anything done. Everyone has the power to delay decisions on energy projects, and too many decision-makers are unwilling to decide.

"Our dependence upon OPEC oil is one of the gravest threats this nation has ever faced. It is time that we met this threat head on."

In defense of a strong board, Johnston, floor manager of the bill, pointed out that S 1308 had curbs on the board's powers. "We are not telling the state, local or federal people how to decide," he said. "But we are saying that there is a time for decision. Give us your yes or no, but make it timely."

Ribicoff-Muskie Substitute

Opponents of the bill, led by Ribicoff and Muskie, first offered a substitute proposal (S 1806) that sharply reduced the board's authority.

Under the substitute, the three-member board could not waive any law, not even a time requirement in existing law, or laws passed after construction had begun on a project. To force an agency to make a decision, the board could go to court, but it could not step in and act for the agency. Only eight projects a year, or 24 at a time, could be priority projects. The board's decision on an application for priority status could be challenged in court.

Those seeking a strong board argued that the substitute bill would have no effect. Johnston dubbed it "a joke."

Jackson called the substitute a "paper tiger" that would mean "more and more bureaucracy."

After debating the substitute Oct. 2 and most of Oct. 3, members killed it on a 58-39 vote to table. *(Vote 324, p. 54-S)*

After the substitute was rejected, Muskie offered a two-part amendment to delete the board's authority to act for federal, state and local agencies and to strike its power to "grandfather" an energy project already under construction against newly passed laws or rules.

But before debate on the amendment had ended, a compromise on the "grandfather" provision was circulating on the Senate floor. More than a dozen senators huddled near Muskie's desk. Finally, Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., called the group into his office.

When they returned, Johnston proposed the compromise, which allowed either the interior secretary or Environmental Protection Agency adminstrator to veto a board proposal to waive a newly passed law. The compromise was accepted by voice vote.

Apparently neither side had been sure whether Muskie had the votes to delete the grandfather provision.

The provision requiring the president to concur in the decision to approve or reject a waiver was proposed Oct. 4 by James A. McClure, R-Idaho, and passed on a voice vote.

Muskie was then left with the other half of his amendment, removing the board's power to act for other agencies.

Johnston argued that without that authority, the board could not enforce the deadlines it imposed on other agencies. He called the power the "very essence of this bill."

Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., minority floor manager of the bill, said Muskie's amendment would turn the board into a "stuffed toothless tiger, incapable of doing anything."

The Senate Oct. 3 accepted their arguments, rejecting the Muskie amendment, 34-60. *(Vote 325, p. 54-S)*

Sweeping Powers Sought

Though most critics focused on weakening the board's powers, many senators took the opposite tack — they wanted it stronger. Huddleston offered an amendment to allow the president, on the board's recommendation, to waive any federal law that impeded a priority energy project. Either house of Congress could veto the waiver.

"My amendment deals with a situation where the answer, no matter how fast it comes, must be no" because a law requires it, Huddleston said.

The House Commerce Committee included a similar provision in its version of the Energy Mobilization Board.

Muskie was outraged by the proposal. If the board is to be given such unprecedented powers, "let us suspend the Constitution. Let us suspend this body," Muskie said. "Let us not do it by indirection."

The Senate Oct. 3 rejected the Huddleston amendment, 37-56. *(Vote 326, p. 54-S)*

Huddleston of Kentucky was more successful with an amendment designed to boost use of coal, a major industry in his state.

He proposed that, when requested, automatic priority status be given to any utility trying to convert an oil- or gas-fired plant to coal.

With only a few senators on the floor, mostly from coal-producing states, the amendment was adopted by voice vote. Muskie voted against the amendment, but did not demand a record vote.

Later, John A. Durkin, D-N.H., sought the same treatment for small dams that produce hydroelectric power. He won approval for his amendment by voice vote.

Amendments Rejected

The Senate also rejected several amendments:

Energy Department Role. John Glenn, D-Ohio, proposed an amendment to involve the Energy Department in decisions made by the Energy Mobilization Board. The department would make initial selections from applications for priority status, with the board choosing from that group. Glenn wanted to limit the number of priority projects to 36 at any one time. He also wanted to require that the board follow a list of specific criteria for choosing a project.

But Johnston argued against the Glenn proposal, calling the Energy Department a "slow-moving ponderous bureaucracy."

The Senate Oct. 4 rejected the Glenn amendment, 28-65. *(Vote 327, p. 54-S)*

Power of Chairman. Jennings Randolph, D-W.Va., was worried about the powers the bill gave to the chairman of the Energy Mobilization Board. The measure gave the chairman the power to act alone except on decisions to give a project priority status, which required consent from two of the three other members.

Randolph offered an amendment to replace the full-time chairman and three part-time members with a board composed of five full-time members. But the Senate Oct. 4 rejected his proposal, 43-50. *(Vote 328, p. 54-S)*

Time for Decisions. Gary Hart, D-Colo., and Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., opposed a provision requiring that all agency decisions be made within two years after a project received priority status.

They wanted to change that clause so the time limit would start only after an application for a permit or other license had been completed. Then they would give an agency a year to make a decision once the application had been completed.

But the Senate Oct. 4 rejected their amendment, 31-62. *(Vote 329, p. 54-S)*

Request for Report. Before the board geared up, Harrison "Jack" Schmitt, R-N.M., wanted it to report to Congress on any laws that were holding up energy projects.

He and others argued that supporters of the board had not presented evidence that a board was needed.

But Johnston and others argued that Schmitt's amendment would only cause additional delay.

The Senate Oct. 4 rejected the Schmitt amendment, 39-54. *(Vote 330, p. 55-S)*

House Committee Action

The House Interior Committee Aug. 2 reported the Priority Energy Projects Act (HR 4985 — H Rept 96-410, Part 1). The legislation was then referred to the House Commerce Committee for further markup.

Interior Committee Bill

As reported by the Interior Committee, HR 4985 created a far less powerful board than the Carter administration had proposed.

The administration wanted authority for the board to waive procedural federal, state and local laws to speed projects. The Interior bill allowed no waiver of substantive law and gave Congress a chance to veto a presidential recommendation to waive time requirements in federal laws.

Despite the relatively limited powers in the Interior bill, several members filed separate views, warning of dangers in the "fast track" approach.

"We fear that oil, coal and utility companies, which have fought for years to kill environmental, antitrust and other public interest legislation, will attempt to take advantage of the 'fast track' to nullify much of this legislation," said John F. Seiberling, D-Ohio, Phillip Burton, D-Calif., James Weaver, D-Ore., and seven other Democrats.

Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas, urged other committees to avoid the "far-reaching and dangerous approach" of granting "unprecedented power to the executive branch to waive not only federal laws but also state and local [laws] in the interest of speeding up energy development."

The Interior Committee said the bill "modifies the time taken to reach decisions, not the basis upon which decisions are made."

As reported by the Interior Committee, HR 4985:

- Was designed to coordinate, integrate and expedite federal, state and local decisionmaking on non-nuclear energy projects when the national interest required it, without interfering with statutory authorities and responsibilities.
- Authorized the president to appoint an Energy Mobilization Board of five members, subject to Senate confirmation, who would serve at the pleasure of the president. The board would have a 60-person staff.
- Required the board, in designating a priority project, to consider its environmental, economic and social costs; how much oil it would save; whether it would use renewable energy or promote conservation, and the time required to obtain necessary permits under ordinary procedures.
- Required the board to act within 45 days on an application for designation of a priority project.
- Restricted the maximum number of priority projects to 24 and limited the number the board could designate within a calendar year to 12.
- Required each affected federal agency to tell the board, within 30 days after designation of a priority project, what procedures for the project that agency had to complete.
- Required that, within 60 days of receiving the information from the agencies, the board publish a priority project decision schedule, outlining deadlines for issuing permits and licenses for the project. The schedule would require that all decisions be made within nine months of the date the project was designated a priority.
- Provided that, if a federal agency had not met its deadline for a decision, the president would either make the decision himself or grant an extension of up to 120 days.
- Authorized the board, if it found that federal, state or local time requirements were unreasonable and presented substantial impediments to decisionmaking, to recommend their waiver to the president or governor. The president would recommend the waiver to Congress, and either house would have 30 days to veto his proposal.
- Provided that the board's authority to designate priority projects would expire seven years after enactment.
- Authorized up to $2 million in fiscal 1980.

Commerce Committee Bill

The House Commerce Committee Sept. 21 reported its version of HR 4985 (H Rept 96-410, Part 2). The committee had voted 20-7 Sept. 12 to order the measure reported.

The Energy Mobilization Board approved by the Commerce Committee was a much more powerful agency than the one approved by the Interior Committee. It would have the power to override any federal, state or local law that threatened to hold up refineries, synthetic fuels plants or other priority energy projects.

The committee refused, Sept. 6, by a vote of 16-26, to delete the board's authority to waive substantive, as well as procedural, law. The defeated amendment was proposed by Timothy E. Wirth, D-Colo.

The White House position on that amendment was ambiguous. On Sept. 5, the three top administration environmental officials wrote to Carter protesting that White House and Energy Department lobbyists had misrepresented the administration position by opposing the Wirth amendment. The letter was signed by Cecil D. Andrus, secretary of the interior, Douglas Costle, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and Gus Speth, chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality.

In his July 15 energy message, Carter proposed that the board be authorized to waive only the procedural requirements in federal, state and local laws, not substantive provisions as authorized by the Commerce bill.

A requirement that a report be filed within a certain time period was considered a "procedural" provision. "Substantive" described provisions such as those setting the standards for water quality or restricting automobile emissions.

Carter reiterated in his Aug. 2 environmental message that the board "could not waive substantive environmental standards." *(Text, p. 49-E)*

But administration lobbyists from the White House and the Energy Department, including Lynn Coleman, general counsel for the Energy Department, opposed the Wirth amendment to delete the authority to waive substantive law.

Energy Department officials said the Wirth amendment would make the energy board much weaker than the administration wanted. They reasoned that the Commerce bill, without the Wirth amendment, could swing the final product of the legislative process closer to the original administration proposal.

But the three environmental officials viewed it as improper to treat the Commerce bill as a bad card that could

eventually lead to a winning hand. "It may be a posture," said one agency source, "but the people out West won't understand that type of posturing." Westerners, whose crucial water supply was regulated by state laws, generally opposed any federal interference with states' rights.

In a Sept. 11 meeting with mayors and governors, President Carter reiterated his opposition to any waiver of substantive law, but described the lobbying position on the Wirth amendment as a tactical move.

As reported by the Commerce Committee, the measure forbade the new board to waive civil rights laws, labor laws, primary air quality standards and any state or local laws dealing with water rights.

In addition to the Wirth amendment, the committee rebuffed efforts to limit the new board's powers by:

- Denying it power to waive state and local laws.
- Forbidding the board to override laws regulating water pollution and waste disposal.
- Requiring that both houses of Congress approve any waiver of law.
- Making coal slurry pipelines ineligible for "fast track" treatment. (The committee did, however, adopt an amendment specifying that only procedural laws, not substantive ones, could be waived for slurry pipelines.)

The committee also defeated an amendment by Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas, that would have clarified that the board could be taken to court on charges of violating its statutory authority. The bill limited judicial review of the board's actions in an attempt to avoid delay of energy projects.

As reported by the House Commerce Committee, HR 4985:

- Authorized the president to appoint five persons, subject to Senate confirmation, to an Energy Mobilization Board that would oversee government procedures relating to energy projects designated as "priority" projects.
- Excluded nuclear facilities from consideration as priority energy projects.
- Required the board to decide whether a project was to be designated "priority" within 45 days of the date of receipt of an application for priority status.
- Required notification of the governor of a state in which a priority project would be located. The governor could appoint a non-voting member to the board to participate in discussions related to that project.
- Required that the Council on Environmental Quality be directed to decide whether any agency decisions relating to a priority project would constitute a major federal action and, if so, to designate a lead federal agency to prepare an environmental impact statement for the project.
- Provided that within 30 days after designation of a priority project, all affected agencies give the board a list of upcoming decisions related to the project and a tentative schedule for making those decisions.
- Required that within 30 days after getting the information from the agencies, the board publish a project schedule setting deadlines for agency actions.
- Provided that if the board determined that any federal, state or local requirement presented a substantial procedural or substantive impediment to timely construction of the priority energy project, the board be authorized to recommend to the president that the requirement be waived in whole or part.
- Authorized the board be allowed to condition such a waiver on the imposition of a less stringent requirement in place of the waived requirement.
- Provided that not earlier than 30 days after receiving the board's recommendation, the president, after determining that the waiver was in the national interest and would not unduly endanger the public health and safety, be authorized to transmit a statement on the proposed waiver to Congress.
- Provided that the waiver take effect after 60 calendar days of continuous congressional session unless, prior to that time, either house of Congress had disapproved the waiver.
- Prohibited waiver of federal, state or local labor, antitrust, criminal, or civil rights laws, primary air quality standards under the Clean Air Act, or laws providing for water resource rights. Waiver of rights secured by the U.S. Constitution or of laws allowing individuals to seek compensation for loss of property would also be prohibited. Only procedural laws could be waived if the project were a coal slurry pipeline.
- Provided that board decisions designating projects, establishing decision schedules and recommending waivers to the president not be judicially reviewable except as required by the U.S. Constitution.
- Required that challenges of final federal, state or local agency decisions relating to a priority project be brought only in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the circuit in which the project was to be located and only within 90 days of the decision.
- Terminated the board on Sept. 30, 1985.

House Floor Action

After two days of dickering, the House Nov. 1 approved a measure (HR 4985) creating an Energy Mobilization Board similar to that sought by President Carter.

By a 299-107 vote, the House agreed to set up the powerful new agency to speed construction of pipelines, refineries, synthetic fuels plants and other energy projects. *(Vote 558, p. 164-H)*

The House action was a major victory for the president. But the "fast track" board created by the House was even more powerful than the panel sought by Carter.

Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, said the strong board would help Congress get rid of unnecessary regulations written by bureaucrats who have "a thirst to write laws without the inconvenience of running for Congress."

But Interior Committee Chairman Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., criticized the measure. "This bill is a formula for dismantling the environmental, health and safety laws put together in the appropriate committees in this Congress in the past 20 years," he said.

The House Board's Powers

The five-member board could give priority status to an unlimited number of energy projects seeking expedited treatment. The board would have authority to act in place of federal, state and local agencies that did not meet deadlines for making decisions related to priority projects.

The board would also have sweeping power over federal law. If a federal law were blocking a priority project, the board could recommend that it be waived. If the president agreed and both the House and Senate voted for the waiver, the federal law simply would not be applied to that project.

The waiver was directed primarily at environmental laws, such as those governing air, water and toxic substances. The bill specified that certain other laws, such as

those covering labor, water rights and civil rights, could not be waived.

The Carter administration did not ask for a waiver of substantive law, but it did not mount a major lobbying offensive against that provision in the House. Bert Carp, a top White House aide, said the administration would be asking House-Senate conferees to strike the federal substantive waiver.

Strong vs. Weak Board

The House had originally faced two dramatically different versions of the Energy Mobilization Board. One provided for an extremely powerful board; the other for a weak board.

But both versions had been substantially modified by the time they came to a vote on the House floor. The modifications narrowed the differences between the bills.

The original, powerful Commerce board would have been authorized to recommend to the president waiver of substantive and procedural federal, state and local laws. The president could waive almost any law as long as either house of Congress did not object.

The Commerce version was strongly opposed by the National Governors' Association and other local government organizations and by the major environmental groups.

The Interior Committee, however, had taken a different approach. Only time requirements could be waived and that would require concurrence from both houses of Congress. The president could act in place of tardy federal agencies, but not for state and local agencies.

Both bills were modified when their sponsors realized the majority of the House preferred a board weaker than the Commerce version, but stronger than the one set up by Interior.

Udall, after working with Timothy E. Wirth, D-Colo., and Don H. Clausen, R-Calif., came up with a substitute that gave the board more authority. It allowed the board to take an agency to court if it missed a deadline. If the federal, state or local agency still refused to comply, the board could ask the president to act in its place. Procedural requirements could be modified, such as shortening of a timetable or substituting an informal hearing for a more formal and time consuming one. A law passed after a project was under construction could be suspended.

The Commerce Committee was also under pressure to revise its bill. Attempts in committee to delete the authority to waive state and local law had been strongly and successfully resisted. But Jim Santini, D-Nev., and Manuel Lujan Jr. R-N.M., were able to convince John D. Dingell, D-Mich., chief sponsor of the committee bill, that only a modified bill could win in the House.

The Santini-Lujan changes removed the board's power to waive state and local law and required that both houses of Congress concur in a waiver of federal law. In addition, they authorized the president to act in place of federal, state and local agencies that missed deadlines. There was no court involvement. Laws passed after construction began on a project could be waived.

Aware that the Udall substitute appeared headed for victory — with the support of states' rights advocates won over by the fact that the Udall bill did not allow the agency to override state and local laws, Dingell and other key backers of the Commerce bill agreed to accept the Santini-Lujan amendment. That amendment was adopted Oct. 31 by the full House by a vote of 415-1. *(Vote 553, p. 162-H)*

That change apparently led many members to switch their support from the Udall bill to the Commerce bill.

But the changes in both bills did not alter the positions of two important lobbying groups: the Carter administration and the state and local government associations.

Despite the modifications in the Interior bill, the Carter administration still opposed it. Energy Secretary Charles W. Duncan Jr. said in a letter to the House that the bill contained "additional opportunities for judicial review which could cause significant and unnecessary delay."

Though Duncan said the administration opposed the waiver of substantive law provision contained in the Commerce bill, he added that, "should the choice ultimately fall between the Udall-Wirth substitute and the Commerce Committee bill as amended by the Santini-Lujan amendment, we would support the latter as closest to our position."

Udall disagreed, arguing that his bill was closest to the administration's position because, among other things, it did not waive substantive federal law. Udall complained on the House floor of "shabby treatment" from the administration.

"I think the president has been battling [his] staff on this whole issue," Udall said. "They have deliberately distorted the provisions" of the Udall substitute.

The state and local government associations still opposed the Commerce version, even though it had been modified by the Santini amendment.

The Commerce bill "would forever change the federal system and give added impetus to the trend toward centralized government," said the National Association of Counties.

The National League of Cities said, "Municipal officials view the EMB legislation as one of the most significant changes in intergovernmental relations in recent years." The league predicted the Commerce version could return "to haunt members who voted for it in good faith, not realizing the impact of such sweeping power on local communities and states."

The House rejected the Udall substitute by a 23-vote margin, 192-215, on Nov. 1. *(Vote 556, p. 164-H)*

Also on Nov. 1, Eckhardt offered an amendment to the Commerce bill to delete the waiver of federal law. Eckhardt read a letter to his colleagues from President Carter, in which Carter said, "I see no need for broad authority to waive federal laws."

But Majority Leader Wright contended the Eckhardt amendment would "make a shambles of any opportunity Congress might have to expedite an energy project under this legislation."

Supporters of the Eckhardt amendment were primarily Democrats. But one of the 27 Republicans voting for it was conservative Robert E. Bauman, R-Md. When amendment proponents argued that a strong mobilization board would enhance the nation's security, Bauman replied, "Some of us feel that if we destroy the Constitution, we have lost the greatest assurance of security we have."

The Eckhardt proposal was soundly defeated by a vote of 153-250. *(Vote 557, p. 164-H)*

Other Amendments

The House agreed to a coal conversion amendment by Nick J. Rahall, D-W.Va. It required the board to automatically give priority status to any applicant who was converting an electric power plant from oil or natural gas to coal.

The Rahall amendment was adopted by a standing vote of 46-7. The Senate bill contained a similar provision.

The legislators also agreed to an amendment by Richard B. Cheney, R-Wyo., that the board not be authorized to alter any law regulating state water rights.

The House rejected, 56-357, a proposal by Tom Corcoran, R-Ill., to place the Energy Mobilization Board within the Energy Department. *(Vote 554, p. 162-H)* ▮

Solar Energy, Conservation

Standing on the White House roof in front of a large solar collector, President Carter June 20 announced an ambitious program to increase the nation's use of solar energy.

By the year 2000, the president said, the nation should be getting one-fifth of its energy from the sun or other renewable energy sources such as wind, wood and water. Renewable sources were providing about 6 percent of the nation's energy needs.

He proposed creation of a national solar bank, new tax credits to stimulate solar technologies, incentives for gasohol use and other programs to meet the goal. Carter said he would seek $1.03 billion for solar programs in fiscal 1980, compared to $799 million in fiscal 1979, a 29 percent increase. *(Text, p. 38-E)*

By the end of the 1979 session, the Senate had approved creation of a solar bank and incentives for gasohol use (S 932), and a solar bank measure (HR 605) had been reported in the House. The Senate version of the windfall profits tax bill (HR 3919) included credits to stimulate solar technology. And the Interior and Energy appropriations bill for fiscal 1980 (HR 4930 — PL 96-126) contained $1 billion for solar energy and conservation. *(Energy appropriations, p. 229)*

White House Solar System

The president coupled the announcement of his proposals with the dedication of a solar hot water heating system, which has been installed on the White House roof.

The device was expected to save about $1,000 a year and pay for itself in seven to 10 years, he said.

"There is no question that solar power is feasible and cost effective," Carter said.

The president said current energy shortages had made development of solar power increasingly urgent. "No one will ever embargo the sun or interrupt its delivery to us," he said, referring to the nation's dependence on imported oil.

Carter said that most of the money to pay for the expanded solar programs would come from the Energy Security Trust Fund that he had proposed in April. Under Carter's plan, the fund would contain revenues from the windfall profits tax and the additional income taxes the companies would pay on profits from oil price decontrol. However, Congress in 1979 did not approve creation of such a fund.

The Proposals

Among the president's proposals for increasing the use of solar and renewable-source energy were:

• **Solar Development Bank.** Establishment of a solar development bank within the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The bank would be funded at $100 million a year beginning in fiscal 1981 with money from the energy security fund.

The bank could provide interest subsidies for home improvement loans and mortgages for building owners who installed solar energy systems. At least 60 percent of the bank's subsidy payments would have to go to residential loans. Loans would be limited to $10,000 for single-family residences, $5,000 for each unit in a multifamily building and $200,000 for a commercial building.

(An average commercially installed solar hot-water system cost $1,500-$2,000 in 1979. A whole solar home heating system cost from $5,000 to $10,000.)

• **Tax Credits.** A 20 percent tax credit, up to a total of $2,000 per home, for new homes built using passive solar technology. Passive solar designs use building design to take advantage of natural heating and cooling powers. The credit would be effective through 1985.

Solar Power Satellites

For the second year, the House in 1979 approved a bill to accelerate research into the concept of solar power satellites. Proponents of the measure (HR 2335) envisioned these satellites as giant orbiting platforms of photovoltaic cells, which would capture the energy of the sun's rays and transmit it to earth in the form of microwave radiation.

HR 2335 authorized $25 million for additional solar satellite research. It was sponsored by Ronnie G. Flippo, D-Ala., whose district was heavily dependent upon the space program. HR 2335 was reported by the House Science and Technology Committee May 15 (H Rept 96-151). The House approved it Nov. 16 by a vote of 201-146. *(Vote 598, p. 178-H)*

A similar measure passed the House in 1978. *(1978 Almanac p. 744)*

Backers of the project, who included many of the nation's aerospace companies, thought the satellites could supply half the nation's energy needs by the year 2020.

Critics, on the other hand, argued that the satellites would consume enormous amounts of much-needed resources — some estimates of the project's cost ran to $1 trillion — as well as pose a significant threat to the environment. The critics were particularly concerned about the impact of constantly beaming to earth microwave radiation, with its unknown long-term effects on humans and animals.

The money authorized by HR 2335 would go for ground-based experiments to supplement the existing "paper studies" being conducted by the Department of Energy and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Efforts were expected to concentrate on the effects of microwave exposure.

In June 1980 NASA and the Energy Department were expected to report on the feasibility of the project. Opponents, including the Carter administration, argued that Congress might just as well wait for the results of the study before approving more money. But supporters argued that current modest research efforts were inadequate and would doom the project for lack of information.

• A 25 percent investment tax credit to encourage the use of solar technologies to provide heat for use in industry and agriculture. It would cover investments made through 1989.

• A 15 percent tax credit for the purchase and installation of airtight wood burning stoves in principal residences.

• **Gasohol.** An exemption for alcohol-gasoline mixtures from the existing 4-cent-per-gallon federal excise tax.

• **Research and Development.** A $646 million research and development program for the development of photovoltaics (cells that convert sunlight directly into electricity), wind energy systems, biomass conversion and other systems.

Senate Action

The Senate synthetic fuels legislation (S 932), approved Nov. 8, included provisions creating a solar bank similar to that proposed by President Carter and a conservation bank as well. In addition, S 932 authorized a new program of federal incentives for production of gasohol.

The Senate windfall profits tax measure (HR 3919),which passed in mid-December, contained expanded tax credits for installation of solar equipment, for business use of solar and other renewable resource technologies and for the purchase of airtight wood burning stoves. The Senate also extended the gasohol excise tax exemption.

House Action

The House Banking Committee Nov. 15 reported HR 605 (H Rept 96-625), which created a special bank to finance the purchase of solar and conservation equipment. The House Commerce Committee was drafting its version of the conservation provisions of HR 605.

HR 605, introduced by Stephen L. Neal, D-N.C., was already the subject of committee consideration before Carter's similar proposal was unveiled.

The House did not act on HR 605 in 1979.

Solar, Conservation Bank

The solar/conservation bank authorized by the Banking Committee measure would provide subsidized loans to homeowners, renters, landlords, farmers and businesses.

HR 605 also expanded the role of electric and gas utilities in encouraging residential energy conservation. A utility could actually pay customers to install equipment such as insulation and storm windows if such an investment were cost effective and if the state regulatory agency agreed.

HR 605 established the solar and conservation bank in the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The board of directors included the secretaries of housing, energy and Treasury.

Both the Banking and Commerce bills provided about $2.3 billion over four years to subsidize interest rates or loan payments on funds used to buy and install insulation, storm windows and other conservation improvements. In the Banking version, another $485 million was provided for solar panels and other solar systems. The funds would be distributed by the special bank.

The Senate-passed bill provided $3.35 billion and an extra year of authorization for the bank's conservation operations. The senators authorized $750 million for solar bank programs over four years.

In the House bills, the subsidized loans would not be available to homeowners whose income was more than 120 percent of the median in their area. But owners of apartment buildings, commercial facilities and agricultural buildings would not have to pass an income test to qualify for the subsidy.

The measure limited federal assistance for conservation to 30 percent of the cost of the improvements or $1,000 for a single family home, $500 per unit of large apartment buildings or $10,000 per commercial or agricultural building. The limits for solar improvements were $5,000 per single family home, $2,500 per apartment unit and $100,000 per commercial or agricultural building.

Republicans and conservative Democrats on the Commerce panel opposed the subsidy program, arguing that it obligated the Treasury for potentially enormous expenditures.

But others wished to broaden the eligibility of homeowners for the solar program, to remove the requirement that only low-income residents qualify for loans from the solar bank.

"A prime objective of the solar bank's interest subsidy program is to stimulate an industry," argued nine members of the Banking panel in supplemental views to the committee report. "An income test is only one more complicating factor that will discourage participation by both consumer and lender."

The Senate measure had no income test for the first two years of the solar program. After that, families earning more than $50,000 a year would not be eligible for the subsidized loans.

HR 605 authorized the conservation and solar bank to purchase $4.5 billion in loans from commercial banks or utilities. Congressional staff explained that this authorization would replace Government National Mortgage Association loan purchases, which were authorized in 1978, but had not been made.

The bank also was authorized to use $500 million for purchase of mortgages of newly constructed homes with qualified solar systems.

Link with Trust Fund

The Banking bill required that any funding for the measure come from the Energy Security Trust Fund.

During Banking Committee action on the bill, Rep. Les AuCoin, D-Ore., tried to do away with the link between the trust fund and the banks. But his amendment was defeated, 18-23.

The Commerce version of the bill stated that general revenues should be used until funds were available from the Energy Security Trust Fund. If the trust fund were not established, the authorization would not be affected, committee aides said.

Utility Rate

The National Energy Conservation Policy Act (PL 95-619) required electric and gas utilities to inform customers of available energy-saving measures and offer to do inspections, called energy audits, to determine what improvements could save energy. *(1978 Almanac p. 639)*

The law required utilities to offer to arrange financing and installation of storm windows and other improvements. But the utilities could offer only direct loans of up to $300. The law said payment for the conservation improvements could be made through utility bills. The service was re-

quired only for single family homes and apartment buildings with four or fewer units.

The measure also authorized the Government National Mortgage Association to purchase $3 billion in loans to provide subsidized loans to low-income families for conservation improvements. Another $2 billion was authorized to purchase loans for families with higher incomes.

Both the Banking and Commerce bills expanded the energy audit program. Electric and gas utilities would have to offer to audit all residential buildings and small commercial and agricultural buildings, which were defined as those using not more than 4,000 kilowatt hours of electricity a month, 1,000 therms of natural gas or the equivalent in other fuel.

States also would have to provide an inspection of a customer's home after installation of conservation equipment. The state could perform the inspection or require that utilities handle it. The second inspection, the Commerce bill said, was designed to prevent fraud.

The legislation authorized utilities to treat the cost of residential energy audits as a "current expense charged to all ratepayers." That meant the cost would be considered when setting rates, with all ratepayers sharing in the costs of the audits through their utility bills. The hope of the bill's supporters was that energy savings from conservation would cover the costs of the audits. But if the costs were not recovered, than ratepayers might find an increase in their utility bills to reflect the costs of utility audits.

The bill limited the charge for audits to $25 per unit for buildings with up to four units and $30 per unit for larger apartment buildings.

Businesses and farmers would be charged for their audits. But the Commerce Committee adopted an amendment that would allow utilities to provide free audits for small commercial and agricultural buildings.

The legislation also authorized $50 million through fiscal 1982 for grants to states for the training of residential building energy inspectors.

Conservation Improvements

The two committees also decided to allow utilities to make loans to customers for conservation improvements if the loans were authorized by a state regulatory agency and if the costs of the loan were fully recovered.

Utilities also were authorized to pay residential customers to make conservation improvements if the state regulatory agency approved and if the conservation program would cost utility customers less than would new generating capacity or fuel in the absence of conservation efforts. The program would also have to be equitable to all ratepayers.

For example, a utility might pay part of the cost of insulating homes in its service area if that resulted in the savings of so much energy that the utility would not have to build another plant and would in that way recover the cost of the insulation. ▮

New Standby Gas Rationing Powers Voted

A gasoline shortage coupled with House rejection of President Carter's proposed standby gasoline rationing plan led Congress to approve legislation designed to limit the role of politics in emergency energy planning.

The measure (S 1030 — PL 96-102) made it more difficult for Congress to reject a proposed standby rationing plan, but either house could still veto a decision by the president to impose rationing.

The bill also prohibited rationing unless there were a 20 percent gasoline shortage, though Congress could waive that restriction.

In addition, the measure set out a conservation program that gave the states primary responsibility for saving energy, but permitted the federal government to step in during energy emergencies if states failed in their conservation efforts.

The House cleared the bill Oct. 23 when it adopted the conference report (S Rept 96-366) by a surprisingly large margin, 301-112. *(Vote 527, p. 154-H)*

Republicans, who traditionally voted en bloc against rationing legislation, split on the issue, 71-82. Democrats voted 230-30 for the conference report.

The Senate had adopted the report Oct. 17, 77-18. *(Vote 359, p. 59-S)*

Congressional Odyssey

The complicated route of S 1030 through Congress began in February when, in response to the disruption in the world oil market caused by the Iranian revolution, the Carter administration presented to Congress for approval four standby plans for handling energy emergencies.

Carter Conservation Plans

Three of the plans were conservation measures providing the president with standby authority to restrict weekend gasoline sales, outdoor advertising lighting and temperatures in public buildings. The fourth dealt with gasoline rationing.

The legislators had requested the proposals in the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 (PL 94-613). That law required approval from both houses before a plan could go "on the shelf" for use in an emergency. *(Standby Plan Background box, next page)*

But Congress found the plans wanting. The Senate approved two of them — building temperature restrictions (S Res 122) and gas rationing. The House endorsed only the building temperature restrictions after a divisive battle over the standby rationing plan.

The standby plans prompted so much controversy that the Senate Energy Committee decided the legislation requiring them was as much at fault as the plans themselves. After hearing from critics, the senators concluded that conservation would be better handled at the local level. A federal plan really could not take into account the vast differences among communities, they reasoned.

Congressional Plan

J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., was the principal author of S 1030, the new legislation designed to give states primary responsibility for energy conservation. Only if a state did not cooperate in saving energy could the federal government intervene. The requirement in existing law that Congress approve the federal conservation plans was dropped from the new measure.

Standby Plan Background

Congress first asked the executive branch for emergency conservation and rationing plans in 1975 as part of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act. That law was Congress' response to President Ford's plan for cutting energy consumption in the wake of the 1973-74 Arab oil embargo. It called for an end to oil price controls and for presidential authority to impose fees on imports.

Ford's proposal was essentially rationing by price, which the Democratic Congress rejected. To make sure the emergency measures were not imbued with this pricing philosophy, the legislators prohibited the use of higher prices, taxes or tax credits as mechanisms to allocate or ration supplies.

Though the law stated the conservation and rationing plans should be sent to Congress within 180 days, which meant by June 1976, the Ford administration did not present its proposal until January 1977, just days before Jimmy Carter took office. The Carter administration, unhappy with the Ford plan, withdrew it and began to write its own proposal.

But a year and a half passed before the Department of Energy published its draft version of the rationing plan in the *Federal Register* of June 28, 1978. The next step was public hearings, which were held that summer. But a revised plan was never sent to Congress.

"Congress was not eager to entertain that plan last fall," while it considered natural gas price decontrol and other energy measures, Energy Secretary James R. Schlesinger explained to the Senate Energy Committee in January 1979. *(1978 Almanac p. 639)*

Asked in an interview why the proposals had not been submitted earlier, Deputy Secretary John F. O'Leary replied, "Because they were not needed, and we had a lot of other things to do."

Under the 1975 law, any mandatory conservation or rationing plan had to be approved by both the House and Senate within 60 days after it was submitted. Congress could only approve or reject a plan, not amend it. If Congress did not act within 60 days, the plan was automatically disapproved.

Before any gas rationing plan could be carried out, the president would have to find there had been a "severe energy supply interruption" or that international agreements to share supplies required rationing. Congress would then have 15 days to review his proposal, and either house could veto the president's decision.

However, if he wanted to carry out any other plans previously approved by Congress, he could do so without congressional consent.

Meanwhile in the House, where the major battle had been over the rationing plan, members decided to revise the procedures in the 1975 law governing congressional approval of a standby rationing plan.

The Commerce Subcommittee on Energy and Power drafted amendments that gave the president sole authority to draft a standby plan. Congress would be involved only when the president wanted to impose rationing; then, as in existing law, either house could veto his decision to put rationing into effect.

"We'd never get a plan approved in advance," Richard L. Ottinger, D-N.Y., said at the time. "By its very nature, a rationing plan has got to hurt some people."

The revisions in the rationing provisions were eventually attached to S 1030, the Senate bill dealing with other emergency conservation measures. *(Details on both the Carter plan and S 1030 follow.)*

Carter Conservation Plans

Congress approved only one of the four plans submitted by President Carter to conserve energy during periods of energy shortages. The proposal to restrict temperatures in non-residential buildings was approved by the Senate May 2 and by the House May 10.

The temperature control plan was the only one the president said he would carry out immediately; the new federal restrictions went into effect July 16.

But the plan to restrict outdoor advertising lighting was killed when the Senate disapproved it May 2. The plan to close gas stations on weekends died when neither house acted on it before the May 11 deadline.

The gasoline rationing plan died after the House defeated it. The rationing plan was the least popular, opposed both by legislators who disliked rationing in principle and those who thought their states got a raw deal under allocations in the administration's plan. Both houses had to approve the plan by May 11 for it to take effect.

After winning two revisions to the plan, the Senate approved it May 9 by a substantial margin. But the House voted overwhelmingly May 10 to disapprove the plan.

Rationing Plan Action

The Energy Department, in its documents on the rationing plan, described it as a last step, to be taken only in an emergency.

The department stated that because of "the high cost of rationing, the complexity of its administration and the inevitable disruptions it would cause, this plan is intended for implementation only in the event of a severe gasoline supply shortfall to prevent motorists from having to wait in lines at service stations for long periods of time in order to obtain gasoline."

Eligibility was to be based primarily on motor vehicle registrations. To determine how much gas each car would get, the department analysis assumed that rationing would not be carried out unless demand exceeded supply by 20 percent. That meant that at most 87.8 billion gallons of gasoline would be available for 149 million registered vehicles. The estimated annual allotment per auto would be 590 gallons, according to the department. That figure was equivalent to about 11.3 gallons a week, or about 1.6 gallons a day per car.

The Energy Department would mail government ration checks to eligible persons. Ration recipients could "cash" the checks at designated establishments, which were expected to include banks. Recipients could also "bank" coupons in special accounts and then withdraw them as needed by writing checks.

Buying gasoline would require that coupons, as well as the money for the gasoline, be presented at gasoline stations. To get more gasoline, stations would have to turn in the used coupons to suppliers.

Additional coupon allotments would be provided by the Energy Department for priority activities, such as police and fire protection, and for firms with unregistered vehicles, such as construction or farming equipment.

A "white market" would be permitted to operate, so that those willing to pay for extra coupons could buy them legally from others willing to sell.

A percentage of the total ration coupons to be issued would be distributed to states for a special state reserve. Another portion would be placed in a special national reserve that could be used by the Energy Department for national emergency needs or other purposes. These designated reserves could be auctioned to the public.

The cost of developing the rationing plan was estimated at about $53 million, with implementation expected to cost $346 million. For each quarter the plan was in operation, the cost of administering it would be about $415 million.

Senate Committee Action

The administration was forced to make several substantial changes in the rationing plan before the Senate Energy Committee would endorse it (S Res 120).

The committee recommended its approval May 8, by a 9-8 vote, but only after the administration pledged to keep rural states from being shortchanged.

Members' primary complaint was that the plan gave each car owner the same number of ration coupons even though rural residents were more dependent on autos.

In response, the administration promised extra coupons to states where motorists traditionally drove longer distances.

The pledge was contained in two letters sent to Capitol Hill April 26 by Stuart E. Eizenstat, Carter's chief domestic policy adviser. When his first letter didn't satisfy some legislators, Eizenstat wrote another, just hours before the Senate committee was scheduled to vote.

The pledge changed the vote of at least one committee member. Bennett Johnston, who initially opposed the rationing plan, said administration promises of more gas for rural areas had convinced him the plan would be equitable.

But the changes did not satisfy a key Senate supporter of rationing, Dale Bumpers, D-Ark. "As strongly as I believe in rationing, I cannot in good conscience vote for this and go home and tell my people I represent them," he said. Arkansas ranked second in gasoline consumption per automobile. Bumpers said he was not convinced Arkansas would be treated fairly.

The sharpest criticism came from Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, who accused the Carter administration of manufacturing energy shortages. "We have plenty of energy — the problem is getting it to the marketplace," Stevens charged as he argued against the rationing plan.

Committee Reconsideration

New problems arose for the administration when it translated its informal assurances of April 26 into formal legislative language.

Negotiations among administration officials and top congressional energy leaders — including Senate Energy Committee Chairman Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., and Rep. John D. Dingell, D-Mich. — went on for hours Friday, May 4. On Monday, May 7, the fruit of their labors was sent to Capitol Hill as a formal amendment to the original plan.

The change called for allocating half of the gasoline during rationing on the basis of historical rates of consumption per vehicle in each state. The other half would go equally to each vehicle, regardless of whether it was operated in a rural or urban area. The amendment also limited to three the number of vehicles each household could claim for purposes of getting ration coupons.

The Energy Committee met to consider the amendment on Tuesday, May 8. But it was quickly apparent that the change did not satisfy senators who wanted the allocations based solely on traditional consumption rates.

The change "goes only halfway towards equity," complained Johnston, who voted for the original plan when the panel reported it, 9-8. "I don't think it measures up to what the administration represented to us," he added.

Bumpers continued the criticism. "I don't mind sacrifices as long as they're equally imposed," he said. The administration came up with the first amendment in three days, Bumpers said, and "there isn't any reason why they can't go the rest of the way in another three days."

Jackson urged acceptance of the amendment, arguing that no plan can be "entirely equitable." There was much discussion of tables, provided by the Energy Department, which showed gasoline consumption by state and listed the states that won and lost under the amendment.

But committee aide Ben Cooper advised the senators "not to take these figures too seriously" because the "data is really not well enough known." The figures were derived by dividing the amount of gasoline purchased in a state by the number of vehicles registered there. That system gave extra gasoline to residents of tourist states, who got credit for purchases made by residents of other states.

The committee eventually rejected the amendment, 6-12, and then voted, 15-3, to report it to the Senate floor unfavorably.

Then, at the behest of Johnston, the panel voted, 10-8, to withdraw its support of the original rationing plan. The president lost Johnston's support. Frank Church, D-Idaho, who had missed the April 26 vote, also voted against the plan.

The measure was scheduled to go the floor that afternoon, but it was obvious there were not enough votes to pass it. Jackson, Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., and Eizenstat, Carter's domestic policy adviser, retreated to Byrd's office to discuss strategy. They had two options — revise the plan again or stick with the revised plan and face certain defeat.

As a White House lobbyist explained later, "If we stuck with what we had, we had nothing."

At 3:30 that afternoon the White House presented yet another amendment. This second revision based allocation almost entirely on historic consumption patterns.

"We've been operating by trial and error — mostly error," Jackson said later, describing the hurried changes. "It's an open secret we've been in a hell of a mess." Why did the administration present still another plan? "I advised them they were dead in the water by a vote of 2 to 1," Jackson explained to reporters.

Energy Committee Meets Again

Jackson then gathered his Energy Committee, for the second time May 8, in a meeting room off the Senate floor. Participants had to strain to hear in the crowded room.

The atmosphere grew tense as it became apparent that the third plan, too, was in trouble. Questions flew at Al Alm, assistant energy secretary for policy.

John A. Durkin, D-N.H., wanted to know how often figures showing consumption rates would be updated. "I've got the second fastest growing state in the union," he said.

"We will use the latest data available at all times," Alm replied.

Then the discussion turned to special treatment for agriculture. Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, wanted any special provisions to be tightly written so food processors and other agriculture-associated industries would not also get a break. The Energy Department officials replied that the priority went "only to the farm gate."

That answer irked Wendell H. Ford, D-Ky. "The food industry is not worth one hoot unless you have the ability to can it and put it on the shelf," Ford said.

Then Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., wanted to know whether those producing energy would be able to get enough gasoline.

The comments prompted Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., to chastise his colleagues. "Parochialism is really getting in the way of a national solution," he said.

And the dickering also prompted criticism from the White House. Presidential press secretary Jody Powell charged that "the welfare of an entire nation is being jeopardized by a squabble not over the fairness and equity of the issue but over the desires of this or that interest or this or that state for a few gallons more or less."

As administration officials gave assurances of special treatment for agriculture and energy production, Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., who had always supported the rationing plan, began to fume.

"There's a limit, you know, to what I'm willing to give up," he told Metzenbaum. "My state keeps going to the bottom of the list" with each revision, he added. Massachusetts used less gasoline per car than the national average.

Later, Tsongas spoke out angrily, advising Jackson that he should not expect ration supporters "to sit back and let concessions be made ad nauseam and expect that vote [in favor] to remain."

After more than an hour of debate, the roll was finally called. Bellmon, who had previously supported the plan, voted against the latest version. Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., who had been against it, voted for it. But the outcome was delayed as several senators did not answer the roll call.

Finally, Tsongas and Metzenbaum cast their votes for the plan. Tsongas said later they wanted to demonstrate how vital their votes were.

Then, rapidly, James A. McClure, R-Idaho, Durkin and Spark M. Matsunaga, D-Hawaii, voted "no."

The score was tied, 8-8.

Church, who had been at another meeting during most of the debate, voted "no," but then realized his action was killing the proposal. "You can reserve your rights on the floor" to oppose the plan, Jackson suggested to Church.

So Church changed his vote, making the final tally 9-8. The floor vote was scheduled for the following day.

Senate Floor Action

On the morning of May 9 the outlook for the rationing plan was still very shaky. "We're in deep trouble," Jackson said, counting only 41 votes for his side around 11 a.m. Letters from the president promising special attention for energy producers and agriculture were bringing some votes, but not enough.

Holding out were Stevens and other Republicans who wanted restrictions on when rationing could be used. "We wanted to be sure rationing was based on a true national emergency, a loss of supply, and not just a misallocation of supply," Stevens said later.

Stevens May 7 had introduced a resolution (S Res 151) that required certain findings before the president could use the rationing authority. But the administration refused to support it, arguing that it was too restrictive.

However, as the vote neared, it became clear that agreeing to some version of the restriction was the only way the rationing plan could win. So aides to Stevens and Jackson rewrote the Stevens proposal to make it more acceptable to the administration and the Democratic leadership.

"We should not have a plan like this going into effect unless we are at war, unless there is sabotage that prevents our foreign suppliers from delivering energy to us and unless the OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] people put on an embargo against us," Stevens said.

Jackson later credited Stevens with bringing in at least 10 pro-rationing votes. "That put us over the top," he said. The resolution satisfied some senators who had the impression that rationing might be invoked if there were temporary shortages in a few states, Jackson explained.

The Stevens resolution, passed in the afternoon by voice vote after the rationing vote, expressed the sense of the Senate that rationing should not be imposed except when supplies were cut by 20 percent over a 30-day period. Even then, the resolution stated, rationing should be a last resort after other efforts to manage the shortage had failed.

The resolution was not legally binding on the president, but it was significant because the Senate could veto a presidential decision to impose rationing if those conditions were not met.

Last Pitch

The committee-approved administration amendment to the rationing plan, which based allocation on historic driving patterns, easily passed the Senate, 66-30. Then senators made a last pitch to their colleagues on the plan. *(Vote 84, p. 16-S)*

"Nobody wants a gas rationing plan," said Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va. But he reminded the senators that they had asked for the plan in the 1975 Energy Policy and Conservation Act.

"We will never be able to perfect a plan that will satisfy everybody," he said. "But we have to be prepared in the event a national emergency hits this country. I want the Senate to stand up to its responsibility and not act in an irresponsible way by rejecting this plan on the next vote."

The alternative to having a gasoline rationing plan ready in an emergency, Jackson said, was "anarchy at the gasoline pump."

Bumpers argued that voting against the plan meant "Congress does not have the courage to tell the American people something they do not want to hear."

But the opponents also had their turn. The claim that the needs of rural states were taken into consideration was challenged by John Melcher, D-Mont. On the bottom of the lists of gasoline consumption "are such urban states as North Dakota, Montana, South Dakota, Idaho, Nebraska, Washington and Colorado," he said.

"If these are not rural states," Melcher said, "I do not know what rural is." He urged that the Senate send the plan back to prevent "chaos."

Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., also criticized the basis for allocations. By assigning more coupons to residents of high con-

sumption states, the plan "rewards the gas-guzzling bad guys and penalizes the good guys who have tried to save gasoline," said Pell. Rhode Island had been reducing its gasoline consumption, but was penalized for it under the plan, he said. His state was third lowest in the nation in gasoline consumption per car. Pell voted against the amendment, but for the plan.

Another senator who was counted on originally to support rationing, Majority Whip Alan Cranston, D-Calif., agreed with Pell. California was in the bottom 15 states in consumption per vehicle. Cranston voted no.

Robert Dole, R-Kan., said he was not satisfied that agricultural needs would be met under the plan. He also complained about the "irresponsible manner" in which the administration's revisions were presented.

The vote on the ration plan (S Res 120) was 58-39. *(Vote 85, p. 16-S)*

House Committee Action

In the House, the president's standby rationing plan appeared doomed almost from the beginning. The House Commerce Committee rejected it (H Res 212) twice. The second time members voted to send it to the floor without recommendation.

First Committee Vote

The first committee defeat came April 25. And it jolted the Carter administration into making the modifications that eventually resulted in Senate approval in May. Eight Democrats joined all but one Republican to reject the plan.

The vote was 19-23, including a "no" vote by Andrew Maguire, D-N.J., who was actually a supporter of the Carter plan. Maguire wanted to be in a position, under parliamentary rules, to ask that the vote be reconsidered, which only someone on the winning side could do. That meant the administration was only two votes short of victory. *(See Maguire box.)*

After the vote, several Republicans — anticipating a night of arm-twisting by rationing supporters — tried a parliamentary move to prevent a second vote. They moved to reconsider the vote and then to table the motion to reconsider.

But several Democrats walked out of the room, leaving the committee without a quorum. At one point, Richard L. Ottinger, D-N.Y., came in from another meeting and was quickly escorted out by an aide. Chairman Harley O. Staggers, D-W.Va., adjourned the committee until the next day.

But that meeting never happened. Republicans — fearing that administration lobbying had won some converts — stayed away, preventing a quorum from forming.

A number of committee members who did show up April 26 read copies of a letter from White House domestic adviser Eizenstat, in which the administration pledged to give extra gas coupons to states where residents were more dependent on their cars. It was this same pledge that persuaded a majority of the Senate Energy Committee to approve the plan.

In the House, the pledge won the vote of Timothy E. Wirth, D-Colo., who had voted against the Carter plan April 25. "I got everything worked out with Eizenstat," Wirth told a reporter. "Our governor says it's all right, too."

Other lobbying targets were rationing opponents Jim Santini, D-Nev., John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., and Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif. None said he had changed his mind but the absence of just one of them at the next vote, plus Wirth's switch and no other changes, would give Carter a 21-20 win.

The second vote was scheduled for May 1.

'Turning Maguire Around'

For years, Andrew Maguire, D-N.J., had been a leading supporter of standby gasoline rationing. But no one told Energy Secretary James R. Schlesinger.

Schlesinger, trying to find more votes for rationing after it was defeated by the House Commerce Committee April 25, urgently called Maguire to ask for his support.

Maguire had just spent the entire day lining up votes for rationing. "I don't know what's the matter with those guys," said the legislator.

Actually, the official 19-23 tally in the House Commerce Committee did show Maguire voting against the president's standby rationing plan. But he changed his vote at the end of the roll call as a parliamentary ploy so he could bring the issue up again. Only someone on the winning side can move to reconsider.

So it was actually Maguire's action that gave the administration another chance to persuade members to support rationing. But that fact escaped whichever Energy Department official was advising Schlesinger. And it did not stop a department official from boasting later, in a meeting at the Old Executive Office Building, that Schlesinger had "turned Maguire around" on rationing.

Second Committee Vote

But despite a nationally televised appeal from President Carter, the committee refused to reverse its vote against the standby rationing plan. The May 1 vote was 21-21.

The committee then voted 21-20 to report the plan to the full House without recommendation (H Rept 96-123).

Wirth made good his promise to support the president, although he spoke against the plan after the vote was counted. But Carter needed either an additional convert or the absence of an opposing member to win committee approval, and he had neither.

Carter's televised appeal came at the opening of an April 30 news conference, when he called its approval "imperative."

"No one likes gasoline rationing and we will avoid it if it is possible," he said. "But I will not hide from my responsiblity to the nation, and Congress likewise needs to shoulder its share of the responsibility."

The 21-20 vote to report the measure without recommendation reflected a switch by Waxman, who opposed the plan but said the issue should be sent to the floor.

"I just don't think it's fair," Waxman said of the plan, urging that it be redrafted to reflect the higher consumption of gasoline in certain areas.

Lukewarm Support

Even committee supporters of the rationing plan agreed it was flawed. "But I believe the national interest requires [it] be set in place," said John D. Dingell, D-Mich., chairman of the Commerce Subcommittee on Energy and Power.

The Vote: All Regions Opposed

The House vote rejecting President Carter's standby gas rationing plan reflected geographic as well as partisan considerations.

The vote generally showed that members from heavily urban districts were likely to support the plan. Conversely, members representing suburban and rural districts were likely to oppose it.

Members from small or rural states in all regions of the country generally opposed the plan. But partisanship probably also played a role. Many of those states are represented by Republicans, who were heavily opposed (7-140).

In no region did a majority of the representatives support the plan.

The heaviest opposition, more than 2-1, came from the West (21-48). Midwestern representatives also voted heavily against Carter (40-68).

The least opposition came from the East (50-62) where mass transit was more readily available and driving distances were shorter. Some Eastern delegations gave strong support to the plan. New Jersey, for example, voted 10-4 in favor. Connecticut backed it, 5-1, and Massachusetts voted for it, 9-2.

New York was against the plan, 15-22, and Pennsylvania, 8-16.

The South opposed the plan, 48-68. The delegation from Florida, a major tourist state dependent on gasoline availability, split, 7-7.

The Texas vote was 12-11 for the plan, which may have reflected leadership pressure as much as local concern. Majority Leader Jim Wright was from Texas.

In the West, the plan was backed by a majority of only two state delegations — Oregon and Washington. California members were opposed, 9-29.

The vote did not show a clear relationship to gasoline consumption within states.

Members from many states with an historically high consumption of gas, and which would get more gas under Carter's plan, split evenly on the proposal or were heavily opposed.

"The plan is not a good one," admitted Albert Gore Jr., D-Tenn. "But I intend to vote for it anyway because we need something in place" in order to manage a crisis "in an equitable fashion."

Opponents harshly criticized the plan. "It will bring controls into our lives as never before," charged Clarence J. Brown, R-Ohio.

"Wealth will go from the country people to the city people, from the western states to the eastern states," said Phil Gramm, D-Texas.

Rationing, argued Dave Stockman, R-Mich., would be "just like Monopoly — everybody gets funny money."

House Floor Action

The standby rationing plan came to the floor May 10, when it was killed by a 159-246 vote. *(Vote 128, p. 42-H)*

The action prompted an angry blast from Carter, who May 11 challenged Congress to write its own rationing plan in the next 90 days. "I would give them every possible assistance," he said.

Carter described himself as shocked and embarrassed by the House action and criticized members for letting "political timidity prevent their taking action in the interest of our nation."

A majority was "willing to put local or parochial interests" above national interests, he said, calling the action irresponsible and accusing members of putting "their heads in the sand."

Carter turned aside criticism of specifics of the plan, claiming the House would have defeated any rationing plan.

One hundred six Democrats voted against the president. Only seven Republicans voted for the plan.

But passage was hampered by the administration's delays in responding to criticism of the plans. And the last minute changes left the impression among House members that Carter was waffling on the issue.

The two revisions also made it difficult for members to obtain accurate information about how the plan would affect different parts of the country.

"They told us this is the only plan. Obviously there were two others after they told that to the Senate," said George Miller, D-Calif., one of many who wanted the chance to see another rationing plan.

O'Neill's Appeal

The three hours of lively House debate were capped by an unusual plea from Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., who asked members to set aside parochial concerns about how much gas each area would get. "Let's be ready" for an emergency, he said.

O'Neill compared the rationing decision to the military draft vote prior to World War II. Recalling the congressional debate he watched as a young state legislator, O'Neill said "weakling after weakling" stood up to oppose the draft because it wasn't popular at home. After Pearl Harbor, "they walked the streets with their heads down," he said.

Advising that "this is the only plan you have," O'Neill urged the House to "act in the national interest."

Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, said the House had a choice "between readiness and possible paralysis." And Dingell said that without rationing "then only the richest" would be able to get gasoline.

Opponents of the plan cited the administration's changes. "This plan has been changed twice in the last two days," said William C. Wampler, R-Va. "That fact alone should give everyone a hint that more time is needed to think out a good system."

Others criticized the bureaucracy that a ration system would create. And Minority Leader John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz., argued that having a plan would tempt Carter to implement it during minor shortages.

Explanations

Majority Whip John Brademas, D-Ind., said after the vote that members worried they would be perceived as voting for immediate imposition of rationing, rather than a standby plan. They apparently had not been reassured by a provision in the law allowing either house to block any effort by the president to actually impose rationing.

The emotion surrounding the issue was evident in the vote of the California delegation, under fire because of shortages there. Already dissatisfied with the administration's response to their crisis, California members found their state eligible for less gasoline every time the plan was

changed. The delegation voted heavily against the president: 9-29.

Building Temperature Restrictions

Approval was routine of the standby plan to control temperatures in public buildings. The plan provided authority for the president to require that thermostats be set no lower than 80 degrees in summer and no higher than 65 degrees in winter.

The Senate approved the plan May 2 on an 89-3 vote. The Senate Energy Committee recommended approval of the plan April 10 (S Res 122 — S Rept 96-97). *(Vote 74, p. 15-S)*

The House approved the proposal May 10 by voice vote. The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reported the plan favorably April 27 (H Res 209 — H Rept 96-105).

Some members and their aides were skeptical that thermostat restrictions could be enforced, a belief that made voting for them less politically risky. "What are you going to do — have Boy Scouts take thermostats around and tattletale?" asked one House staff member.

Plan Implemented. Under the rules that went into effect July 16, thermostats could be set no lower than 78 degrees in summer and no higher than 65 degrees in winter. Carter had the authority to force summer thermostats up to 80 degrees, but objections from restaurant and clothing store owners and others convinced the administration to require a 78 degree setting.

Hot water temperatures had to be 105 degrees or cooler except where food was handled or other health considerations required hotter water. Regulations detailing exemptions were published July 5 in the *Federal Register*.

Violators were subject to civil and criminal penalties that could add up to $15,000 a day. The Energy Department wanted enforcement to be handled primarily by state and local governments and set aside $7 million to reimburse those who did the job.

In addition, a toll-free "hot line" was to be installed at the Energy Department so citizens could report cheaters.

A building owner had to post by Aug. 15 a statement saying he was complying with the law. Those eligible for exemption — because of equipment that might be damaged, medical patients harmed or other circumstances — would post a special "self-exemption" form.

The administration hoped the temperature restrictions would save the equivalent of 200,000 to 400,000 barrels of oil a day, or about 2 percent of U.S. oil consumption. Heating water and controlling building temperatures required about one-fourth of the energy consumed in the United States.

The Energy Department estimated that 5 million buildings, including office buildings, factories, restaurants and stores, were affected by the restrictions.

Lighting Restrictions Defeated

The other plans for handling energy emergencies had few fans in Congress.

As proposed, the standby plan to restrict lighted outdoor advertising (S Res 123, H Res 210) would have prohibited use of electricity for illumination of advertising signs and window displays. However, any advertising sign essential to direct customers to an open business could be lighted.

The plan was soundly defeated by the Senate Energy Committee April 10. The vote to report the plan unfavorably (S Rept 96-98) was 13 to 4. The senators said the small amount of energy savings — at most 4,000 barrels a day — was not worth the disruption to the advertising industry.

"Why pick on one industry," argued Sen. Johnston, "when the corporate jets can go free, and the pleasure boats, and on down the line."

The full Senate apparently agreed with that reasoning, disapproving the plan May 2 by a vote of 24-70. *(Vote 76, p. 15-S)*

The House Commerce Committee also reported the plan unfavorably May 4 (H Res 210 — H Rept 96-122). The House never acted on it.

Weekend Station Closings

Dissatisfaction with the weekend gas station closing plan forced the White House to amend it to permit states to develop their own gasoline conservation plans before federal restrictions would be imposed.

The National Governors' Association had asked that states have a chance to fashion their own programs. "I don't understand why the governors want this headache," remarked one senator.

Despite the amendment, Congress was still unwilling to approve the plan. Both chambers delayed consideration and the plan died when the May 11 deadline for congressional approval passed.

A provision in S 1030 prevented the president from requiring states to employ weekend closures as a conservation measure. The final version of that bill prohibited weekend gas station closings unless they were part of a plan to restrict gas sales daily on a rotating basis.

Gasoline Rationing

Congress' rejection of the standby gas rationing plan and two of the three other emergency energy conservation plans demonstrated the difficulty of persuading politicians to approve laws that would force voters to change their energy consumption habits.

Sen. Johnston and other members of the Senate Energy Committee were among the first to acknowledge that the procedure established in 1975 for congressional approval of emergency energy plans was not working.

And concerned by the apparent inability of Congress to deal with an energy emergency, Johnston, Domenici, and others on the committee fashioned a bill that would give the president broad authority during energy shortages to force conservation in states that had not devised adequate plans of their own. The steps could include use of automobiles only every other day and other measures worked out by the president and the governors.

Their bill (S 1030 — PL 96-102) did not require Congress to approve these standby measures. The Senate easily passed the bill June 5.

The House had not considered similar legislation, but Dingell, chairman of the Commerce Subcommittee on Energy and Power, said there was support for a version of the Senate measure in the House. His subcommittee began hearings in mid-June.

Before reporting the bill, the subcommittee and the full committee added provisions to give the president au-

thority to impose gasoline rationing when there were severe shortages of gas.

After a lengthy floor fight, the House passed the bill Aug. 1. It did not require prior congressional approval of a rationing plan but allowed the president to impose the plan only during a 20 percent oil shortage. Either chamber would have 15 days in which to veto the president's decision to impose rationing.

Like the Senate bill, the House bill also established procedures for states to set up their own standby conservation plans.

Senate conferees were willing to accept the rationing authority in the House bill but they insisted that Congress retain its right to approve any standby plan devised by the administration.

The dispute threatened to deadlock the conference until House conferees offered a compromise. As accepted by the conference and adopted by both houses, the final version permitted Congress to disapprove — by passage of a joint resolution — any standby plan within 30 days of its submission to Congress. The president could veto the resolution, which would take a two-thirds vote of both chambers to override. Either house could still veto imposition of rationing.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 1030 (PL 96-102):

Gasoline Rationing

Congressional Review. S 1030 required the president to draft a standby gasoline rationing plan and submit it to Congress for review. Unlike the 1975 law, which made it easy for Congress to reject a rationing plan, the revised procedures made it difficult for Congress to disapprove a plan.

Once the president submitted the plan, members would have 30 legislative days to review it. The plan would be considered approved after 30 days unless a joint resolution of disapproval were adopted, or it could be approved sooner if a joint resolution of approval were passed. If the two houses passed opposing resolutions, the plan would be considered approved.

If a joint resolution of disapproval were adopted, it would go to the president, who could veto it. A two-thirds majority of both houses would be necessary to override the veto.

Restrictions. The bill specified that rationing could not be imposed unless there were a "severe energy supply interruption" or unless rationing were necessary to comply with the obligations of the United States under the international energy program. The international agreement required nations to share energy shortages.

A severe supply interruption was defined as a daily shortage of 20 percent for more than 30 days of gasoline, diesel fuel or home heating oil. The president would have flexibility in computing the shortage and could compare supplies to projected demand or to demand prior to the shortage.

Either house of Congress would have 30 days to veto a presidential decision to impose rationing.

The president could put rationing into effect without the 20 percent restriction if both houses passed a resolution of approval within 30 days of his request. After the resolution was approved, the president could impose rationing any time within the next 60 days. Waiver of the 20 percent restriction was limited to nine months.

The law specified that rationing coupons be distributed so that motorists in each state had the same percentage reduction in gasoline and that the plan recognize the relative needs of users.

Conservation

Targets. Upon finding an actual or potential severe interruption of energy supplies, the president could set monthly conservation targets for specific energy sources or fuels, such as electricity or gasoline, for the nation and for each state.

In connection with the establishment of a national target, the bill required the president to put into effect an emergency energy conservation plan for federal government activities.

State Plans. In anticipation of the targets, each state was to develop a conservation plan. Although discussions between the energy secretary and the states were expected prior to an emergency, the plans would not be required until the president actually set conservation targets.

Once a target had been set, a state would have 45 days to submit to the energy secretary a plan spelling out how the state planned to meet the target. The secretary could then approve or reject the plan.

Federal Plan. States would find guidance in drafting conservation measures from a standby federal emergency conservation plan, which the legislation directed the secretary to develop within 90 days of enactment.

The bill specified that the federal plan could not impose unduly on a specific class of industry or business, could not include a tax or user fee and could not include weekend gas station closings unless they were part of a plan to restrict gas sales daily on a rotating basis.

Uncooperative States. During an emergency, the federal government could impose conservation restrictions on a state without an approved plan if it appeared the target would not be met.

In states that had approved plans but were not meeting the target, the president could impose the federal standards if energy supplies fell or were expected to fall at least 8 percent short of normal demand for 60 days.

The conference report stated the need for a "coherent national response to acute energy shortages."

"Nothing can do more to destroy such a response," the report continued, "than the perception that the citizens of some states are not reducing consumption while others are sacrificing to meet a target set for them by the federal government."

Anyone violating the requirements of the federal plan would be subject to a $1,000 fine.

Fuel Purchase Requirements. The bill gave the president the authority, in an emergency, to require minimum gasoline purchases. The bill set a general $5 minimum and a $7 minimum for eight-cylinder vehicles, but gave the energy secretary the power to increase the minimums. Failure to comply was subject to a $100 fine.

The bill also specified that odd-even gasoline purchase plans would not apply to out-of-state cars unless the car was from an adjoining state. (Odd-even plans allowed cars with license plate numbers ending in an odd number to buy gas on an odd numbered day. Cars with even numbered plates could buy on even numbered days.)

Heating and Cooling Levels. States and localities could offer local building operators an exemption from limits on heating and cooling put into effect by the Carter administration in July.

The local government would have to agree to monitor and enforce a building operator's compliance with an alternate method of saving energy. The alternate method could be suggested by the building operator and would have to save an amount of energy comparable to that saved by the building temperature restrictions.

Senate Action

The Senate Energy Committee May 1 voted, 12-6, to report S 1030 (S Rept 96-117). As reported, S 1030 did not address the issue of gas rationing. Those provisions were added in the House.

A key amendment, adopted by the committee April 30 on a 12-5 vote, prohibited the president from closing gasoline stations on weekends unless the closure was part of a plan to close gas stations on rotating days of the week.

The committee said that testimony on President Carter's standby weekend closing plan indicated such closures might be "counterproductive as a method of reducing panic shopping for gasoline and that its impact on the tourism industry may be severe."

Floor Action

The Senate June 5 made no major changes in S 1030 before approving it by a 77-13 vote. *(Vote 120, p. 22-S)*

S 1030 gave the president broad authority to take steps to curb energy use during emergencies, but allowed states to avoid the federal sanctions by coming up with their own plans. Conservation targets for the nation and for each state would be set by the president.

The new authority given the president was not spelled out. But Johnston stressed the measure's flexibility and said it would allow the president to do "virtually anything other than rationing and weekend closings." It would permit him to order such measures as downtown parking bans, special lanes of traffic for car pools and buses or changes in electric rates to encourage conservation.

"This legislation is intended to provide the president with the authority to act to mobilize the nation to meet the threat posed by a severe national energy shortage," Johnston said. He praised the bill for giving each state a chance to come up with conservation plans tailored to its traditional consumption habits.

As passed, S 1030 authorized the president to create an emergency energy conservation program and permitted governors to identify the most appropriate methods of conserving energy in their states.

The president would be permitted to carry out the emergency program only after a presidential finding that a severe energy supply interruption existed or was imminent or that restraint of domestic energy consumption was required to meet U.S. obligations under international energy agreements.

The bill defined as a severe energy supply interruption anything that could cause major adverse impact on the national security or economy and that resulted from a reduction in the supplies of imported petroleum products, sabotage or an act of God.

However, the lack of specifics in S 1030 was criticized by William L. Armstrong, R-Colo., as a "broad and almost totally unguided grant of power to the president." Armstrong offered an amendment to give either chamber the power to veto any action by the president carrying out the act. It failed, 37-51. *(Vote 119, p. 22-S)*

An amendment, offered by Lowell Weicker, was rejected by a wide margin, 10-79. It required that the principal car in each household be left at home one day each week and that any additional cars in the household not be driven during two days each week. *(Vote 116, p. 22-S)*

Though the legislation was designed to handle emergencies, the senators accepted one amendment that would go into effect immediately. By voice vote, they adopted a proposal by Walter (Dee) Huddleston, D-Ky., to make hoarding of fuel illegal at any time.

An amendment by Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to restrict school busing was tabled, 52-39. It would have prohibited busing to comply with voluntary desegregation plans during national energy emergencies. *(Vote 117, p. 22-S)*

Also tabled, 75-14, was an amendment by Metzenbaum that would have eliminated production of chewing gum, alcoholic beverages, tobacco, ornamental plants and flowers, candy and pet food from the list of commodities that would be exempted from restrictions on energy use. *(Vote 118, p. 22-S)*

Other amendments included those by:

- Huddleston, adopted by voice vote, to assure that the sale of gasohol that was at least 10 percent alcohol would not be affected if gasoline sales were restricted.
- Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, also adopted by voice vote, giving states authority to appeal presidential conservation decisions to the federal courts.

House Committee Action

Spurred by gasoline lines, the Commerce Subcommittee on Energy and Power approved S 1030 July 12. It gave the president limited authority to impose gasoline rationing and force energy conservation. The vote was 13-8.

Rationing would be allowed only when there was a 20 percent shortage of gasoline, and the president could require conservation steps only if supplies were 10 percent short of demand.

Despite the defeat May 10 of Carter's earlier rationing plan, House Speaker O'Neill predicted July 12 that the rationing bill would "sail" through the House.

And the eventual turn-around was credited to members' concern about the waiting lines for gasoline that in early summer plagued many U.S. cities, particularly in the Northeast.

In addition, members liked the new legislative approach better because they did not have to approve a specific plan until the president decided to impose rationing. Unlike existing law, which required congressional approval of a standby rationing plan, the committee version of S 1030 gave Congress a say only in carrying out rationing, which could be vetoed by either the House or Senate.

The Senate version of S 1030, approved June 5, did not give the president authority to ration gasoline. But Senate leaders supported the addition of rationing to the president's powers.

Sticker Plan

Both bills give states the first crack at conservation. If a state did not meet a conservation target set for it by the president, then the federal government could step in with various conservation programs, such as restrictions on downtown parking.

Under the Senate bill, the president could set state conservation targets only after he determined an emergency

existed. But the House version called on the president to set targets as soon as possible after enactment of the law. Then a state would have 45 days to come up with standby conservation plans designed to meet its target.

Federal pre-emption of state efforts would be allowed by the House bill only if there were a 10 percent shortage. The Senate bill had no similar restriction.

Generally, the House and Senate bills did not detail what steps the president could take if a state failed to meet its target. However, both bills prohibited the president from closing gasoline stations on weekends as a conservation measure.

The House bill also specifically authorized the president to restrict driving to six days a week, a measure pushed by Toby Moffett, D-Conn. A motorist would choose his non-driving day and would then display a sticker on his car that reflected his choice. However, the president was not required to use the sticker plan as a conservation measure. The Senate rejected a similar proposal.

The lack of a detailed list of what the president was authorized to do meant that he would have very broad power under the bill.

That concerned Republicans on the Energy and Power Subcommittee, who voted against the legislation. "It's a wide-open, total delegation of power," complained Stockman. "The president could manage the whole economy under this bill."

Brown of Ohio said Congress was telling the president, "Here's the authority to ration — you go ahead and do it. But we're not going to be implicated by voting for or against" a specific rationing plan.

Rationing Authority Limited

Even though Republicans opposed the legislation, they teamed up with oil-state Democrats on the subcommittee to win restrictions on the president's authority to ration and force conservation. Leading the effort were Stockman and Gramm of Texas.

Democrats on the panel who supported rationing realized the only way to win enough votes for passage was to accept the restrictions on presidential powers.

After Wirth, who had cast a crucial vote during the committee's earlier consideration of the standby gas rationing plan, offered a rationing amendment to S 1030 on July 11, Gramm proposed restricting the rationing authority only to periods when there was a 20 percent shortage.

The first rationing plan was defeated, Gramm said, "because many members didn't want to go home and say, 'I voted for rationing.' " Putting in the 20 percent "trigger" would "clearly set this up as an emergency power," he argued. His amendment was accepted by voice vote.

Then the rationing proposal, as amended, was accepted 14-7, with all Democrats supporting it and all Republicans opposing it.

On July 12, the panel accepted by voice vote a Stockman proposal to restrict federal use of conservation rules to periods when a 10 percent shortage was anticipated in the following three months.

Under the subcommittee bill, the president would have authority to write a standby rationing plan. Then, if he chose to implement the plan, Congress would have 30 days to review the proposal, and either house could veto it.

But the president could impose rationing only if he found that, for a 30-day period, supplies were 20 percent less than they had averaged during each of the preceding 12 months. The president would also have to find that other conservation efforts were inadequate and that the shortage would have a "major adverse impact on national safety or the national economy."

Full Committee Action

The House Commerce Committee turned aside several attempts to change the rationing proposal before ordering S 1030 reported July 17. A move to change the 20 percent trigger to 15 percent was rejected, 11-22. Energy Subcommittee Chairman Dingell said changing the trigger could "destroy the rather fragile coalition that holds this bill together."

A proposal to remove the trigger entirely, which would have provided the president greater opportunity to impose rationing, was rejected, 8-24. The committee also rejected, 4-18, a proposal to delete the rationing authority altogether.

The House Commerce Committee reported S 1030 (H Rept 96-373) July 23.

House Floor Action

The House passed S 1030 by a 263-159 vote Aug. 1, but the wideness of the margin belied the difficulty the bill encountered. *(Vote 384, p. 112-H)*

The bill was approved only after a floor fight over whether congressional approval of any proposed rationing plan should be required. Members eventually said it should be, but then changed their minds.

The House also accepted several Republican-inspired amendments that sought to restrict the authority granted the president by the legislation.

The leadership had hoped Congress would clear the bill before it adjourned for its traditional August recess Aug. 3. But the House debate spread over three days between July 25 and Aug. 1.

Then, on Aug. 2, the Senate rejected the House amendments by voice vote and requested a conference to resolve differences. An indication that conferees might have a difficult time came when Senate Majority Leader Byrd said the House had "emasculated" the bill.

The administration planned to try to persuade conferees to delete some of the House changes, which presidential press secretary Jody Powell called "unenforceable and unworkable."

Congressional Review Mandated

When S 1030 first came to the floor July 25, the House insisted that Congress have a chance to veto any standby rationing plan drafted by the president.

The amendment, offered by Benjamin A. Gilman, R-N.Y., and adopted by a 232-187 vote, put into S 1030 exactly what supporters and President Carter wanted to take out of existing law — congressional review of a standby plan. *(Vote 350, p. 102-H)*

The House May 10 had rejected a proposed standby rationing plan, largely because it did not satisfy all special interests.

Leaders had hoped to win the votes of those wary of giving the president sole authority to draft a rationing plan by restricting rationing to periods when the shortage of oil product supplies was at least 20 percent for at least 30 days.

But most Republicans still opposed any type of rationing and wanted to weaken the bill. James T. Broyhill, R-N.C., offered an amendment to retain existing law, which required both houses to approve any standby plan before it could take effect.

Democrats hung together to defeat that proposal, 185-234. Voting in favor were 36 Democrats and 149 Republicans. There were 159 House Republicans. *(Vote 349, p. 102-H)*

Gilman Amendment

Then came the Gilman amendment. It gave either chamber 30 days to veto a standby plan submitted by the president. It also retained the provision allowing another chance for a veto if the president decided to put the plan into effect.

The change, he said, would protect Congress "from being forced to buy a pig in a poke."

On the surface, his proposal appeared similar to the Broyhill amendment, and during debate members offered the same arguments for and against it.

But the mood on the floor gradually changed. After Ottinger warned that pressure from special interests would make it difficult to approve any standby plan, Jerome A. Ambro, D-N.Y., angrily reminded his colleagues that these special interests would also be their constituents.

In Carter's earlier plan, the suburbs were "severely disadvantaged," Ambro said. "If that is a self-interest group, so be it." Not having a chance to review a standby plan would mean the House had "abrogated our responsibilities," he said.

The House then adopted the Gilman amendment, 232-187. Voting in favor were 80 Democrats and 152 Republicans. Among them were 46 Democrats who had opposed the Broyhill amendment.

Bill Alexander, D-Ark., a deputy whip, opposed the Broyhill amendment, but defected from the Democratic ranks to vote for Gilman's one-house veto. "We need to know what we're getting," Alexander said, adding that he wanted a chance to speak for the needs of his district, which was heavily dependent on the automobile.

Clearly surprised by the tally, the House Democratic leadership quickly pulled the bill off the floor, planning to bring it back before the House when enough votes to reverse the vote were available.

At a news conference later, Carter said the House action "illustrated once again the timidity of Congress in dealing with a sensitive political issue."

Vote Reversed

The Democratic leadership did not bring S 1030 back to the floor until July 31. Then Majority Leader Wright immediately offered an amendment to reverse the one-house veto adopted July 25. Under his proposal, Congress would not have to approve a standby rationing plan for it to go "on the shelf." But either house could still veto a president's decision to actually carry out the rationing plan. This was essentially what the Commerce Committee had provided.

The chance to veto a draft plan "invites the special interests to descend on us before the plan is even written," said Wright. "Each group will be looking to gain special advantage."

Republicans who generally opposed rationing, argued that the House would be better able to study a rationing plan before an emergency arose.

The House should review a plan in a "cool, deliberative atmosphere," said Gilman, "not when we have the heat of an emergency breathing down our necks."

But Wright replied, "Heaven knows, nobody is going to be satisfied, and it is going to avail us little if we fall into petty parochial quarrels among ourselves, state against state, region against region, town against city, city against farm."

The Wright amendment passed, 234-189. Partisanship was evident, with only 38 Democrats voting against the amendment and only three Republicans voting for it. *(Vote 370, p. 108-H)*

On Aug. 1, Gilman tried again to win support for veto of a standby plan. He asked the House to recommit the bill with instructions to delete the Wright amendment and replace it with the Gilman amendment. That motion failed, 177-246. *(Vote 383, p. 112-H)*

Temperature Loophole

After the rationing vote, the House voted, 267-152, to water down federal restrictions on non-residential building thermostats, the only one of Carter's standby conservation plans approved by Congress. The restrictions, which had gone into effect July 16, required that buildings be cooled only to 78 degrees and warmed only to 65 degrees. *(Vote 373, p. 110-H)*

Members agreed to exempt from those limits any building operator who saved a comparable amount of energy in other ways.

Chalmers P. Wylie, R-Ohio, who offered the amendment, said that restaurant owners and others in his district had complained that the limits on air conditioning kept customers away and reduced the productivity of workers. But opponents of the amendment argued that the rules already allowed exemptions and that the amendment would make the temperature restrictions impossible to enforce.

Republican Amendments

After losing the rationing vote, Republicans offered a string of amendments that delayed passage of the bill until late Aug. 1. Most of these amendments were designed to curb the president's powers under the legislation and to exempt certain industries from mandatory conservation plans.

Complaining that the bill put few restrictions on the president's conservation powers, Carlos J. Moorhead, R-Calif., told the House, "he can come up with anything he wants." Moorhead wanted to give Congress an opportuity to consider and veto any standby conservation plans.

But Gramm suggested that the veto apply only to a president's decision to impose a federal conservation plan on an uncooperative state. That amendment was adopted by voice vote.

Food and fiber producers, processors and distributors were given an exemption from any conservation proposal. But energy producers failed, 203-209, to win a similar exemption. *(Vote 378, p. 110-H)*

Hospitals and nursing homes were excused from the heating and cooling restrictions. The vote exempting hospitals was 244-170. *(Vote 379, p. 110-H)*

The legislators voted, 413-3, to drop a provision suggesting that the president consider restricting automobile use to six days a week. But dropping the suggestion did not prevent the president from adopting the proposal. *(Vote 375, p. 110-H)*

Members also directed the president to create a new program to set aside diesel fuel for farmers and commercial fishermen. The proposal concerning farmers was adopted, 229-191. *(Vote 381, p. 112-H)*

Then representatives from oil-consuming states won approval, 233-187, of a similar set-aside program for home heating oil. *(Vote 382, p. 112-H)*

The barrage of amendments prompted an outburst from Wright. "The people expect and deserve something better than partisan obstructionism," he said. Wright complained that Republicans had voted several times "in a solid phalanx, regardless of the merits of the amendment offered, to weaken the bill." If Republicans continued to vote "for just anything and everything designed to rip holes in this legislation, why of course the people are going to see there is a conspiracy," Wright said.

Later, Minority Leader Rhodes responded, "We are talking about rationing because the people on the Democratic side have never understood that the real answer to the problem of energy is supply. Conservation is fine, but it is not the real answer."

Other Action

In other action July 25 and July 31, the House rejected amendments by:

- Ottinger, to allow rationing when there was a 15 percent shortage, instead of 20 percent. Rejected, 93-329. *(Vote 348, p. 102-H)*
- Stockman, to allow a one-house veto of a standby rationing plan, but delete the provision that authorized a one-house veto of the decision to implement rationing. Rejected 192-232. *(Vote 369, p. 108-H)*
- Marc L. Marks, R-Pa., to delete the bill's requirement that rationing be authorized only when there was a 20 percent shortage of petroleum for 30 days. Rejected 63-356. *(Vote 371, p. 108-H)*
- Ambro, to change the requirement for finding a petroleum shortage from 20 percent to 10 percent. Rejected by voice vote.
- Ken Kramer, R-Colo., to authorize the president to use the rationing and conservation measures in the bill through Sept. 30, 1980, rather than Sept. 30, 1981. Rejected 162-250. *(Vote 372, p. 110-H)*

Conference Action

House and Senate conferees met repeatedly over a five-week period before they were able to resolve their differences. The conference report (S Rept 96-366) was filed Oct. 12.

Conference Issues

The conferees faced several major issues:

- Congressional review of standby rationing plans. The House insisted that Congress not play a role in drafting the standby plan. But the Senate, having won two revisions of the original Carter plan, was reluctant to give up completely its role in drafting a standby plan.
- Restrictions on rationing. The Senate was concerned about a House provision preventing rationing except during periods when demand for petroleum exceeded supply by 20 percent. The senators said such a shortage would be disastrous and that rationing would probably be needed long before the shortage reached that stage. But House conferees said they needed such a restriction to get enough votes for passage.
- Restrictions on conservation. The Senate also objected to a House provision that required an oil shortage of 10 percent before the federal government could impose conservation measures on uncooperative states.
- Building temperature rules. The House had accepted an amendment that exempted a building operator from federal restrictions on thermostat settings if the operator saved a comparable amount of energy in other ways. The senators, coached by the administration, argued that the change made the rule impossible to enforce.

Rationing Compromise

After several false starts, House and Senate conferees Sept. 18 agreed to give Congress a chance to review a standby gasoline rationing plan proposed by the president.

But the compromise made it difficult for the legislators to reject a proposed contingency plan.

Under the compromise, proposed by House conferees and accepted by the conference, a standby rationing plan submitted by the president would be valid unless it were rejected by Congress within 30 days of submission by passage of a joint resolution.

If the president vetoed the joint resolution disapproving his rationing plan, Congress could override the veto.

If this process ran to completion and a plan were ultimately rejected, the president could start anew by submitting a new standby rationing plan to Congress.

Here is how the compromise was worked out. It appeared that the dispute over rationing was going to deadlock the conference.

At a late afternoon session Sept. 18, Senate conferees reiterated an earlier informal proposal. It would have given Congress one chance to veto a standby plan, but if the plan were rejected the president could draft another plan that would not be subject to a congressional veto.

Rep. Dingell didn't like that approach and argued the president would take advantage of the one-shot veto. "The president will send up trash, we veto it, then he sends up another plan," said Dingell.

But Johnston replied that under the House proposal — that there be no congressional veto at all — "he can send up trash and get it approved the first time."

When Johnston asked for the House response, Dingell offered as the House position the original language from the House bill, which required no congressional review of a proposed standby rationing plan. That response not only upset Johnston and his colleague, Sen. Domenici, but also bothered House conferees.

"We are facing a deterioration in the conference if we reoffer the House language," said Rep. Moffett, adding that the move "reflects intransigence" on the part of the House.

At that point, Rep. Ottinger suggested that a joint resolution of disapproval be required, with no limit on the number of times Congress could reject proposed plans. The conferees then adopted that proposal.

Lobbyists from the Carter administration said the compromise was acceptable. Johnston described the administration response: "They've nodded, not always with a smile, but they've nodded."

Rationing Trigger

On Sept. 12 the conferees resolved the other major rationing dispute facing them. The House had prohibited rationing unless there was a 20 percent shortage of petroleum. The Senate and the Carter administration felt that was too restrictive.

"It could devastate the American economy if we wait that long," Sen. Metzenbaum said.

Under the compromise, a resolution passed by both houses could lift the 20 percent restriction for a 60-day period. The resolution could be forced out of committee and could not be filibustered.

The conferees also loosened the definition of a 20 percent shortage, applying the test to gasoline and middle distillate supplies instead of overall petroleum supplies. Senators and the administration had been concerned that a 20 percent shortage of petroleum could mean a 40 to 50 percent shortage of gasoline.

Conservation Trigger

Conferees also had to resolve differences over when federal energy conservation plans would be imposed on those states that had failed to develop adequate plans of their own.

Both bills directed the federal government to set energy conservation goals for each state. Although the intent was to have each state take steps to meet its goal, the federal government could impose conservation measures on a state that failed to save enough energy. But the House bill would prevent the federal government from stepping in unless there were a 10 percent shortage of petroleum and unless neither house of Congress objected.

The Senate bill had no similar restriction, and Senate conferees opposed the House provision. They said the conservation section of the bill was designed to encourage energy saving measures before a crisis developed. The House restriction linking conservation to a 10 percent shortage meant the federal government could not force conservation until there was a serious emergency.

The compromise finally worked out set the trigger at 8 percent. If a state with an approved conservation plan failed to meet its conservation target furing an emergency, and the shortage in the state was at least 8 percent, the federal government could impose federal conservation measures. The 8 percent requirement would not apply in states without a federally approved plan; in those states the federal government could impose conservation measures whenever during an emergency it appeared such states would not meet their conservation targets.

Final Action

The Senate adopted the conference report Oct. 17 on a 77-18 vote. *(Vote 359, p. 59-S)*

The House cleared the bill when it adopted the conference report Oct. 23 on a 301-112 vote. *(Vote 527, p. 154-H)*

The president signed S 1030 into law Nov. 5. ▮

Endangered Species Act

Congress cleared a three-year reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act after reaching a compromise that allowed the continued independence of a scientific panel that advised the government on international trade in endangered species.

The House and Senate both adopted the conference report on the bill (S 1143 — PL 96-159) Dec. 19 by voice votes, with almost no debate in either chamber.

The only major point of contention in conference was a House provision that put the Endangered Species Scientific Authority (ESSA) — established under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) — under the control of the Interior Department.

The convention required that participating countries establish a scientific authority to advise which endangered species could be traded internationally without contributing to their extinction. In the United States, that body was ESSA, an independent seven-member panel of scientists.

But the House, at the urging of John B. Breaux, D-La., put the panel under Interior Department control. Breaux felt the panel had overstepped its authority when it tried to halt export of alligators, an important Louisiana industry.

Environmentalists opposed that provision, fearing that it would make the panel susceptible to political pressure.

The compromise provided that the panel would remain independent but would be renamed the International Convention Advisory Committee. It would still advise on trade in endangered species.

The role of the scientific authority would be taken over by the interior secretary, acting through the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. The service would make final decisions on trade in endangered species, but would have to respond publicly to recommendations of the advisory panel.

Tellico Fight Averted

A potential fight over completion of the Tennessee Valley Authority's Tellico Dam was averted when House proponents of the dam chose another measure on which to make their stand.

Completion of the dam had been stopped in June 1978 when the Supreme Court ruled that the 1973 Endangered Species Act (PL 93-205) barred operation of the dam because completing it would destroy the habitat of an endangered three-inch fish called the snail darter. After that, Congress revised the act and set up a review board with power to exempt specific projects from the endangered species law. But in its first decision, the board refused to exempt Tellico. *(Background, 1978 Almanac p. 707)*

During consideration of the endangered species reauthorization, both the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee and the full Senate rejected attempts to exempt Tellico from the law.

House Tellico proponents also offered such an amendment, but to the fiscal 1980 energy and water development appropriations bill (HR 4388 — PL 96-69). The Senate at first refused to accept the House provision but finally gave in when it became obvious that the House would not relent. President Carter, also opposed to completion of the dam, considered vetoing the bill but decided against it. Once he had signed the appropriations bill, the House proceeded with action on the endangered species reauthorization. *(Appropriations bill fight, p. 223)*

Provisions

In addition to revamping ESSA, S 1143 (PL 96-59):

- Expanded the act to protect endangered plants as well as endangered fish and wildlife.
- Required the interior secretary to review the latest and best available data on the status of a species before proposing that it be listed as endangered or threatened.
- Required that the Interior Department, when proposing that a parcel be designated a critical habitat for an endangered species, publish a summary of the proposal and a map in local newspapers rather than continuing the practice of publishing only the text of the proposal.
- Required federal agencies to make sure their projects "are not likely" to jeopardize an endangered species. Existing law required agencies to make sure a project "does not" jeopardize a species before it could be built.
- Authorized all those seeking exemptions from the act — not just federal agencies — to get permanent exemptions

for a project, unless a biological study found completion of the project would result in extinction of a species.

• Extended for three years the "scrimshaw" exemption allowing trade in whale products held in stock before 1973.

• Authorized up to $25.5 million for fiscal 1980, $28 million for 1981 and $30.5 million for 1982 for operation of the endangered species program.

Senate Action

Senate action on the endangered species reauthorization was routine. The Senate Environment and Public Works Committee reported S 1143 (S Rept 96-151) May 15 by voice vote after rejecting, 3-8, a move by Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., to exempt Tellico Dam from the act. As reported, the bill authorized $85.8 million to carry out the act through fiscal 1982.

Baker offered his amendment again when the bill came to the floor June 13. But the Senate refused, 43-52, to grant an exemption to the dam. *(Vote 128, p. 23-S)*

The senators also defeated, 14-80, an amendment by Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., that would have limited protection under the act to only those species that the interior secretary determined had "an economic or aesthetic value to man." *(Vote 129, p. 23-S)*

The Senate passed the bill, 91-5. *(Vote 130, p. 24-S)*

House Action

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee reported its version of the reauthorization (HR 2218 — H Rept 96-167) May 15. It provided $28.6 million each in fiscal 1980-82 for a total of $85.8 million.

Floor action on the bill was delayed until the Tellico Dam-snail darter issue was resolved on the energy and water development appropriations bill.

However, even before HR 2218 came to the floor, the Breaux amendment threatened to open the bill to a raft of amendments exempting various projects from the act.

Breaux was eventually persuaded to modify his amendment package to defuse opposition from environmentalists, and it was this modification that he offered to the House during floor debate Oct. 24.

Breaux Amendment

The Breaux amendment, adopted by voice vote, included several parts. First, it put the autonomous Endangered Species Scientific Authority (ESSA) under the control of the Department of the Interior.

Breaux argued that the ESSA board was beginning to make policy decisions instead of merely scientific determinations, and he wanted to put the board under control of a federal agency if it were going to make policy.

Breaux was concerned about ESSA's efforts to control the export of non-endangered American alligators, which were prevalent in Louisiana. ESSA said export would indirectly harm certain endangered crocodiles that looked like alligators. Because the American alligators so closely resembled crocodiles, the board reasoned that their export would encourage continued trade in endangered crocodile hides by increasing the market for the hides.

Environmentalists, led by Paul N. McCloskey Jr., R-Calif., objected to the Breaux amendment, saying putting ESSA under Interior's control would make it susceptible to political pressures.

But the amendment was approved after Breaux assured McCloskey that it would not affect the board's ability to make independent scientific decisions.

The Breaux amendment also contained several minor word changes to the Endangered Species Act, including:

• A phrase that made permanent any exemptions granted to federal public works projects by the Endangered Species Committee, a panel set up in the 1978 revision of the act (PL 95-632). *(1978 Almanac p. 708)*

• A phrase to require federal agencies to make sure their projects "are not likely" to jeopardize an endangered species. Existing law required agencies to make sure their projects "would not" jeopardize a species. Proponents said the existing standard was unrealistic and unachievable because it would be impossible to ensure that an action would not have an adverse effect on a species.

Breaux's original amendment package had included a section outlining the criteria ESSA could use to decide whether trade in an endangered species should be allowed. But McCloskey and the State Department argued that this wording violated the CITES treaty, because the treaty already outlined how such decisions should be made.

So Breaux deleted from his original amendment the portion spelling out how ESSA was to make decisions on exports of endangered species.

Other Action

The House also adopted by voice vote an amendment by Edwin B. Forsythe, R-N.J., authorizing $5.1 million for the Agriculture Department to monitor the illegal importation of endangered plants and animals.

The House then passed HR 2218 by voice vote. The bill, as passed, authorized $30.1 million for fiscal 1980, $30.35 million for fiscal 1981 and $30.45 million for fiscal 1982, for a total of $90.9 million.

Final Action

House-Senate conferees Dec. 4 approved in about 15 minutes the conference report (H Rept 96-697) on the endangered species reauthorization. Most major differences had been worked out by staff before the conference began.

Conferees agreed that the interior secretary, acting through the Fish and Wildlife Service, would take over the role of the scientific authority to advise which endangered species could be traded internationally without contributing to their extinction.

The conferees provided that the ESSA panel, would continue, except that the member appointed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would be appointed instead by the Fish and Wildlife Service. The name of the panel would be changed from ESSA to the International Convention Advisory Commission.

The compromise also required that the scientific authority in the Fish and Wildlife Service respond to recommendations by the new advisory commission, and publish those responses in the *Federal Register*.

Environmentalists had lobbied hard for that requirement and for the provision giving the advisory commission autonomy.

The compromise also made permanent any exemption granted a project by the Endangered Species Committee unless a biological study found completion of the project would result in extinction of a species. If there were such a finding, developers could seek another exemption. ▮

House Passes Alaska Bill But Senate Stymied

For the second year in a row, Congress failed to complete action on a bill that would designate millions of acres of federal land in Alaska as national parks, wildlife refuges and other protected areas. Such designations would sharply limit the extent of commercial and recreational development that could occur on those lands.

The House approved a bill (HR 39) May 15 placing 127.5 million acres of federal lands in the state into conservation units. But floor action on a Senate bill more favorable to the interests of developers was stalled in controversy at the end of the session. The Senate Energy Committee version of HR 39 would have placed only 102 million acres in conservation units. Only about half as much land as the House bill would be designated wilderness. Land classified as wilderness was closed to most commercial and recreational development. *(Conservation classifications, box, next page)*

In 1978 the House also approved a pro-conservation Alaska lands bill. But its Senate counterpart was never taken up because Sen. Mike Gravel, D-Alaska, threatened a filibuster. *(1978 Almanac p. 724)*

In 1979, Gravel was eventually persuaded not to block the efforts of Alaska's other senator, Ted Stevens, R, to move the bill to the floor. But when Sens. Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., and William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., announced in mid-November that they planned to offer a substitute similar to the House-approved version, Stevens stopped his push for floor action.

He feared that the full Senate might prefer the Tsongas substitute to the less restrictive Energy Committee version. Although the Senate committee bill did not allow as much development as they would have liked, Stevens and key Alaska officials had decided it was "livable."

At issue was how much of Alaska's federal land would be preserved in its pristine state and how much would be opened up to development, such as logging, mining and oil and gas exploration, and to sport hunting.

The environmental community and the Carter administration saw the Alaska lands bill as the last opportunity to preserve the country's only remaining wilderness. They viewed their opposition, in the words of Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus, as "the all-out-for-development-at-any-cost-groups .... The rape, ruin and run boys."

But commercial developers, principally oil, timber and mining interests, insisted that they too wanted to preserve Alaska, but not if it meant depriving the country of essential natural resources. State officials also worried that restrictions on commercial and recreational development could jeopardize the state's economy. *(Lobbying activities, box, p. 666)*

One of the most controversial areas at issue in the debate was the potentially oil-rich Arctic National Wildlife Range, which was also a calving ground for the nation's healthiest caribou herd. The pro-conservation House bill designated the range, on Alaska's North Slope, as a wilderness area closed to oil and gas exploration. The Senate committee bill would allow Congress to authorize drilling.

Other controversial matters included the total number of acres to be placed in conservation units, the number of acres to be designated wilderness, the amount of land in conservation units that would be opened to sport hunting and the designation for land surrounding a privately owned molybdenum mine in the Misty Fjords region. Molybdenum was used in making certain kinds of steel.

Although the Senate disputes over the bill had not been resolved by year's end, there was some impetus to move quickly. Interior Secretary Andrus had threatened, if Congress did not move quickly, to extend for 20 years the massive land withdrawals the administration made in late 1978. The administration removed from development a total of 110 million acres when the Senate failed to act on a 1978 version of the lands bill. Alaskan officials generally preferred that Congress and not the administration decide the land use questions.

House Committee Action

As in 1978, Alaska lands legislation was referred to both the House Interior Committee and the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, which had jurisdiction over the wildlife refuges in the bill.

Interior Action

Pending before Interior was a pro-conservation bill (HR 39) introduced by Chairman Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz. The bill placed in conservation units 111 million acres of federal land. Of those, about 85 million acres were designated wilderness, a classification that restricted most commercial and recreational development.

But during markup Feb. 28, the committee adopted, 23-20, a substitute bill much more favorable to developers. Offered by Jerry Huckaby, D-La., the substitute was identical to the compromise measure killed in the Senate in 1978. It set aside nearly 98 million acres in conservation areas, and designated about 51 million acres as wilderness.

In particular, the Huckaby substitute could have opened sections of the Arctic Wildlife Range to oil and gas exploration. The Udall bill would have designated most of the area as wilderness. Leasing of oil and gas sites in the rest of the area would have been at the discretion of the secretary of the interior.

In addition, the substitute opened several areas considered key mining sites and could have increased the number of areas in southeast Alaska available for logging.

The vote on the Huckaby substitute was actually closer than the tally would indicate. When it became apparent that the conservationists would lose, Phillip Burton, D-Calif., switched his vote from "nay" to "yea" so that he could request that the vote be reconsidered. Under parliamentary rules, only a member who voted with the winning side could move for reconsideration. However, pro-environmental committee members were unable to reverse the vote.

Udall later attributed his loss to effective oil industry lobbying and a change in his committee's membership. "The [1978] congressional election was a modest minus in my committee," Udall said. "We had a one-vote shift." Melvin H. Evans, the Republican delegate from the Virgin Islands, took a seat held by a Democrat in the previous Congress. Evans voted for the Huckaby substitute.

Andrus called the Huckaby substitute unacceptable.

As reported by Interior April 18, HR 39 (H Rept 96-97, Part 1) added to federally protected lands:

• 45 million acres as national parks. About 20 million of those acres were designated park preserves and open to sport hunting.

• 45 million acres as refuges.

• 3 million acres as national forest.

• 4 million acres of BLM-administered conservation acres.

Overlaying these acres were about 51 million acres designated as wilderness.

Merchant Marine Action

Developers also won in the Merchant Marine Committee April 9. Although that committee recommended setting aside 127 million acres in conservation units, 85 million acres were designated as refuge, a classification that permitted commercial development.

The primary purpose of a refuge was to protect fish and wildlife in their natural habitat, but sport hunting and oil and gas exploration were allowed if the interior secretary found such activities compatible with the area.

The National Petroleum Reserve on the North Slope was designated a refuge and these lands could then be leased by the federal government for private oil and gas exploration.

The bill provided for a seven-year study of the other North Slope area — the Arctic Wildlife Range. The study was to assess the energy potential there as well as the impact of oil and gas drilling on the caribou herd. Commercial oil and gas exploration would be permitted during the final two years of the study. But Congress would have to act before any production could take place in the area.

The full committee vote confirmed actions taken earlier by the Fish and Wildlife Subcommittee. The bill was drafted by subcommittee Chairman John B. Breaux, D-La., John D. Dingell, D-Mich., and Don Young, R-Alaska.

'No More Wilderness.' The committee also voted, 14-9, to delete a provision in the subcommittee bill that would have prohibited future increases in the wilderness acreage in Alaska.

The Interior bill contained this "no more wilderness" provision, which Alaskan representatives considered essential. "This is the guts of the bill," Young told the committee April 9. "Take this out and you put [the state's future] back in the hands" of Interior Department officials.

As reported (H Rept 96-97, Part 2), the Merchant Marine bill preserved:

• 33 million acres as national parks.

• 88 million acres as refuges.

• A 3 million-acre addition to national forests in southeastern Alaska.

• 3 million acres as BLM-administered conservation areas.

The measure also designated 55 million acres as wilderness.

Rules Committee Action

The next step for the legislation was the Rules Committee, which decided the procedures for floor debate. There the conservationists won an important victory. In addition to the Interior and Merchant Marine versions of HR 39, the Rules Committee May 1 agreed to permit the House to consider a substitute bill (HR 3651) offered by Udall and John B. Anderson, R-Ill.

The pro-environment substitute (HR 3651) was "molded" on the 1978 House-passed bill, Udall said.

Overall, HR 3651 created 110 million acres of national parks, wildlife refuges and forests.

Types of Conservation Units

Following is a listing and description fo the different types of conservation units Congress considered for Alaska lands.

National Parks and Monuments. Managed by the National Park Service of the Interior Department, these areas are set aside to protect outstanding scenic and other natural values. Camping, fishing, hiking and other activities normally are allowed. But mining, oil and gas development, logging, trapping and hunting usually are not.

National Park Preserves. These units ae also managed by the park service and are treated as parks except that the taking of fish and wildlife for subsistence purposes and for sport, including guided hunting, is allowed under appropriate state and federal regulations.

National Recreation Areas. The interior secretary manages these areas for public recreational use, including hunting, fishing and camping. In addition, the secretary can permit development of minerals and other resources under controls that protect fish, wildlife and other natural resource in the area.

National Wildlife Refuges. The primary purpose of a refuge is the preservation and enhancement of fish and wildlife and their habitat. Recreational activities, including hunting and fishing, are usually allowed if compatible with that purpose. The interior secretary can also allow oil and gas exploration if compatible with the wildlife.

National Forests. Forests are managed by the U.S. Forest Service, which is part of the Department of Agriculture. Multiple uses — logging, grazing, trapping, mining, oil and gas development and hunting — are allowed. The forest service also replants trees to maintain the yield.

National Conservation Areas. These areas are managed by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), in the Interior Department, as multiple use lands, but with special consideration given to protection of wildlife and other natural resources. BLM is directed to develop a land use plan for national conservation areas that identifies fragile areas that are not suited to development or where certain activity should be restricted.

Wild and Scenic Rivers. This designation protects flowing rivers and a corridor of land along the banks from dams and other water resource development projects.

Wilderness. This is a designation that overlays a park, refuge or other conservation system; it is a management approach that restricts commercial development, such as road building, mining or construction of resort facilities. But an activity like hunting can continue in a wilderness if it is already allowed in that system, i.e., hunting could continue in a forest also managed as wilderness.

Like the 1978 bill, HR 3651 designated most of the Arctic Wildlife Range as wilderness to prohibit oil and gas drilling, but did permit commercial oil exploration on the National Petroleum Reserve 18 months after enactment.

HR 3651 also differed from the committee bills in its treatment of the controversial molybdenum mining claim, made by U.S. Borax & Chemical Corp., in the Misty Fjords

region. The Udall bill made the area surrounding the claim wilderness, which would make the mine site difficult to reach and prevent ore processing on the site. The two committee versions of HR 39, opened about 623,000 of the 2.3 million acres in the Misty Fjords to such activities as mining and lumbering, while the rest of the area was designated a national forest, which made access to the mining and lumbering sites easier.

The Breaux bill also provided a fund to compensate salmon fishermen who might suffer losses if the mining operation proceeded

Udall Substitute. As introduced, HR 3651 set aside:

- 44 million acres as national parks with 16 million of those park preserves open to sport hunting.
- 61 million acres of wildlife refuges.
- A 3.3 million acre addition to the national forest system.

It designated 67 million acres of parks, refuges and forests as wilderness.

During two days of hearings before the Rules Committee, Breaux and Huckaby argued against sanctioning the Udall substitute with a rule. Like a tennis tournament player who lost in the preliminary rounds, Udall's defeat in the Interior Committee should eliminate him from the finals, Breaux said.

"They beat us fair and square by one vote" in Interior, Udall admitted. "All we ask for is fair play. We think we can beat both [bills]. What we don't want is to be seeded out of the tournament."

In addition to including Udall's bill in the rule, the committee actually gave it an edge by making it the first bill that would be voted on.

Under the lineup agreed on by Rules, Huckaby's bill would be taken up on the floor first. Breaux's measure would next be offered as a substitute and then Udall's would be offered, also as a substitute. Amendments to both Breaux and Udall would be in order. When amendments were completed, the Udall bill would be voted on first.

As a result, members would have to reject the Udall bill to have a chance to consider Breaux or Huckaby.

During the two days of Rules Committee hearings, Breaux vied with Udall for the number one spot on the floor. He argued that his version should be considered first because it had been reported by Merchant Marine, while Udall's bill had never been considered by a committee.

But the Rules Committee defeated, 5-8, a motion by Robert E. Bauman, R-Md., that would have reversed the order and made the Breaux bill the first to be voted on.

House Floor Action

When the House vote came on May 16, the Udall-Anderson substitute won easily, although the lopsided 268-157 vote surprised some congressional observers who had expected it to be closer. The bill preserved 127.5 federal acres. *(Vote 139, p. 46-H)*

The House then passed the Alaska lands bill (HR 39), 360-65, as amended containing the Udall substitute. "There is a strong conservation tradition in the House that's not going to go away," Udall said after the vote. *(Vote 140, p. 46-H)*

The vote was a victory for conservationists and the Carter administration. The rejected Interior and Merchant Marine committee bills had the backing of oil, gas, timber and mining interests.

Republican Don Young, Alaska's only representative, and other state officials had strongly backed the Merchant Marine version.

As the final vote neared, Interior Secretary Andrus and other administration officials hovered near the House chamber. President Carter had made Alaska lands legislation his top environmental priority and Andrus had warned of a presidential veto if the House approved either committee bill.

After the vote, Andrus praised the outcome. It showed that members resisted "being stampeded by the oil and gas interests," he said. Andrus quoted Carter as saying, "This has made my day."

Andrus noted the strong bipartisan support the Udall bill received. The division on the key vote, 268-157, was: R 66-90; D 202-67 (ND 154-32; SD 48-35).

Test of Wills

In addition to being a contest between development and preservation interests, the battle over Alaska was also, at times, a test of will. Although conservationists suspected they had the edge, the outcome was not clear until the vote.

In one maneuver May 16, Breaux attempted to force a "test vote" by offering a 459-page amendment, which, in essence, combined the Breaux-Dingell and Huckaby measures.

But the test backfired when Udall called Breaux's bluff and supported the amendment. As members entered the chamber for a recorded vote, Udall and his supporters urged them to vote for the amendment. The final tally was 416-0 for Breaux's amendment. The amendment was later nullified when the House voted for the Udall substitute. *(Vote 138, p. 46-H)*

Debate on the measure — marked by several acrimonious sessions and emotional moments — focused on which bill offered the best balance between land conservation and oil, gas, mining and timber development.

Most observers agreed that the Udall-Anderson bill was the stronger environmental measure because it placed 67 million acres in the restrictive wilderness category, compared to 55 million in the Breaux-Dingell measure.

But the charges and countercharges apparently confused many members, and tempers often flared. Traditionally courteous members screamed at each other.

Young opposed the Udall substitute and was particularly upset that Anderson called for bipartisan support of the conservationist measure. "To take land from the people of my state is unconstitutional," Young told Anderson. "It is morally wrong, and it is not the Republican position."

Young claimed that the Udall-Anderson bill set aside too much land and would cost Alaskans more than 2,000 jobs, mostly in the timber industry.

"None of you have to go home to unemployment created by national legislation," Young charged. He broke down in tears after the final vote.

Supporters of the Udall-Anderson bill hammered away at their point that Alaska's natural beauty would be destroyed without the protection in the measure.

"Americans will never see a buffalo herd again, and if we are not wise today, our grandchildren will not be able to see a caribou herd," Udall said. "This is the test of our congressional careers. This will be the most important vote we will cast."

But supporters of the Breaux-Dingell and Huckaby versions insisted that Alaska's resources needed to be developed.

Well-Organized Environmental Lobby . . .

The surprising 268-157 House vote backing a strong Alaska lands conservation bill was produced by one of the most highly organized environmental lobbying efforts ever waged on Capitol Hill.

The Alaska Coalition, representing every major national environmental organization, joined with the Carter administration to push what they called the "conservation bill of the century."

House action came in the midst of continuing news stories about long gas lines and likely gas shortages all summer. As a result, coalition members knew their opponents would capitalize on the growing anger of car owners by arguing that energy shortages required exploration and development in Alaska.

But supporters of the bill (HR 3651) sponsored by Reps. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., and John B. Anderson, R-Ill., convinced an overwhelming House majority — including 66 Republicans — that their Alaska bill would leave 95 percent of the state open to development.

Administration lobbyists expected victory more than a week before the vote, with tallies steadily increasing from 221 commitments on May 10 to 232 on the 11th to 243 on the 14th.

But until the last minute, Udall-Anderson supporters were cautiously predicting a close vote in what was by no means a one-sided contest.

Although the Alaska Coalition had organized a classic grass-roots effort, its basic appeal was primarily for a concept: preserving the country's last great wilderness.

On the other side was a powerful and well-financed organization representing the State of Alaska and its business interests as well as many of the country's leading corporations.

This group appealed to the more tangible dollars and cents concerns of members.

Developers

Citizens for Management of Alaska Lands (CMAL) brought together the oil, timber and mineral company lobbyists in support of legislation sponsored by Reps. John B. Breaux, D-La., and John D. Dingell, D-Mich., and a second bill sponsored by Rep. Jerry Huckaby, D-La.

In addition to hiring five lobbyists, the state brought Gov. Jay S. Hammond, R, and Lt. Gov. Terry Miller to Capitol Hill for a week to lobby against the Udall bill. With them were members of the state department of natural resources and the attorney general's office.

The state also sent down the head of the Alaska Black Caucus, E. Louis Overstreet, to convince members of the Congressional Black Caucus that Udall's bill would cause job losses in a state with a 20 percent minority population.

It was not clear whether state officials threatened to oppose ratification of a constitutional amendment giving the District of Columbia voting representation in Congress. But Alaska State Rep. Mike Miller sent a telegram to Black Caucus members saying he would push D.C. representation in Alaska despite suggestions that a vote for Udall-Anderson "could result in adverse votes [on D.C. representation] in Alaska."

Meanwhile, industries with a financial stake in Alaska development, most notably U.S. Borax, engaged in a massive lobbying effort of their own.

Virtually every congressional office called by CQ reported contacts from U.S. Borax, which found itself in the unenviable position of lobbying for development of molybdenum, a mineral that might be as difficult to excite members about as it was to pronounce.

Conservationists

The Alaska Coalition brought to town its biggest-name environmentalists: Russell W. Peterson, former Delaware governor and current head of the National Audubon Society, and the heads of the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, the League of Conservation Voters and the National Wildlife Federation.

In addition, the coalition was aided by Jacques Cousteau, the renowned marine biologist and explorer, who visited numerous congressional offices.

The coalition also worked with Americans for Alaska, which brought together well-known personalities to support the Udall bill. Among them were Henry Cabot Lodge, Cathleen Douglas, wife of the former Supreme Court justice, former Sen. James L. Buckley, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Paul H. Nitze and Admiral Elmo Zumwalt.

White House Lobbying

Working with the Alaska Coalition, the Carter administration put together one of its more impressive lobbying efforts.

White House lobbyists said phone calls to House members were made by the president and top agency officials. Undecided members who seemed most concerned about oil and gas issues received calls from Energy Secretary James R. Schlesinger and Deputy Secretary John F. O'Leary.

Calls also were made by Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus and Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland.

White House tally sheets showed that some House members were contacted as many as four or more times. One member was to have been contacted by Carter lobbyist William H. Cable, Transportation Secretary Brock Adams, Kennedy Center Chairman Roger Stevens and the unidentified wife of a *New York Times* editor.

State of Confusion

A member of Congress coming to the House floor to figure out which Alaska bill to vote on might have had a hard time making a decision.

"I would just call to the attention of [Rep. Udall] the fact that he has just made another of the misstatements in connection with his legislation of which the record here has been so rich today." That charge by Dingell came less than 30 minutes into the debate on amendments.

Within the first hour of debate, members heard Udall charge the National Rifle Association (NRA) with "deliberate distortions" of his bill, an allegation that "extremist environmental groups . . . have deluged well-intentioned citizens with misinformation and overkill rhetoric,"

. . . Wins a Bout with Development Interests

charges from both sides that the other side was raising "red herring" issues, and the suggestion by one lawmaker that delays in passing a bill had led to an increase in suicides due to "uncertainties" among Alaskans.

But the confusion on the floor was perhaps best illustrated by an amendment from Peter H. Kostmayer, D-Pa., stating that the Udall measure applied only to Alaska, not to any state or territory outside Alaska.

That the Alaska lands bill applied to Alaska might have been assumed by a congressman listening to the debate. But it was by no means obvious to the NRA or its supporters. For example, Alaska Sen. Ted Stevens, R, in a press release, insisted "the issue is not only hunting and gun ownership in Alaska, but the future of hunting and gun ownership on federal lands across the nation."

The Gun Issue

In an April 26 Mailgram to NRA members, NRA Executive Director Neal Knox said, "The anti-gun, anti-hunting Carter administration and Congressman Udall are attempting to ramrod the Udall version of the Alaska lands bill through Congress, which will severely restrict hunting on all public lands."

In a May 3 Mailgram to representatives, Knox wrote: "Hunting on all public lands in U.S. at stake in Alaska lands bill now on floor. Breaux-Dingell bill allows hunting and state management fish & game; Udall bill doesn't."

Although members were looking for ways to distinguish the complex bills, some — including a key supporter of Breaux-Dingell who didn't want to be identified — said the NRA's rhetoric was counterproductive.

Another member, Pat Williams, D-Mont., said supporters of the Breaux-Dingell bill "owe my people in Montana an apology, not for educating them but rather for propagandizing in a misleading manner."

Udall responded to the NRA early in the debate.

"If anybody can find anything in our bill that has any restriction on hunters or on the owners of guns or on carrying guns in any states of the union . . . I will eat a copy of my bill page by page without catsup or mustard. . . . The National Rifle Association's legendary lobbying machine notwithstanding . . . Udall-Anderson is neutral on gun control, as it is on abortion, prayer in schools, busing, access to the notes of reporters, and ethical standards for lobbying organizations which spread deliberate distortions — as has the National Rifle Association."

The NRA effort was ultimately defused when an amendment to the Breaux-Dingell bill narrowed the difference with Udall-Anderson in terms of land open to sport hunting to less than 1 percent. But the NRA's lobbying nevertheless generated thousands of letters and phone calls to Capitol Hill and made the gun and hunting issue one of the most prominent issues in the debate.

Wildlife Federation Fiasco

Both sides sought endorsements from unions, trade associations, environmental and citizens groups.

Some endorsements claimed by Breaux-Dingell backers, such as that of the National Association of Home Builders, were denied by the associations. A Home Builder spokesman, asked why his organization supported Breaux-Dingell, said, "We have no position on Alaska lands. . . . I can't say the Alaska bill would lock up timber for homebuilding and frankly I don't think the Udall bill is that bad. It's not an anti-development bill."

But the fight for National Wildlife Federation affiliates was taken serously by both sides.

With its approximately four million members, the federation was the largest sport hunting group in the country. Its national office endorsed Udall-Anderson.

But Dingell, an NRA board member, and various NRA officials succeeded in persuading numerous state affiliates to break with the national office.

A Dingell aide, Walter A. Sanders, said the congressman made a conference call to 20 board members of the Pennsylvania Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs, the state's Wildlife Federation affiliate. The board members then voted to support his bill.

Sanders also claimed the federation's Washington office had pressured one federation affiliate in Georgia to endorse Udall-Anderson by threatening to make a $6,000 loan payable immediately if the affiliate didn't comply. Sanders further charged that an endorsement of Udall-Anderson from Georgia federation president Earl Wilkes had been sent without Wilkes' knowledge.

> *"The NRA's legendary lobbying machine notwithstanding . . . Udall-Anderson is neutral on gun control, as it is on abortion, prayer in schools, busing, access to the notes of reporters, and ethical standards for lobbying organizations which spread deliberate distortions — as has the National Rifle Association."*
>
> —Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz.

Those allegations were denied by both the federation's executive vice president, Thomas L. Kimball, and the Georgia affiliate's executive director, James Morrison. Morrison said he had been personally directed by Wilkes to send the telegram and that threats concerning a loan were "absolutely totally not true." The national office, Morrison said, "has never once insisted that we pay that loan back. Kimball made no threats to me at all."

In a statement in the May 10 *Congressional Record* Dingell claimed a resolution passed by the Georgia group and included in the Record showed it was "not in support of the Udall-Anderson bill." But that statement did not mention the Udall bill, Alaska or any Alaska bill.

Breaux-Dingell supporters claimed they had more than 50 percent of the wildlife federation's membership supporting their bill.

"There are hundreds of millions of Americans in this generation and in the next generation that will never go to Alaska, never see it, and yet should benefit from the great resources of that land," said John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., chairman of the Merchant Marine Committee.

"Only the Breaux-Dingell-Huckaby amendment will permit exploration for those resources, so that at a critical time . . . we will be able to call upon those resources and still not violate the right of those Americans affluent enough to be able to go to Alaska to enjoy the great crown jewels of America," Murphy added.

Mining Amendments

Two amendments to the Udall-Anderson measure, designed to guarantee that the controversial U.S. Borax molybdenum mine and other claims could be developed, were adopted by voice vote. They were:

- By John F. Seiberling, D-Ohio, to allow mining firms five years to explore sites within three-quarters of a mile of existing valid claims, even though the sites were in areas designated as national monuments or wilderness areas. The amendment allowed firms to prospect in areas adjacent to a valid claim.
- By Paul N. McCloskey Jr., R-Calif., to assure rights of way over wilderness areas to holders of valid mining claims. Mining firms had complained they were not permitted to build roads across conservation areas to reach mines.

Other Amendments

Several other amendments to the Udall-Anderson measure also were adopted by voice vote. They were:

- By McCloskey, to create a 22-5-million-acre Teshekpuk-Utukok National Wildlife Refuge in the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska. The Udall bill required the interior secretary to offer oil and gas leases for competitive bidding 18 months after enactment.
- By McCloskey, to specify that subsistence hunting provisions applied only to Alaskans in rural areas.
- By Les AuCoin, D-Ore., to created a 1.2-million-acre Copper River National Wildlife Refuge, including 530,000 wilderness acres. The area was a nesting ground for many species of waterfowl.
- By Bruce F. Vento, D-Minn., to increase the Innoko Wildlife Refuge by 550,000 acres.
- By Seiberling, to stipulate that state, native or private land surrounded by conservation areas would not be subject to any of the restrictions on uses of federal land.
- By Seiberling, to remove the Killik River from the Wild and Scenic River designation into a study category.

House Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 39:

Title I: Policy Statement

The title set out seven congressional policies to guide implementation of the legislation. The bill provided that:

- Designated public lands should be set aside as part of federal conservation systems to preserve wildlife, free-flowing rivers and other resources.
- Administrators of conserved lands should consider intangible values, such as scenic beauty, equally with values that could be quantified, such as oil and gas deposits.
- The public should have access to the lands "consistent with the purposes" for which they were conserved.
- Persons dependent on the land for subsistence should be allowed to continue that lifestyle.
- Non-wasteful subsistence use of the land should come before sport hunting or other recreational uses.
- Administrators of conserved lands should cooperate with owners of private lands adjacent to the federal areas in order to protect wildlife.
- The Interior Department and other agencies carrying out the act should consider the desire of the state and native corporations to maintain a viable economy and provide employment for the citizens of Alaska.

Title II: National Parks

Thirteen existing national monuments were redesignated parks. In six of those, the boundaries of the monument and the park were the same. In the other seven, the boundaries were enlarged. The bill increased the state's total park acreage from 7.5 million in three existing parks to 44 million in all 16.

Seventeen million of the 44 million park acres were designated preserves, where activities not allowed in parks or monuments, such as sport hunting and fishing, would be permitted.

The six park areas created by redesignation of the national monuments were:

- **Bering Land Bridge**, 2.6 million acres. Part of the area was once linked to Asia by a 1,000-mile-wide land bridge. Valuable geologic deposits there provided information about the ice ages and about Siberian hunters who crossed the bridge to Alaska more than 25,000 years ago. The area was also the nesting ground for migratory birds.
- **Cape Krusenstern**, an unusual series of 114 beach ridges along the cape, each an ancient shoreline. They showed where generations of Eskimos lived over a 4,500-year period. The ridges and other evidence of Eskimo culture made the 560,000-acre park north of the Arctic Circle significant as an archaeological site.
- **Gates of the Arctic**, 8.22 million acres of rugged peaks and deep canyons in the central portion of the Brooks mountain range in north central Alaska. The Interior Department called the site "America's ultimate wilderness." Like many other proposed parks, it was a prime habitat for bear, Dall sheep and wolf and was a primary migration route for the once-great arctic caribou herd. HR 39 recognized Alaskan native land claims in the park.
- **Kenai Fjords**, a unique blend of ice field and rain forest, which supported a diverse population of marine mammals and sea birds. The 570,000-acre park, in south central Alaska, was a two and a half hour drive from Anchorage, the state's largest city,
- **Kobuk Valley**, home of the Kobuk River, which meandered across this 1.7-million-acre park in northwest Alaska, 35 miles above the Arctic Circle. The area had a variety of habitats, including arctic wetlands, open tundra and 25 square miles of sand dunes, remnants of prehistoric dunes that once covered more than 300 square miles.
- **Yukon-Charley Rivers**, a 1.71-million-acre area on the Canadian border in central Alaska. The park-preserve protected the upper Yukon River, a diverse area with a rich history as a trade route, and the Charley River basin, a generally undisturbed area that included one of Alaska's best whitewater rivers. The area had fossil deposits estimated to be 700 million years old.

The seven monuments redesignated and expanded were:

• **Katmai**, a 2.8-million-acre area in southern Alaska established as a monument by President Woodrow Wilson in 1918 after a 1912 volcanic eruption. HR 39 expanded it by 1.37 million acres in parks and preserves. The new area included an ecosystem large enough to protect a healthy population of giant Alaskan brown bear and other wide-ranging mammals, such as moose and caribou. The watersheds protected within Katmai provided the pristine waters needed to produce salmon.

• **Lake Clark**, a 3.65-million-acre area known as the "Switzerland of Alaska." The area, known for its vegetation and wildlife, straddled the Alaska and Aleutian mountain ranges in the southern part of the state. Glacier-created lakes bordered the park to the west and to the south was the 50-mile-long Lake Clark. About 1.15 million acres were designated preserve.

• **Aniakchak**, a 510,000-acre park on the Alaskan peninsula highlighted by its 30-square-mile caldera, the collapsed cone of a large volcano. About 160,000 acres were designated preserve.

• **Denali**, a 1.9-million-acre park established by Congress in 1917 as Mt. McKinley Park. The park-preserve, in southern Alaska, was expanded by 3.89 million acres to protect the highest peak in North America, spectacular glaciers and moose, caribou and grizzly bear habitats.

• **Glacier Bay**, one of the most extensive wilderness sand beaches on the Pacific coast. Established as a monument in 1925, the 2.8-million-acre area was expanded by 590,000 acres to 3.39 million acres and redesignated a park. The area, in the northern part of the Alaska panhandle, included the Alsek River valley and rapidly fluctuating glacial ice. HR 39 protected the traditional fishing rights in the Dry Bay area of the park.

• **Noatak,** the largest Alaskan river basin unaffected by man's activities. The Noatak River flowed through the middle of the 6.46-million-acre park-preserve. Bordered by the Gates of the Arctic to the east and Kobuk Valley to the south, the area had perhaps the most diverse array of flora in the northern hemisphere and a rich diversity of birds and mammals. HR 39 added 660,000 acres to what was a 5.8-million-acre monument.

• **Wrangell-Saint Elias**, a 12.2-million-acre area in south central Alaska that encompassed most of the Wrangells, Saint Elias and Chugach mountain ranges. Ten of the highest peaks in North America were within it. Some of the world's largest and most active glaciers were found in the park, which was rich with wildlife. HR 39 protected traditional fishing rights in the Malaspina Glacier area of the park. About 4.2 million acres were designated park-preserve.

Title III: National Wildlife Refuges

HR 39 redesignated two national monuments as wildlife refuges, added acreage to five existing refuges and created 10 new refuges.

In a refuge, the needs of the wildlife received priority over other uses, such as hunting or oil development.

But HR 39 provided that no mining — except valid claims made before the conservation unit was established — could take place in an Alaskan refuge. The bill permitted oil and gas leasing if the secretary of the interior found those activities compatible with the wildlife habitats.

Many activities — such as mining — usually allowed in refuges were prohibited in wilderness areas within them.

HR 39 directed the secretary to prepare a plan for each refuge that considered wildlife, archaeological or geological sites, possible visitor facilities and transportation routes.

The bill also directed the secretary to enter into cooperative management agreements with landowners, such as natives, whose holdings lay within the new refuge.

A study of the Barren-Ground caribou, which roamed through several of the northern refuges, was also ordered.

The two national monuments redesignated as wildlife refuges were:

• **Becharof**, a 1.2-million-acre refuge on the upper Alaska Peninsula, including a unique brown bear habitat and protection for other wildlife.

• **Yukon Flats**, a 10.6-million-acre area in northeast Alaska straddling the Arctic Circle. The area, Alaska's largest interior valley, included lowlands around the Yukon River, the fifth largest river in North America. The area's 40,000 shallow lakes made it an outstanding waterfowl production area. Timber harvesting for local and regional uses was permitted as long as it did not conflict with wildlife.

New wildlife refuge areas created by the bill were:

• **Alaska Maritime,** a 3.44-million-acre area encompassing a variety of islands, capes and other federally owned coastal areas stretching from Cape Lisburne in northeast Alaska to Forrester Island in the southeast. The refuge was designed to protect marine wildlife.

• **Alaska Peninsula,** a patchwork of 1.57 million acres of federal land designed to protect a variety of wildlife, including falcons, caribou, sea otters and salmon.

• **Copper River,** a 1.2-million-acre area in the southeastern part of the state, north of the Gulf of Alaska. The main feature of the refuge was the marshland and tributaries in the Copper River delta, an important breeding ground for ducks, migratory birds, salmon and other wildlife. Part of the area was formerly in the Chugach National Forest.

• **Innoko,** a 3.8-million-acre area in western Alaska including a unique transition area between tundra and forest which provided a nesting area for hundreds of thousands of migratory ducks and geese.

• **Kanuti,** a 1.45-million-acre area in central Alaska near the Arctic Circle that protected moose, caribou and bears and provided a migratory bird nesting area.

• **Koyukuk,** a 3.65-million-acre area north of the Yukon River in central Alaska that included a nesting area for tens of thousands of ducks and geese and supported populations of moose, beaver, mink and caribou.

• **Nowitna,** a 1.56-million-acre area along the Yukon River in central Alaska that included wetland habitat for more than 250,000 migratory waterfowl.

• **Selawik,** a 3.3-million-acre area in northwest Alaska where three river deltas converged. It provided habitat for tens of thousands of migratory waterfowl and other wildlife.

• **Teshekpuk-Utukok,** a 22.5-million-acre area in the northwestern tip of Alaska that was the existing National Petroleum Reserve. It was rich with wildlife and home of the Western Arctic caribou, a once healthy herd of 250,000 animals, that between 1972 and 1978 dropped to about 75,000 animals. Designation of the area as a refuge would not affect the continued exploration for oil and gas, which was expedited under Title XII of the bill.

• **Tetlin,** a 770,000-acre area in east-central Alaska that served as a nesting area for thousands of waterfowl. Thousands more birds from Canada and the continental United States used the refuge during periods of drought.

The bill expanded the following existing refuges:

• **Arctic,** an 8.9-million-acre refuge in the northeast corner of Alaska established in 1960. Another 9.9 million acres were added. The 2-million-acre coastal plain of the refuge was considered the most promising area in the state for oil and gas exploration. The area also included tundra, coniferous forest, glaciated valleys, snow-covered peaks and particularly fragile habitat, such as tundra desert that received less than six inches of precipitation annually. For six weeks a year, the coastal plain was the calving ground for Alaska's healthiest caribou herd.

• **Togiak,** the new name for the expanded Cape Newenham Refuge. The addition of 3.14 million acres increased the size to 4.1 million acres. The area, in southwest Alaska near Bristol Bay, supported a variety of wildlife, including more than 32 species of land mammals.

• **Yukon Delta,** a 15.7-million-acre refuge created by adding 14.06 million acres to the existing Clarence Rhode and Hazen Bay National Wildlife Refuges. Along the Bering Sea in western Alaska, the area harbored more than 170 species of birds. Each fall millions of swans, geese and ducks left the area to migrate south.

• **Kenai,** a 1.7-million-acre area — across the inlet from Anchorage — was established by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1941. Another 280,000 acres were added to round out habitats for Kenai moose, Dall sheep, trumpeter swans and other wildlife and to protect spawning areas for the Cook Inlet area's multimillion-dollar salmon fishery.

• **Kodiak,** an existing 100,000-acre refuge. The area in the Gulf of Alaska that was expanded by adding about 50,000 acres, including Afognak and Ban Islands, formerly part of the Chugach National Forest.

Title IV: National Forests

No new national forests were created, although two existing forests, both on the panhandle in far southeast Alaska, were expanded.

The Tongass National Forest was expanded by 1.5 million acres by the addition of three areas — Kates Needle, Juneau Icefield and Brabazon Range.

Nellie Juan, College Fjord and Copper River, three land areas totaling 1.9 million acres, were added to the Chugach National Forest.

HR 39 directed the secretary of agriculture to continue to administer the two national monuments in the forest system — Admiralty Island and Misty Fjords.

The secretary was directed to improve timber production in the Tongass. The bill authorized $3 million a year for a tree thinning program, and a total of $5 million for loans for purchase of equipment and development of new methods for using wood. The Agriculture Department was ordered to study and report to Congress in three years on how timber yields could be improved.

Native corporations that owned land on Admiralty Island were allowed to pick other acreage for timber sales. The monument classification prohibited lumbering.

The Agriculture Department was directed to regulate mining in the forests to ensure that the water remained pure. The bill gave miners five years to explore sites that were within three-quarters of a mile of an existing valid claim within national monuments or wilderness areas.

Title V: National Wild and Scenic Rivers

Segments of 32 rivers were added to the Wild and Scenic Rivers System. Of those, 12 were totally outside the boundaries of other conservation units.

Ten additional rivers were placed under study for possible inclusion in the Wild and Scenic Rivers System.

The protected rivers not totally within other conservation areas were: Birch Creek, Colville, Copper, Delta, Etivluk-Nigu, Fortymile, Gulkana, Alagnak, Nowitna, Selawik, Unalakleet and Yukon (Ramparts section).

Title VI: Wilderness

HR 39 added another layer of protection to 68.61 million acres of proposed and existing parks, refuges and forests. Those areas were added to the National Wilderness Preservation System established by the Wilderness Act of 1964 (PL 88-577).

But the bill specified that certain activities, prohibited in some wilderness in the lower 48 states, were allowed in Alaska wilderness areas. Fishing was permitted in most cases. Existing cabins could remain in use and a limited number of new cabins could be built.

The secretaries of interior and agriculture also could allow fish hatcheries.

In the parks, 12 wilderness areas were established for a total of 34.12 million acres. Because mining, hunting and timber cutting already were prohibited in parks, the wilderness designation added little extra protection. The designation was, in essence, a direction to the National Park Service that visitor facilities and other recreational development not be allowed in those areas.

New wilderness acres established by the bill in national parks and preserves were:

- 300,000 acres in Aniakchak.
- 700,000 acres in Bering Land Bridge.
- 2.8 million acres in Denali.
- 8.05 million acres in Gates of the Arctic.
- 2.82 million acres in Glacier Bay.
- 3.63 million acres in Katmai.
- 340,000 acres in Kenai Fjords.
- 1.14 million acres in Kobuk Valley.
- 2.62 million acres in Lake Clark.
- 5.88 million acres in Noatak.
- 4.8 million in Wrangell-Saint Elias.
- 1.04 million acres in Yukon-Charley.

The new wilderness areas in 15 existing and proposed national wildlife refuges totaled 28.09 million acres.

- 2.9 million acres in Alaska Maritime.
- 13.43 million acres in the Arctic Wildlife Range.
- 400,000 acres in Becharof.
- 530,000 acres in Copper River.
- 1.24 million acres in Innoko.
- 300,000 acres in Izembek.
- 300,000 acres in Kanuti.
- 1.55 million acres in Kenai.
- 970,000 acres in Koyukuk.
- 560,000 acres in Nowitna.
- 600,000 acres in Nunivak.
- 365,000 acres in Selawik.
- 100,000 acres in Tetlin.
- 1.07 million acres in Togiak.
- 3.2 million acres in Yukon Delta.
- 57,000 acres in Kodiak.

A total of 6.4 million acres were classified as wilderness in the two national forests — 530,000 in Chugach and 5.86 million acres in Tongass. Two national monuments were almost totally overlayed with wilderness. In the Admiralty Island monument, 921,000 of the 1.1 million acres were designated as wilderness. And the entire 2.2-million-acre Misty Fjords monument was designated as wilderness.

Title VII: Subsistence

Alaskans living in rural areas were guaranteed the opportunity to continue subsistence uses of public lands for non-commercial purposes. The state was responsible for developing a program to monitor hunting and fishing.

The interior secretary was to comment on and monitor the state plan, as were local and regional councils. If the state did not implement any plan or did not make changes suggested by the secretary — and the natural stability and productivity of the fish and wildlife were threatened — the secretary could close the lands to subsistence hunting.

The federal government would reimburse the state for up to 50 percent of the costs of the program, or up to $5 million annually.

Title VIII: Administration

The interior secretary was:

- Authorized to acquire lands within conservation units, but was barred from using federal powers of eminent domain.
- Directed to permit the use of snowmobiles, motorboats, airplanes and other forms of transportation in conservation units for traditional activities permitted by the bill.
- Authorized to construct visitor centers.
- Directed to establish a program to hire qualified local residents without regard to certain civil service regulations.
- Directed to prepare management plans for parks and wildlife units and submit them to Congress within five years of enactment.
- Authorized to close all areas of the national parks in Alaska to taking of fish and wildlife, except for authorized subsistence uses in all areas and authorized sport hunting and fishing in preserves.
- Directed to exempt from the restrictions, for 10 years or life, existing licensed hunting guides who would otherwise suffer hardship when the parks were closed to hunting.
- Directed to assess the oil, gas and other mineral resources on public lands in Alaska. The government could contract with private companies for research.
- Authorized such sums as necessary to carry out the provisions of the title.

The bill reaffirmed the rights of miners to mine existing valid claims that were encompassed by conservation units.

Regulations issued under the act would be subject to a one-house veto by Congress.

Title IX: Native Land Transfers and Exchanges

The bill transferred to Alaskan natives lands on which villages were located. HR 39 also provided that other federal lands selected by native groups under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (PL 92-302) would be held as native land until all transfers were completed.

The bill also provided for exchanges of native lands of environmental value for federal lands that could be developed.

Lands selected under the Alaska Statehood Act (PL 85-508) and previously approved by the interior secretary were transferred to the state.

Title X: Transportation and Utility Systems

The procedure for permitting a highway, pipeline or other right of way across a conservation unit was clarified by this section.

The bill required the agriculture and interior secretaries, within 120 days of enactment, to issue a consolidated application form for persons seeking rights of way.

If existing law provided for a right of way, the federal government would have the authority to approve or disapprove the application. A final presidential appeal was provided if a department turned down the request. The president could reverse the department's decision if he found that the road or pipeline was compatible with the conservation area and if no other economically feasible alternative existed.

If there were no existing law, the department would recommend approval or disapproval to Congress, which would have to clear the application by joint resolution.

Title XI: Federal-State Coordination

A nine-member Alaska Advisory Coordinating Council, made up of federal, state and native representatives, was established to conduct studies of Alaska and advise the interior secretary for 10 years.

An Alaska Land Bank program was set up. Natives or private owners of land adjacent to conservation areas could enter into 10-year agreements with the Interior Department. The agreements would entitle them to technical assistance for fire control, resource and land use planning.

Title XII: Oil and Gas Development

The interior secretary was required to open to competitive bidding for oil and gas leases the following areas:

- The National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska.
- Non-wilderness areas of wildlife refuges.
- All Bureau of Land Management lands that were not in conservation units.

Exploration could be conducted only according to a plan approved by the interior secretary.

The bill mandated that the National Petroleum Reserve be opened to oil and gas leasing within 18 months of enactment.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Energy Committee voted 17-1 Oct. 30 to order reported its version of HR 39, which set aside 102 million acres.

The committee used S 9, a bill identical to the one it reported in 1978, as the basis for its 1979 action.

Alaska's senators — Democrat Mike Gravel and Republican Ted Stevens — were key figures through the deliberations. Gravel was not a member of the committee but was invited to participate by Chairman Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash. Gravel had refused a similar invitation in 1978 but decided to sit in on the markups in 1979.

Gravel, who wanted to maximize development and recreational opportunities in conservation areas, prepared more than 40 amendments to offer in committee. Among other changes, Gravel wanted a "no more" clause prohibiting the federal government from setting aside more parks or wilderness areas in Alaska without an act of Congress.

Like Gravel, Stevens had not been a member of the committee in 1978. But to better protect his state's interest on the Alaska issue, he had sought and won a seat on the panel in 1979. Stevens, who also wanted more development in more areas, was anxious for the Senate to pass a bill quickly. He believed that senators who might vote for a

more pro-development bill in 1979 would be less likely to do so in 1980, an election year.

Another key figure was Paul E. Tsongas, D-Mass., who represented the conservationist position in the closed-door horse-trading with Alaska's senators. He was the sole committee member who voted against reporting the bill.

To avoid repeating the lengthy committee fights characteristic of the 1978 markup, many controversial issues were hammered out in meetings among these three men, other committee members and staff. The final products of these negotiating sessions, which often ran into the early morning hours, were then brought to the committee for a formal ratification.

"An awful lot is happening behind the scenes to take unacceptable amendments and make them acceptable," said Rich Arenberg, an Tsongas aide, said during the negotiations.

Tsongas was willing to concede on several points in order to get the bill reported quickly, but he monitored the action to make sure the bill was not weakened beyond a certain point, Arenberg said. At the panel's opening session, Tsongas drew a figurative line in the dirt and said he was ready to introduce numerous substantive amendments if members seeking to cut the park area in the bill stepped over it.

Gravel Amendments

A number of Gravel's amendments were promptly disposed of Oct. 11 and 12. The panel resoundingly killed, 1-15, a proposal which would have made it practically impossible for the federal government to deny access to non-federal land if the state had asked for an access route that crossed federal conservation lands. Gravel said it was the most important amendment he planned to offer.

The committee objected strongly to the amendment, mostly on the grounds that it eliminated environmental impact statements required by the National Environmental Policy Act (PL 91-190).

The panel defeated a Gravel amendment that would have opened the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and the National Petroleum Reserve to private oil drilling within a year.

Also defeated was a Gravel proposal to return all federal lands to the state within five years unless the Interior Department spent in Alaska at least 75 percent per acre of what it spent managing similar federal lands elsewhere.

Gravel said that without the amendment, requiring the government to manage park land in Alaska as it did in the rest of the nation, the withdrawals were merely a "hoax" and a "lock up" of Alaskan lands.

Jackson called the amendment "ridiculous" and "absurd," and said he was "appalled" that Gravel would propose an amendment that would require "the biggest spending program in all history."

Stevens' Amendments

During the first four markup sessions, Stevens offered a number of amendments that were favored by Gov. Jay S. Hammond, R-Alaska, and most of the development interests in the state.

Among the major Stevens amendments accepted were those that:

- Allowed families that had settled on land within national parks before December 1973 to remain on that land for five years. Families that settled there after Dec. 31, 1978, would have to move, but the interior secretary could decide whether families that settled between 1973 and 1978 would have to move.
- Allowed "adequate and feasible access for economic and other purposes" to private land and to private mineral rights under public lands, when that land was surrounded by federal conservation or recreation lands.

The bill had required that private land be completely surrounded by federal land in order to qualify for special access privileges across conservation areas. The amendment acknowledged that private land could also be "effectively surrounded" if, for example, there were federal land on three sides and access was precluded on the fourth side by mountains or rivers. The amendment was approved, pending report language outlining what constituted inaccessible routes.

- Prohibited the interior secretary from withdrawing more than 5,000 acres under the 1976 Federal Land Policy and Management Act (PL 94-579) unless Congress approved the withdrawals by concurrent resolution within 180 days. PL 94-579 applied only to wildlife refuges.

A broader amendment by Gravel to prohibit the interior secretary from withdrawing more than 5,000 acres of state lands under any authority without the prior consent of Congress was rejected, 7-10. This was the "no more" clause the state wanted. The administration withdrew 110 million acres of Alaskan land for study as wilderness after the 1978 Alaska lands bill did not pass; the withdrawal infuriated Alaskans.

Oil and Gas Leasing

The state and industry won concessions from conservationists on several key points.

One amendment altered at Tsongas' request was the provision allowing private oil and gas exploration on the coastal plain of the Arctic Wildlife Refuge.

The amendment was introduced Oct. 10 by Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., but was deferred until Oct. 17 after Tsongas raised objections.

During the ensuing negotiations, Bellmon agreed to delete a requirement that exploration companies provide Congress with a drilling plan after their exploratory work was completed. Tsongas argued that future Congresses, if presented with a drilling plan, would be hard-pressed to refuse to allow the drilling to proceed if sizable reserves were found.

But the Alaska Coalition, the conservationist lobby, objected to the provision, even with the concession. Spokesmen said that although drilling was not authorized by the committee, merely allowing exploration would inevitably lead to full-scale production in the fragile coastal range, which was the calving ground for the vanishing Porcupine caribou.

The amendment passed 6-1, with Tsongas the lone dissenter.

Jackson strongly endorsed the amendment as a response to the energy shortage. "The key thing is to find out what is there," said Jackson. "When the country faces what I think is the most critical situation ever, we can't stand idly by and not even know what is there."

Sport Hunting

The state also won concessions allowing sport hunting in three sections of the Wrangell-Saint Elias National Park in southcentral Alaska. The area was the home of Dall sheep, highly prized by hunters.

Three amendments offered by John A. Durkin, D-N.H., reclassified 506,000 acres of the proposed 8.5 million-acre park into park preserves, where hunting would be allowed. Hunting was not permitted in national parks.

Durkin's amendments were aimed at defusing opposition to the bill from wildlife and hunting groups.

"This makes it clear that the conservationists on this committee are not opposed to sport hunting," said Durkin in introducing his amendments.

In exchange for allowing more sport hunting in the Wrangell Mountains, Durkin offered two other amendments to bar hunting in the Cape Krusenstern and Kobuk Valley parks.

All five of Durkin's amendments were adopted by voice votes.

The Alaska Coalition opposed the sport hunting deal, because the bill already allowed hunting in 70 percent of the Dall sheep habitat in the park.

Unpatented Mining Claims

The state also won on a Bellmon amendment, modified at Tsongas' request, that would have allowed unpatented mining claims on public lands to be worked through 1982, provided the operator had mined the claim during 1979. An unpatented claim was one for which an actual mineral discovery had not been proven, a process that sometimes took years.

As initially written, the amendment would have exempted thousands of unpatented mining claims in the conservation areas.

But at the request of Tsongas, Bellmon amended it to require that the claimant have a 1979 mining plan on file with the Bureau of Land Management to prove he was serious about mining the claim. The change sharply cut the number of claims that could be worked under the amendment.

The modified Bellmon amendment was approved by voice vote.

The Borax Issue

A compromise on a molybdenum mine owned by the U.S. Borax and Chemical Corp. was the last major action taken before the committee ordered the bill reported.

The molybdenum mine issue was important because Stevens had vowed to oppose the bill unless it was resolved to his satisfaction. The mine was located in the proposed Misty Fjords National Park adjoining the Tongass National Forest in southeast Alaska.

At issue was how the land around the mine would be designated. In the House bill, the area would be a wilderness area in a national monument, a designation that would theoretically allow mining. Under the Senate bill as introduced, it would be a park preserve, which would also permit mining.

The law permitted existing valid claims to be mined under either designation. But Stevens said he feared that the Park Service, which would control the area under the Senate bill, or the Department of Agriculture, which would control it under the House bill, would put such tight restrictions on operation of the mine that it would be uneconomical.

Under the compromise, the land around the mine would become a monument in a national forest. The amendment would specify that the area could not become a wilderness, as it was under the House bill. In addition, specific guarantees would be written in to allow the Borax mining operation. The Forest Service would be responsible for protecting fish habitats, but management of fish and game would remain with the state.

Stevens originally had proposed removing the mine and 160,000 surrounding acres from the park preserve and making them part of the Tongass National Forest. Mining was generally allowed in national forests where environmental restrictions were more lax than in wilderness areas.

But that move was opposed by environmentalists, led by Tsongas, who argued that the amendment would exempt more land than necessary and that the bills already made clear Congress' intent to allow the mine to operate.

Environmentalists also wanted assurances that the mine would not pollute the surrounding waters. The fjord area was the source of several rivers that were the major spawning ground for salmon.

Stevens was afraid the environmentalists wanted to usurp the state's power to regulate fish and wildlife.

Senate Committee Provisions

The Senate Energy Committee Nov. 14 reported its version of HR 39 (S Rept 96-413). The Senate committee bill provided the following:

Title I: Purposes, Definitions

The title said Congress intended in the act to:

- Preserve unrivaled scenic and geological values associated with natural landscapes.
- Provide for the maintenance of sound populations of and habitat for wildlife species, including those dependent on vast, relatively undeveloped areas.
- Preserve in their natural state extensive unaltered arctic tundra, boreal forest and coastal rain forest ecosystems.
- Protect resources related to subsistence needs.
- Protect and preserve historic and archeological sites, rivers and lands and to preserve wilderness resources and related recreational opportunities including but not limited to hiking, canoeing, fishing and sport hunting.
- Maintain opportunities for scientific research on undisturbed ecosystems.
- Resolve in a fair and equitable way longstanding issues concerning the protection and allocation of federal lands in Alaska.

Title II: National Parks

Three existing national parks in Alaska were expanded by the bill and 10 new parks were created. Park acreage in the state was expanded from 7.5 million acres to 50.4 million acres.

In 1978 the committee designated the 1.53 million acre Misty Fjords area in the Tongass National Forest as a national park. But 2.2 million acres in Misty Fjords was designated a national monument by President Carter later that year and in 1979 the committee voted to leave the area within the national forest system, to be managed as a monument. This designation would permit U.S. Borax to mine a claim it owned in the Misty Fjords area.

Certain sections of the new park areas were designated as preserves and national recreation areas, classifications in which additional uses were allowed, such as hunting.

The new parks, preserves and national recreation areas established by the bill were:

• **Aniakchak,** a 138,000-acre monument and a 376,000-acre preserve on the Alaska Peninsula.

• **Bering Land Bridge,** a 2.5 million-acre preserve on the northern Seward Peninsula. The committee specified that reindeer herding activities would be allowed to continue in the preserve area.

• **Cape Krusenstern,** a 560,000-acre monument north of the Arctic Circle. This was a change from 1978, when the committee designated the area a preserve, where sport and subsistence hunting would be allowed, to a monument where only subsistence hunting would be allowed.

• **Gates of the Arctic,** an area in the central portion of the Brooks Mountain Range consisting of two parks totaling 4.8 million acres, with one centered on the Alatna River-Arrigetch Peaks Area and the other on the Gates of the Arctic; a park preserve of 2.1 million acres between the two parks and two national recreation areas, totaling 1 million acres.

• **Kenai Fjords,** a 567,000-acre park on the southern coast of the Kenai Peninsula.

• **Kobuk Valley,** a national park of 1.7 million acres. In 1978, the committee had designated the area a combination national monument/preserve; in 1979 the committee changed that designation to a national park with subsistence hunting allowed.

• **Lake Clark,** a 2.4-million-acre park around Lake Clark in southcentral Alaska, and a 1.2-million-acre preserve.

• **Noatak,** a 5.4-million-acre preserve and a 386,000-acre national recreation area in the Noatak River drainage in the western Brooks Range.

• **Wrangell-Saint Elias,** a 12.3-million-acre mountainous area in southcentral Alaska, including an 8-million-acre park, a 3.1-million-acre preserve and a 1.2-million-acre national recreation area. The committee opened up 500,000 acres of the park to sport hunting by making it a preserve.

• **Yukon-Charley,** a 1.7-million-acre preserve along the upper Yukon River near the border with Canada.

The bill added acreage to the following existing units:

• **Mount McKinley,** an existing 1.9-million-acre park that would be expanded to include another 2.6 million acres of park land and 1.2 million acres of preserve. The committee renamed both the park and preserve as Denali National Park, after the native name for Mount McKinley.

• **Glacier Bay,** an existing monument along the Pacific coast that would be expanded by 523,000 park acres and 57,000 preserve acres into a 2.8-million-acre monument.

• **Katmai,** an existing 2.8-million-acre monument in southern Alaska that would be expanded by adding 936,000 acres of park and 409,000 acres of preserve.

Title III: National Wildlife Refuges

The bill proposed establishment of nine new wildlife refuges — one more than the committee's 1978 bill — and expanded five existing wildlife refuges, for a total of 43.9 million refuge acres.

The 1979 bill set aside approximately 6 million refuge acres more than the 1978 bill, primarily by adding the Alaska Peninsula National Wildlife Refuge to those refuges designated the year before, expanding the Cape Newenham National Wildlife Refuge and expanding the amount of refuge set aside in the new Becharof refuge.

The 22.6 million acres of new refuges were:

• **Alaska Maritime Wildlife Refuge,** 460,000 acres encompassing a variety of islands, capes and other federally owned areas stretching from Cape Lisburne in northeast Alaska to Forrester Island in southeast Alaska. The committee renamed the Cape Lisburne portion of the refuge the "Ann Stevens-Cape Lisburne" unit after Ted Stevens' wife, who was killed in a plane crash in December 1978.

• **Alaska Peninsula National Wildlife Refuge,** 3.5 million acres between the Becharof and Izembek National Wildlife Refuges..

• **Becharof,** 1.2 million acres on the upper Alaska Peninsula considered one of the best brown bear habitats in Alaska.

• **Innoko-Kaiyuh,** two separate units totaling 3.85 million acres along the east bank of the Yukon River below Galena.

• **Kanuti,** 1.4 million acres in central Alaska.

• **Koyukuk,** 3.5 million acres north of the Yukon River in central Alaska.

• **Selawik,** 2.2 million acres in northwest Alaska.

• **Tetlin,** 765,000 acres in east-central Alaska.

• **Yukon Flats,** an area in northeast Alaska straddling the Arctic Circle that included 5.7 million acres in refuge, with adjacent areas designated as a new forest, the Porcupine National Forest, and a national conservation area, the Steese National Conservation Area, to be managed by the Bureau of Land Management.

The 20.39 million refuge acres added to existing refuges were:

• **Arctic,** an existing 8.9-million-acre refuge in the northeast corner of Alaska that was expanded by 5.7 million acres.

• **Clarence Rhodes,** an existing refuge in the Yukon and Kushowin River deltas that was expanded by 11.1 million acres.

• **Kenai,** a 1.73-million-acre moose range across the inlet from Anchorage that was expanded by 240,000 acres.

• **Kodiak,** a 50,000-acre island in the Gulf of Alaska.

• **Togiak,** a 3.3-million-acre expansion of the existing Cape Newenham National Wildlife Refuge in southwest Alaska, redesignated the Togiak National Wildlife Refuge.

Title IV: National Conservation Areas

The bill established four national conservation areas and a national recreation area, totaling 8.4 million acres, to be managed by the Bureau of Land Management.

The areas would be managed by BLM as multiple-use federal lands, with logging, mining and grazing allowed, but they would receive special management consideration to protect recognized scenic, recreational and historic values.

The interior secretary can regulate the mining and other activities to protect the natural resources of a conservation area.

The new areas were:

• **Baird Mountains,** 2.2 million acres in northwest Alaska bordered by the Noatak Preserve, the Kobuk Valley Park and the Selawik Wildlife Refuge. Caribou migrate through the area, which had hard rock mineral potential.

• **Chandalar,** 880,000 acres in the upper Chandalar drainage in the eastern Brooks range, adjacent to the Arctic Wildlife Refuge.

• **Nowitna,** 3.1 million acres in the Nowitna River watershed in central Alaska.

• **Steese,** 1.2 million acres in the Birch and Preacher Creek drainages adjacent to the Yukon Flats Wildlife Refuge.

• **White Mountains,** a 1-million-acre national recreation area in the White Mountains, 25 miles north of Fairbanks.

Title V: National Forests

A new 5.5-million-acre national forest, the Porcupine National Forest, was created in northeastern Alaska along the Porcupine River and near the Arctic Wildlife Refuge and the Yukon Flats Wildlife Refuge.

In addition, the 1.5-million-acre Misty Fjords area of southeast Alaska was designated a national monument, a classification that barred lumbering, but allowed mining under Forest Service regulations. The provision would permit the U.S. Borax and Chemical Corp. to work a molybdenum claim.

The bill also allowed unpatented mining claims in the forest to be mined for two years after enactment of the bill, but specified that the interior secretary should monitor mining activities in national forests to make sure they did not cause water pollution that would interfere with commercial fishing activities.

The bill also added about 3 million acres to the Chugach and the Tongass National Forests, the two already existing forests in Alaska:

- Three areas — **Nellie Juan, College Fjord and Copper River** — totaling 1.5 million acres, were added to Chugach. The Copper River section was to be managed as if it were a wildlife refuge, with protection of fish and wildlife and their habitat as the primary purpose.
- Three areas — **Kates Needle, Juneau Icefield and Brabazon Range** — were also added to Tongass, the largest national forest. The addition increased its size by 1.5 million acres.

Title VI: National Wild and Scenic Rivers

Segments of 24 rivers were added to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers system and 10 were designated for further study. The rivers protected in the system had to be left in their natural state, with construction of dams or discharge of pollutants into the rivers prohibited.

Designated as wild and scenic were the following rivers located within parks: Alatna, Aniakchak, Charley, Chilikadrotna, John, Kobuk, Mulchatna, Noatak, North Fork of Koyukuk, Salmon, Tinayguk, Tlikakila and part of Alagnak.

Rivers located within refuges that were designated were Andreafsky, Ivishak, Selawik, Sheenjek and Wind.

Rivers located outside conservation units that were added to the system were Beaver Creek, Birch Creek, Delta, Fortymile, Gulkana, Unalakleet and part of Alagnak.

The 10 rivers designated for further wilderness study were the Colville, Etivluk-Nigu, Kanektok, Kisaralik, Melozitna, Porcupine, Sheenjek (lower segment), Situk, Utukok and Yukon (Ramparts section).

Title VII: Wilderness

The committee designated 39.2 million acres of wilderness — 29.7 million acres within new and existing national parks, 4.4 million acres within the wildlife refuge system and 4.25 million acres within national forests.

Wilderness designations within the new and existing national parks were:

- 1.9 million acres in the existing Mount McKinley National Park, renamed the Denali Wilderness.
- 4.8 million acres in the Gates of the Arctic National Park.
- 2.8 million acres in the expanded Glacier Bay National Park.
- 3.4 million acres in the Katmai National Park.
- 190,000 acres in the Kobuk Valley Park.
- 2.5 million acres in Lake Clark National Park and Preserve.
- 5.4 million acres in the Noatak National Preserve.
- 8.7 million acres in Wrangell-Saint Elias National Park and Preserve.

New wilderness areas established in wildlife refuges were:

- 1.3 million acres in the Aleutian Islands unit of the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge.
- 301,450 acres in the existing Izembek National Wildlife Refuge.
- 1.35 million acres in Kenai National Wildlife Refuge.
- 250,000 acres in the Semidi National Wildlife Refuge.
- 240,000 acres in the Selawik National Wildlife Refuge.
- 910,000 acres in the Unimak National Wildlife Refuge.

New wilderness areas were established in the Tongass National Forest totaling 4.25 million acres, or 27 percent of the forest. This was 1.37 million acres more than the committee's 1978 bill set aside. The additional acreage was in the Misty Fjords area and had been designated a preserve in the 1978 bill.

The bill also required a study of the wilderness potential of 2 million acres in the Chugach National Forest.

In order to avoid a possible reduction in timber production because of prohibitions on logging in wilderness, the committee set as a goal the maintenance of timber production in the Tongass at 520 million board feet annually, which was the average level between 1970 and 1977.

As part of efforts to increase harvests and reach that goal, the bill authorized a program of intensive forest management, to be funded at $10 million a year, with another $5 million available for loans to timber purchasers for buying equipment and implementing technologies that would reduce waste of tree stumps and other wood products.

However, because of the "generally unsettled timber supply picture in the Tongass," described in the committee report, the senators also wanted to provide a backup source of timber to ensure that the production goal would be met. Instead of designating an additional 1.76 million acres of wilderness in the Tongass, the area — representing 13 percent of the forest — was placed in a special management category closed to mining and logging.

Any time within 10 years after the designation, the interior secretary could recommend to Congress that timber sales be allowed in the special management area. The House and Senate, by concurrent resolution, would have to approve the waiver of the prohibition on logging within 60 days after the proposal was submitted.

Title VIII: Subsistence

Alaska natives and non-natives dependent on wildlife and other public resources for food, clothing and other life-support uses were guaranteed the opportunity to continue those "non-wasteful subsistence uses." National parks and monuments were otherwise off limits to hunting unless specifically authorized in the bill.

The state of Alaska would continue to carry out traditional state responsibilities for management of fish and wildlife and would be required to develop a plan for overseeing subsistence use of the lands. The interior secretary was to comment on and monitor the state plan, as were the five regional and several local advisory councils the secretary was directed to establish.

The bill authorized the federal government to reimburse the state for up to 50 percent of the costs of the subsistence management program, or up to $5 million annually.

The bill also required that:

- Subsistence uses on public lands be consistent with the conservation of healthy populations of fish and wildlife.
- Subsistence uses be restricted to only rural areas.
- Heads of federal agencies take "reasonable" steps to minimize adverse impacts on subsistence uses before withdrawing lands from such use.

Title IX: Land Transfers to Natives and State

Transfers of federal lands to natives and the state were expedited under procedures set out in this title, which updated the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (PL 92-203) and the Alaska Statehood Act (PL 85-508). *(PL 92-203, Congress and the Nation, Vol. III, p. 783)*

Delays in transfer of land to village corporations had been caused in part by a backlog of applications by natives for allotments available to them under 1956 amendments to the 1906 Alaska Native Allotment Act. Though the 1971 act repealed the allotment law, applications received through Dec. 18, 1971, were still honored. However, those claims were still not resolved in 1979 and had delayed delineation of the boundaries of native villages and other procedures so that only 5 million of the 44 million acres given to natives under the settlement act had been conveyed.

The bill also established an Alaska Native Land Bank to assist native corporations in preserving undeveloped land.

The bill established an Alaska Native Land Bank to assist native corporations in preserving undeveloped land. The bill also included several provisions, proposed by the state, that expedited conveyance of the remainder of the 104 million acres given to the state when statehood was granted in 1959. The bill also provided for immediate, legislative conveyance of most of the acreage not in dispute.

Title X: Federal North Slope Lands Study

This title directed the interior secretary to study all federal lands on the North Slope in north central Alaska. The study, to be completed in eight years, was to examine oil and gas leasing potential, wildlife values and transportation requirements for the area.

As part of the study, the secretary was to explore for oil and gas in the Arctic National Wildlife Range in the North Slope area, and submit a plan for core drilling on the range within six years. Within two years of enactment, the secretary was to publish guidelines for oil and gas exploration activities with restrictions to protect fish and wildlife habitats.

But, Congress would have to authorize any oil or gas drilling operations.

In addition, the committee removed the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska from the area to be studied, thus allowing the government to continue leasing in the reserve for oil and gas exploration.

The bill also required the interior secretary to establish an oil and gas leasing program on all other federal conservation lands in Alaska where such activity was allowed. The program would include all national recreation areas, Bureau of Land Management conservation areas, national forests and river protection zones surrounding wild and scenic rivers.

The secretary also was to conduct an assessment of the mineral potential of all public lands in Alaska and to report to Congress by Oct. 1, 1981.

Title XI: Transportation and Utility Systems

The title established procedures allowing permanent transportation facilities, such as pipelines, highways or power lines, to cross conservation units where existing law generally prohibited such facilities.

Approval of the facilities would depend on joint findings by the interior secretary, the secretary of transportation and the state of Alaska.

The provisions required:

- Early cooperative federal/state planning designed to bypass conservation areas, if possible, in planning transportation routes.
- Congressional approval before permanent transportation facilities were built on national parks or wilderness areas.
- A determination that there was no economically feasible or prudent alternative route and mode of access before building across conservation areas.
- Consideration of whether the route would have an adverse environmental impact on the surrounding area or its wildlife.
- A determination that the right of way would be compatible with the purposes for which the conservation unit was established.

If the officials did not agree, the route proposal would go to the president for a decision.

The bill also:

- Guaranteed access for traditional activities, such as subsistence or sport hunting, fishing, berry picking and travel between villages.
- Continued use of transportation such as float and ski planes, snow machines, motorboats and dog sleds, unless the interior secretary found after holding a hearing in the area that such access should be restricted.
- Guaranteed adequate and feasible access for economic and other purposes to state, private or native holdings within conservation units.

Title XII: Federal-State Cooperation

This title established a 12-member Alaska Land Use Council to recommend uses for federal and state lands, negotiate land exchanges and identify specific opportunities for cooperation among the state, federal government and natives.

Members would include heads of the principal federal and state land and resource management agencies in Alaska and representatives of native corporations. The panel would have to have both urban and rural representation, and would be co-chaired by the governor and a federal official appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate.

The bill would require a cooperative three-year state and federal study of the 29.5-million-acre Bristol Bay area, a region with patchwork federal/native/state ownership.

Title XIII: Administrative Provisions

The title:

- Required the interior secretary to submit, within five years, management plans for the new conservation units to the appropriate congressional committees.

- Authorized the interior secretary to acquire lands within conservation units, but limited his authority to acquire improved property.
- Authorized the interior secretary to acquire significant archeological and paleontological sites, up to a total of 7,500 acres, that were closely associated with nearby conservation units and could be managed as part of those units.
- Prohibited the interior secretary from withdrawing more than 5,000 acres under the 1976 Federal Land Policy and Management Act unless the withdrawals were approved by Congress by concurrent resolution within 180 days.
- Authorized the interior secretary to plan for a visitors' center at a site of up to 1,000 acres adjacent to the Alaska Highway and to plan similar centers in Anchorage and Fairbanks.
- Authorized the agriculture secretary to plan for a similar visitor center in Juneau, Ketchikan or Sitka.
- Authorized the interior secretary to establish a program to hire qualified local residents without regard to civil service regulations.
- Authorized the interior secretary to study the possibility of a Denali Scenic Highway between Mount McKinley Park and McCarthy.
- Authorized fishing and hunting for sport and subsistence purposes in national preserves in Alaska.
- Provided for the revocation of federal withdrawals made by President Carter and the interior secretary in November and December of 1978 and in June 1979.

Title XIV: Amendments to Settlement Act

This title dealt with native land settlement under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, and included amendments designed to improve implementation of the act. The committee adopted several proposals authorizing specific land transfers and exchanges for various native corporations and townships.

Title XV: Mineral Assessment

This title authorized the president to recommend to Congress that mineral development be permitted on specific lands in Alaska usually closed to mining if there was an urgent need for such development that outweighed other resource values of the lands.

Floor Action Stalled

An accommodation between Alaska's two senators raised hopes that the Senate could complete floor action on the legislation before the end of the year. But those hopes were quickly dashed when Tsongas introduced a substitute bill more favorable to conservationists.

Alaska Accommodation

Although both wanted legislation that favored development, Alaska Sens. Stevens and Gravel had adopted different strategies on Alaska lands legislation. From the first, Gravel had threatened to filibuster any bill that he did not like; a similar threat had killed the legislation in 1978.

Stevens, on the other hand, wanted a bill passed in 1979. Failure to enact the legislation in 1978 had resulted in a land use uncertainty that "had a devastating effect on the state's economy," Stevens said. He asserted that the uncertainty had scared away investors, leading to a higher rate of unemployment and bankruptcy, and a lower increase in per capita income for Alaska than in the rest of the country.

Stevens had long sought a time agreement, under which senators would agree how long they would debate the bill and amendments to it before the bill even came to the floor. But he abandoned the effort after Gravel made it clear that he intended to filibuster any measure he considered "a bad bill."

That impasse was broken Nov. 1 after a blue-ribbon advisory panel of Alaska officials and residents, appointed by Gov. Hammond, decided the Senate bill was "livable" and urged the two warring senators to work together for its quick passage.

The 15-member panel had come to Washington to review the Senate Energy Committee's final bill, ordered reported Oct. 30, and to meet with interested parties on Capitol Hill and in the administration.

"The panel decided the committee bill, even though it doesn't contain everything they want, is the high-water mark on what they could expect on Alaska lands legislation this year," said Bob Miller, a spokesman from the Alaska state office in Washington.

The panel advised Gravel and Stevens to try to kill Alaska legislation if it looked as though the Senate bill would be significantly changed on the floor or in conference. "The panel made it clear that the Senate bill is pretty much their bottom line," said Miller.

Gravel, who said he thought the Senate bill was "really terrible," agreed to abide by the panel's wishes despite his personal view that Alaska was better off with no bill than with a bad bill.

"Obviously this isn't something Gravel wants to do personally," said Gravel aide Pat Pourchot. "He's acting on the advice of the [blue-ribbon] panel."

Tsongas Substitute

Stevens immediately resumed his efforts to work out a time agreement on floor action. But he abandoned them again after Tsongas Nov. 15 introduced a substitute bill that would close more land to development than the committee bill. Tsongas' substitute would set aside 125 million acres in conservation units, compared to 102 million acres in the committee bill, and would designate twice as much wilderness area as the committee bill. The substitute was closer to the version approved by the House than the committee bill.

Stevens immediately broke off his endeavors to bring the committee bill to the floor because of the possibility that Tsongas' bill could be substituted once the legislation was on the floor. That would leave Stevens and other pro-development legislators with little to negotiate in a House-Senate conference. Stevens said he could not support Tsongas' proposal because it would increase wilderness acreage and decrease the land available for oil and gas exploration. ▮

Alaska Gas Pipeline

Congress early in 1979 agreed to a Carter administration proposal for a special federal inspector to expedite construction of a natural gas pipeline from Alaska to the lower 48 states. *(Text, p. 20-E)*

The Office of Federal Inspector assumed the enforcement authority that had been spread among seven federal agencies overseeing pipeline construction. The program was designed to avoid delays similar to those encountered during construction of the Alaskan oil pipeline. Those delays were blamed in part on federal agencies with overlapping jurisdictions. Cost estimates for the oil pipeline jumped from $1.064 billion in 1968 to $7.9 billion in late 1977.

The House approved Carter's Reorganization Plan No. 1 setting up the new office by rejecting a resolution of disapproval (H Res 199 — H Rept 96-222) by voice vote May 31. The Senate rejected a similar resolution of disapproval (S Res 126 — S Rept 96-191), also by voice vote, May 23.

The plan transferred to the inspector the enforcement authorities held by the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Transportation and Treasury, along with those from the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Those agencies would continue to issue permits and licenses. ▮

Waste Treatment Plant Costs

Congress in 1979 gave itself another six months to decide whether to charge industrial users of municipal wastewater treatment plants a share of the cost of the plants' construction.

Legislation (S 901 — PL 96-148) that cleared Congress Dec. 3 extended until June 30, 1980, the existing moratorium on industrial cost recovery (ICR) charges levied on users of treatment facilities built with federal funds.

Final action on the bill came when the House by voice vote agreed to accept the Senate's provision extending the moratorium only through mid-1980. The House originally had wanted to extend it until June 30, 1981.

The statutory moratorium on ICR charges expired June 30, but the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) acted administratively to extend it until Dec. 1.

Background

When it passed the Water Pollution Control Act in 1972, Congress added the ICR provision so that industries would have to pay their share of the construction costs, as well as operating expenses, of the waste treatment plants they used. *(1972 Almanac p. 708)*

Because of the difficulties municipalities experienced in recovering the charges, which were split 50-50 with the federal government, and because of fears of the effect the charges would have on employment in economically depressed areas, Congress in 1977 exempted small industrial users, and granted an 18-month moratorium on other collections. *(1977 Almanac p. 697)*

The EPA then commissioned a private study, released in January 1979, that recommended that the charges be abolished permanently. While the EPA was not willing to go that far, it asked Congress for another two-year moratorium to allow more time to study the matter.

The EPA-commissioned report found that ICR did little to help municipalities improve their treatment capacities. Public administrators complained about the costs of collecting the charges, which, since they were spread out over 30 years, did not amount to much money each year.

The report also noted that one of the original purposes of ICR — to avoid providing, in effect, a federal subsidy to industry — was moot, because Congress, through changes in the tax code, had accepted the principle of federal help for business waste disposal. Firms received rapid tax write-offs for purchase of equipment used to treat industrial wastes.

The report was not without its critics, however. For one thing, it was based more on conjecture and projections than on actual experience, since the ICR had barely gotten off the ground before Congress imposed the first moratorium.

Moreover, the report estimated total collections would amount to only $1.8 billion. But Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, noting that about half of the $45 billion federal waste treatment investment benefited industrial users, suggested that the potential returns to the Treasury could be as high as $10 billion.

Legislative Action

S 901, introduced by John H. Chafee, R-R.I., originally called for permanent elimination of ICR. But because of strong opposition from Muskie, it was modified in committee to provide for a one-year extension of the moratorium, beginning June 30, 1979. The Senate Environment Committee reported the bill June 5 (S Rept 96-200), and the Senate passed it by voice vote June 14.

The House, historically more dubious about the usefulness of ICR, favored a two-year moratorium. Its bill (HR 4023) was reported by the Public Works Committee June 25 (H Rept 96-305), and passed and incorporated into S 901 by voice vote June 26. ▮

Water Bank Funds

Congress completed action Dec. 20 on a bill (HR 2043 — PL 96-182) that would authorize funding for the preservation of up to 20 million additional acres of wooded and swamp wetlands in several southern states.

The Senate passed the measure Dec. 18 by voice vote after substituting its own bill (S 837) for the House language. The House had passed its bill (HR 2043) by voice vote July 9 under suspension of the rules. The bill cleared when the House accepted the Senate version without change by voice vote.

In addition to increasing the types of lowlands eligible for funding under the national wetlands conservation program, the bill tripled — from $10 million to $30 million — the amount available for conserving those wetlands beginning in fiscal 1981. The new funds would expand the program to cover the newly eligible areas in the South.

Background

President Carter did not seek any funds for the popular program in his fiscal 1980 budget, but Congress voted $10 million to continue it. The money was provided in the Department of Agriculture appropriations bill (HR 4387). *(Agriculture appropriations, p. 214)*

Congress said it wanted to continue the program, established under the Water Bank Act of 1970 (PL 91-559), which paid landowners a $5 to $20 per acre fee if they left their privately owned wetlands in a natural state. The administration, however, preferred to conserve those areas by purchasing the land and then limiting development on it.

Wetlands are frequently flooded, low-lying areas, such as swamps, marshes and river banks, that provide nesting and breeding areas for dozens of species of waterfowl. The areas also help control floods, recharge groundwater supplies and control pollution and sediment.

Since the program began in 1970, some 589,000 acres of wetlands had been protected from drainage and development. Most of it was in the "prairie pothole" region of the upper Midwest, where ducks and other water birds bred and nested in heavily wooded areas surrounding prairie ponds.

But wetlands were being lost at a rate of 35,000 to 60,000 acres a year because rising land prices encouraged farmers either to drain and farm the land, or sell or lease it to developers.

Congressional Action

The House bill was reported May 15 by the Merchant Marine Committee (H Rept 96-171). The Senate version was reported Dec. 5 by the Agriculture Committee (S 837 — S Rept 96-449).

Both bills allowed the secretary of agriculture to adjust the payment contract every five years so that farmers would not drop out of the program if the government's fees did not keep up with rapidly increasing land values.

Because of the constraints on the kinds of wetlands eligible for the program, all of the funding under the existing program was going to landowners in 15 states. And about 75 percent of the $10 million available was going to landowners in Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota.

However, the bills expanded the types of wetlands eligible for the payments, so an additional 20.6 million acres was included. Among the new areas, those most crucially in need of protection were in California, the Southeast and the lower Mississippi Valley, the Senate committee report said. Wetlands in the Mississippi bottomlands were being lost at an alarming rate, it said.

The Senate bill — unlike the House measure — also provided that no state could receive more than 15 percent of the total amount available for the program.

The 15 percent cap was added by the Senate Agriculture Subcommittee on Environment when Milton R. Young, R-N.D., opposed the bill as inflationary because it tripled the authorization. Young opposed the increase even though his state received more program money than any other — almost half of the total outlay — in 1979.

The House was not opposed to the 15 percent cap, the only difference in the two versions of the measure, and accepted the Senate version Dec. 20 by voice vote.

Although the bill received widespread congressional and environmental support, Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland called it "premature." He said no action expanding the program should be taken until publication of a department wetlands survey, due in 1980, required by the Soil and Water Resources Conservation Act of 1977 (PL 95-192).

Provisions

As signed into law, HR 2043 (PL 96-182):

- Allowed the secretary of agriculture to adjust Water Bank Program payment rates every five years to reflect prevailing land and crop values.
- Expanded the types of wetlands eligible for the program to include wooded and shrub swamplands.
- Increased, beginning with fiscal 1981, from $10 million to $30 million the yearly limit on program expenditures.
- Restricted to 15 percent the amount of the total funds that would be available to any one state. ▮

Fishing Rules

President Carter signed into law Aug. 15 legislation (S 917 — PL 96-61) to continue for at least three years the 200-mile limit on U.S. waters and to create stiffer penalties for foreign fishermen who violated international whaling agreements.

Congress cleared the bill Aug. 2 when the House gave its approval by voice vote one day after the Senate passed it, also by voice vote.

Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore., said the legislation would "force Japan and Russia, which are the two principal violators of the International Whaling Commission regulations, to choose between the continued taking and/or buying of illegal whale meat . . . and the privilege of fishing in our 200-mile zone."

However, opponents of the tougher penalties, like Rep. John B. Breaux, D-La., said they would damage U.S. relations with Japan. "To a nation [Japan] that imports over 50 percent of our [exported] fisheries products and to a nation which I believe has taken giant steps to respond to our concern about whalers, I think we are reacting too strongly," Breaux said.

The final bill also authorized $33 million for fiscal 1980, $40 million for fiscal 1981 and $47 million for fiscal 1982 to carry out the Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 (PL 94-265), the law that established the 200-mile sea boundary. *(1976 Almanac p. 234)*

Similar legislation had been passed earlier in the year by both houses. Committee staff members rewrote the differing earlier versions, creating a single bill that went back for a vote in each house, and avoided a conference.

The final bill contained the sanctions for foreign fishermen that were a revised version of what had been included in the original Senate-passed bill. No sanctions had been included in the original House version.

Background

The 1976 act extended U.S. ocean jurisdiction from 12 miles to 200 miles offshore, declaring the area a conservation zone with exclusive U.S. authority over fishing, except tuna catches.

The limit was to be in effect until the 158 nations participating in the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference reached agreement on a treaty. But the conference, begun in 1973, had not completed its work when Congress acted in 1979.

Congress enlarged the U.S. fishing zone from three to 12 miles in 1966. Both that enlargement and the 1976 act were aimed at curbing fears that the U.S. fish supplies were being depleted by fishermen from nations like Japan and the Soviet Union. *(1966 Almanac p. 667)*

Senate Action

The bill originally was reported April 23 by the Senate Commerce Committee (S Rept 96-72) and passed April 30.

As reported, it denied permits to fish in U.S. waters to nations whose fishing worked against international fishery conservation goals.

However, the revised bill, passed Aug. 1, provided instead for an immediate, mandatory sanction against na-

tions that failed to observe only international whaling agreements, not all fishing pacts, as originally endorsed by the committee.

The bill required the sectretary of state to cut by at least half the number of fish a nation violating the whaling agreements could catch in U.S. waters. Then if compliance seemed unlikely within a year, the entire allocation could be transferred to another country and the offending nation could lose its fishing privileges.

House Action

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee reported its bill May 15 (HR 1798 — H Rept 96-170). The measure, a simple extension of the 1976 act, passed the House June 25.

The committee provided $33 million for fiscal 1980, about $6 million above the amount requested by the president. The panel called the administration requests "disturbing," and added $4.2 million for supporting research and $1.5 million for eight regional councils, which planned and monitored management of U.S. fish stocks.

Provisions

As cleared by Congress, S 917 (PL 96-61):

- Applied the fishing restrictions throughout the 200-mile limit to foreign-built fishing vessels.
- Defined "certification" as a declaration by the U.S. government that a nation's fishermen had been "engaging in trade or taking which diminishes the effectiveness" of International Whaling Commission regulations.
- Required the secretaries of commerce or the interior to monitor foreign fishing and to "promptly investigate and . . . reach a decision" in cases when there might be grounds for certification.
- Required the secretary of state to reduce, by at least half, a certified nation's allocation of fish, and allowed that portion to be reallocated to other countries if it appeared the nation would not comply with whaling rules by the time its permit expired, or within a year.
- Provided that if a certified nation did not stop violating the whaling agreements within the time allowed, it would lose its entire allocation and would be denied future fishing permits until it complied.
- Instructed the U.S. government to make periodic reviews of whether certification should be removed. ▮

Safe Drinking Water

Congress cleared a $252 million reauthorization for the safe drinking water program after House opponents received a pledge that a major overhaul of the law would be considered in 1980.

The measure, which reauthorized the program through 1982, included $24 million earmarked for cleanup of hazardous waste spills in public drinking water supplies. The legislation (S 1146 — PL 96-63) was signed by President Carter Sept. 6.

During debate in the House, members objected to regulations enforcing the 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act (PL 93-523) that were proposed by the Environmental Protection Agency in February 1978. *(PL 93-523, 1974 Almanac p. 423; revisions, 1977 Almanac p. 707)*

It had been expected that opponents would use the authorization bill to head off imposition of the new rules, which required most cities to filter out cancer-causing chemicals from municipal drinking water supplies by using granulated charcoal filter systems. Critics questioned the benefits of requiring such systems nationwide, claiming the cost was exorbitant and the benefits unproven.

Some oil-state congressmen, worried about the effect of the rules on oil and gas production from marginal wells, wanted to limit the authorization to one year. They said that deep water injection — a technique for recovering the residue of oil and gas from older wells — would be practically eliminated by the high costs of abiding by the new rules.

"If we pass this provision, we are going to close out the potential that we have for tremendous secondary and tertiary oil recoveries," Rep. James M. Collins, R-Texas, said during House floor debate, referring to techniques for extracting the hard-to-get oil and gas.

Regulations Delay

The complaints were stilled by Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., chairman of the Commerce Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, who pointed out that the proposed deep water injection regulations would not go into effect for two years. Waxman promised that his panel would hold oversight hearings in fall 1979 and would probably propose revising the law sometime in 1980.

"What we propose to do in this legislation is to continue the financial authorization for the safe drinking water program, with the understanding that members will have legislation before them to make substantive changes," Waxman said.

Members also complained about the bill because it did not include construction grants to help smaller communities meet the high cost of upgrading their drinking water systems.

Legislative History

The Senate bill was reported May 15 by the Environment and Public Works Committee (S Rept 96-161). The measure authorized a total of $209.9 million in fiscal 1980-82 — $59.2 million in fiscal 1980, $69.1 million in 1981 and $81.6 million in 1982. The Senate passed it May 22 by voice vote with no amendments.

The House version (HR 3509 — H Rept 96-186), reported May 15 by the Commerce Committee, authorized a total of $252.65 million, about $43 million more than in the Senate bill. It provided $66.65 million in fiscal 1980, $88 million in fiscal 1981 and $98 million in fiscal 1982.

A major difference was that the House bill established an emergency fund of $8 million a year to clean up hazardous waste spills in public water supply systems. The House committee also authorized about $19 million more for programs for fiscal 1981 and 1982, including about $10 million more for underground injection control programs. Those programs provided grants to states that agreed to control injection contamination of underground water supplies. The contamination occurred when industrial, municipal and nuclear waste was injected deep into the ground.

The House then passed the bill July 30 over the objections of some members who wanted a one-year authorization. The vote was 319-76 under suspension of the rules, a procedure that required a two-thirds vote for approval and did not permit amendments. *(Vote 360, p. 106-H)*

On Aug. 3 the Senate, by voice vote, agreed to the House-passed bill, clearing the measure for the president's signature. ▮

Pesticide Control Extension

The 1980 reauthorization bill for the federal pesticide control law was allowed to die Dec. 18 after House-Senate conferees deadlocked on the question of a one-house legislative veto of environmental regulations.

The conferees recessed when they were unable to resolve differences between the Senate and House versions of the bill (S 717, HR 3546). But because fiscal 1980 funds for the pesticide control program had already been appropriated, conferees decided there was no need to complete action and let the bill die. An open-ended authorization for the program was provided in 1972. *(1972 Almamac p. 934)*

"There is no real urgency because . . . the money has already been appropriated," said Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., chairman of the conference and of the Senate Agriculture committees.

Funds to continue pesticide control programs authorized by the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA — PL 94-940) were provided through September 1980 in a separate appropriations bill. That bill (HR 4394 — PL 96-103) appropriated money for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and a number of independent agencies, including the Environmental Protection Agency. *(Details, p. 207)*

Several House conferees were not happy with the fact that the program was funded before a new authorization bill was passed, because they had wanted to clamp down on EPA pesticide regulations via the one-house veto provision.

That provision was included in the House version of the $66.5 million FIFRA reauthorization bill, which passed Nov. 28, but was not in the Senate bill, passed May 22.

The House provision would have allowed either chamber of Congress to veto an EPA pesticide regulation within 60 days after it became final.

House conferees rejected, 1-4, a motion by House Agriculture Committee Chairman Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., to abandon the one-house veto provision. Foley had opposed the provision all along, arguing that congressional committees already had at least four months to review proposed EPA pesticide regulations before they became law.

But House conferees, led by Dawson Mathis, D-Ga., argued that EPA regulations carried the weight of law, and that Congress should be allowed a veto to prevent unacceptable regulations from becoming effective.

Talmadge pointed out that the administration opposed the provision and reminded members that a 1976 FIFRA bill (HR 12944) containing a similar provision was vetoed by President Ford. *(1976 Almanac p. 190)*

Senate conferees then voted 6-0 to stick to their position, deadlocking the conference.

Another potential conference controversy was averted when the House overruled its committee and voted to continue a ban on the pesticide Mirex. Used until June 1978 to control fire ants in southern states, Mirex had been found to be carcinogenic by the EPA.

Congress in 1978 approved legislation (PL 95-396) to streamline the snarled federal registration and review process for pesticides. The program was intended to limit public health risks by screening out harmful poisons and registering acceptable pesticides. *(1978 Almanac p. 697)*

Senate Action

The Senate May 22 passed by voice vote S 717, which simply authorized $62,250 for FIFRA in fiscal 1980. The Senate made no changes in the bill as it was reported May 3 from the Agriculture Committee (S Rept 96-146).

The total included $52,550,000 for FIFRA administration and enforcement and $9,700,000 for EPA research on pesticides. For fiscal 1979, Congress authorized $70 million and appropriated $68.5 million.

House Committee Action

The House Agriculture Committee May 3 made three amendments to HR 3546 before finally approving it. As reported May 15, HR 3546 (H Rept 96-147) authorized $66,250,000 in fiscal 1980 for FIFRA and pesticide research programs.

Over the objections of Carter administration officials and committee chairman Foley, the committee approved 22-11 an amendment offered by Mathis to permit the emergency use of Mirex through 1980.

Mathis argued that since EPA banned Mirex in 1978 farmers and residents of nine southern states had been unable to find an effective way to control fire ants.

Fire ants could inflict repeated and painful stings and built huge mounds that interfered with farming. They were accidently imported into the United States from a South American cargo ship around 1920. Since then they had infested about 200 million acres in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas.

EPA officials banned Mirex in 1978 after the pesticide was purported to be carcinogenic and tests showed that it broke down into two substances far more toxic than Mirex — kepone and photomirex. EPA contended that another substance, AC 217,300, was a less hazardous, although admittedly more expensive, alternative to fire ant control.

By a 22-14 vote, the panel adopted a Mathis amendment that provided for a one-house congressional veto of any pesticide regulation.

The committee also approved 17-6 a "sunset provision," offered by Mathis that would terminate the FIFRA program in 1985.

House Floor Action

The House overruled its committee recommendation Nov. 28, voting 167-224 to continue the ban on use of Mirex.

Although the vote on Mirex was a victory for EPA and environmentalists, their celebration was muted. The House also voted 278-121 to allow a one-house congressional veto of any EPA pesticide regulation, a measure staunchly opposed by environmental groups. *(Votes 610, 611, pp. 180-H, 182-H)*

The House then approved the one-year $66.5 million authorization for FIFRA by voice vote.

Opposing the committee exemption for Mirex, Foley noted that the pesticide was carcinogenic, that it broke down into two substances even more hazardous than Mirex and that it persisted for years in the environment. In addition, said Foley, Mirex had been found in the tissue of 20 percent of the residents of the states where it had been used most heavily and in 45 percent of the persons tested in Mississippi, where the chemical was manufactured.

He admitted that there were questions about the validity of those findings, but he complained that the amendment was tacked onto the committee bill without hearings or testimony. The House should not make a scientific decision that would override the EPA without substantive evidence on the record, Foley said.

Several Southern members, led by Mathis, complained that since the chemical was banned the fire ant population of the nine southern states had exploded.

G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery, D-Miss., said that while no deaths or illnesses had been proven to be linked to Mirex, 17 deaths, 30,000 hospitalizations and 24 limb amputations had been reported from fire ant stings.

Congressional Veto. Overriding the committee leadership objections, the House approved an amendment to allow a one-house veto within 60 days after the final issuance of any EPA pesticide rule.

Foley opposed the veto, claiming that congressional committees already had at least four months to review proposed EPA regulations.

"[FIFRA] is the only statute that I know of that carries this extensive legislative review prior to regulations being finalized," said Foley.

Proponents argued that if a committee opposed a regulation, it would have to pass a bill disapproving the rule — a time-consuming procedure.

A third committee amendment to phase out FIFRA by Sept. 30, 1985, was approved with no opposition. ▮

Toxic Substances

The Senate May 22 passed by voice vote a bill (S 1147) to extend for three years the Toxic Substance Control Act for three years, through fiscal 1982. A House committee reported a one-year extension bill, but the full House did not act on it in 1979.

The Toxic Substances Control Act (PL 94-469), which required pre-market testing for potentially dangerous chemicals, was first enacted in 1976. Under the act, companies planning to produce a new chemical or to market an existing substance for a new purpose would have to notify the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) 90 days in advance. EPA could then hold up marketing while more testing was done or, in extreme cases, ban the chemical. *(1976 Almanac p. 120)*

Senate Action

The Senate Environment and Public Works Committee reported S 1147 (S Rept 96-162) May 15. It authorized $69.3 million in fiscal 1980, $94 million in fiscal 1981 and $121 million in fiscal 1982 for toxic substances control.

The Senate passed the bill May 22 by voice vote without controversy.

House Committee Action

The House Commerce Committee May 9 approved, 22-3 a bill (HR 2606) extending the toxic substances control law for one year. The report (H Rept 96-174) was filed May 15.

The committee authorized $69.3 million, the amount the administration requested, in fiscal 1980 for the EPA program. However, the committee also added $2 million for the White House Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) to conduct a one-year study of the need for federal compensation to victims of toxic exposure, like the residents of Love Canal near Niagara Falls, N.Y.

EPA had begun to investigate Love Canal and about 300 other hazardous waste sites where discarded chemical drums had leached highly toxic chemicals into the ground and water supplies.

In some cases, residents of areas surrounding the sites had been unable to file health damage claims because some of the firms that dumped or buried the waste years ago were no longer in business. ▮

Water Resources Council

The Senate voted to keep a tight rein on the Water Resources Council, an obscure federal agency that President Carter wanted to play a key role in his water policy reform program.

By voice vote Sept. 20, the Senate reauthorized the council for only one year, rather than for the two years sought by the administration. The Senate also refused to give the council power to independently review water projects, and it sliced from $60 million to $43.9 million the amount the administration wanted for grants and operation of the council.

In the House three committees, which shared jurisdiction, reported differing versions of the bill (HR 2610) but the full House did not act in 1979.

The Water Resources Council had been a focal point in the public works war since 1977, when President Carter infuriated Congress by issuing his infamous "hit list" of water projects he wanted killed. In 1978 the council narrowly escaped extinction; the House voted to abolish it, but it survived as part of a compromise over a vetoed $10 billion public works bill *(1978 Almanac pp. 697, 154)*

Background

Composed of eight Cabinet department and agency heads, the Water Resources Council was established in 1965 to assess national water resources, coordinate the administration of federal water programs and establish standards and procedures for federal water projects. *(Congress and the Nation, Vol. II, p. 498)*

In 1978, as part of his national water policy reform, designed to tighten executive branch control over costly water projects, Carter announced that the council would review all projects before they were submitted to Congress, to see that they met federal technical and economic standards. The announcement aroused opposition in Congress which traditionally kept tight control over "pork-barrel" public works projects. *(Water policy reform, p. 687)*

Carter issued an executive order in January empowering the council to conduct the independent reviews. Scheduled to take effect April 1, the order was not implemented because Congress refused to approve funds for the function.

Carter requested a two-year reauthorization for the council, including authority to conduct the independent reviews and a much expanded state grant program. He requested $60 million for fiscal 1980 and such sums as necessary for 1981.

Senate Action

The Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works reported S 480 (S Rept 96-160) May 15. The panel refused to authorize the $1.5 million requested for review of water projects, saying it had no assurance that, "under the present organizational structure of the council, such a review could be truly independent."

Water Resources Subcommittee Chairman Mike Gravel, D-Alaska, said council members, "particularly the

president's secretary of interior, [are] hardly going to be objective." He also said the council's review would duplicate reviews by the Army Corps of Engineers and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

The committee also denied an administration request for $25 million for a program of matching technical assistance grants for state water conservation programs. But the panel did agree to the president's request for $25 million for the state water management grants program. Only $3 million had been available for the program in the past.

The full Senate made only one change in the committee bill before passing it by voice vote Sept. 20. The change was an amendment by David Durenberger, R-Minn., which added $10 million for state conservation grants.

House Committee Action

The three House committees with jurisdiction over the Water Resources Council agreed to extend its life one year. But each of the committees authorized different amounts for it. The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs reported its version of HR 2610 May 15, Public Works and Transportation June 27 and Agriculture June 29 (H 2610 — H Rept 96-144, Parts 1-3).

Interior. The Interior Committee said it was "satisfied that . . . the Council has become a more viable organization." But it declined to approve the two-year authorization and said it would continue to "exercise a strict oversight function" and proceed with legislation to restructure the council.

Some members expressed concern about the council's independent review function, but the committee rejected an amendment to deny funds for it. It authorized $4.3 million — the amount requested — for the council, and $21 million for management and conservation grants to the states, $29 million below the request. Even the lower figure represented a "major expansion" of the grant program, the committee said.

Public Works. The most dramatic changes in the administration bill were made by the Public Works panel. The committee authorized $30.1 million for fiscal 1980, voting to eliminate the $1.5 million requested for the council's review function. Water Resources Subcommittee Chairman Ray Roberts, D-Texas, said the council "wasn't set up to do review. It was set up to do policy." He called the review proposal a plan to make "some kind of superagency" out of the council.

Public Works also adopted an amendment to make the council chairman independent of the ties to any other federal agency or department. That would allow the chairman to devote more time to the council and would "remove the possiblity of a built-in-bias," the report said. The administration opposed this change.

Another provision would permit Congress to override any council action intended to develop conprehensive regional water plans or to review federal projects.

Agriculture. In its major change in the bill, the Agriculture Committee voted to exempt small watershed projects from council review. Proponents said reviews already were conducted by local, state and federal agencies.

The committee authorized $32 million for fiscal 1980, including $250,000 for a study of national water supplies. ▮

Strip Mine Exemptions

The Senate Sept. 11 overwhelmingly approved a bill administration and environmentalists claimed would "gut" the landmark strip mining law hammered out two years ago after a decade of struggle. The vote was 68-26. *(Vote 267, p. 45-S)*

More importantly, Senate approval marked the first congressional effort to knock down a major environmental law in order to ease the energy shortage, an administration spokesman said.

The legislation (S 1403) would allow states to design their strip mining plans without following the 151 pages of tough federal regulations written by the Department of Interior's Office of Surface Mining to implement the 1977 act. Instead the states would only have to make their strip mining plans conform to the act itself.

A department spokesman said exempting the states from the regulations assured that any time the department denied a state plan — using the regulations as a guideline — the decision would automatically be challenged in court because the regulations wouldn't carry the force of law.

"It was energy production fever," the spokesman, Len Stewart, said.

"It's clear that the mood of Congress is anti-regulation, even if it means gutting the strip mining act," Roger Berliner, an aide for Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, said. Metzenbaum had tried along with Sen. John Melcher, D-Mont., to keep the bill from coming to the floor.

Charges Denied

But proponents of the bill tagged as "patently false" charges that it would gut the strip mining law and contended the changes would only free states from "voluminous and suffocating" rules that otherwise would hamstring coal production.

They said that the secretary of interior could still accept or reject a state's plan using the regulations as the basis for his decision.

Environmentalists attributed the overwhelming vote to the influence wielded by two of the bill's powerful supporters, Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd and Public Works Committee Chairman Jennings Randolph, both Democrats from coal-producing West Virginia. In addition, as late as the day of the vote, West Virginia Gov. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV, reportedly called a number of undecided senators to enlist their support.

"It was clear that the industry had done its work and has powerful allies," Berliner said.

Ed Grandis, spokesman for the Environmental Policy Center, said Byrd did a good job of "keeping the Democrats in line."

The future of the bill appeared bleak, however. House Interior Committee Chairman Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., said he was not anxious to take up substantive changes to the hard-fought strip mining act, of which he was a principal advocate. An attempt by another West Virginia Democrat, Nick J. Rahall, to discharge the bill from Udall's committee failed.

In addition, Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus threatened to recommend that President Carter veto the bill if it was approved in its present form. Andrus said the bill would "seriously jeopardize" his ability to administer the strip mining act.

However, many of the problems that caused the controversy were defused by year's end because states that had been having trouble with the federal regulations — particularly West Virginia — were working out their difficulties with the Office of Surface Mining (OSM).

Committee Action

The bill amended the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977 (PL 95-87). It narrowly squeezed through the Senate Energy Committee, which reported it July 27 on a 10-8 vote (S Rept 96-271). *(Background, 1977 law, 1977 Almanac p. 617)*

Although the bill started out as a simple seven-month extension of the Aug. 3 deadline for states to submit state strip mining plans, it was significantly altered during committee markup by three amendments.

The amendments:

- Exempted states from regulations written by OSM to implement the act, allowing states instead to comply only with the provisions of the act.
- Delayed the Aug. 3 deadline for submitting state plans for a full year, rather than just seven months as originally proposed by committee Chairman Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., at the request of the administration.
- Prevented the federal government from imposing its strip mining regulations on federal coal lands in a state before that state's plan was approved.

Floor Action

Proponents, led by Sens. Wendell H. Ford, D-Ky., and Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., argued during floor debate that the bill was merely an effort to free coal-producing states from "regulatory overkill" that had stifled the coal industry.

By far the most controversial committee amendment was the exemption of states from compliance with OSM regulations, called the "Rockefeller amendment" after Gov. Rockefeller who proposed it.

Proponents said the regulations undermined the intent of the act, which clearly gave states "primacy" — a popular catchword during debates on the act — to develop their own plans. But instead, in order to win federal approval of a state plan, states had to duplicate "every jot and title" of the federal regulations, Byrd argued on behalf of the bill.

Besides undermining the intent of Congress, having to meet the federal regulations would severely limit coal production, proponents said. Without the bill, argued Randolph, coal production, particularly in Appalachia, would be stymied to the point of "practical shutdown."

But opponents maintained it was unprecedented to wipe out regulations written to enforce an act.

The Senate "is being asked to sweep aside the federal regulations which have been issued pursuant to the act," Jackson warned his colleagues. "This deceptively simple amendment will create such confusion that enforcement of a national surface mining control program is likely to be set back for several years as the courts are forced to substitute their judgment for that of the Congress — on a state-by-state basis," he said.

While Rockefeller and other eastern coal state governors claimed they couldn't comply with the regulations and still economically mine coal, Melcher pointed out that his home state of Montana already had submitted to OSM a state strip mining plan designed to comply with the federal regulations.

The differing opinions on the economics of complying with the regulations probably stemmed from the difference between eastern and western coal mining, said Melcher. Western coal operators, mining rich 40- to 60-foot-thick seams close to the surface, were probably far more willing and able to afford stringent environmental precautions than eastern operators digging for coal in thin four- to eight-foot seams.

Melcher recommended amending the act to clear up "specific" problems in the regulations. But exempting states entirely from the regulations was "totally unprecedented" in the history of legislation, he said. He called the technique of exempting states from a set of regulations "reckless," and said it was an "innovative unprecedented procedure" for correcting what some senators described as poorly written regulations.

"I do not know of any time in the past . . . when a subsequent act of Congress dealing with previous legislation did not amend or repeal the act itself but instead simply canceled the regulations implementing the act," said Melcher.

Melcher argued that instead of leading to increased coal mining, the measure would cause more delays in coal production because it would result in lawsuits against the Interior Department's decisions on state plans.

Melcher offered an amendment to eliminate the Rockefeller amendment and delay the Aug. 3 deadline for state plans for seven months, rather than 12 months. It was rejected on a 29-66 vote. *(Vote 266, p. 45-S)*

Before approving the bill, the senators adopted 73-20 an amendment proposed by Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., allowing states to have the primary responsibility for inspecting mines prior to submitting state surface mining plans. The amendment also required the interior secretary to provide inspectors to help, if the states requested them. *(Vote 265, p. 45-S)*

The amendment was approved with little discussion, despite a plea from Ford that additional amendments not be taken up, in order to avoid "opening a Pandora's box."

Provisions

As passed by the Senate, the bill:

- Extended the deadline for submittal of state reclamation plans to OSM for 12 months, from Aug. 3, 1979, to Aug. 3, 1980. The deadline for OSM's decision on the state plans was also moved ahead a year, from June 3, 1980, to June 3, 1981. The delay was needed, coal state governors had claimed, because OSM's regulations were delayed seven months when appropriations for establishing OSM were delayed. Although a federal judge on July 25 had extended the Aug. 3 deadline until March 1980, the committee felt the states needed an additional five months. Also, the court decision did not affect the June 3 deadline for OSM action, so OSM would have had only three months to review state plans.
- Delayed implementation of reclamation programs on federal coal lands until the state where the federal lands were located had its plan approved. Originally the federal guidelines were to be implemented on federal coal lands by Oct. 12, 1979. Governors of western states, where most of the federal lands were located, claimed it would be too chaotic to have separate guidelines imposed on federal and state lands.
- Removed the act's requirement that state programs comply with OSM's regulations. Instead, state plans had to comply only with the act itself.

Deep Seabed Mining

Despite attempts by high State Department officials to delay action, the Senate Dec. 14 passed by voice vote legislation (S 493) that would allow U.S. companies to mine valuable minerals from the ocean floor.

As a result, the Carter administration asked the House to delay action on its version of the deep seabed mining bill (HR 2759). State department officials feared congressional action would jeopardize long-running efforts to negotiate an international law of the sea (LOS) treaty, which would govern deep seabed mining. The three House committees with jurisdiction over the measure reported HR 2759 in 1979.

S 493 and HR 2759 would set up a temporary system to regulate U.S. mining operations until a seabed treaty was agreed to.

Background

U.S. mining companies wanted to start exploring for the estimated 1.5 trillion tons of potato-sized nodules containing valuable manganese, copper, cobalt and nickel. The rocks are found under the high seas, far from any nation's territorial waters.

In 1978, the United States imported $2.4 billion worth of these metals, much of it from politically unstable developing nations. Proponents of a mining bill said nodules from the seabed could be substituted for these undependable and costly foreign supplies.

The miners also claimed the deep seabed operations were a risky economic and political venture. To explore for the estimated 50 billion tons of mineral nodules strewn about the ocean floor could cost about $1 billion per site, industry officials said.

And overshadowing the miners' desire to prospect for untold deep-sea wealth was the Law of the Sea Conference, which began in 1973. Guiding the conference was a 1970 United Nations resolution, agreed to by the United States, which said seabed resources were the "common heritage of mankind."

Developing countries insisted the "common heritage" principle entitled them to a share of the seabed minerals. But U.S. negotiators maintained that traditional high seas freedoms would remain in force until the conference could agree on a treaty.

To guarantee the security of their investment in the midst of this uncertainty, U.S. companies urged Congress to pass legislation that would put the federal government's official stamp of approval on their exploratory operations.

That legislation was slow in coming. Deep seabed mining bills failed in the previous four Congresses, although a measure did come close to passage in 1978. The bill died in the last days of the session when Sen. James Abourezk, D-S.D. (1973-79), blocked Senate consideration of the measure. *(1978 Almanac p. 699)*

Executive Branch Bickering

Senate passage came after Elliot L. Richardson, U.S. ambassador to the Law of the Sea Conference, tried but failed to hold up floor action. Richardson's delaying tactics met resistance within the administration, as well as from key lawmakers.

The State Department lobbied for delaying Senate passage because "there was real concern about the possible reaction [from Third World countries] if the bill were to go through," Richardson explained in an interview.

If the Senate gave the go-ahead to U.S. miners to start exploring for the precious metals before the conclusion of a treaty, that action would be sure to antagonize developing countries, explained Alan Berlind, State Department coordinator for the LOS conference. Third World countries said the 1970 U.N. resolution declaring seabed minerals the "common heritage of all mankind" placed a ban on any one country's mining the seabed before an international accord was signed. The United States believed that in the absence of a law of the sea treaty, countries should be free to dig up the rocks.

But the Commerce Department's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), which was named lead agency in the Senate bill, wanted a bill to clear Congress as quickly as possible.

"Progress through the Senate would be useful as a bargaining chip at the LOS conference," explained NOAA Deputy Administrator James P. Walsh.

Meanwhile, the five Senate committees with jurisdiction — Energy and Natural Resources; Commerce, Science and Transportation; Foreign Relations; Environment and Public Works and Finance — were ready to bring a compromise version of S 493 to the floor. But for a time Richardson put a halt to the bill's movement in the Senate.

The ambassador began conducting a personal lobbying campaign, both on Capitol Hill and within the administration, to delay Senate approval until spring 1980.

Key senators such as Howard W. Cannon, D-Nev., chairman of the Commerce Committee, were asked to place a hold on the bill, Richardson said. Cannon agreed, but then decided to let the bill go, losing patience with the administration's lack of a unified position, according to a Cannon aide.

The administration then decided to endorse Senate action, but to ask the House to postpone consideration until the conclusion of the next five-weeks-long LOS negotiating session, slated to begin in February 1980.

Administration Flip-Flop

The administration's change of heart on the seabed bill was not its first reversal on the issue. During the 95th Congress, the administration initially opposed a seabed mining measure, fearing it would hinder the LOS negotiations. But, after a frustrating LOS summer session in 1977, the administration decided to support a form of seabed mining legislation. When the bill was introduced again at the beginning of the 96th Congress, the administration, including Richardson, backed it. In the fall, Richardson changed his mind, and began telling lawmakers to hold off on a bill because a treaty was near.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee approved seabed mining legislation (S 493) May 1. The bill was ordered reported by the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee July 27 and by the Foreign Relations Committee July 30. The Finance Committee reported the tax provisions of S 493 Oct. 3 and the Environment and Public Works Committee filed its report on the measure Oct. 9. (Energy, Commerce, Foreign Relations report: S Rept 96-307; Finance report: S Rept 96-357; Environment report: S Rept 96-360).

Staffs of the five committees got together in October to work out a compromise proposal, which was offered on the floor as a substitute by Spark M. Matsunaga, D-Hawaii.

The substitute contained the following key points:

- A Commerce Committee provision naming NOAA as the lead agency.
- A Foreign Relations Committee provision requiring mining ships to be built in the United States.
- A Commerce Committee provision to delete the balancing tests. The tests would have barred the government from strengthening environmental safeguards if it could be proven that upgrading the safeguards would have seriously cut into the nation's supply of minerals.
- A Foreign Relations Committee provision directing U.S. delegates to negotiate a seabed treaty that would not impose "significant new economic burdens" on U.S. miners' ongoing operations.
- An Environment Committee provision requiring mining ships to meet clean water standards.

Major Provisions

As passed by the Senate Dec. 14, S 493:

Title I — Regulation

- Stated that, in regulating the mining activities of U.S. citizens on the high seas, the United States was not asserting sovereignty or ownership of any area of the deep seabed.
- Provided that the act was interim, pending U.S. approval of an international agreement to govern mining of the seabed.
- Required any U.S. miner to get from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration a license to explore the seabed and a permit for commercial recovery of the minerals.
- Required that the mining vessel, the processing vessel and at least one carrier used to transport minerals to shore be documented under laws of the United States. Required that the mining ships be built in the United States.
- Required the NOAA administrator, before issuing the license, to determine that the applicants were financially responsible and had the technical expertise to mine.
- Required the administrator to determine, before issuing a license, that planned mining activities would not 1) interfere with the operations of other countries exercising freedoms of the high seas, 2) conflict with international obligations of the United States, and 3) provide an unreasonable threat to the quality of the environment. If circumstances changed so that mining activities began to affect those conditions adversely, the administrator could modify restrictions in the permit or license.
- Authorized the administrator to suspend a license or permit to avoid conflict with an international obligation.
- Required that a 90-day period be provided before issuance of a permit or license for an antitrust review of the application by the attorney general and the Federal Trade Commission.
- Authorized the administrator to override a recommendation by the attorney general or the Federal Trade Commission to deny an application if he notified the agencies first.
- Required the administrator to give written notice of his intent to deny, suspend or revoke a license or permit and allow an applicant, permittee or licensee up to 180 days to correct a deficiency if the extra time was requested by the miner within 30 days after the notice.
- Required the administrator to prepare a programmatic environmental impact statement that would assess the general effect of ocean mining on the environment.
- Required preparation of an environmental impact statement under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 before approval of any license or permit.
- Required mining ships to meet clean water standards.
- Required the license or permit to specify the area of the seabed to be mined.
- Required the administrator to set performance standards.
- Required that the records of miners be accessible to the government for audits and other purposes and to the public, except for information protected by trade secrets laws.
- Provided that federal officials would be allowed on board mining vessels.
- Authorized the president to designate a country as a reciprocating state if it had an interim legal framework for exploration and commercial recovery of minerals and recognized U.S. licenses and permits. In return, the United States would honor the mining operations of reciprocating states.

Title II — Transition to Treaty

- Stated that it was the intent of Congress that an international agreement signed by the United States provide non-discriminatory access to the seabed for U.S. citizens; provide "security of tenure" to U.S. citizens to continue mining operations already under way under conditions that did not impose "significant new economic burdens" on their operations; that "significant new economic burdens" constituted any action that would prevent the companies from continuing to mine on "a viable economic basis."

Title III — Penalties

- Authorized the administrator to assess civil penalties of up to $25,000 for each violation of regulations issued under the law.
- Authorized the administrator to assess criminal penalties of up to $75,000 a day against anyone who willfully and knowingly violated the seabed regulations.
- Authorized appropriations of such sums as necessary to carry out the act, beginning in fiscal 1981.

Title IV — Tax

- Imposed a tax of 3.75 percent of the "imputed" value of minerals removed from the deep seabed. The imputed value was equal to 20 percent of the fair market value of the minerals. The tax would be equivalent to .75 percent of the fair market value.
- Provided that the tax revenues would be held in a "Deep Seabed Fund," which would be used to pay any contributions required by an international deep seabed treaty. The tax would terminate 10 years after enactment of the seabed law.

House Committee Action

Interior Bill

As reported by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee Aug. 2, HR 2759 (H Rept 96-411, Part 1) established interim regulation of seabed mining until an international ocean treaty could be negotiated. The measure disavowed U.S. sovereignty over any area of the ocean floor.

It also required that:

- Miners obtain a license from the Interior Department to explore the seabed and a permit to extract minerals.

• Applicants be financially responsible and technologically able and that their activities not interfere with other countries' exercise of high seas freedoms, conflict with any international obligation of the United States, lead to a breach of international peace or result in a "significant adverse effect" on the environment.

• As the effects of mining on the environment became known, the secretary could force miners to adopt more stringent environmental safeguards.

• The interior secretary apply a series of "balancing tests" that would allow miners to object if the license or permit terms imposed unreasonable and adverse economic burdens; that would prohibit the secretary from strengthening environmental safeguards if that would result in significant economic loss to miners or would seriously threaten the nation's supply of the minerals.

• Licenses and permits contain provisions to protect the environment "as are necessary" and that miners submit information on the environmental effects of their operations to the secretary or the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency if requested.

• Ships used in seabed mining activities be documented under laws of the United States.

• A programmatic environmental impact statement be filed on seabed mining in a generally defined ocean area and that the secretary "take into account" environmental impact statements on specific areas to be mined before issuing a permit or license.

• The secretary make available to the public mining operation records and other documents.

• Any international mining agreement assure "non-discriminatory access" to seabed minerals and that companies exploring or mining minerals before the agreement takes effect be allowed to continue their operations under "substantially the same" terms prescribed under the seabed mining act and in a manner that would not "materially impair" the value of their investment.

Merchant Marine Bill

Amendments to HR 2759 (H Rept 96-411, Part 2) reported by the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee on Aug. 17 strengthened environmental protection provisions and weakened the grandfather language. The committee:

• Required that the secretary of commerce (rather than the interior secretary) administer seabed mining laws.

• Deleted language allowing miners to object to license or permit terms on the grounds they imposed economic hardship.

• Required that the secretary prescribe steps licensees must take to preserve the quality of the environment.

• Required that the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration conduct research on the effect of seabed mining on the environment.

• Required that the secretary issue guidelines for miners' monitoring of the environmental effects of their work and that miners submit their findings to the secretary.

• Required that mining and processing ships meet clean water standards.

• Directed U.S. delegates to negotiate a law of the sea agreement that would allow miners to continue their operations under terms that would not impose "significant new" costs on their operations.

• Provided that the U.S. government would not compensate miners for any losses resulting from an international seabed agreement.

Ways and Means Bill

The House Ways and Means Committee ordered reported HR 2759 (H Rept 96-411, Part 3) Nov. 2. The committee approved a proposal to require that companies harvesting nodules from the seabed pay an excise tax amounting to .75 percent of their annual revenues to a trust fund for international development of the seabed.

The tax would take effect on Jan. 1, 1980. It would terminate 10 years after the bill's enactment date or on the date that an international seabed treaty took effect, whichever came first. ▮

Water Policy Reform

The Public Works and Transportation Committee Oct. 10 reported a multibillion-dollar water projects bill (HR 4788) that ignored most of the administration's water policy reforms unveiled with great fanfare in 1978.

No further action occurred in 1979. Early in 1980 the committee made some revisions in its bill before sending it to the floor.

The committee put the cost of the bill at $2.5 billion, but the Congressional Budget Office estimated it would cost $4.3 billion.

The water projects legislation was a biennial measure to authorize funds for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to build dams, harbors, levees and canals. However, no omnibus water projects bills had passed since 1976. *(1976 Almanac p. 202)*

HR 4788 was an expansion of its predecessor (HR 10979), which never became law. HR 10979 was the last bill to die in the 95th Congress when opponents successfully fought an effort to sneak it through at the end of 1978. *(1978 Almanac p. 765)*

The president's reform program, announced June 6, 1978, was designed to encourage water conservation, require greater economic justification for water projects, reduce environmental damage caused by those projects and increase the states' share of construction costs. *(1978 Almanac p. 759)*

But in key deviations from Carter's idea, the reported bill:

• Did not require state cost-sharing.

• Waived cost-effectiveness requirements.

• Authorized projects without completed feasibility studies.

• Altered existing local cost-sharing requirements.

• Set a potentially costly precedent by authorizing the Corps of Engineers to build local water treatment plants.

As reported, the act authorized 47 new water projects, 31 feasibility studies of future projects and 77 modifications of existing projects. It also contained 44 general provisions.

The committee estimated the 47 new projects would cost $952 million.

Among other things, the legislation provided for locks, dams, harbor expansions, flood control structures, river dredging and channelizations, pumping stations and prevention of beach erosion.

In other action, the committee deauthorized Maine's controversial Dickey-Lincoln dam. It was the first time the committee had ever deauthorized a major water project after large sums had been committed to it. About $10 million had been spent on environmental and pre-construction studies for the $800-million dam on the St. John River. ▮

Conservation Designations

Congress did not complete action on any of the 1979 Carter administration proposals to add millions of acres of public lands to the federal wilderness or wild and scenic river systems.

President Carter recommended April 16 that 15.4 million acres of public land in 36 states be designated wilderness and thereby preserved forever from most kinds of commercial and recreational development. If approved by Congress, the proposal would almost double the wilderness acreage in the United States. Administration recommendations for conservation of lands in Alaska were contained in separate legislation. *(See Alaska lands story, this chapter; Carter environment message text, p. 49-E)*

Carter also directed Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland to open 36 million acres of national forests — 60 percent of all national forest lands — to logging, oil, gas and mineral exploration and recreational vehicles.

The president's recommendations followed the administration's second study of roadless areas in the national forests. The procedure was called RARE II for roadless area review and evaluation. Carter also proposed that another 10.6 million acres of national forest be set aside for further study of their oil, gas and mineral potential.

Thirty bills — 24 in the House and six in the Senate — were introduced in 1979 to carry out the president's recommendations. But only three were acted on by either chamber.

The three measures set aside a total of 4 million acres as wilderness, more than 25 percent of the 15.4 million acres the president requested. They were:

Senate Bill

• S 2009 (S Rept 96-414), which set aside a 2.2-million-acre River of No Return Wilderness in Idaho, the largest wilderness area in the contiguous United States. The Senate passed the bill Nov. 20, 69-18. *(Vote 418, p. 70-S)*

S 2009 was a compromise bill worked out between environmentalists and lumber interests. The bill preserved elk and bighorn sheep habitats in the Salmon River Breaks, but also allowed harvesting of 35 million to 40 million board feet of timber.

Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, who played a key role in fashioning the compromise, successfully fought off an attempt on the floor by his Idaho colleague, James A. McClure, R, to release for development all roadless areas in Idaho not designated as wilderness. The vote was 21-67. *(Vote 416, p. 70-S)*

In other action on the bill, the Senate adopted by voice vote a Church amendment to allow at least as much motorboat traffic on the Salmon River as occurred in 1978. A second Church amendment was adopted by a 58-30 vote; it required that all mining operations in the wilderness area be conducted underground. *(Vote 417, p. 70-S)*

• S 2031 (S Rept 96-421), which set aside 506,000 acres as wilderness, designated 2 million acres as non-wilderness and 134,000 acres as a national conservation area in Oregon. The measure, sponsored by Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., was approved by voice vote Nov. 26 while three senators were on the floor. Conservationists later branded it "highly objectionable" because of a provision allowing development on the 2-million-acre non-wilderness area and releasing it from future consideration as wilderness.

House Bill

• HR 5487 (H Rept 96-617), which set aside 1.3 million acres in Colorado and South Dakota as wilderness. It was passed by the House Dec. 10 under suspension of the rules.

Rivers and Trails Proposals

Congress took no action on proposals by President Carter, submitted Oct. 2, to designate three rivers as part of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. The new rivers were the Gunnison and Encampment in Colorado and the Priest in Idaho.

Carter also reaffirmed his desire to designate the Illinois River in Oregon, the Bruneau and Salmon Rivers in Idaho, the Dolores River in Colorado and the Upper Mississippi in Minnesota for which he submitted legislation in 1977 and 1978.

He also sent legislation designating the 513-mile Natchez Trace National Scenic Trail through Mississippi, Tennessee and Alabama and resubmitted legislation establishing the Potomac Heritage Trail through Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Carter also urged Congress to act on his proposal to create the 3,200-mile North Country Trail running from New York to North Dakota.

The legislation was sent Congress just in time to meet an Oct. 2 deadline for maintaining temporary protection over the rivers while Congress decided on the designations. ▮

Water-Use Reform

The bitter David-and-Goliath struggle over who should receive federally subsidized irrigation water in the West was revived in the Senate in 1979.

The clear winner in the first round was Goliath, or agribusiness, according to those wanting reform of the nation's water policy.

The Senate voted 47-23 Sept. 14 to increase fourfold the amount of federally irrigated land a small farmer could own, but exempted from the acreage limits several of the largest agribusiness operations in California. *(Vote 281, p. 47-S)*

The bill was referred to the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee Sept 18, but no further action occurred by year's end. S 14 faced tough going in the House, however, where Rep. George Miller, D-Calif., called it "socialism for the rich" and "the biggest Western stage coach robbery of the public since Jesse James."

The age-old battle pitted giant agribusiness conglomerates and absentee landowners — such as Tenneco Oil, Southern Pacific Railroad and Superior Oil Co., some with landholdings of more than 100,000 acres — against small family farmers who were unable to buy federally irrigated land because it was controlled by the large corporations.

The question facing the Senate was who should benefit from the $11.5 billion worth of dams and irrigation systems built by the federal government in the 17 western states.

Should it be small family farmers living on or near the land? Or should the heavily subsidized water continue to be concentrated in the hands of the large but relatively few farming corporations and often absentee land speculators?

Congress also had to answer the thorny question of whether the government was honor-bound to live up to promises it made to some landowners more than 40 years

before — promises later declared invalid by the courts — exempting certain areas from reclamation law acreage limitations.

Complicating the answers to those questions was the enormous size of the subsidy involved — as high as $5 billion as of 1976 — provided in the form of cheap water from the federal irrigation projects.

Critics of the system were particularly outraged by the size of the individual subsidies going to some of the largest farmers in California, as much as $1.4 million for a 640-acre farm in the controversial Westlands Water District of central California.

The Senate's answer to those questions was a bill (S 14) sponsored by Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, representing the first time in more than 50 years that Congress had tried to update the Reclamation Act of 1902.

Background

The 1902 Reclamation Act limited to 160 acres per person — or $320 per man and wife — the amount of land a farmer could own and irrigate with water from federal water projects. There were no limits on leasing additional irrigated land, but the law specified that a farmer had to live on the land in order to receive reclamation water. *(Background, Congress and the Nation Vol. I, pp. 771, 800)*

The original purpose of the act was plainly stated by its sponsor, Rep. Francis G. Newlands, D-Nev. (1893-1917), who said:

"The very purpose of this bill is to guard against land monopoly and to hold this land in small tracts for the people of the entire country, to give to each only the amount of land that will be necessary for the support of a family."

Farmers could own more than the 160 acres of federally irrigated land and continue receiving water, as long as the owner signed a "recordable contract" with the Interior Department, promising to sell the excess land within a specified period, usually 10 years. The farmer also had to agree to sell the excess land at a "dry land" price that excluded the value added to the land because of the irrigation water it received.

Limits Not Enforced

But the department's Bureau of Reclamation in many cases simply did not enforce the recordable contracts or the acreage limitations, and dropped the residency requirement. Thus over the years huge agricultural conglomerates developed — most of them in California — where there had once been only arid land.

With the bureau's blessing, the agricultural giants literally turned the desert into the nation's hothouse, using cheap, federally subsidized water from billion-dollar dams thousands of miles away in the Rocky Mountains.

In many cases the landowners were merely "paper farmers" — absentee real estate investors and railroad and oil companies.

Small Farmers Sue

In 1976, the department was sued by a small farmers' group, National Land for People, for not enforcing the law. And a federal district court that year ordered the department to draw up a set of regulations to enforce the act.

When the regulations were issued in 1977, the large landowners were infuriated. The department intended to enforce the acreage limitation, forcing the companies to divest themselves of huge chunks of farmland.

The large landowners promptly sued, claiming the department hadn't done an environmental impact statement before issuing the regulations. While the impact statement was being completed, the department was prohibited from enforcing the new regulations and imposed a moratorium on the sale of excess lands under recordable contracts.

Meanwhile the landowners formed the Farm/Water Alliance, a well-financed lobby group made up of landowners, farmers, water districts, and banking and real estate associations, that lobbyied heavily to get the act amended in Congress. *(See lobbying box, this story)*

Committee Action

The Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources ordered S 14 reported June 21 on a 12-3 vote after one day of markup. The report was filed July 6 (S Report 96-235).

As introduced by Church, the bill abolished the residency requirement and established a 1,280-acre limit on the amount of land an individual or small corporation (with 25 stockholders of less) could own or lease.

The bill gave the interior secretary control over how many acres could be managed by an individual for a group of landowners. In addition, an equivalency provision applied to all lands with growing seasons of 180 days or less.

The equivalency provision allowed farmers with poor land to own more than the 1,280-acre limit. Irrigation lands were classified by descending scale from Class I to Class VI, based on economic factors and physical conditions, such as soil characteristics, length of growing season, costs of crop production and elevation. The Church bill said farmers in areas with growing seasons of 180 days or less could own 1,280 acres of high-quality Class I land, or the equivalent in less productive lands.

The bill also contained a "payout" provision exempting lands from the acreage limitations once the irrigation district's obligation for the water project was paid off.

Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus had commented favorably on the Church bill in a report filed with the committee just before it held hearings in March. But at the March hearing he suggested a number of amendments, including requiring farmers to live within 50 miles of their farms, limiting reclamation acreage to no more than 960 acres per farm, and deleting the system-wide equivalency provision.

Andrus also objected to the payout provision. Instead he favored allowing the department to keep its discretionary power to exempt a water district from the acreage limitations once the department determined that a pattern of family farming had been established.

Andrus also wanted an amendment requiring priority to be given to family members, neighbors and long-time employees when a landowner was disposing of excess lands. Under Andrus' plan, any excess land not sold to members of those priority classes would be sold by the interior secretary under a lottery system. Andrus would also maintain departmental control over the price of excess land sales for 15 years after the original sale, not 10 years as Church's bill allowed.

Help for Church?

Despite all the problems Andrus had with the Church bill as it went into markup, there was a conspicuous lack of high-ranking Interior Department officials at the commit-

High Court to Hear Water Case

The Supreme Court agreed Dec. 3 to hear arguments in a controversial California case that could determine the validity of a 1902 law setting a limit on the size of farms receiving subsidized water from federally built dams.

The court said that it would hear an appeal from a 1977 ruling by the Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals that upheld the acreage limitation in the 530,000-acre Imperial Valley irrigation district on California's southeastern border. *(Bryant v. Yellen, Imperial Irrigation District v. Yellen, California v. Yellen)*

Landowners in the district — the home of several huge agribusiness corporations owning many thousands of acres — had argued that the law did not apply to them because they owned water rights in the valley before the federal government irrigated it.

The Reclamation Act of 1902 authorized massive irrigation programs in the West. But it required that any farm receiving the heavily subsidized water had to be no larger than 160 acres per family member.

The Supreme Court's eventual decision was expected to affect how Congress dealt with the question whether it should legislatively exempt the Imperial Valley from the acreage limit. Such an exemption was included in S 14, a bill passed by the Senate Sept. 14.

tee markup. This fueled speculation by observers and lobbyists that Andrus, a former Idaho governor and close friend of Church, had made a deal with Church not to interfere during markup but to seek amendments on the Senate floor.

The liberal Church was facing a tough 1980 re-election campaign in conservative Idaho. In the meantime, he could benefit from headlines as the man who pulled the federal government off the backs of Idaho farmers. Congressional staffers soon began calling S 14 "the Frank Church re-election bill."

A spokesman for Andrus said he could not comment on the rumors that Andrus had made a deal with Church, but he pointed out that Andrus' position was well known by the committee because Andrus had testified on the bill in hearings in 1978 and spring 1979.

However, Andrus was reportedly surprised and angered at the committee's final version of the bill.

"Interior didn't expect all those changes," said Corey Rosen, an aide to Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis. "The committee's bill was so bad it really unnerved the people in the department. They realized if this bill passes it will probably be the end of the reclamation program."

Andrus Letter

Andrus' then sent a nine-page letter to the committee outlining his objections to what the committee had done. He called the committee's action "disappointing" and said the bill would result in a "financial windfall to some large landowners of untold proportions.

"S 14 almost systematically amends away virtually every substantive component of the act which ensures that the original social objectives will be met, and that the problem areas can be corrected," Andrus' letter said. "The bill would effectively repeal the reclamation law as we have known it. What remains is a structure which endorses all of the present program aberrations of large farms, absentee speculator owners, and enforcement loopholes which cry out for reform."

The letter continued:

"S 14 would reject the ideals of the reclamation act, and, over time, abolish the program. Instead of aiding the creation and continuance of family farms, the bill would reward those who have ignored the law in the past and reward them generously. The bill would abolish the goal of promoting family farms."

Committee Vote. Those voting in favor of reporting the bill were: Democrats Church; Jackson, Wash.; Johnston, La.; Ford, Ky.; Matsunaga, Hawaii; Melcher, Mont., and Repubicans Hatfield, Ore.; McClure, Idaho; Domenici, N.M.; Stevens, Alaska; Bellmon, Okla., and Wallop, Wyo.

Voting against the bill were Democrats Metzenbaum, Ohio; Tsongas, Mass., and Bradley, N.J.

Committee Amendments

The committee made the following changes in S 14:

- Allowed corporations with more than 25 stockholders that were already receiving reclamation project water to continue to own up to 160 acres of irrigated land.
- Provided three years, rather than one, for a landowner to sign a "recordable contract" with the department agreeing to sell his excess lands within 10 years.
- Extended the equivalency concept to all lands, not just to land in climates with growing seasons of less than 180 frost-free days.
- Allowed districts to pay off their obligations on the unpaid construction charges early, or to make a lump sum payment for the unpaid balance, in order to escape the acreage limitation.
- Allowed unlimited leasing in excess of the acreage limits under one-year leases.
- Exempted religious or charitable lands from the acreage limitation as long as the crops and proceeds from the sale of the crops were used only for charitable purposes.
- Removed the 25-year limit on leases of state-owned reclamation lands.
- Exempted the 500,000-acre Imperial Irrigation District in Southern California from acreage limitations.
- Exempted reclamation projects built by the Army Corps of Engineers from the acreage limitation, unless otherwise explicitly required by federal statute.
- Exempted from acreage limits land temporarily receiving water in unusually wet years, and exempted leases of one year or less when the water was provided during drought periods.
- Allowed excess lands acquired by foreclosure or inheritance to be supplied with water for 10 years.
- Allowed formerly excess lands, which were not excess at the time of acquisition through foreclosure or other legal processes, to be sold at fair market value rather than at a Bureau of Reclamation-controlled price.
- Exempted trustees from the acreage limits if each of the beneficiaries were in compliance with the limitations.
- Extended existing recordable contracts so that any time lost during the current court-ordered moratorium on excess land sales would not be counted against the 10-year term of the contracts. The moratorium was imposed pending issuance of the new Department of Interior regulations.
- Required lottery sales of excess lands sold by the Interior Department after expiration of recordable contracts.

Convoluted Politics of Water

To lobbyists for small farmers and farm workers, the Senate's actions on reclamation law legislation made at least two of that chamber's longtime liberals, Frank Church, D-Idaho, and Alan Cranston, D-Calif., look like overnight conservatives.

"The politics of this darn thing are the craziest I've seen in a long time," said former congressional aide David Weiman, who followed reclamation reform for years.

Both Cranston and Church were up for re-election in 1980 and were targeted for defeat by conservative groups.

With that in mind, and the knowledge that resentment toward government regulations was at an all-time high in the West, both senators came down strongly on the side of loosening restrictions in the 77-year-old reclamation law.

Troubles for Cranston

However, Cranston would probably have bested Church in a conservative-of-the-week contest. Cranston made repeated attempts to win approval of amendments favoring agribusiness giants in his home state of California. At one point, he teamed up with conservative Robert Dole, R-Kan., to sponsor such an amendment. Church led the efforts to block Cranston's amendments.

Cranston was in an extremely touchy position. An ally of United Farm Workers organizer Caesar Chavez for more than 20 years, Cranston had to choose between backing Chavez on keeping strict farm size limitations in the bill or going with the agribusiness groups that wielded vast influence in California politics.

Cranston chose agribusiness.

In a heated exchange outside the Senate chamber during the debate, Chavez told Cranston his vote on the reclamation issue would determine what kind of relationship the two would have in the future.

"We've backed Cranston many times in the past," UFW aide Ester Padilla said later. "We felt he had to be called to task on his position on this issue. It was contrary to his positions in the past.

"He's obviously worried about his election next year. Agribusiness can do a heck of a lot in California. They have a lot of money and that begets power."

But Cranston alienated the big growers, too, particularly those in the Westlands district. Cranston failed to get approval of two Westlands-sponsored amendments that would have exempted many of these growers from the reclamation law.

"He got everybody mad at him," said Weiman. "The big [Westlands] guys know he helped them grudgingly, and they really got screwed. They feel he delivered on the amendments for the Imperial Valley and the [Army] corps [of Engineers] projects, but on theirs, they feel he just went through the motions."

Agribusiness Money

The California agribusiness money had been spread around generously in the previous two years. Two California agribusiness political action committees — the Desert Caucus and the J. G. Boswell Co. Employees' Committee — spent more than $85,000 in the two years since they began lobbying to have the reclamation law revised.

One of the recipients was Church, who received at least $4,500 from Boswell and other big California growers.

Because Church sponsored the bill and spearheaded its passage just as he was facing re-election, the bill became known among Senate staffers as "the Church re-election bill." But Church rebutted those charges by pointing out that he first introduced the bill in 1978 and drafted it in 1977.

Church also disputed those who said the bill was a conservative one. It closed many of the loopholes that allowed the large corporations to control huge chunks of subsidized land, Church emphasized.

The big growers were represented on Capitol Hill by the Farm/Water Alliance, an ad hoc group formed specifically to get the Reclamation Act revised. Its members included hundreds of western farmers, the American Bankers Association, the Mortgage Bankers Association, the National Association of Realtors and several irrigation districts.

Lined up on the other side were Chavez' farm workers, the National Land for People and the National Farmers Union, the AFL-CIO, and a number of religious groups supporting the family farm concept, including the U.S. Catholic Conference and NETWORK, a Catholic "social justice" lobby.

Floor Action

After two days of sometimes heated rhetoric, the Senate approved an amended version of the Energy Committee's bill after deleting several of the biggest loopholes.

Church and Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., persuaded the Senate to delete the unlimited leasing provision, and Hatfield got the lump sum payout provision dropped. But Hatfield failed to push through an amendment — opposed by Church — closing a loophole that allowed excess landholders to decide who would be able to buy their land. Hatfield wanted the land to be sold through a limited lottery.

The 575,000-acre California Westlands district was definitely the loser. The Senate had soundly defeated repeated attempts by Alan Cranston, D-Calif., Robert Morgan, D-N.C., and Robert Dole, R-Kan., to push through measures sought by the Westlands growers that would have allowed leasing in excess of the 1,280-acre cap if the water recipients paid higher prices for the water.

Without the unlimited leasing provision, thousands of acres of excess land in the Westlands would have to be divested. Cranston, unexpectedly, voted for the Hatfield amendment to disallow unlimited leasing.

Cranston, however, later successfully fought off efforts to delete the Imperial Valley and Army Corps exemptions. But both Cranston and S. I. "Sam" Hayakawa, R-Calif.,

voted against passage of the bill, claiming it did not go far enough to help California farmers.

Efforts by Nelson and George McGovern, D-S.D., to lower the acreage limitations were also rejected by wide margins. Nelson aide Corey Rosen said after the votes that Majority Whip Cranston was the reason Nelson's amendments did not fare better.

"Cranston just came riding out of the West to rescue the big farms," said Rosen.

Amendments Accepted

The Senate accepted the following amendments by:

- Hatfield, to delete the unlimited leasing provision, 59-36. *(Vote 271, p. 46-S)*
- Hatfield, to delete the lump sum and accelerated payout provisions, 47-46. *(Vote 272, p. 46-S)*
- Cranston, (to a Nelson amendment deleting the four corps projects) to require the interior secretary to conduct a one-year study of the costs of storing water for irrigation purposes in the Pine Flat and Isabella dams on the Kings and Kern rivers, both in California. Voice, after tabling motion rejected 24-60. *(Vote 276, p. 47-S)*

The amendment allowed the Kings and Kern rivers landowners to be exempt from the acreage limitations of the law for three years and then gave them the option of abiding by the limits or paying off their share of storage costs.

- Nelson, as amended by the Cranston amendment, to delete the exemptions for the Tule and Kaweah River projects.
- Cranston, to clarify and strengthen the committee bill's exemption of the Imperial Valley irrigation district. It was passed by voice vote after a tabling motion was rejected, 39-44. *(Vote 277, p. 47-S)*

Amendments Rejected

The following amendments were rejected:

- Morgan, to a Hatfield amendment, to allow farmers to own or lease land in excess of the 1,280 limit if they agreed to pay higher water charges, tabled 52-43. *(Vote 270, p. 46-S)*
- Hatfield, to include a limited lottery for disposal of excess lands over 3,840 acres, 25-54. *(Vote 274, p. 47-S)*
- Nelson, to establish a 640-acre limit, tabled 65-18. *(Vote 275, p. 47-S)*
- McGovern, to establish a 960-acre limit, tabled 50-28. *(Vote 278, p. 47-S)*
- Cranston, to allow growers to lease unlimited acres as long as they paid the full cost of the irrigation water, tabled 42-33. *(Vote 279, p. 47-S)*
- Dole, to allow growers to lease an additional 1,280 acres if they agreed to pay full cost for the water, tabled 39-33. *(Vote 280, p 47-S)*

Major Provisions

As passed by the Senate, S 14, the Reclamation Reform Act of 1979:

- Established different acreage limits for "qualified recipients," and "limited recipients." Qualified recipients were defined as individuals and small corporations with fewer than 25 stockholders. Limited recipients were defined as corporations with more than 25 stockholders, which were receiving water from a federal reclamation project on the date the act went into effect. Thus the act limited large corporation ownership to only those companies owning reclamation land at the time the law was enacted.
- Allowed qualified recipients to own or lease up to 1,280 acres of federally irrigated land. Limited recipients would be allowed to own 160 acres, but would not be allowed to lease reclamation land. (Under existing law any recipient could own up to 160 acres, or 320 acres for a farmer and his wife, with no limits on leasing.)
- Abolished the requirement that a recipient of reclamation water live on or near the land.
- Required owners of land in excess of the acreage limits established by the act to sign a "recordable contract" with the Interior Department within three years of enactment, stating that the excess land would be sold to eligible recipients within 10 years of the date of the contract. For 10 years after the excess land was first sold it could not be sold again except at a price reflecting the value of the land, *minus* the increased value due to the federal irrigation water it was receiving. After the 10-year period, the price was no longer controlled.
- Allowed the interior secretary, at his discretion, to impose a limit on the amount of reclamation acres that could be managed by an individual on behalf of other landholders.
- Allowed a landowner with poor or less productive land to own or lease more than the 1,280 acres of irrigated land, based on an equivalency formula administered by the Bureau of Reclamation.
- Exempted from the acreage limitations land held by religious and charitable non-profit organizations as of Jan. 1, 1978, as long as the produce and money from the sale of that produce were used for charitable purposes.
- Exempted state-owned lands from the acreage limitation, and removed the 25-year limit on leases of state-owned reclamation lands.
- Exempted the 275,000 acres of the Imperial Irrigation District that were owned in excess of the limitations.
- Exempted land receiving water from the Kings River and Kern River projects built by the Army Corps of Engineers in central California.
- Allowed land to be owned in excess of the acreage limitations if aquired by inheritance, by foreclosure "or other process of law," by conveyance in satisfaction of a mortgage, or "by devise." If obtained by a large corporation (limited recipient), the land would be furnished with reclamation water for up to 10 years, after which the land had to be sold to a qualified recipient. Any part of the landholding that was not held in excess by the immediate former owner at the time of acquisition could be sold any time by the new owner at "fair market value," with the price reflecting the increased value due to irrigation. Lands held in excess by the former owner had to be sold at a Reclamation Bureau-approved dry land price.
- Specified that a trustee could hold land in excess of the acreage limitation, as long as each of his beneficiaries met the acreage limits.
- Required the interior secretary to dispose of excess lands through a lottery system if the previous owner could not find suitable buyers on his own.
- Required any district court, at a landowner's request, to order the interior secretary to amend a contract between the landowner and the Interior Department if that contract did not comply with the act but was entered into based upon "any written representation" made in the past by the secretary or his representative. ▮

Nuclear Power Legislation Fails to Clear

When the 96th Congress convened early in 1979, both the nuclear industry and its critics were hoping that the legislators would move to resolve some of the long-standing, fundamental controversies over nuclear power. Facing the legislators were such issues as the licensing process for new plants, the storage of spent fuel and nuclear waste and the future of the fast breeder reactor.

On March 28 these priorities were dramatically disarranged by the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pa.

The issues raised by the accident — plant compliance with safety regulations, the lack of an effective emergency plan for the surrounding area, the uncoordinated response of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) — suddenly took precedence over matters of licensing and waste storage. Three Mile Island and its legacy dominated congressional discussion of nuclear power for the year.

But even before the accident, 1979 had brought bad news for nuclear power advocates.

In January, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission repudiated sections of a a 1975 study done by Dr. Norman Rasmussen, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology physicist.

The Rasmussen report, which estimated the chances of various types of nuclear accidents, had been used by the industry to support its contention that the technology was safe.

Later the same month, the Union of Concerned Scientists, the most highly respected of the groups criticizing the industry, called on the government to shut down 16 U.S. reactors because of safety problems.

On March 13, shortly before the Three Mile Island accident, the NRC ordered the shutdown of five nuclear plants after it determined that a computer model used to determine their ability to resist earthquakes had been faulty.

The same day a special 14-agency government review unit raised questions about the scientific and technical feasibility of safely disposing of radioactive wastes created by commercial reactors. The report called into question a matter the industry has long argued it would have no problem solving.

Continuing Support

Despite the Three Mile Island accident and the deficiencies it revealed in the nation's existing system for operating and regulating nuclear power plants, Congress and the Carter administration reaffirmed their support for nuclear power.

Both chambers of Congress refused to impose a six-month moratorium on the issuance of construction permits for new reactors. The Senate, however, did endorse a shutdown of all plants in states without approved emergency plans for dealing with a nuclear accident.

President Carter named a special commission to study the accident. After the panel, the Kemeny Commission, issued its report and recommendations — chief among them abolition of the NRC — late in October, President Carter responded by endorsing some of the suggestions, countering others with his own proposals, replacing the chairman of the NRC and reminding the nation that nuclear power was still an important factor in its energy future.

The long-term impact of Three Mile Island on congressional action would be seen in future years. As the year ended, the Senate Energy Committee reported a measure intended to force action on the nuclear waste issue. The push for reform of the plant licensing process was expected to resume in 1980.

Members of Congress also indicated they planned to re-examine the Price-Anderson Act, the 1957 law that limited the liability of the nuclear power industry to $560 million for any nuclear power plant accident. In the first two weeks after the Three Mile Island accident, at least four class action lawsuits were filed involving claims totaling considerably more than $560 million. In 1975 Congress approved an extension of the Price-Anderson Act until 1987. *(1975 Almanac p. 277)*

Nuclear Plant Licensing

Despite national alarm over the safety of nuclear plants, generated by the Three Mile Island accident, Congress in 1979 refused to halt construction of new reactors.

Both the House and the Senate decisively rejected proposals imposing a six-month moratorium on the issuance of permits for construction of new plants. Those permits were issued by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), which blunted the force of the moratorium proposal by voluntarily halting issuance of new permits and licenses. The commission said it would resume issuing such documents after the accident had been fully studied, probably early in 1980.

The moratorium requirement was proposed as an amendment to the NRC authorization bill for fiscal 1980 (HR 2608, S 562). At year's end that measure was still in conference. The major point of difference between House and Senate bills was a Senate provision requiring a shutdown of all nuclear power plants in states that lacked an approved plan for dealing with a nuclear emergency such as Three Mile Island. This provision faced stiff House opposition.

The senior staff of the NRC decided May 21 not to issue new construction permits or operating licenses for plants until August. This delay would allow the commission to evaluate the results of investigations of the Three Mile Island accident. The commission subsequently approved this decision. This self-imposed moratorium was later extended into 1980.

Kemeny Report, NRC Action

On Oct. 31, the Kemeny Commission released its report on Three Mile Island, calling for fundamental changes in the system of operating and regulating nuclear power

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What Happened at Three Mile Island

On March 28, 1979, the worst nuclear reactor accident in the history of nuclear power in the United States occurred at the Three Mile Island plant near Harrisburg, Pa.

The Metropolitan Edison Co., which operated the plant, apparently violated federal rules by shutting down auxiliary cooling pumps for maintenance two weeks prior to the accident. Loss of the pumps was one of several mechanical and human problems that contributed to the accident.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission regulations required that two sets of cooling pumps be available at all times when the nuclear plant was in operation and generating heat for electricity.

At the height of the crisis, officials considered evacuating thousands of residents from the area because of the chance that the plant's nuclear fuel could overheat and "melt down," releasing dangerous radiation.

Gov. Richard L. Thornburgh, R, March 30 asked young children and pregnant women living within five miles of the plant to leave because of leaking radiation. They were joined by hundreds, possibly thousands, of others. Thousands more stayed home from work April 2, and most area schools were closed.

The plant was designed by Babcock & Wilcox Co.

Conflicting information about the accident and potential hazards from state, federal and utility company officials caused additional confusion, particularly in the first two days after the incident.

Plans to handle such an emergency were being written on the spot, since apparently no evacuation plans had been ready prior to the accident.

The problems, which began at 4 a.m. on March 28, centered on breakdowns in the cooling system of the nuclear plant, despite redundant safety features that engineers described as "defense in depth." The flowing, pressurized water was crucial because it controlled temperatures in the reactor core, where atomic reactions were taking place.

If the rods holding the uranium fuel pellets got too hot, the outside metal covering could melt, releasing the radioactive fuel and other elements. In the worst case, the heat could crack the thick concrete walls of the reactor containment and release radioactivity outside the nuclear plant.

At the Three Mile Island plant another danger arose when the last backup cooling system — the emergency core system — was finally triggered and flooded the overheated reactor core with water. Water temperatures rose so high that the molecules broke up into hydrogen and oxygen, and a large hydrogen bubble formed at the top of the reactor.

For a time, the bubble insulated part of the nuclear fuel rods from the cooling water. Technicians worried that if it increased in size, additional fuel rods might become overheated. In addition, the presence of hydrogen and oxygen in the reactor chamber presented the possibility of an explosion.

But the bubble began to shrink on March 31, although at the time scientists could not immediately explain why. By April 3, officials said they had the situation under control.

In the first formal report on the accident, Darrell Eisenhut, deputy director of the NRC's division of operating reactors, described the problems that had contributed to the seriousness of the incident. In addition to the shutdown pumps, Eisenhut said:

- Relief valves, which had opened to release a buildup of water pressure in the reactor, failed to close properly, thus letting pressure drop too low.
- A pressure indicator stuck, giving operators in the control room erroneous information.
- There was faulty design of the reactor containment vessel because it did not isolate radioactive water, which was later vented as radioactive steam.
- Operators turned off the emergency and primary cooling systems at various times during the first day of the accident. Their actions apparently were among the factors that led to there being little or no cooling water circulating in the reactor at certain points during that day.

plants. The commission also recommended the abolition of the NRC.

A week later, on Nov. 5, the NRC announced that it would continue indefinitely its self-imposed moratorium on the issuance of operating licenses for new plants.

"Our first and most important responsibility is to apply those remedies and lessons [from Three Mile Island and the Kemeny report] to the operating plants," said NRC Chairman Joseph Hendrie at a Nov. 5 congressional hearing. "We have a pause in licensing. I've been trying to stay away from the word 'moratorium.' "

Harold Denton, director of NRC's Office of Nuclear Reactor Regulation, said his staff might be ready by the spring of 1980 to refocus its attention on the pending requests for operating licenses. But no date was set.

The NRC also was considering shutting down operating plants near the nation's population centers because emergency evacuations might not be possible. Under questioning from the House Commerce Subcommittee on Energy and Power, NRC Chairman Hendrie said Nov. 5 that the commission was reviewing the situation.

"If we come to the point where we decide some plants are not safe, it is a very hard rock place that lies before us," said Hendrie of the possibility of shutting down operating reactors. "We're not quite there, but the decision is coming."

The two plants closest to major cities were Indian Point, a Consolidated Edison Co. reactor near New York City, and Zion, a Commonwealth Edison Co. reactor near Chicago.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Environment and Public Works Committee May 10 added to the NRC authorization bill an

amendment that would shut down nuclear plants in states tht lacked approved emergency evacuation plans.

Sixteen states did not have plans approved by the NRC. That provision gave the states until April 1980, to get approved plans in place. Otherwise, the 41 nuclear power plants operating in those states could be shut down.

The committee reported the NRC authorization bill (S 562 — S Rept 96-176) on May 15.

In addition to the shut-down provision, the committee said operating licenses for new plants would not be issued after Oct. 1, 1980, unless a state had an approved plan. That provision could delay licensing of 12 new plants in the 16 states.

The amendment, approved 6-4, was offered May 10 by Gary Hart, D-Colo., chairman of the panel's Subcommittee on Nuclear Regulation, which planned a full-scale investigation of the accident at Three Mile Island. There was no approved Pennsylvania evacuation plan at the time of the accident.

Senate Floor Action

The Senate July 17 passed the NRC authorization bill (S 562) after approving the shut-down requirement but rejecting a proposal to impose a six-month moratorium on construction of new nuclear plants.

As passed by the Senate, the measure contained a compromise version of committee-approved language requiring nuclear power plants in states without approved nuclear emergency plans to be shut down by June 1, 1980.

Critics of the measure, working with the nuclear industry, tried three times to defeat the shutdown requirement. But each time they narrowly lost to a bipartisan majority that wanted to force states to devise emergency plans.

However, supporters of nuclear power did succeed in defeating, by a vote of 35-57, the proposal for a six-month moratorium on construction of new nuclear plants. And then, by a 55-37 vote, the Senate agreed to table a proposal to give each state a veto over storage of nuclear waste within its boundaries. *(Votes 169, 170, p. 31-S)*

The mix of votes indicated that, while eager to improve nuclear safety, the Senate considered nuclear power a vital energy source that should not be hampered by ongoing investigations of the nuclear accident.

S 562, which authorized $398.3 million for the NRC in fiscal 1980, was passed July 17 on a 97-1 vote after two days of debate. *(Vote 173, p. 31-S)*

In addition to the requirements for evacuation plans, the measure called for improved NRC planning for nuclear emergencies, better training of reactor operators and resident NRC inspectors at each nuclear plant.

Emergency Response Plans

The nuclear industry considered the plant shutdown provision the most onerous aspect of the NRC bill reported May 15 by the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. Their hopes of striking that section were increased by a split over the issue between majority and minority members of the panel.

But Hart, and Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., ranking minority member of the Nuclear Regulation Subcommittee, worked out a compromise. It included an agreement by Hart to give states and the NRC nine months, instead of six months, from the anticipated date of enactment to come up with approved emergency plans. The sponsors estimated that deadline would be June 1, 1980.

That united front meant that a move to strike the shutdown clause would probably fail. So J. Bennett Johnson, D-La., July 16 offered a more moderate amendment. If a state did not have an approved plan, Johnston proposed, then the NRC could impose an interim emergency plan, avoiding shutdowns.

"It is simply unacceptable, in a country that is energy short, to make the people of a state pay the price for disagreements between two sets of bureaucrats," Johnston said.

But Hart contended the Johnston approach would usurp the state's authority. Simpson said Johnston's amendment would provide a rationale in the future "for continual encroachment on vital state prerogatives."

The amendment lost, 37-40. *(Vote 165, p. 30-S)*

But its supporters, hoping to pick up support from senators absent for the first vote, tried to revive it. James A. McClure, R-Idaho, offered an almost identical proposal. But Hart, complaining that the Senate had already voted on the issue, moved to table the McClure amendment. The Senate agreed, 41-40. *(Vote 166, p. 30-S)*

Then McClure tried to have that vote reconsidered. But Simpson moved to table that McClure proposal and won, 43-39. *(Vote 167, p. 30-S)*

A spokesman for the Edison Electric Institute, an association of the nation's privately owned utilities, called the shutdown clause "a major step backward."

The senators then approved, 64-19, the Simpson-Hart compromise extending to nine months from the date of enactment the deadline for approved evacuation plans, specifying that NRC planning guidelines not be revised during that period and waiving the need to reconsider previously approved state plans. *(Vote 168, p. 31-S)*

Moratorium Defeated

Hart and Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., offered an amendment July 17 proposing that the NRC not issue permits for construction of new nuclear plants during the first six months of fiscal 1980.

They argued that investigations of Three Mile Island should be completed before additional plants were built.

Hart was particularly concerned that the studies might show that nuclear plants should not be located in densely populated areas. The amendment would buy time, he said, because "once you begin to dig the hole for the reactor and pour the concrete, all the safety changes in the world are not going to make that reactor ultimately safe if it is located near hundreds of thousands of people."

But Johnston argued the amendment would be a "body blow" to nuclear energy. He said the "future of this country" was based on nuclear power and coal. "If we kill either one of them, we will be in bad shape," he said.

The Senate voted 35-57 against the amendment. *(Vote 169, p. 31-S)*

Other Action

In other action, the Senate accepted amendments by:

- Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, to require the NRC to notify state authorities when it transported nuclear waste across state lines.
- Weicker, R-Conn., to prohibit licensing or approval of any disposal of nuclear wastes in oceans.
- Hart, to require the NRC to promulgate, within 180 days of enactment, regulations on the allowable population density of new nuclear plant sites.

Kemeny Commission Calls for Changes...

The Kemeny Commission, appointed by President Carter to study the accident at Three Mile Island, issued its report Oct. 30 calling for fundamental changes in the operation and regulation of nuclear power plants in the United States.

President Carter, after studying the report, responded on Dec. 7 by reiterating the administration's support for and the national need of nuclear power. He agreed with the commission that reforms were needed, but urged that once those reforms were instituted, the nation should move ahead to build new nuclear plants to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil.

Commission Report

"If the country wishes, for larger reasons, to confront the risks that are inherently associated with nuclear power, fundamental changes are necessary if those risks are to be kept within tolerable limits," the Kemeny report declared.

The commission, named for its chairman, Dartmouth College President John Kemeny, spent six months on its study, which cost $3 million.

Because of shortcomings it found in utility operation and government regulation of nuclear power, the commission said an accident such as the one at Three Mile Island was "eventually inevitable." And even if changes were made, the panel said, a similar accident could occur.

"Our findings do not, standing alone, require the conclusion that nuclear power is inherently too dangerous to permit it to continue and expand as a form of power generation," the report said. "Neither do they suggest that the nation should move forward aggressively to develop additional commercial power."

Major Recommendations

The commission's major recommendations were that:

- Requests for operating licenses and construction permits be reviewed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) on a case-by-case basis to make sure that 1) new safety standards recommended by the commission had been incorporated in the plant; 2) the plant operator could meet more stringent qualifications for reactor management and operation, and 3) state and local emergency response plans for handling accidents had been approved.
- The five-member, independent NRC be abolished and replaced with an executive branch agency headed by a single administrator appointed by the president. A 15-member oversight committee on reactor safety would review the agency's performance and consider the overall risks of nuclear power.
- Government regulation of nuclear power concentrate on safety, instead of on licensing. "Where additional safety improvements are not clearly outweighed by cost considerations, there should be a presumption in favor of the safety change," the report said.
- Oversight of plant operation be upgraded, including establishment of government-accredited schools for training reactor operators and periodic review of licensees to be sure they were complying with government standards.
- New plants be located in areas remote from population centers "to the maximum extent feasible."
- The government expand its research on the effects of radiation. This recommendation came despite the commission's finding that most radiation resulting from the accident was contained within the reactor. The report noted that the major health effect was mental stress, which was found to be "quite severe" among those living within the vicinity of Three Mile Island.

The NRC, in a Nov. 9 letter to White House science adviser Frank Press, said it already was carrying out many of the Kemeny recommendations. Some had been included in a July 19 NRC study.

The NRC was sponsoring another study of Three Mile Island. The agency hired Mitchell Rogovin, a Washington lawyer, to head the investigation. Also under way was an investigation by the Senate Environment Subcommittee on Nuclear Regulation.

Costs of the Accident

The Kemeny Commission estimated the probable cost of the accident at $1 billion to $2 billion. Most of the expense would be for buying replacement power over the next few years.

The cost would be higher, the commission said, if the plant could not be put back into operation.

The Kemeny report was harshly critical of Metropolitan Edison Co., the utility that ran the Three Mile Island plant, saying the utility "did not have sufficent knowledge, expertise and personnel to operate the plant or maintain it adequately."

However, Met Ed was still licensed to operate the reactor. The NRC did agree Oct. 26 to fine the utility $155,000 for violations prior to the accident. The number of violations would have amounted to a civil fine of $725,000, NRC officials said, but existing law limited fines to $25,000 per month. The NRC authorization bill pending in Congress (S 562, HR 2608) would lift that ceiling.

No Moratorium Recommended

Despite its sharp criticism of the way nuclear plants were operated and regulated, the Kemeny Commission did not call for a moratorium on the startup or construction of new plants. Eight of the 12 members voted for at least one of several proposals for a moratorium, but no plan was endorsed by a majority of the commissioners.

Several legislators criticized the commission for not calling for a moratorium. Rep. Edward J. Markey, D-Mass., sponsor of a moratorium amendment in the House, attacked the commission for saying there was "something wrong with the automobile, but rather than recall it, we are going to try to repair it while it is still moving."

Abolish NRC?

The Kemeny panel was sharply critical of the NRC.

"The totality of our findings is that no one is running" the NRC, Kemeny said.

"We find the NRC is not necessarily a mismanaged agency — it is an unmanaged agency," said Harry McPherson, a member of the Kemeny Commission.

...Carter Reiterates Need for Nuclear Power

In addition to having a complex, unwieldy organizational staff structure, the NRC also was hampered by the fact that its five members consistently disagreed on issue after issue. Two commissioners — Chairman Joseph M.Hendrie and Richard T. Kennedy — usually leaned toward the industry; two others — Peter Bradford and Victor Gilinsky — leaned away from industry, and the fifth and newest member — John Ahearne — usually cast the "swing" vote.

An example of dissension within the commission came up at a Nov. 5 House Commerce Committee hearing where four NRC commissioners testified. When asked about the role of the executive director in managing the NRC, Gilinsky said, "This executive director does not have the backing of the majority of this commission." Hendrie, quickly interrupting, disagreed. "I have great confidence in the executive director," he said.

Later that day, the executive director, Lee V. Gossick, a retired Air Force general, resigned.

Most NRC commissioners did not want to abolish the agency, but agreed that improvements were needed.

All agreed that putting the NRC in one building would greatly improve its operation. In 1979, the commissioners were located in a downtown Washington office while most of the staff was a dozen miles away in Bethesda, Md. In all, the agency was spread among eight buildings.

Carter's Response

President Carter's first public statements in response to the Kemeny report were clearly intended to place the controversy over nuclear power within the context of the nation's energy problems.

"We cannot shut the door on nuclear power for the United States," Carter said Dec. 7, arguing that nuclear power was "critical if we are to free our country from its overdependence on unstable sources of high-priced foreign oil."

The president generally endorsed the commission's recommendations for improving nuclear safety, saying safety "is my top priority." But Carter emphasized how the "recent events in Iran have shown us the clear, stark dangers that excessive dependence on imported oil holds for our nation." He added: "We do not have the luxury of abandoning nuclear power or imposing a lengthy moratorium on its further use."

More Powerful Chairman Proposed

Carter rejected the Kemeny Commission's recommendation that the independent NRC be abolished and replaced with an executive branch agency headed by a single administrator.

Instead, Carter said he would ask Congress to give more authority to the NRC chairman, who was no more powerful than the four other commissioners. Under Carter's proposal, the chairman would have the authority to act as the chief executive officer of the NRC and, in an emergency, to act for the commission.

The NRC was sharply criticized by the Kemeny Commission and others for its inability to respond quickly to the Three Mile Island accident.

Administration officials said a legislative proposal on the NRC changes would be sent to Congress early in 1980.

Key legislators on those panels had been critical of the Kemeny Commission's reorganization plan. And, in fact, administration officials said there was "virtually no support" on Capitol Hill for abolishing the NRC.

Kemeny said the president's proposal for reorganizing the NRC, though different from his commission's, was "completely responsive to the goal we are trying to achieve."

As for the administration's overall proposals, Kemeny said in a statement that the president's response to the commission report had been "totally positive."

Carter also announced he was removing Hendrie as NRC chairman. The new chairman could not take over until June 1980, when the term of Commissioner Richard T. Kennedy expired, unless another commissioner resigned before then. Carter said the new chairman would be from outside the agency.

In the meantime, Carter named Ahearne, a former Energy Department official appointed to the NRC in July 1978, as acting chairman.

Carter agreed that reforms were needed, but said the NRC should finish work on them "as quickly as possible and in no event later than six months from today.

"Once we have instituted the necessary reforms to assure safety, we must resume the licensing process promptly so that the new plants we need to reduce our dependence on foreign oil can be built and operated," Carter said.

Carter did not fully endorse the Kemeny Commission's recommendations for reforms in NRC licensing procedures, many of which could require legislation.

Carter responded to other Kemeny Commission recommendations by:

- Proposing establishment of a five-member expert advisory committee to monitor how the NRC, other federal agencies, the states and utilities carried out the commission's recommendations for improving nuclear safety.
- Asking the NRC and other agencies to accelerate a program to place a resident federal inspector at every reactor site. He also asked the NRC to study the need for a federal presence, of either people or instruments, in the control room of operating reactors.
- Directing the Federal Emergency Management Agency to assume responsibility for evaluating and monitoring the plans of state and local governments and others for responding to nuclear emergencies. The president said he would seek a supplemental appropriation of $8.9 million for fiscal 1980 for the agency so it could complete a review of state plans by June 1980. *(Emergency agency, 1978 Almanac p. 802)*
- Asking Congress for a supplemental fiscal 1980 appropriation for the NRC of $49.2 million and for the Energy Department of $7 million. The additional funds were to be used for evaluating and implementing the lessons learned from the Three Mile Island accident, Carter said.

• Church, D-Idaho, adding $425 million for nuclear regulatory research.

• Bayh, D-Ind., extending criminal penalties to any individual who knowingly and willfully violated NRC safety standards for construction or operation of a nuclear plant. Accepted 60-32. *(Vote 171, p. 31-S)*

The Senate rejected amendments by:

• McGovern, D-S.D., to require federal consultation with states on storage of radioactive materials, with states given the right to reject nuclear waste. Tabled, 55-37. *(Vote 170, p. 31-S)*

• Heinz, R-Pa., to require that NRC resident inspectors live within three miles of the nuclear facility to which they were assigned. Tabled, 90-8. *(Vote 172, p. 31-S)*

House Committee Action

Interior Committee

The House Interior Committee May 9 approved a six-month ban on construction of new nuclear power plants, starting Oct. 1, 1979. The ban was included in HR 2608, the NRC authorization bill, which the committee reported May 15 (H Rept 96-194, Part 1). The bill authorized $373.3 million for the commission in 1980.

The committee approved the amendment, proposed by Edward J. Markey, D-Mass., by a vote of 23-7.

The margin of approval was surprising. The Interior Subcommittee on Energy and Environment rejected the Markey amendment May 1 by a vote of 9-11. The subcommittee also rejected a six-month moratorium on operating licenses, but voted to increase the fines that the government could levy against nuclear plant operators who violated safety rules.

Under existing law, the maximum civil penalty the NRC could assess for each violation was $5,000. The subcommittee increased the maximum penalty to $100,000.

In addition, the subcommittee removed the daily cap of $25,000 on the total penalties that could be charged during a 30-day period.

Commerce Committee

The House Commerce Committee June 6 rejected the Markey proposal for the six-month moratorium by a vote of 18-24.

During Commerce debate, Markey argued that the delay was needed as a "clear message to the public" that Congress was not going to investigate and debate the Three Mile Island accident and allow the industry to expand "as if [it] never occurred."

But Dave Stockman, R-Mich., and others argued that the amendment was "an empty, symbolic gesture" because the NRC could amend any license to require new safety procedures found advisable because of Three Mile Island.

The construction ban in the Markey amendment, which was opposed by the nuclear industry, would have run from Oct. 1, 1979, to March 31, 1980. It was expected to delay six plants.

Evacuation Plans. The Interior Committee had voted to prohibit the NRC from issuing operating licenses in states without approved emergency evacuation plans.

However, the Commerce Committee voted to direct the NRC to set standards for evacuation and emergency response plans to be included in state plans for dealing with nuclear emergencies. The amendment, offered by John D. Dingell, D-Mich., did not link approval of evacuation plans to issuance of licenses.

The committee authorized an additional $1,485,000 to help states prepare the plans. Other than that change, the two House panels and the Senate committee all approved the $373.3 million sought by the commission.

Commerce also agreed, 16-13, to an amendment by Ronald M. Mottl, D-Ohio, requiring that the governor of a state be notified whenever radioactive material was transported through the state. Interior added a similar amendment, though it applied only to nuclear waste.

Appropriations Committee

The House Appropriations Committee voted June 7 to direct the NRC to hire 100 new employees, with the stipulation that they work on licensing new plants. The panel was concerned that concentration on regulatory activity in the wake of the Three Mile Island accident was leaving no one to handle new licenses.

The provision was added to the $10.6 billion energy and water development appropriations bill (HR 4388 — H Rept 96-243). *(Details, p. 223)*

House Floor Action

The House Dec. 4 approved its version of the 1980 NRC authorization bill after rejecting a proposed six-month halt in the construction of new reactors.

Passage of the legislation came by a vote of 398-9. As approved by the House S 562 (HR 2698) authorized $426.8 million; $28.5 million more than the Senate bill. *(Vote 620, p. 184-H)*

The House rejected the moratorium amendment, offered by Markey, on Nov. 29 by a vote of 135-254. The nuclear industry hailed the vote as a major victory. *(Vote 615, p. 182-H)*

The strength demonstrated by the pro-nuclear forces on the moratorium issue convinced James Weaver, D-Ore., that it was useless to propose, as he had planned, an amendment prohibiting the NRC from issuing operating licenses to new reactors in states without approved emergency plans. The House rejected a similar proposal, in the form of an amendment ot the energy and water appropriations bill (HR 4388) in June.

Moratorium Debate

The House vote on the moratorium proposal came eight months after the Three Mile Island incident.

Markey and others argued that no new construction permits for reactors should be issued until the government had carried out changes recommended by the Kemeny Commission that studied the accident.

"Nuclear power is not safe," said Markey. But opponents said the amendment was largely symbolic because it would affect only plants that would not be operating for many years.

"This amendment is totally negative," said Mike McCormack, D-Wash., a nuclear advocate. "It has no redeeming value at all. It simply frightens people."

A factor in the vote apparently was the Nov. 5 decision of the NRC not to issue new permits or licenses until the Three Mile Island accident had been fully studied. The moratorium would have ended April 1, 1980.

Compliance Review

The same day that the House rejected the Markey amendment, it adopted, by a vote of 217-161, an amend-

ment requiring the NRC to report on which of the nation's 70 operating reactors were not in compliance with existing safety rules and standards. The report would be due 120 days after enactment of HR 2608. *(Vote 614, p. 182-H)*

The House amendment, offered by Jonathan B. Bingham, D-N.Y., was prompted by concern about the lack of NRC procedures for determining whether reactor operators were complying with revisions in the rules and with updated staff guidelines on reactor safety. Bingham was particularly concerned about whether the Indian Point 3 reactor, located near New York City, was in compliance with the most recent guidelines.

Bingham also cited a recommendation by the Kemeny Commission that the NRC improve its "backfitting" program. The commission called for a "systematic safety evaluation of currently operating plants, in order to assess the need to make new requirements retroactive to older plants and to identify new safety issues."

Other House Amendments

The House also adopted several amendments by voice votes. Among the major changes were those proposed by:

- Lujan, R-N.M., to increase the authorization by $52 million to carry out lessons learned from the Three Mile Island accident, to improve enforcement of safety rules and to continue licensing activities. The amount was set by the NRC after a request from Lujan.
- Moffett, D-Conn., to require the NRC to determine whether and how quickly the area around each operating reactor could be evacuated in an emergency.
- Harris, D-Va., to make sabotage of a nuclear facility a federal offense subject to a fine of $10,000 or 10 years in prison.

Issues in Conference

Conferees on the House and Senate versions of S 562 did not complete action in 1979.

The major controversy facing them was the Senate requirement that nuclear reactors in states without approved emergency evacuation plans be shut down. The requirement would go into effect nine months after the authorization became law.

In addition, the Senate bill prohibited the NRC from issuing operating licenses to new reactors in states without approved emergency response plans.

The House bill would not shut down plants or restrict licensing. Instead, the measure directed the NRC to decide what constituted an adequate emergency plan. On the basis of that criteria, the NRC would review state plans and report any deficiencies to governors and to Congress.

NRC officials were particularly interested in having Congress clear the authorization because S 562 lifted current restrictions on the fines the NRC could assess against reactor operators for violating safety rules.

Both the House and Senate bills would increase from $5,000 to $100,000 the maximum fine the NRC could levy against a reactor operator for each violation. Both measures would also remove the existing $25,000 ceiling on the fines that could be levied in a 30-day period. The changes were sought by the Carter administration and the NRC.

The ceilings kept fines against the company operating the Three Mile Island reactor at about one-fifth the level the NRC would otherwise have set, according to NRC officials. The fine was $155,000.

NRC officials said the limits had also resulted in a much lower fine than they said was justified against the Consumer Power Co., for violations in its operation of the Palisades reactor in Michigan. The fine, levied Nov. 9, was $450,000, but NRC officials said it would have been $2,129,000, except for the dollar limits in existing law. The Palisades fine was then the harshest ever assessed by the NRC. ∎

Nuclear Waste Disposal

Late in 1979, the Senate Energy Committee approved legislation (S 685) requiring the Energy Department to come up with a design and site for a long-term nuclear waste storage facility within one year.

The panel admitted that its action was intended to force action on the long-standing problem of what to do with nuclear waste.

When S 685 was introduced in the spring of 1979, J. Bennett Johnston, D-La., one of its sponsors, acknowledged that it was "radical legislation." The measure was co-sponsored by Senate Energy Chairman Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., and Frank Church, D-Idaho. They said the changes S 685 would mandate were essential to the future of nuclear power.

The intent of the bill was to force the government to design a giant, concrete vault-like facility from which the waste could eventually be retrieved and placed in permanent storage. The waste would be monitored and could be stored there for decades, or even longer.

In the meantime, the government would continue its studies of and planning for permanent storage, probably in an underground site that could isolate the waste for the centuries during which it would be radioactive.

But critics charged that the Energy bill would only distract government planners from the effort to develop permanent storage. They also argued that the giant vaults could mislead the public into thinking the waste disposal question had been solved.

But the Energy panel endorsed the position of its staff director, Dan Dreyfus. "It's a shell game — there's always another alternative," Dreyfus told the committee, referring to the prospect of waiting for underground storage sites. "We could have eternal studies."

He said an Energy Department plan for a specific facility would focus debate and would provide hard information about costs.

Summary of the Bill

Spent Fuel

Nuclear reactors were powered by uranium housed in long, thin metal rods. After the rods were in an operating reactor for several months, the available fuel was used up and the rods become "spent fuel" and were removed.

Some usable plutonium and uranium remained, but, in order to separate the useful fuel from the waste products, the material had to be liquefied through a procedure known as reprocessing. That process was no longer underway in the United States because of the Carter administration's concern that the availability of plutonium after reprocessing could encourage the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world. (Even after reprocessing, nuclear wastes —

known as high level wastes — still remain and are radioactive for several hundred years.)

The spent fuel was stored, when possible, at the reactor site in giant, concrete water-filled pools. However, many reactors were running out of space in their "swimming pools," which were always intended to provide only temporary storage.

Aware of the crowding, the Carter administration proposed in March 1978 that the government take over the spent fuel and provide storage. Such away-from-reactor storage would probably be in regional facilities, but none had been set up as of late 1979.

Under the Carter plan, the government, for a fee, would take over the spent fuel and provide temporary storage, perhaps also in giant swimming pools, until a permanent, geologic site was available. The one-time fee was expected to cover the government's costs.

The Energy Committee bill basically wrote the Carter policy into law. In addition, the measure required that the government transport the waste from the utility site to the storage facility, a responsibility the administration had wanted to leave to the utilities.

An early draft of the Energy panel bill called for the government to assume responsibility for the spent fuel as soon as it was removed from a reactor. But during markup the committee agreed to a policy of leaving the spent fuel at the reactor site as long as possible. That substantially reduced the amount of spent fuel for which the government would have to build storage. Spent fuel stored in "swimming pools" at reactor sites would, theoretically, go directly to a permanent geological disposal, bypassing federally supervised away-from-reactor storage.

Long-Term Monitored Storage

The most controversial section of the bill called for government construction of vault-type concrete storage for nuclear wastes, either above or below ground.

Within a year after the bill was enacted, the energy secretary would have to send to Congress a proposal for one or more facilities for long-term storage of nuclear waste.

The proposal would have to include a plan for an overall system of waste disposal facilities with the capacity to store all of the waste expected to be generated from currently operating plants and from plants for which construction permits had been granted or requested. The secretary would have to set out a construction schedule and general cost estimates for this system.

In addition, the secretary would have to provide a detailed design for a demonstration facility at a specific site that could accommodate spent fuel rods and some high-level waste, such as that produced by reprocessing or military activity.

The facilities would have to be designed to:

- Permit continuous monitoring, management and maintenance of the stored spent fuel and waste "for the foreseeable future."
- Provide for ready retrieval of the spent fuel and wastes either for reprocessing or disposal by another method.
- Safely contain the spent fuel and wastes "so long as may be necessary" by maintaining the facility or, if necessary, replacing the facility.

The legislation also exempted the proposal for storage facilities from the requirement of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (PL 91-190) that an environmental impact statement be prepared before the proposal could be sent to Congress.

An environmental impact statement would have to be written on the facility subsequently authorized by Congress. But unlike other impact statements, it would not have to consider alternatives to the facility already approved by Congress.

The legislation also limited the scope of any review of the facility by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). In considering licensing of the facility, the NRC was directed not to consider any alternative to the facility design or site approved by Congress.

The bill also authorized the energy secretary to continue research and development on long-term disposal of high-level radioactive waste. During committee action, the panel adopted an amendment by James A. McClure, R-Idaho, that added to the bill the deadline of 1988 for operation of a geologic disposal site.

Financing

The legislation did not authorize funding for the vault-type storage facility. Congress would consider the financial arrangements after receiving a specific proposal from the energy secretary.

For spent fuel storage, the legislation provided that the energy secretary could borrow $300 million from the Treasury to get the program going. But fees paid by utilities were expected to cover all of the costs of transporting and storing the spent fuel. Eventually, money from the fees, which would go into a special fund, would be used to repay the Treasury.

Low-Level Waste

The committee called for a study from the Energy Department within 120 days that would spell out how much storage space was needed for low-level nuclear waste and recommend whether the federal government should provide additional facilities or improve existing ones. Low-level waste includes things such as contaminated clothing used by nuclear workers and abandoned X-ray equipment.

Industry Position

The nuclear industry supported the Energy Committee bill, but apparently did not see it as solving the nuclear waste question, which was a major cause of public distrust of nuclear energy.

Industry officials preferred that the government come up with permanent, underground storage immediately. But they said they would accept the Energy Committee approach as an interim solution.

"If the government were prepared to go ahead today with geologic storage, then we would say go ahead and skip that step" of vault-type storage, said George Gleason, executive vice president of the American Nuclear Energy Council, an industry lobbying group. "But, with all the hassle going on, we may as well be going with what we know how to do."

That, he said, was the vault-type storage endorsed by the Energy panel. Geological storage would isolate the waste underground in a way that would not require human surveillance.

Administration Position

The Carter administration opposed the Energy Committee plan for concrete vault storage.

Under Secretary of Energy John M. Deutch, who chaired a special inter-agency task force on nuclear waste, testified against the plan and reiterated the administration position in a Dec. 12 interview.

"What the country needs, and what people want to see, is disposal where the waste is safe, not somewhere you would leave it for only 100 years," Deutch said. "The objective is development leading to disposal of the waste forever. . . in a credible, technologically sound way. Putting it in a vault for 100 years will not be perceived to do that."

Deutch argued that the government should concentrate on geologic disposal. Until that was available, the administration would provide temporary storage, away from nuclear plant sites, for utilities running out of storage space. The temporary facilities, like those now located on reactor sites, would consist of water-filled concrete pools.

Deutch said away-from-reactor storage would be adequate until geologic disposal was available. He said there was no need for the vault-type facility.

Deutch noted that the old Atomic Energy Commission, which preceded the NRC, had once proposed vault-type storage, but ran into political problems. The agency put forward the idea of "retrievable surface storage" in 1972, when a plan to store waste in a Kansas salt deposit proved unworkable, and asked Congress for funds to construct an above-ground facility. But in 1976, after the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) took over responsibility for waste policy, the request for funds was withdrawn.

One factor in that decision was a critical 1974 environmental impact statement that raised questions about safety problems should the waste remain in the vault-like storage indefinitely.

Environmental groups opposed the original "retrievable surface storage" facility and were adamantly opposed to the Energy Committee proposal. "You can't demonstrate a need for [vault-type storage] except as a straight political bailout for the industry," said David Berrick of the Environmental Policy Center.

Committee Action

In drafting its bill, the Energy Committee tried to avoid the jurisdictions of other committees. The panel cut out of the measure a section on licensing and siting of reactors, which would have meant sharing jurisdiction with the Environment and Public Works Committee.

Both the Environment and Governmental Affairs committees had considered nuclear waste legislation.

The Energy panel passed over two controversial issues that could have kept the bill mired in committee.

The measure did not spell out how states would participate in decisions about where to store the waste. Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., and Johnston had planned to offer different amendments on the role of states, but did not. Instead, they planned to try to work out a compromise amendment prior to floor action.

The second issue involved storage fees for waste. As reported by the committee, the bill required utilities to pay only a one-time fee to the government for waste storage. That concept was developed by the Carter administration. But Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, wanted to revise this provision because he was worried costs could escalate after the fee had been paid.

"It may very well be that the government winds up holding the bag for millions of dollars in expenses that properly do not belong to the public," Metzenbaum said.

But he did not propose an amendment in committee, saying he would work with Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., and others to develop a proposal that could be offered on the floor.

Johnston, eager to get the bill out of committee, vigorously lobbied his colleagues to win support for the measure and avoid debilitating amendments.

The bill before the Energy panel specifically stated that no environmental impact statement was required for the waste facility proposal prior to congressional action.

But Bill Bradley, D-N.J., wanted to have an environmental impact statement written because it would warn of potential environmental consequences and also because impact statements compared alternative approaches.

Bradley, who offered an amendment to require an impact statement, said that if alternatives were not adequately considered Congress would get "so far down the line with a particular design that we would be forced to say 'yes' or 'no' with the evidence heavily weighted in favor of that design."

But Johnston said requiring an environmental impact statement would kill the bill. He said the impact statement, like previous waste storage studies, would probably conclude that more information was needed about geologic storage. Johnston said the point of the bill was to require action, not additional studies.

The Energy Committee agreed with Johnston, rejecting the Bradley amendment by a 5-10 vote Dec. 10. ▮

Energy Authorization

For the fourth consecutive year, Congress ended its annual session without enacting legislation to authorize the nation's billion-dollar program of energy research and development.

A $7 billion Energy Department authorization bill for fiscal 1980 (HR 3000, S 688) did not make it to the Senate floor by the end of 1979, although the Senate Energy Committee had reported its version of the bill in June. It had been approved by the House in October.

Not since 1975 had Congress successfully completed action on a full-fledged energy authorization bill. Congress failed to finish work on the fiscal 1977 and 1979 measures, and President Carter killed the fiscal 1978 bill with his first veto.

Congress did approve, and President Carter signed into law, the measure (HR 4930 — PL 96-126) appropriating $22 billion in funds for the Energy Department in fiscal 1980. A large portion of those funds, however, were not to be made available for disbursement until authorizing legislation was enacted. *(Interior-Energy appropriations, p. 229)*

Passage of the energy authorization bill was invariably complicated by controversy over energy policy. As in earlier years, disagreement between Congress and the Carter administration over the future of the "fast breeder" nuclear reactor program was a point of controversy in House debate. Carter wished to terminate funding of a demonstration fast breeder plant on the Clinch River in Tennessee. The Senate committee agreed, but not the House committee or the full House.

The perennial issue of price controls on fuel sparked several amendments to HR 3000, as the House first adopted

— and later rejected — an amendment decontrolling gasoline prices. Decontrol advocates had succeeded earlier in defeating amendments calling for a restoration of price controls on crude oil, heating oil or diesel fuel.

Background

The nation's difficulties in grappling with the problems of shrinking energy supplies were aptly reflected in the unsuccessful efforts of Congress to pass an energy authorization bill.

In 1975 Congress approved a $5 billion authorization measure for the newly created Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA). Passage of the bill was complicated by controversy over the Clinch River project and over the federal role in spurring development and production of synthetic fuels. *(1975 Almanac p. 281)*

In 1976 Congress adjourned without taking final action on the fiscal 1977 ERDA authorization bill. Although conferees reported the bill late in the session, final action was blocked by a senator frustrated in his effort to become a member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee. *(1967 Almanac p. 153)*

President Carter vetoed the fiscal 1978 energy research authorization bill, because it contained authorization for continued work on the Clinch River plant. No attempt was made to override the veto. *(1977 Almanac p. 683)*

Two of three fiscal 1979 energy authorization measures died without approval by either chamber in 1978. The third, approved by the House, also died at the end of the session. Although all three bills were reported by committee, Democratic leaders in both chambers held them off the floor until after passage of Carter's energy package, fearful that the authorization bills would become the vehicle for amendments to remove or modify oil price controls. *(1978 Almanac p. 684)*

House Committee Action

Although the Senate Energy Committee was responsible for considering the entire energy authorization bill, four House committees shared jurisdiction over the measure — Science and Technology, Interior, Commerce and Foreign Affairs.

In the fiscal 1980 budget, the Energy Department attempted to write its $6.9 billion request in such a way that would minimize jurisdictional problems in the House. The department grouped its programs by title according to the areas of responsibility granted to each House committee. The idea was to have as few items as possible considered by more than one House committee.

Of the $6.9 billion requested, about $6 billion was earmarked for research and development programs, which were covered in Title I and handled solely by the Science Committee.

Title II, covering regulatory activities, and Title III, on commercialization of technology, were referred to the Commerce Committee.

Title IV, on power marketing and leasing of federal lands, went to Interior.

Storage of spent fuel from nuclear reactors, decommissioning of reactors and some aspects of uranium enrichment were covered in Title V, which was handled jointly by the Interior and Commerce committees.

Title VI, on renewable resources and conservation, was the responsibility of both Science and Commerce.

The remaining titles were referred to all four committees. Title VII authorized funding for administrative activities, as well as commercial nuclear waste management and several uranium enrichment projects. Title VIII detailed various limitations on the use of funds.

Committee Reports

The Commerce, Interior and Science committees all reported HR 3000 May 15 (H Rept 96-196, parts 1, 2, 3). Supplemental reports were filed by the Interior Committee May 23 (part 4) and by the Science Committee June 26 (part 5). The Foreign Affairs Committee did not file a report.

On the shared titles, the committees sometimes recommended different dollar amounts and policies, but were able to compromise in most cases. The sticking point was storage of commercial nuclear waste.

The problem arose when the Science Committee claimed that Energy Department programs for commercial waste management qualified as research and development — the Science bailiwick — because waste had never been stored permanently. Thus, the panel said, it belonged in Title I, over which only Science had jurisdiction.

But Commerce and Interior also wanted a say over commercial waste management and argued it was also under their jurisdiction because it related to commercial activities and to nuclear regulation.

The compromise gave the bulk of control over waste management to the Science Committee. At some undefined point, at the end of the research and development phase and the beginning of actual storage, Science would give up its responsibility. Commercial waste management would be authorized by Interior and Commerce.

Science and Technology

The Science Committee increased the administration's request for research and development from $5,942,394,000 to $6,198,008,000, an increase of $255,614,000.

Breeder Reactor

The energy source with the highest funding level was nuclear fission, which was authorized to receive $1,155,724,000. That included $183.8 million to continue construction of the controversial Clinch River project, which President Carter wanted to terminate.

In its report, the Science panel called it "critically important that this country retain a commitment to build a breeder reactor technology demonstration plant."

In hopes of winning the right to stop the project, the administration offered a compromise that called for a decision in 1981, when a study on alternatives was due, on whether to build another breeder plant. But the majority of the committee wanted a firm commitment that another reactor would be built. The panel rejected the compromise, 15-25, on April 26.

The committee report noted the conflict: "In the absence of any firm decision to build a large plant upon the completion of the newly authorized conceptual design study, the committee has acted to preserve the integrity of the Clinch River Breeder Reactor. . . . We cannot expect other developed nations to take us seriously in matters of nuclear technology or safeguards if we do not make a visible national commitment to build a plant and obtain operating experience."

Nuclear Waste

In other action related to nuclear power, the Science Committee adopted an amendment prohibiting "the wasteful practice of burying spent fuel elements before all useful energy value is extracted from them."

The administration, hoping to demonstrate storage of nuclear waste, had considered burying spent fuel, which could be reprocessed to extract still usable uranium and plutonium. Carter prohibited reprocessing since April 1977 because of concern that materials created in the procedure could lead to proliferation of nuclear weapons. *(Background, 1977 Almanac p. 399; 1979 action, earlier this chapter)*

And, the Science Committee noted, "deep underground tests simulating the storage of spent fuel assemblies is likewise prohibited."

However, the committee described itself as "strongly in favor of placing canisters of glassified wastes in deep geologic repositories or test facilities at the earliest possible date."

In keeping with that philosophy, the committee added $5 million to authorize a 10-year demonstration project to transform into glass capsules the liquid wastes from an abandoned reprocessing center at West Valley, N.Y. The process, known as vitrification, made the waste more suitable for long-term storage.

Other Action

Highlights of the committee's changes in the administration request included addition of:

- $25 million for development of photovoltaic cells, which converted sunlight to electricity.
- $32.4 million for development of thermal reactor technology.
- $5 million for the department to set up an operations training program for all civilian nuclear power plant operating personnel.
- $26.75 million for industrial energy conservation.
- $19 million for loans and grants to boost programs to transform urban waste to energy.
- $15.5 million for development of solar heating and cooling systems.
- $45 million to build two plants, instead of just one, using the solvent refined coal method of converting coal into liquids or cleaner burning solids.

Commerce

The Commerce Committee authorized $389.2 million for operation of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, the Economic Regulatory Administration, the Energy Information Administration and the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. That was $28.5 million below the administration request.

For commercialization of technologies, conservation in buildings and energy aid to state and local governments, the committee authorized $145.3 million, $1.6 million below the administration's request.

The committee urged the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to fill vacancies on its staff, noting that the commission had a backlog of cases pending before it.

Interior

The Interior Committee had sole responsibility for power marketing by the five federal power administrations and authorized $171,992,000 for those agencies.

Other areas covered by the Interior bill were uranium resources assessment, spent fuel disposition, decommissioning of nuclear reactors and commercial waste management.

The total amount authorized by Interior was $2,143,919,000, an increase of $97,600,000 over the administration request.

In its report, the committee questioned the necessity of storing spent fuel from reactors in away-from-reactor government facilities. Spent fuel was stored in pools of water located at reactor sites and operated by the utility that owned the reactor.

House Floor Action

The House began consideration of the $6.9 billion energy authorization bill on July 26.

After firmly rejecting the Carter administration's plan to terminate funding for the Clinch River project, the House halted debate on HR 3000 and moved on to other measures.

The House resumed consideration of HR 3000 Oct. 11 and passed it Oct. 24.

The Clinch River Debate

President Carter considered the breeder technology that would be used in the Clinch River plant obsolete, and thus viewed as wasteful the expenditure of $2.6 billion for a plant to demonstrate that technology. His opposition to the project was reinforced by his concern that the widespread use of breeder plants, which "breed" plutonium, might encourage the spread of nuclear weapons.

Hoping to win enough votes to kill the plant, Carter offered a compromise proposal that would allow him to stop building the Clinch River plant, but to continue work on components of the project, such as special pumps and generators.

The compromise also directed the energy secretary to study alternative breeder projects and report to Congress and the president by March 31, 1981, with a conceptual design for another breeder and a recommendation of whether to build it. The compromise would authorize $107 million for study and design, in addition to money already authorized for Clinch River. HR 3000 as reported authorized $183.8 million for the project.

"The Clinch River project is dead," said Don Fuqua, D-Fla., sponsor of the compromise amendment and chairman of the Science and Techology Committee.

"We are wasting our time if we think we can keep resurrecting this project every year. The president is not going to sign the bill with this in there," Fuqua said.

Others were concerned about wasting money. "We are not going to solve our energy problem by throwing globs of money at any project or any idea that comes down the pike," said Dave Stockman, R-Mich.

But supporters of the breeder argued it was crucial to the nation's energy future. They also wanted tangible evidence they were encouraging energy production.

"If we pass this [compromise] we are left with nothing but a program of pieces and parts and a vague hope that we are going to do something in the future, and whatever that is, nobody knows," said John W. Wydler, R-N.Y., ranking minority member of Science and Technology. "I say let us not be a timid Congress."

The compromise, offered by Fuqua and George E. Brown Jr., D-Calif., was rejected by the House, 182-237. A

similar proposal had been rejected by the House in 1978 by a slightly smaller margin. *(Vote 355, p. 104-H; 1978 Almanac p. 692)*

The legislators also considered a substitute for the Fuqua amendment that was offered by Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz. His proposal would have deleted all funding for Clinch River and not required an Energy Department study. The Udall proposal was rejected by voice vote.

Members also July 26 adopted an amendment by Fuqua, requiring that the Energy Department recommend a site for an intermediate-scale nuclear waste depository within a year of enactment of the legislation. In addition, by Sept. 30, 1980, the department was directed to give Congress a construction schedule for the depository, with completion of the facility planned by Sept. 30, 1985.

Fuel Price Controls

When the House resumed consideration of HR 3000 two and one-half months later, on Oct. 11, the issue of price controls for oil, heating oil and gasoline dominated debate.

President Carter announced in April 1979 that he would phase-out price controls on domestically produced crude oil, under the authority granted him by the 1975 Energy Policy and Conservation Act. Controls on the prices of home heating oil and diesel fuel were terminated July 1, 1976. *(1976 Almanac p. 180-181; 1975 Almanac p. 220)*

On Oct. 11, the House upheld Carter's position of ending controls on domestic crude oil prices; it also refused to restore controls on heating oil.

Toby Moffett, D-Conn., proposed to amend HR 3000 to restore price controls for one year on certain categories of domestically produced oil. He argued that decontrol would fuel inflation and result in hardship for consumers.

Opponents of the amendment cited President Carter's statements that decontrol was an essential means of decreasing U.S. dependence on imported oil. They argued that decontrol would discourage consumption and encourage production. The House subsequently rejected, by a vote of 124-243, another amendment to restore price controls on diesel fuel and heating oil. *(Vote 496, p. 144-H)*

Gasoline Price Controls

Unlike heating oil and diesel fuel, gasoline remained under federal price controls in 1979. Gas prices at the pump could be increased only to reflect inflation and higher crude oil costs. (Those two factors alone had allowed the price of gasoline to rise more than 50 percent from 1978 to 1979, as the price of imported oil rose from $13 to $22 a barrel, as domestic oil prices also rose, and domestic inflation ran at a 13 percent annual rate.)

Decontrol advocates, encouraged by their easy victories upholding decontrol of other fuels the previous day, were unexpectedly successful Oct. 12 in winning adoption of an amendment lifting gasoline price controls. By a vote of 191-188 the House approved an amendment sponsored by Jim Courter, R-N.J. The winning majority was composed of 130 Republicans and 61 Democrats, many from oil-producing states. *(Vote 498, p. 146-H)*

The Democratic leadership immediately began work to win reversal of that vote. One factor in the decontrol victory had been the absence of 54 members, including 37 Democrats. Reconsideration of the amendment, which could come just before final passage of the bill, was thus set for a day when better attendance was expected.

Under decontrol, gasoline prices would be determined by oil companies and the marketplace. The existing government-run allocation system, designed to provide equitable distribution of supplies, would be scrapped.

No one knew what decontrol would mean at the gas pump. When supplies were relatively stable, decontrol probably would have little effect on consumer prices, according to Energy Department and oil industry officials.

During a shortage, however, demand would push prices up. "Prices under decontrol in a disorderly market with supply shortages could skyrocket to a much higher figure, perhaps $2 a gallon and perhaps even more," John D. Dingell, D-Mich., warned the House. Others, however, disputed his estimate.

"The issue is timing," said Energy Secretary Charles W. Duncan. He said the president had not ended gasoline price controls because of fears that prices would go up, contributing to inflation.

Although officials did not publicly discuss it, higher gasoline prices were politically unpopular. The next peak driving season was the summer of 1980, just weeks before the national election.

Courter, sponsor of the gasoline decontrol amendment, told his colleagues it was inconsistent to support decontrol of crude oil and continue controls on gasoline.

"Our policy on gasoline is truly anomalous and must be corrected," said Courter, a freshman who was not a member of an energy panel. "It is an anachronism in today's world of gradual decontrol."

But other members argued that ending the controls could disrupt the market. "It guarantees massive increases in prices," said Dingell.

Republicans countered by noting that controls had not kept prices down. Controls "are not effective in protecting the consumer," argued Stockman.

Decontrol advocates were particularly critical of the gasoline allocation system, which they claimed caused gasoline lines earlier in the year. "The allocation formula put gasoline where the cars were not," Courter said.

By knocking out the entire control and allocation system, the House had also removed the government's authority to ensure that priority users, such as farmers and fire departments, got adequate supplies in an emergency. Dingell had hoped to use that argument in winning a reversal of the Courter amendment.

However, Phil Gramm, D-Texas, quickly drafted an amendment restoring authority to allocate to priority users. His proposal was adopted Oct. 12 by a 257-119 vote. *(Vote 500, p. 146-H)*

Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas, had tried to amend Gramm's proposal so that price controls could also be restored in an emergency. But his amendment was rejected, 182-191. *(Vote 499, p. 146-H)*

A Shift in the House

Though a majority of the House once favored energy price controls, its position shifted toward decontrol in the previous few years.

On natural gas pricing, for example, moderate Democrats struggled in the 95th Congress to win a phase-out of price controls over five years, instead of the immediate decontrol favored by Republicans. *(1978 Almanac p. 639)*

House oil price control proponents, aware their numbers were dwindling, had all hopes dashed by the almost 2-to-1 vote Oct. 11 against extending crude oil controls.

Hurting the position of the congressional control advocates, mostly Democrats, was the Democratic president's policy of ending controls.

In addition, the pro-control ranks had eroded as legislators became convinced that decontrol might encourage conservation.

Other Amendments

On Oct. 11, the House also approved amendments proposed by:

- Fuqua, to authorize $7.5 million for construction of an additional coal liquefaction demonstration plant and $7.5 million for construction of an additional low-Btu coal gasification plant.
- Mike McCormack, D-Wash., to authorize an additional $5 million for a magnetic fusion engineering test facility.
- McCormack, to authorize an additional $5.5 million for research on inertial confinement fusion.
- Norman Y. Mineta, D-Calif., to authorize an additional $5 million for research on ocean thermal energy.
- Wydler, R-N.Y., to authorize an additional $5 million for light water nuclear reactor safety programs.
- Hamilton Fish Jr., R-N.Y., to cut funding by $7 million for a coal gasification plant where components could be tested and evaluated.
- Lindy Boggs, D-La., to authorize an additional $4 million for research on extraction of geopressured methane.
- John P. Murtha, D-Pa., to authorize an additional $9.5 million for development of the high-Btu coal gasification test facility in Pennsylvania.
- Richard L. Ottinger, D-N.Y., to authorize an additional $11.1 million for research and development of gasohol technologies and conversion of biomass to fuels.
- Dingell, to authorize an additional $11.4 million for enforcement and other regulatory activities of the Economic Regulatory Administration.

Debate continued Oct. 16, but little action was taken until Oct. 18, when the House adopted amendments by:

- Cecil Heftel, D-Hawaii, to authorize $2 million for planning for a Strategic Petroleum Reserve in Hawaii.
- Ottinger, to authorize $30 million for an Energy Department advertising program to promote energy conservation.
- Dingell, as a substitute to an amendment by William F. Clinger Jr., R-Pa., to authorize $38,500, for a study by the energy secretary of the feasibility of federal tax credits for residential coal-heating equipment.
- Stephen L. Neal, D-N.C., to authorize $3.1 million for a demonstration peat-fueled electric generating plant.
- Fuqua, to authorize $7.5 million for a coal-to-methanol demonstration project.
- Udall, to direct the energy secretary to report to Congress by May 1, 1980, with a plan for establishing depositories for low-level radioactive waste.
- Manuel Lujan Jr., R-N.M., to direct the energy secretary, in selecting a permanent geological repository for nuclear high-level wastes, to give top priority to sites located on federally owned lands that had already been contaminated by nuclear activity.

Jim Santini, D-Nev., complained that Lujan was just trying to keep nuclear waste out of his state, a prime candidate for a disposal site. "This amendment is an ill-disguised attempt to exclude consideration of his congressional district from possible waste disposal," Santini said.

Lujan denied the charge. The amendment was adopted, 208-197. *(Vote 518, p. 152-H)*

- William E. Dannemeyer, R-Calif., to require that the Energy Department fuel its vehicles with fuel other than gasoline, as long as the alternative fuel did not cost more than gasoline.
- Peter H. Kostmayer, D-Pa., amendment to require that the Energy Department contract with small businesses for at least 12 percent of its research and development services. The amendment was adopted, 220-168. *(Vote 520, p. 152-H)*

Gasoline Vote Reversed

Bolstered by good attendance — and armed with the recent reports of soaring oil industry profits — the Carter administration and House leaders Oct. 24 won reversal of the earlier vote to decontrol gasoline prices.

By a vote of 189-225, the House overturned its Oct. 12 decision to adopt a gasoline decontrol amendment. All but 21 members of the House were present for the Oct. 24 vote. *(Vote 532, p. 156-H)*

The House then approved the $7 billion bill by a vote of 263-150. *(Vote 533, p. 156-H)*

Provisions

As passed by the House, HR 3000 authorized the following amounts:

	Administration Request	House-passed Authorization
Title I (Research (and Development)	$4,094,187,000	$4,544,617,000
Title II (Regulatory Activity)	303,881,000	402,736,000
Title III (Commercialization)	80,390,000	137,686,000
Title IV (Tax Credit Study)	0	38,500
Title V (Power (Marketing, Leasing)	170,760,000	178,360,000
Title VI (Spent Fuel, Other)	120,603,000	128,603,000
Title VII (Renewables, Conservation)	125,810,000	111,729,000
Title VIII (Admin., Nuclear Waste)	1,643,081,000	1,533,013,000
Total	$6,538,712,000	$7,036,782,890

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Energy Committee filed its report on the fiscal 1980 authorization bill for the Department of Energy on June 26 (S 688 — S Rept 96-232).

The committee added $1.4 billion to the administration's proposed authorization for Energy Department programs.

The bill recommended a total of $7.98 billion. It called for an authorization of $7.74 billion for the Energy Department and $240 million for the Interior Department to continue exploration for oil on the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska. The administration had requested $6.54 billion for the Energy Department and no funding for the Interior oil exploration.

Clinch River Breeder Reactor

By a 10-8 vote, the committee endorsed the administration's proposal to terminate construction of the contro-

versial breeder reactor demonstration project at Clinch River. But it directed the administration to begin conceptual design of a new breeder reactor test plant and to report to Congress and the president on the design and other recommendations by March 31, 1981. The committee authorized an extra $52 million to carry out the design and additional testing of components of the Clinch River project.

National Petroleum Reserve

The committee objected to the Carter administration's plans to end government exploration of the National Petroleum Reserve, a 22.5 million-acre site in northwestern Alaska. An amendment was adopted authorizing $240 million for continued exploration.

Congress in 1976 directed the Interior Department to explore for oil on the petroleum reserve, with a report recommending future use of the reserve due on Jan. 1, 1980. The law (PL 94-258) prohibited production of oil from the reserve unless Congress specifically authorized it. *(1976 Almanac p. 105)*

Thus far, the government had found no oil or gas deposits of commercial significance in the area, although it had drilled 19 wells. But the committee accused the administration of giving up too quickly and ordered that the drilling continue. "[A]reas of significant potential have been insufficiently covered in the program to fully assess the . . . potential," the committee said.

The administration had said commercial interests should take over exploration of the reserve and had indicated it would like to lease tracts there to oil companies. The Interior appropriations bill (HR 4930) contained funds to continue federal financing for oil exploration in the petroleum reserve, although the administration had not requested them. *(Interior bill, p. 229)*

Coal Gasification

The committee added $15 million to the administration request to begin construction of a second plant to demonstrate coal gasification processes that used eastern coal. The administration had requested funding to start one demonstration plant.

In addition, the panel wanted to speed construction of a commercial-scale plant that would use the established Lurgi process to gasify western coal. The Lurgi process could not be used for eastern coal because it cakes during the chemical process and could not pass through the equipment. The committee decided to offer $900 million in loan guarantees to a firm willing to build a commercial-scale facility, which was expected to cost more than $1.2 billion. The bill authorized $98 million to support the loan guarantees.

Strategic Petroleum Reserve

The committee directed the Energy Department to rewrite its proposal for continued buildup of strategic petroleum reserves for use in emergencies. But the committee told the agency the oil should be stored in or readily accessible to any region that had imported 20 percent or more of the refined products it had used during the preceding 24 months. Existing storage sites were in Louisiana and Texas. The amendment was sought primarily by senators representing New England, which was heavily dependent on imported heating oil.

The committee said the size and location of the new sites should be incorporated into an amendment to the administration's Strategic Petroleum Reserve plan and submitted to Congress for approval.

The committee also adopted an amendment requiring the Energy Department to notify Congress of its plans for future purchases for the reserve. The report noted that purchases had been suspended since supplies of oil from Iran were interrupted in February.

Spent Fuel Storage

The committee added $300 million for plant and capital equipment for an away-from-reactor facility to store up to 5,000 metric tons of spent nuclear fuel. But the panel specified that no more than $25 million could be appropriated for the project in fiscal 1980 until Congress had passed legislation authorizing the Energy Department to take title to the fuel and charge for government storage costs.

In determining where to put the facility, the committee directed the energy secretary to notify the governor of the affected state. The bill then gave the governor 90 days to disapprove, and provided that the site could not be used until the governor's objections had been satisfied.

The committee also specified that the facility could not be used to store spent fuel from foreign countries, even if the fuel had initially been supplied by the United States.

The panel expressed its displeasure at not being notified that the administration was considering storing foreign nuclear waste on the Pacific island of Palmyra and other U.S. territories. The administration had indicated it wanted to store the spent fuel so that foreign countries would not reprocess it. That procedure released plutonium, which could be used to make atomic bombs.

In response to the administration's activities, the panel barred the use of federal funds to select storage sites for foreign spent fuel within any U.S. territory, possession or state, without giving prior notice to Congress.

Other Amendments

In other action, the committee added:

- $60 million toward construction of a plant near Newman, Ky., that would use the solvent refined coal-I (SRC-I) process to turn coal into a clean-burning solid fuel for use primarily in coal-burning utilities that had to make changes to comply with environmental regulations. The committee said plans were eventually to convert the demonstration project to a 30,000-ton-a-day commercial plant.
- $45 million toward construction of a demonstration plant near Morgantown, W.Va., that would use the SRC-II process to turn coal into a liquid fuel. The committee specified that the $45 million would be reduced by an amount equal to any foreign contributions to the project. The panel noted that Germany and Japan had agreed to contribute 25 percent each to the total cost of the plant.
- $24 million to fund improvements in thermal nuclear reactor safety, such as better safety valves and heat removal systems and development of computer control systems that the committee said would help eliminate human error in running nuclear plants. Ten million dollars of the increase would fund a new Energy Department program for handling nuclear plant emergencies.
- $58 million to accelerate development of magnetohydrodynamics, a process by which electricity was generated directly from hot coal gases.
- $67 million for solar research and development. The increase included $20 million for photovoltaics, systems that turned sunlight into electricity, and $30.5 million for wind energy conversion systems. ▮

Naval Oil Reserves

Congress in 1979 authorized $85.2 million in fiscal 1980 for exploration, development and conservation of the nation's naval petroleum and oil shale reserves (HR 3354 — PL 96-137).

HR 3354 did not cut back production of the petroleum reserves, as some members of Congress had advocated.

Background

Between 1912 and 1924, the federal government set aside six parcels of land believed to contain petroleum deposits — three for oil shale and three for petroleum — to provide fuel supplies for the military in the event of war.

In 1976, prompted by energy crunches and a fear that the dormant reserve fields would not be immediately usable when needed, Congress voted to change the strict conservation status the petroleum reserves had been given. The Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976 (PL 94-258) permitted production at the "maximum efficient rate" until 1982. *(1976 Almanac p. 105)*

Between 1976 and 1979, production from two petroleum reserves averaged 121,000 barrels a day and brought in more than $481 million in revenues. The oil shale reserves, estimated to contain 26 billion barrels of shale oil, were not in production.

Legislative Action

House. The House Armed Services Committee reported HR 3354 (H Rept 96-91) April 9, and the House passed it without amendment April 25 by a 394-12 vote. *(Vote 91, p. 32-H)*

The $85.2 million authorization was $10.3 million more than the administration had requested. The extra funds were intended to ensure the continuation of exploration programs, particularly at Petroleum Reserve No. 1, at Elk Hills, Calif., and Oil Shale Reserve No. 2 in Utah.

The House bill required that at least 16 Navy officers continue to be assigned to the Energy Department to oversee management of the reserves. Administration officials had said they wanted to discontinue the practice, but the committee said the officers were "essential" to preserve the national defense character of the reserves and to ensure conservation of the reserve resources. Civilians in the Energy Department were more attuned to maximum production of the reserve fields, the committee report warned.

Concern about conservation also surfaced during House floor debate. James Weaver, D-Ore., offered an amendment to halt production at Elk Hills, by far the biggest of the reserves in production. Weaver said his amendment was needed to preserve a standby energy source for defense. "Every drop we take out is one less drop we will have for . . . our national security in the future," he said.

But Samuel S. Stratton, D-N.Y., argued that "while we do not like to see any of it [petroleum] pumped out, . . . we have got to pump some of it out to get the money to get [the reserve] to maximum utility." Stratton noted that production would cease in 1982 unless Congress extended the 1976 law.

Weaver's amendment was rejected by voice vote.

Senate. The Senate Armed Services Committee reported HR 3354 Sept. 19 (S Rept 96-325), and the Senate passed it Sept. 27 by voice vote.

The Senate committee deleted the requirement that Navy officers manage the reserves program, noting that naval officers no longer were trained in petroleum-related fields, and that in any case, "many naval officers are retiring or resigning and being re-employed by the Department of Energy in the same management positions which they held while on active duty."

Conference. Conferees filed their report (H Rept 96-596, S Rept 96-410) Nov. 8. They settled the two issues in disagreement by:

- Continuing a requirement that Navy officers — the number was not specified — be assigned to several key Department of Energy positions, including head of the Office of Naval Petroleum Reserves.
- Dropping a Senate provision that would have given a standing authorization to the reserve program, making it unnecessary for Congress to authorize funds each year. Supporters of this proposal argued that the annual appropriations process gave sufficient congressional control.

Final Action. The Senate approved the conference report Nov. 9. The House approved it Nov. 28, clearing the measure for the president. President Carter signed the measure Dec. 12. ▮

Solid Waste Disposal

The Senate endorsed a temporary exemption from federal hazardous waste regulation for residues from production of crude oil, natural gas, coal and geothermal energy.

The suspension was included in a bill (S 1156) extending for three years the Solid Waste Disposal Act (PL 89-82) as amended by the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act of 1976 (PL 94-580). The bill, passed by voice vote June 4, authorized $524 million in fiscal 1980-82 for programs to study, plan and control handling of solid waste — including, but not limited to, hazardous waste. *(1976 Almanac p. 199)*

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reported a one-year extension bill (HR 3994), but the full House did not act on it before the end of the session.

Neither the House nor the Senate bill mandated specific solutions to problems of abandoned waste sites, or of transportation of wastes. President Carter June 13 proposed a "superfund" that would enable the government to clean up hazardous waste sites immediately upon determining that they posed serious threats to health or the environment.

Nearly 140 million metric tons of solid waste were produced in the United States in 1978, according to Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) estimates. Hazardous waste, in a separate category, totaled 35 million to 40 million metric tons.

Senate Committee Action

The Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works reported S 1156 (S Rept 96-172) May 15.

The bill authorized $163.95 million for fiscal 1980, $175 million for 1981 and $185 million for 1982.

The key committee amendment would suspend for at least two years EPA's authority to regulate as hazardous wastes residues from production of oil and natural gas, while the agency conducted a study directed by the legislation. The study would investigate the degree of hazard presented by residues from oil and natural gas, the adequacy of existing regulations governing their disposal and the added cost involved in toughening those regulations, if necessary.

Following completion of the study, EPA could propose regulations, but they would take effect only if approved by both houses of Congress.

The bill would strengthen EPA powers by permitting it to act against practices that substantially endangered health or the environment. Under existing law, the agency could take action only if a situation presented an "imminent hazard."

Senate Floor Action

During June 4 floor debate, the Senate adopted by voice vote two amendments that broadened the committee's suspension of EPA hazardous waste regulations.

An amendment by Walter "Dee" Huddleston, D-Ky., extended the suspension to cover wastes generated from the combustion of coal and other fossil fuels. Regulation of such materials, "which have never been demonstrated to be environmentally harmful" could amount to "overcontrol," Huddleston said.

An amendment offered by David Durenberger, R-Minn., suspended regulation of geothermal energy wastes, a move he said would help "reduce our hostage dependency on imported oil and gas."

John H. Chafee, R-R.I., expressed concern over the precedent established by the special exemptions from hazardous waste regulation. "The industry interests are standing in line asking for special favors," he said.

The Senate also adopted by voice votes amendments offered by:

- Jennings Randolph, D-W.Va., to waive permit requirements under the act for coal mine operators who were covered by permits under the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act (PL 95-87).
- Chafee, to establish an interagency committee to coordinate federal efforts in solid waste management.
- Dale Bumpers, D-Ark., to clarify the states' right to establish site selection standards that were stricter than the federal government's.

House Committee Action

The House Commerce Committee reported HR 3994 (H Rept 96-191) May 15. The bill authorized $156.5 million for fiscal 1980.

The committee approved an amendment, first adopted by its Transportation and Commerce Subcommittee, that would entirely exempt byproducts of oil and gas production from hazardous waste regulation under the act.

The committee also adopted an amendment by Al Swift, D-Wash., to prevent regulation of waste waters discharged by city or industrial water treatment facilities.

Environmentalists objected to the Swift amendment, arguing that the waste waters covered by the amendment would pollute water supplies through a process called leaching, in which liquid waste seeped into the ground, gradually making its way to streams or reservoirs that supplied an area with water. At the urging of environmentalists, Swift agreed to revise his proposal before the bill went to the House floor. ▮

EPA Research Authorization

Legislation authorizing $379.5 million in fiscal 1980 funds for environmental research at the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the National Bureau of Standards neared completion in 1979.

Only a Senate vote on compromise language was needed to send the bill (HR 2676) to the president. The House agreed to the compromise Nov. 29.

A controversy over one provision of the bill prevented final action before the session ended.

HR 2676 authorized funds for research to support EPA's clean air, clean water, safe drinking water, toxic substances, radiation and energy-related pollution control programs.

The bill would produce a major shift in emphasis in EPA's toxic substances research. Rather than simply identifying and banning hazardous chemicals, EPA was required by HR 2676 to concentrate its research on determining human tolerance levels and the relative risks associated with different exposure levels.

More detailed information on human tolerance levels was needed so EPA could make "more credible regulatory decisions," said Rep. Jerome A. Ambro, D-N.Y., chairman of the Science and Technology Environment Subcommittee, during the Nov. 29 House floor debate.

The bill also directed EPA to develop methods of hazardous waste cleanup and control to serve as models for local communities faced with eliminating toxic substances from their water supplies and countrysides.

Of the $379.5 million authorized by the bill, $375.5 million was for environmental research at EPA and $4 million for environmental research at the National Bureau of Standards.

The final amount was $7.4 million more than the $372.1 million the president requested. One of the major additions to the president's request was $4 million to study how toxic substances that were dumped on land seeped into groundwater supplies.

The bill also added $1 million to the agency's budget to develop environmentally safe methods of controlling aquatic weeds. The bill specifically ordered EPA to do the study because the agency had not included funds for weed control research in its 1980 budget, despite language in the 1979 committee reports ordering a study.

House Action

The House Science and Technology Committee filed its report (H Rept 96-58) on the bill March 20. It authorized $376,342,000 in fiscal 1980 for EPA research and $5 million for an environmental program at the National Bureau of Standards.

The committee bill was $9.22 million over the administration request. Major increases included:

- $3 million, to $66.7 million, for water quality research — $2 million for the Great Lakes and $1 million for the aquatic weed control program.
- $4 million for a new drinking water research program on groundwater pollution.

The committee cut the request for toxic substances health research by $3 million, to $36.4 million.

The House passed HR 2676 unamended March 27 by voice vote.

One attempt to boost the research funds failed. By voice vote, the House rejected an amendment by Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., that would have raised by $1.25 million funds for research on possible microwave radiation hazards.

Holtzman, who successfully offered a similar amendment in 1978, asserted that EPA could not conduct adequate research on health problems associated with microwave radiation without more funds.

Senate Action

Without debate, the Senate May 23 passed HR 2676 as amended by the Environment and Public Works Committee. The bill authorized $383.6 million, $11.5 million more than the president had requested. The committee had reported the bill May 15 (S Rept 96-158).

Most of the increase was for research areas that the committee felt the administration's budget had underfunded. The increases included:

- $4 million to study the health effects of diesel emissions and ways to control those emissions.
- $4 million for research and demonstration of technology to control hazardous wastes.
- $2 million for research into the non-auditory health effects of noise.
- $900,000 to continue a cold climate research program in Fairbanks, Alaska.

Conference Action

The House and Senate bills had funded generally the same programs, but at different levels; conferees compromised on a program-by-program basis.

The final amount was lower than either house had recommended. The conferees recommended a $2 million cut in the $381.3 million authorized by the House and $4 million less than the $383.6 million approved by the Senate.

The two largest compromises were on the amount to spend for research on diesel emissions and toxic substances.

The Senate had authorized $4 million, which was not included in the House bill, for study of the toxic effects of diesel emissions. The conferees agreed that more study was needed, but decided that it should be done in fiscal 1981 after the agency developed a program for the additional research.

In the other area, the Senate authorized the $29.4 million requested by the administration to study the health and ecological effects of toxic substances. The administration's request, which exceeded 1979 authorization levels by $17.3 million, had provided funds for 27 new employees. But the House had cut the request by $3 million.

The conferees agreed to the lower House level of $26.4 million. Because the toxic substances research office had a new director, conferees decided the agency wouldn't be able to use the additional money within the next year. In addition, the House amount was already 120 percent higher than the fiscal 1979 authorization level.

The conferees went along with the House bill adding $2 million to the president's $1.6 million request for research at EPA's Great Lakes Research Program. EPA was directed to study the relationship between chemical toxicity levels in the human body and the consumption of contaminated fish taken from the Great Lakes. The conferees also directed the agency to develop a strategy for controlling toxic substances in the Great Lakes.

Action on Report

The conference report on HR 2676 (H Rept 96-611) was filed Nov. 9. It was adopted by the Senate Nov. 14 by voice vote.

In the House, however, the report was in effect killed on a point of order Nov. 29. The point of order was raised by House Appropriations Committee member Edward P. Boland, D-Mass. He said that the conferees had directed EPA to spend $900,000 for a cold climate research program in Alaska that had not been provided in the EPA's budget proposal or the fiscal 1980 appropriations bill providing EPA funding (HR 4394 — PL 96-103). *(HUD appropriations, p. 207)*

Boland said this was appropriating money through an authorization bill, a violation of House rules. He said this "amounts to a diversion of funds previously appropriated" for other purposes. Science and Technology Committee Chairman Don Fuqua, D-Fla., conceded the point.

To get around the obstacle, Fuqua then moved that the House accept an amended version of the language on the cold climate study. In the amended version EPA was "encouraged" — rather than directed — to do the study. The House agreed and accepted other compromises reached by conferees, and then sent the agreement back to the Senate for final action. The House's action in effect approved the contents of the conference agreement with the one change in the provision objected to by Boland.

The Senate did not act on the amended conference report before the end of the session.

Provisions

As approved by the conferees, HR 2676 authorized the following *(in millions)*:

Program	Budget Request	Authorization
Air	$ 70.9	$ 72.0
Water quality	63.7	66.7
Drinking water	23.7	26.9
Solid waste	8.1	10.2
Pesticides	9.6	9.6
Radiation	2.9	2.9
Noise	0	.5
Toxic substances	34.0	31.0
Energy	102.5	103.5
Interdisciplinary	20.1	25.4
Management	27.8	26.8
Special studies	5.6	0
EPA Total	368.7*	375.5
National Bureau of Standards studies	3.4	4.0
Total	$372.1	$379.5

** Figures do not add to total because of rounding.*

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Foreign Agreements

'Normalization' of U.S.-China Relations

The United States and the People's Republic of China crossed a 30-year diplomatic gulf Jan. 1, 1979, when each formally recognized the other for the first time. The breakthrough had been announced on Dec. 15, 1978, by Chinese officials in Beying (Peking) and by President Carter in a nationally televised speech. The texts of the Carter speech, joint communique, the U.S., Chinese and Taiwan statements follow:

Carter's Speech

Good evening.

I would like to read a joint communiqué which is being simultaneously issued in Peking at this very moment by the leaders of the People's Republic of China:

"Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, January 1, 1979

"The United States of America and the People's Republic of China have agreed to recognize each other and to establish diplomatic relations as of January 1st, 1979.

"The United States recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China. Within this context, the people of the United States will maintain cultural, commercial and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan.

"The United States of America and the People's Republic of China reaffirm the principles agreed on by the two sides in the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972 and emphasize once again that:

"—Both sides wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict.

"—Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region of the world and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

"—Neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any other third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

"—The Government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China.

"—Both believe that normalization of Sino-American relations is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the cause of peace in Asia and in the world.

"—The United States of America and the People's Republic of China will exchange Ambassadors and establish embassies on March 1, 1979."

Yesterday, our country and the People's Republic of China reached this final historic agreement.

On January 1, 1979, a little more than two weeks from now, our two governments will implement full normalization of diplomatic relations.

As a nation of gifted people who comprise about one-fourth of the total population of the earth, China plays, already, an important role in world affairs — a role that can only grow more important in the years ahead.

We do not undertake this important step for transient tactical or expedient reasons. In recognizing the People's Republic of China, that it is the single government of China, we are recognizing simple reality. But far more is involved in this decision than just recognition of a fact.

Before the estrangement of recent decades, the American and the Chinese people had a long history of friendship. We have already begun to rebuild some of those previous ties. Now, our rapidly expanding relationship requires the kind of structure that only full diplomatic relations will make possible.

The change that I am announcing tonight will be of great long-term benefit to the peoples of both our country and China —and, I believe, to all the peoples of the world.

Normalization — and the expanded commercial and cultural relations that it will bring — will contribute to the well-being of our own Nation, to our own national interest, and it will also enhance the stability of Asia.

These more positive relations with China can beneficially affect the world in which we live and the world in which our children will live.

We have already begun to inform our allies and other nations and the members of the Congress of the details of our intended action. But I wish also tonight to convey a special message to the people of Taiwan — I have already communicated with the leaders in Taiwan — with whom the American people have had and will have extensive, close and friendly relations.

This is important between our two peoples.

As the United States asserted in the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972, issued on President Nixon's historic visit, we will continue to have an interest in the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue.

I have paid special attention to ensuring that normalization of relations between our country and the People's Republic will not jeopardize the well-being of the people of Taiwan.

The people of our country will maintain our current commercial, cultural, trade and other relations with Taiwan through nongovernmental means. Many other countries in the world are already successfully doing this.

These decisions and these actions open a new and important chapter in our country's history, and also in world affairs.

To strengthen and to expedite the benefits of this new relationship between China and the United States, I am pleased to announce that Vice Premier Teng has accepted my invitation and will visit Washington at the end of January. His visit will give our governments the opportunity to consult with each other on global issues and to begin working together to enhance the cause of world peace.

These events are the final result of long and serious negotiations begun by President Nixon in 1972, and continued under the leadership of President Ford. The results bear witness to the steady, determined and bipartisan effort of our country to build a world in which peace will be the goal and the responsibility of all nations.

The normalization of relations between the United States and China has no other purpose than this — the advancement of peace.

It is in this spirit, at this season of peace, that I take special pride in sharing this good news with you tonight.

United States Statement

As of January 1, 1979, the United States of America recognizes the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China. On the same date, the People's Republic of China accords similar recognition to the United States of America. The United States thereby establishes diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

On that same date, January 1, 1979, the United States of America will notify Taiwan that it is terminating diplomatic relations and that the Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and the Republic of China is being terminated in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty. The United States also states that it will be withdrawing its remaining military personnel from Taiwan within four months.

In the future, the American people and the people of Taiwan will maintain commercial, cultural, and other relations without official Government representation and without diplomatic relations.

The Administration will seek adjustments to our laws and regulations to permit the maintenance of commercial, cultural, and other nongovernmental relationships in the new circumstances that will exist after normalization.

The United States is confident that the people of Taiwan face a peaceful and prosperous future. The United States continues to have an interest in the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue and expects that the Taiwan issue will be settled peacefully by the Chinese themselves.

The United States believes that the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic will contribute to the welfare of the American people, to the stability of Asia where the United States has major security and economic interests and to the peace of the entire world.

People's Republic of China Statement

As of January 1, 1979, the People's Republic of China and the United States of America recognize each other and establish diplomatic relations, thereby ending the prolonged abnormal relationship between them. This is an historic event in Sino-United States relations.

As is known to all, the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government of China and Taiwan is a part of China. The question of Taiwan was the crucial issue obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States. It has now been resolved between the two countries in the spirit of the Shanghai Communiqué and through their joint efforts, thus enabling the normalization of relations so ardently desired by the people of the two countries.

As for the way of bringing Taiwan back to the embrace of the motherland and reunifying the country, it is entirely China's internal affair.

At the invitation of the U.S. Government, Teng Hsiao-ping, Deputy Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, will pay an official visit to the United States in January 1979, with a view to further promoting the friendship between the two peoples and good relations between the two countries.

Taiwan Statement

The decision by the United States to establish diplomatic relations with the Chinese Communist regime has not only seriously damaged the rights and interests of the Government and the people of the Republic of China, but has also had a tremendously adverse impact upon the entire free world. For all the consequences that might arise as a result of this move, the United States Government alone should bear full responsibility.

In the past few years, the United States Government has repeatedly reaffirmed its intention to maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of China and to honor its treaty commitments. Now that it has broken the assurances and abrogated the treaty, the United States Government cannot be expected to have the confidence of any free nation in the future.

The United States, by extending diplomatic recognition to the Chinese Communist regime, which owes its very existence to terror and suppression, is not in conformity with its professed position of safeguarding human rights and strengthening the capability of democratic nations to resist the totalitarian dictatorship.

The move is tantamount to denying the hundreds of millions of enslaved peoples on the Chinese mainland of their hope for an early restoration of freedom. Viewed from whatever aspect, the move by the United States constitutes a great setback to human freedom and democratic institutions. It will be condemned by all freedomloving and peaceloving peoples all over the world.

Recent international events have proven that the United States' pursuance of the "normalization" process with the Chinese Communist regime did not protect the security of free Asian nations, has further encouraged Communist subversion and aggressive activities and hastened the fall of Indochina into Communist hands. The Government and the people of the Republic of China firmly believe lasting international peace and security can never be established on an unstable foundation of expediency.

Regardless of how the international situation may develop, the Republic of China, as a sovereign nation will, with her glorious tradition, unite all her people, civilian and military, at home and abroad, to continue her endeavors toward progress in the social, economic and political fields. The Chinese Government and the people, faithful to the national objectives and their international responsibilities, have full confidence in the future of the Republic of China.

The late President Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly instructed the Chinese people to be firm with dignity and to complete the task of national recovery and reconstruction. The Government and the people of the Republic of China have the determination and the faith, which they will exert their utmost, to work together with other free peoples in democratic countries to conquer Communist tyrannical rule and its aggressive policy. Henceforth, we shall be calm and firm, positive and hardworking. It is urged that all citizens cooperate fully with the Government, with one heart and one soul, united and determined to fight at this difficult moment. Under whatever circumstances, the Republic of China shall neither negotiate with the Communist Chinese regime, nor compromise with Communism, and it shall never give up its sacred task of recovering the mainland and delivering the compatriots there. This firm position shall remain unchanged. ▮

Carter's Address to Congress on SALT II

Following is the text of President Carter's address to a joint session of Congress June 18 following his return from the SALT II negotiations in Vienna:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress of the United States, and my fellow citizens:

The truth of the nuclear age is that the United States and the Soviet Union must live in peace — or we may not live at all.

From the beginning of history the fortunes of men and nations were made and unmade in unending cycles of war and peace. Combat was often the measure of human courage. Willingness to risk war was the mark of statecraft.

My fellow Americans, that pattern of war must now be broken forever.

Between nations armed with thousands of thermonuclear weapons — each capable of causing unimaginable destruction — there can be no more cycles of war and peace. There can only be peace.

Patience, Hope

About two hours ago, I returned from three days of intensive talks with President Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union.

I come here tonight to meet with you in a spirit of patience, of hope, and of reason and responsibility.

Patience — because the way is long and hard, and the obstacles ahead are at least as great as those which have been overcome in the last thirty years of diligent and dedicated work.

Hope — because I am thankful to be able to report to you tonight that real progress has been made.

Reason and responsibility — because both will be needed in full measure if the promise which has been awakened in Vienna is to be fulfilled, and the way is to be opened for the next phase in the struggle for a safe and sane earth.

Nothing will more strongly affect the outcome of that struggle than the relationship between the two predominant military powers in the world, the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Continuing Process

The talks in Vienna were important in themselves. But their truest significance was as a part of a process — a process that, as you well know, began long before I became President.

This is the tenth time since the end of World War II when the leader of the United States and the leader of the Soviet Union have met at summit conference. During these past three days, we have moved closer to a goal of stability and security in Soviet-American relations.

That has been the purpose of American policy ever since the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union became a central fact of international relations more than a generation ago, at the end of World War II.

With the support of the Congress of the United States and with the support of the people of this Nation, every President throughout this period has sought to reduce the most dangerous elements of the Soviet-American competition.

While the United States still had an absolute nuclear monopoly, President Truman sought to place control of the atomic bomb under international authority. President Eisenhower made the first efforts to control nuclear testing. President Kennedy negotiated with the Soviet Union prohibition against atmospheric testing of nuclear explosives. President Johnson broadened the area of negotiations for the first time to include atomic weapons themselves. President Nixon concluded the first Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement, SALT I. President Ford negotiated the Vladivostok accords. You can see that this is a vital and a continuing process.

Later this week I will deliver to the United States Senate the complete and signed text of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement — SALT II.

Long Negotiations

This treaty is the product of seven long years of tough, painstaking negotiation under three Presidents. When ratified, it will be a truly national achievement — an achievement of the Executive and of the Congress, an achiement of civilians and our military leaders, of liberals and conservatives, of Democrats and Republicans.

Of course, SALT II will not end the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. That competition is based on fundamentally different visions of human society and human destiny. As long as that basic difference persists, there will always be some degree of tension in the relationship between our two countries.

The United States has no fear of this rivalry. But we want to be peaceful.

Global Suicide

In any age, such rivalry risks degenerating into war, but our age is unique, for the terrible power of nuclear weapons has created an incentive that never existed before for avoiding war. This tendency transcends even the very deep differences of politics and philosophy. In the age of the hydrogen bomb, there is no longer any meaningful distinction between global war and global suicide.

Our shared understanding of these realities has given the world an interval of peace — a kind of strange peace, marked by tension, marked by danger, marked even sometimes by regional conflict, but a kind of peace nonetheless. In the twenty-seven years before Hiroshima, the leading powers of the world were twice engulfed in total war. In the thirty-four years since Hiroshima, humanity has by no means been free of armed conflict. At least we have avoided a world war.

Twilight Peace

Yet this kind of twilight peace carries the ever-present danger of a catastrophic nuclear war, a war that in horror and destruction and massive death would dwarf all the combined wars of man's long and bloody history.

We must prevent such a war. We absolutely must prevent such a war.

To keep the peace, to prevent a war, we must have strong military forces, we must have strong alliances, we must have a strong national resolve — so strong that no potential adversary would dare be tempted to attack our country. We have that strength — and the strength of the United States is not diminishing, the strength of our great country is growing and I thank God for that.

Yet, for these same reasons — in order to keep the peace — we must prevent an uncontrolled and pointless nuclear arms race that would damage the security of our countries, including our own, by exposing the world to an even greater risk of war through instability, and through tension and through uncertainty about the future.

That is why the new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty is so important.

Careful Examination

SALT II will undoubtedly become the most exhaustively discussed and debated treaty of our time; perhaps of all times. The Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and many others who hammered out this treaty will testify for it before the Senate, in detail, and in public. As President of our country, I will explain it throughout our Nation, to every American who will listen. This treaty will withstand

the most severe scrutiny, because it is so clearly in the interest of American security and of world peace.

SALT II is the most detailed, far-reaching, comprehensive treaty in the history of arms control. Its provisions are interwoven by the give and take of the long negotiating process. Neither side obtained everything it sought. But the package that emerged is a carefully balanced whole, and it will make the world a safer place for both sides.

The restrictions on strategic nuclear weapons are complex because these weapons represent the highest development of the complicated technical skills of two great nations.

Common Sense

But the basic realities underlying this treaty — and the thrust of the treaty itself — are not so complex. When all is said and done, SALT II is matter of common sense.

The SALT II Treaty reduces the danger of nuclear war. For the first time, it places equal ceilings on the strategic arsenals of both sides, ending a previous numerical imbalance in favor of the Soviet Union.

SALT II preserves our options to build the forces we need to maintain that strategic balance. The treaty enhances our own ability to monitor what the Soviet Union is doing. And it leads directly to the next step in more effectively controlling nuclear weapons.

Again, SALT II does not end the arms competition, But it does make that competition safer and more predictable, with clear rules and verifiable limits where otherwise there would be no rules and there would be no limits.

It is in our interest because it slows down — it even reverses — the momentum of the Soviet arms buildup that has been of such great concern to all of us.

Limits on Soviets

Under this new treaty, the Soviet Union will be held to a third fewer strategic missile launchers and bombers by 1985 than they would have — simply by continuing to build at their present rate.

With SALT II, the numbers of warheads on missiles, their throw weight, and the qualitative development of new missiles will all be limited. The Soviet Union will have to destroy or dismantle some 250 strategic missile systems — systems such as nuclear submarines armed with relatively new missiles, built in the early 1970s, and aircraft will have to be destroyed by the Soviet Union carrying their largest multi-megaton bombs. Once dismantled, under the provisions of SALT II, these systems cannot be replaced.

By contrast, no operational U.S. forces will have to be reduced. For one Soviet missile alone — the SS-18 — the SALT II limits will mean that some six thousand fewer Soviet nuclear warheads can be built and aimed at our country.

SALT II limits severely for the first time the number of warheads that can be mounted on these very large missiles of the Soviet Union, cutting down their actual potential by six thousand.

With or without SALT II, we must modernize and strengthen our own strategic forces and we are doing so, but SALT II makes this task easier, surer and less expensive.

U.S. Defenses

The agreement constrains none of the reasonable programs we have planned to improve our own defenses. Moreover, it helps us to respond more effectively to our most pressing strategic problems — the prospective vulnerability in the 1980's of our land-based missiles. The MX missile, which has been so highly publicized, is permitted under SALT II, yet its verifiable mobile deployment system will enhance stability as it deprives an attacker of the confidence that a successful first strike could be launched against the United States ICBM's, or Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles.

Without the SALT II limits, the Soviet Union could build so many warheads that any land-based system, fixed or mobile, could be jeopardized.

With SALT II, we can concentrate more effort on preserving the balance in our conventional and NATO forces. Without the SALT II treaty, we would be forced to spend extra billions and billions of dollars each year in a dangerous, destabilizing, unnecessary nuclear arms race.

Verification

As I have said many times, SALT II is not based on trust. Compliance will be assured by our own Nation's means of verification, including extremely sophisticated satellites, powerful electronic systems, and a vast intelligence network. Were the Soviet Union to take the enormous risk of trying to violate this treaty in any way that might affect the strategic balance, there is no doubt that we would discover it in time to respond fully and effectively.

It is the SALT II agreement itself which forbids concealment measures, many of them for the first time, forbids interference with our monitoring, and forbids the encryption or the encoding of cruise missile-test information. A violation of this part of the agreement — which we would quickly detect — would be just as serious as a violation of the limits on strategic weapons themselves.

Consequences of Defeat

Consider these prospects for a moment: Suppose the Soviet leaders build a thousand additional missiles, above and beyond the ones they have now, many new, advanced and of a formidable design. This can happen only if the SALT II treaty is defeated.

Suppose the Soviet leaders wanted to double the number of warheads on all their existing missiles, suppose they wanted to triple the annual production of the Backfire bomber, and greatly improve its characteristics in range and payload. These kinds of things can happen only if the SALT II treaty is defeated.

Suppose the Soviet Union leaders encrypt all data on their missile tests, suppose they conceal their nuclear deployment rate and hide all their existing missile systems, those things can happen only if the SALT II treaty is defeated.

SALT II, is very important, but it is more than a single arms control agreement. It is part of a long historical process of gradually reducing the danger of nuclear war — a process that we in this room must not undermine.

National Security Gain

The SALT II Treaty must be judged on its own merits, and on its own merits it is a substantial gain for national security for us and the people whom we represent, and it is a gain for international stability. But it would be the height of irresponsibility to ignore other possible consequences of a failure to ratify this treaty.

These consequences would include:

- Greatly increased spending for strategic arms which we do not need;
- Greater uncertainty about the strategic balance between ourselves and the Soviet Union;
- Vastly increased dangers of nuclear proliferation among other nations of the world who do not presently have nuclear explosives;
- Increased political tension between the East and the West, with greater likelihood that other inevitable problems would escalate into superpower confrontations.

Rejection would also be a damaging blow to the Western alliance. All of our European and other allies, including especially those who are most directly and courageously facing Soviet power, all of them, strongly support SALT II. If the Senate were to reject the treaty, America's leadership of this alliance would be compromised, and the alliance itself would be severely shaken.

In short, SALT II is not a favor we are doing for the Soviet Union. It is a deliberate, calculated move we are making as a matter of self-interest for the United States — a move that happens to serve the goals of both security and survival, that strengthens both the military position of our own country and the cause of world peace.

Prelude to SALT III

And, of course, SALT II is the absolutely indispensable precondition for moving on to much deeper and more significant cuts under SALT III.

Although we will not begin negotiations on SALT III until SALT II goes into effect, I discussed other nuclear control issues with President Brezhenev, such as much deeper mutual reduction in nuclear weapon inventories, stricter limits on the

production of nuclear warheads and launchers, enhanced survivability and stability of missile systems that are authorized under existing SALT agreements, pre-notification about missile tests and mass use or exercises of strategic bombers, and limits and controls on types of missiles which are not presently covered under any SALT agreement.

Though SALT is the most important single part of the complex relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, it is only a part.

The U.S.-Soviet relationship covers a broad range of issues, some of which bear directly on our joint responsibility to reduce the possibility of war. President Brezhnev and I discussed these issues in Vienna this morning in a long private session with only the interpreters present.

Strengths of America

I undertook all these discussions with a firm confidence in the strength of America.

Militarily, our power is second to none. I am determined that will remain so. We will continue to have military power to deter any possible aggression, to maintain security of our country, and to permit the continuing search for peace and for the control of arms from a position of strength.

Economically, despite serious problems of energy and inflation, we are by far the most productive nation on earth. Along with our allies, our economic strength is three times greater than that of the Soviet Union and all its allies.

Diplomatically, we have strengthened our friendships with Western Europe and Japan, with China and India, with Israel and Egypt, and with the countries of the Third World. Our alliances are stronger because they are based not on force, but on common interests and often on common values.

Politically, our democratic system is an enormous advantage — not only to each of us as individuals who enjoy freedom, but to all of us together because our Nation is stronger. Our support of human rights, backed by the concrete example of the American society, has aligned us with peoples all over the world who yearn for freedom.

These strengths are such that we need fear no other country. This confidence in our Nation helped me in Vienna as we discussed specific areas of potential either direct or indirect confrontation around the world, including places like Southern Africa or the Middle East.

For instance, I made it clear to President Brezhnev that Cuban military activities in Africa, sponsored or supported by the Soviet Union, and also the growing Cuban involvement in the problems of Central America and the Caribbean, can only have a negative impact on U.S.-Soviet relations. . . . Despite disagreements, our exchange in Vienna was useful because it enabled us to clarify our positions directly to each other face-to-face and, thus, to reduce the chances of future miscalculations on both sides.

Stable Relations

And, finally, I would like to say to you that President Brezhnev and I developed a better sense of each other as leaders and as men. The responsibility for many decisions involving the very future of the world rests on me as the leader of this great country, and it is vital that my judgments be based on as much firsthand knowledge and experience as possible. In these conversations, I was careful to leave no doubt about either my desire for peace or my determination to defend the interests of the United States and of our allies.

I believe that together we laid a foundation on which we can build a more stable relationship between our two countries.

We will seek to broaden the areas of cooperation, and we will compete where and when we must. We know how determined the Soviet leaders are to secure their interests and we are equally determined to protect and to advance our own.

We look to the future — all of us Americans look to the future — with anticipation and with confidence, not only because of the vast material powers of our Nation, but because of the power of our Nation's ideas and ideals and principles. The ultimate future of the human race lies not with tyranny, but with freedom, not with war but with peace.

With that kind of vision to sustain us, we must now complete the work of ratifying this treaty, a major step in the limitation of nuclear arms and a major step toward world peace. And then we may turn our energies not only to further progress along that path, but also more urgently to our own domestic agenda — in the knowledge that we have strengthened the security of the Nation which we love and also strengthened peace for all the world. ■

A Guide to SALT Terms

ASBM — Air-to-surface ballistic missile. An air-launched missile that follows a ballistic (unguided) course and has a range of more than 600 km.

Cruise Missile — An unmanned, guided missile that is supported by wings, like an airplane.

Unmanned, guided drones such as each country uses for reconnaissance are not counted as cruise missiles if they can be distinguished because of some design feature.

Fractional Orbital Missile — An ICBM *(see below)* fired on a ballistic (unguided) trajectory from which it is maneuvered to strike a target that could not be predicted from observation of the original course.

Functionally Related Observable Difference — Structural characteristics of an airplane that are externally apparent and that limit the missions the plane could perform.

Heavy Bomber — A plane that can perform the kind of missions currently performed by the U.S. B-52 and the Soviet Tupolev 95. Also any plane carrying ASBMs or cruise missiles with a range of more than 600 km.

ICBM — Intercontinental ballistic missile. A ballistic (unguided) missile with a range of more than 5,500 km.

A light ICBM is a missile with a launch-weight or a throw-weight no greater than the Soviet SS-19. A heavy ICBM is one with a launch-weight or a throw-weight greater than the SS-19, but no greater than the SS-18.

Launch-Weight — The weight of an ICBM or SLBM when it is fully loaded with fuel and warheads and ready for launch.

Launcher — A device from which an ICBM or SLBM is launched. The treaty does not limit the number of ICBMs or SLBMs, but only the number of launchers.

MIRVs — Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles. Ballistic missile warheads on a single missile, but aimed at separate targets.

National Technical Means of Verification — Electronic and optical devices, including satellites, radar and radio receivers, with which each country can monitor the other's compliance with the treaty.

Observable Differences — Characteristics of an airplane that are externally apparent, but do not structurally limit the missions the plane would perform.

Penetration Aids — Devices such as radar decoys carried by a missile to protect its warheads against detection and attack by defensive weapons.

SLBM — Submarine-launched ballistic missile. A ballistic (unguided) missile launched from a nuclear submarine or any ballistic missile launched from a submarine and first flight-tested since 1965.

Throw-Weight — The total weight of re-entry warheads, MIRV aiming devices, and penetration aids carried by a missile.

Text of U.S.-Soviet SALT II Agreement

Following is the text of the treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, signed in Vienna June 18, 1979.

The text as released by the Carter administration contained the following statement at the beginning:

NOTE: The text of the SALT II Treaty and Protocol, as signed in Vienna, is accompanied by a set of Agreed Statements and Common Understandings, which are prefaced as follows:

"In connection with the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, the Parties have agreed on the following Agreed Statements and Common Understandings undertaken on behalf of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

As an aid to the reader, the Agreed Statements and Common Understandings are presented in this edition immediately following the paragraph of the Treaty or Protocol to which they relate. For example, following Paragraph I of Article II of the Treaty are the Agreed Statements and the Common Understandings associated with that paragraph.

In the text reprinted on the following pages, the agreed statements and common understandings are printed in smaller type and are indented.

Text of SALT II Treaty

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Conscious that nuclear war would have devastating consequences for all mankind,

Proceeding from the Basic Principles of Relations Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of May 29, 1972,

Attaching particular significance to the limitation of strategic arms and determined to continue their efforts begun with the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, of May 26, 1972,

Convinced that the additional measures limiting strategic offensive arms provided for in this Treaty will contribute to the improvement of relations between the Parties, help to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war and strengthen international peace and security,

Mindful of their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Guided by the principle of equality and equal security,

Recognizing that the strengthening of strategic stability meets the interests of the Parties and the interests of international security,

Reaffirming their desire to take measures for the further limitation and for the further reduction of strategic arms, having in mind the goal of achieving general and complete disarmament,

Declaring their intention to undertake in the near future negotiations further to limit and further to reduce strategic offensive arms,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I

Each Party undertakes, in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty, to limit strategic offensive arms quantitatively and qualitatively, to exercise restraint in the development of new types of strategic offensive arms, and to adopt other measures provided for in this Treaty.

Article II

For the purposes of this Treaty:

1. Intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) launchers are land-based launchers of ballistic missiles capable of a range in excess of the shortest distance between the northeastern border of the continental part of the territory of the United States of America and the northwestern border of the continental part of the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that is, a range in excess of 5,500 kilometers.

First Agreed Statement. The term "intercontinental ballistic missile launchers," as defined in paragraph 1 of Article II of the Treaty, includes all launchers which have been developed and tested for launching ICBMs. If a launcher has been developed and tested for launching an ICBM, all launchers of that type shall be considered to have been developed and tested for launching ICBMs.

First Common Understanding. If a launcher contains or launches an ICBM, that launcher shall be considered to have been developed and tested for launching ICBMs.

Second Common Understanding. If a launcher has been developed and tested for launching an ICBM, all launchers of that type, except for ICBM test and training launchers, shall be included in the aggregate numbers of strategic offensive arms provided for in Article III of the Treaty, pursuant to the provisions of Article VI of the Treaty.

Third Common Understanding. The one hundred and seventy-seven former Atlas and Titan I ICBM launchers of the United States of America, which are no longer operational and are partially dismantled, shall not be considered as subject to the limitations provided for in the Treaty.

Second Agreed Statement. After the date on which the Protocol ceases to be in force, mobile ICBM launchers shall be subject to the relevant limitations provided for in the Treaty which are applicable to ICBM launchers, unless the Parties agree that mobile ICBM launchers shall not be deployed after that date.

2. Submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) launchers are launchers of ballistic missiles installed on any nuclear-powered submarine or launchers of modern ballistic missiles installed on any submarine, regardless of its type.

Agreed Statement. Modern submarine-launched ballistic missiles are: for the United States of America, missiles installed in all nuclear-powered submarines; for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, missiles of the type installed in nuclear-powered submarines made operational since 1965; and for both Parties, submarine-launched ballistic missiles first flight-tested since 1965 and installed in any submarine, regardless of its type.

3. Heavy bombers are considered to be:

(a) currently, for the United States of America, bombers of the B-52 and B-1 types, and for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, bombers of the Tupolev-95 and Myasishchev types;

(b) in the future, types of bombers which can carry out the mission of a heavy bomber in a manner similar or superior to that of bombers listed in subparagraph (a) above;

(c) types of bombers equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers; and

(d) types of bombers equipped for ASBMs.

First Agreed Statement. The term "bombers," as used in paragraph 3 of Article II and other provisions of the Treaty, means airplanes of types initially constructed to be equipped for bombs or missiles.

Second Agreed Statement. The Parties shall notify each other on a case-by-case basis in the Standing Consultative Commission of inclusion of types of bombers as heavy bombers pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 3 of Article II of the Treaty; in this connection the Parties shall hold consultations, as appropriate, consistent with the provisions of paragraph 2 of Article XVII of the Treaty.

Third Agreed Statement. The criteria the Parties shall use to make case-by-case determinations of which types of bombers in the future can carry out the mission of a heavy bomber in a manner similar or superior to that of current heavy bombers, as referred to in subparagraph 3(b) of Article II of the Treaty, shall be agreed upon in the Standing Consultative Commission.

Fourth Agreed Statement. Having agreed that every bomber of a type included in paragraph 3 of Article II of the Treaty is to be considered a heavy bomber, the Parties further agree that:

(a) airplanes which otherwise would be bombers of a heavy bomber type shall not be considered to be bombers of a heavy bomber type if they have functionally related observable differences which indicate that they cannot perform the mission of a heavy bomber;

(b) airplanes which otherwise would be bombers of a type equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers shall not be considered to be bombers of a type equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers if they have functionally related observable differences which indicate that they cannot perform the mission of a bomber equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers, except that heavy bombers of current types, as designated in subparagraph 3(a) or Article II of the Treaty, which otherwise would be of a type equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers shall not be considered to be heavy bombers of a type equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers if they are distinguishable on the basis of externally observable differences from heavy bombers of a type equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers; and

(c) airplanes which otherwise would be bombers of a type equipped for ASBMs shall not be considered to be bombers of a type equipped for ASBMs if they have functionally related observable differences which indicate that they cannot perform the mission of a bomber equipped for ASBMs, except that heavy bombers of current types, as designated in subparagraph 3(a) of Article II of the Treaty, which otherwise would be of a type equipped for ASBMs shall not be considered to be heavy bombers of a type equipped for ASBMs if they are distinguishable on the basis of externally observable differences from heavy bombers of a type equipped for ASBMs.

First Common Understanding. Functionally related observable differences are differences in the observable features of airplanes which indicate whether or not these airplanes can perform the mission of a heavy bomber, or whether or not they can perform the mission of a bomber equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers or whether or not they can perform the mission of a bomber equipped for ASBMs. Functionally related observable differences shall be verifiable by national technical means. To this end, the Parties may take, as appropriate, cooperative measures contributing to the effectiveness of verification by national technical means.

Fifth Agreed Statement. Tupolev-142 airplanes in their current configuration, that is, in the configuration for anti-submarine warfare, are considered to be airplanes of a type different from types of heavy bombers referred to in subparagraph 3(a) of Article II of the Treaty and not subject to the Fourth Agreed Statement to paragraph 3 of Article II of the Treaty. This Agreed Statement does not preclude improvement of Tupolev-142 airplanes as an anti-submarine system, and does not prejudice or set a precedent for designation in the future of types of airplanes as heavy bombers pursuant to subparagraph 3(b) of Article II of the Treaty or for application of the Fourth Agreed Statement to paragraph 3 of Article III of the Treaty to such airplanes.

Second Common Understanding. Not later than six months after entry into force of the Treaty the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will give its thirty-one Myasishchev airplanes used as tankers in existence as of the date of signature of the Treaty functionally related observable differences which indicate that they cannot perform the mission of a heavy bomber.

Third Common Understanding. The designations by the United States of America and by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for heavy bombers referred to in subparagraph 3(a) of Article II of the Treaty correspond in the following manner:

Heavy bombers of the types designated by the United States of America as the B-52 and the B-1 are known to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the same designations;

Heavy bombers of the type designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the Tupolev-95 are known to the United States of America as heavy bombers of the Bear type; and

Heavy bombers of the type designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the Myasishchev are known to the United States of America as heavy bombers of the Bison type.

4. Air-to-surface ballistic missiles (ASBMs) are any such missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers and installed in an aircraft or on its external mountings.

5. Launchers of ICBMs and SLBMs equipped with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs) are launchers of the types developed and tested for launching ICBMs or SLBMs equipped with MIRVs.

First Agreed Statement. If a launcher has been developed and tested for launching an ICBM or an SLBM equipped with MIRVs, all launchers of that type shall be considered to have been developed and tested for launching ICBMs or SLBMs equipped with MIRVs.

First Common Understanding. If a launcher contains or launches an ICBM or an SLBM equipped with MIRVs, that launcher shall be considered to have been developed and tested for launching ICBMs or SLBMs equipped with MIRVs.

Second Common Understanding. If a launcher has been developed and tested for launching an ICBM or an SLBM equipped with MIRVs, all launchers of that type, except for ICBM and SLBM test and training launchers, shall be included in the corresponding aggregate numbers provided for in Article V of the Treaty, pursuant to the provisions of Article VI of the Treaty.

Second Agreed Statement. ICBMs and SLBMs equipped with MIRVs are ICBMs and SLBMs of the types which have been flight-tested with two or more independently targetable reentry vehicles, regardless of whether or not they have also been flight-tested with a single reentry vehicle or with multiple reentry vehicles which are not independently targetable. As of the date of signature of the Treaty, such ICBMs and SLBMs are: for the United States of America, Minuteman III ICBMs, Poseidon C-3 SLBMs, and Trident C-4 SLBMs; and for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, RS-16, RS-18, RS-20 ICBMs and RSM-50 SLBMs.

Each Party will notify the other Party in the Standing Consultative Commission on a case-by-case basis of the designation of the one new type of light ICBM, if equipped with MIRVs, permitted pursuant to paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty when first flight-tested; of designations of additional types of SLBMs equipped with MIRVs when first installed on a submarine; and of designations of types of ASBMs equipped with MIRVs when first flight-tested.

Third Common Understanding. The designations by the United States of America and by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for ICBMs and SLBMs equipped with MIRVs correspond in the following manner:

Missiles of the type designated by the United States of America as the Minuteman III and known to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the same designation, a light ICBM that has been flight-tested with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles;

Missiles of the type designated by the United States of America as the Poseidon C-3 and known to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the same designation, an SLBM that was first flight-tested in 1968 and that has been flight-tested with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles;

Missiles of the type designated by the United States of America as the Trident C-4 and known to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the same designation, an SLBM that was first flight-tested in 1977 and that has been flight-tested with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles;

Missiles of the type designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the RS-16 and known to the United States of America as the SS-17, a light ICBM that has been flight-tested with a single reentry vehicle and with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles;

Missiles of the type designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the RS-18 and known to the United States of America as the SS-19, the heaviest in terms of launch-weight and throw-weight of light ICBMs, which has been flight-tested with a single reentry vehicle and with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles;

Missiles of the type designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the RS-20 and known to the United States of America as the SS-18, the heaviest in terms of launch-weight and throw-weight of heavy ICBMs, which has been flight-tested with a single reentry vehicle and with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles;

Missiles of type designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the RSM-50 and known to the United States of America as the SS-N-18, an SLBM that has been flight-tested with a single reentry vehicle and with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles.

Third Agreed Statement. Reentry vehicles are independently targetable:

(a) if, after separation from the booster, maneuvering and targeting of the reentry vehicles to separate aim points along trajectories which are unrelated to each other are accomplished by means of devices which are installed in a self-contained dispensing mechanism or on the reentry vehicles, and which are based on the use of electronic or other computers in combination with devices using jet engines, including rocket engines, or aerodynamic systems;

(b) if maneuvering and targeting of the reentry vehicles to separate aim points along trajectories which are unrelated to each other are accomplished by means of other devices which may be developed in the future.

Fourth Common Understanding. For the purposes of this Treaty, all ICBM launchers in the Derazhnya and Pervomaysk areas in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are included in the aggregate numbers provided for in Article V of the Treaty.

Fifth Common Understanding. If ICBM or SLBM launchers are converted, constructed or undergo significant changes to their principal observable structural design features after entry into force of the Treaty, any such launchers which are launchers of missiles equipped with MIRVs shall be distinguishable from launchers of missiles not equipped with MIRVs, and any such launchers which are launchers of missiles not equipped with MIRVs shall be distinguishable from launchers of missiles equipped with MIRVs, on the basis of externally observable design features of the launchers. Submarines with launchers of SLBMs equipped with MIRVs shall be distinguishable from submarines with launchers of SLBMs not equipped with MIRVs on the basis of externally observable design features of the submarines.

This Common Understanding does not require changes to launcher conversion or construction programs, or to programs including significant changes to the principal observable structural design features of launchers, underway as of the date of signature of the Treaty.

6. ASBMs equipped with MIRVs are ASBMs of the types which have been flight-tested with MIRVs.

First Agreed Statement. ASBMs of the types which have been flight-tested with MIRVs are all ASBMs of the types which have been flight-tested with two or more independently targetable reentry vehicles, regardless of whether or not they have also been flight-tested with a single reentry vehicle or with multiple reentry vehicles which are not independently targetable.

Second Agreed Statement. Reentry vehicles are independently targetable:

(a) if, after separation from the booster, maneuvering and targeting of the reentry vehicles to separate aim points along trajectories which are unrelated to each other are accomplished by means of devices which are installed in a self-contained dispensing mechanism or on the reentry vehicles, and which are based on the use of electronic or other computers in combination with devices using jet engines, including rocket engines, or aerodynamic systems;

(b) if maneuvering and targeting of the reentry vehicles to separate aim points along trajectories which are unrelated to each other are accomplished by means of other devices which may be developed in the future.

7. Heavy ICBMs are ICBMs which have a launch-weight greater or a throw-weight greater than that of the heaviest, in terms of either launch-weight or throw-weight, respectively, of the light ICBMs deployed by either Party as of the date of signature of this Treaty.

First Agreed Statement. The launch-weight of an ICBM is the weight of the fully loaded missile itself at the time of launch.

Second Agreed Statement. The throw-weight of an ICBM is the sum of the weight of:

(a) its reentry vehicle or reentry vehicles;

(b) any self-contained dispensing mechanisms or other appropriate devices for targeting one reentry vehicle, or for releasing or for dispensing and targeting two or more reentry vehicles; and

(c) its penetration aids, including devices for their release.

Common Understanding. The term "other appropriate devices," as used in the definition of the throw-weight of an ICBM in the Second Agreed Statement to paragraph 7 of Article II of the Treaty, means any devices for dispensing and targeting two or more reentry vehicles; and any devices for releasing two or more reentry vehicles or for targeting one reentry vehicle, which cannot provide their reentry vehicles or reentry vehicle with additional velocity of more than 1,000 meters per second.

8. Cruise missiles are unmanned, self-propelled, guided, weapon-delivery vehicles which sustain flight through the use of aerodynamic lift over most of their flight path and which are flight-tested from or deployed on aircraft, that is, air-launched cruise missiles, or such vehicles which are referred to as cruise missiles in subparagraph 1(b) of Article IX.

First Agreed Statement. If a cruise missile is capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers, all cruise missiles of that type shall be considered to be cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

First Common Understanding. If a cruise missile has been flight-tested to a range in excess of 600 kilometers, it shall be considered to be a cruise missile capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

Second Common Understanding. Cruise missiles not capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers shall not be considered to be of a type capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers if they are distinguishable on the basis of externally observable design features from cruise missiles of types capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

Second Agreed Statement. The range of which a cruise missile is capable is the maximum distance which can be covered by the missile in its standard design mode flying until fuel exhaustion, determined by projecting its flight path onto the Earth's sphere from the point of launch to the point of impact.

Third Agreed Statement. If an unmanned, self-propelled, guided vehicle which sustains flight through the use of aerodynamic lift over most of its flight path has been flight-tested or deployed for weapon delivery, all vehicles of that type shall be considered to be weapon-delivery vehicles.

Third Common Understanding. Unmanned, self-propelled, guided vehicles which sustain flight through the use of aerodynamic lift over most of their flight path and are not weapon-delivery vehicles, that is, unarmed, pilotless, guided vehicles, shall not be considered to be cruise missiles if such vehicles are distinguishable from cruise missiles on the basis of externally observable design features.

Fourth Common Understanding. Neither Party shall convert unarmed, pilotless, guided vehicles into cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers, nor shall either Party convert cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers into unarmed, pilotless, guided vehicles.

Fifth Common Understanding. Neither Party has plans during the term of the Treaty to flight-test from or deploy on aircraft unarmed, pilotless, guided vehicles which are capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers. In the future, should a Party have such plans, that Party will provide notification thereof to the other Party well in advance of such flight-testing or deployment. This Common Understanding does not apply to target drones.

Article III

1. Upon entry into force of this Treaty, each Party undertakes to limit ICBM launchers, SLBM launchers, heavy bombers, and ASBMs to an aggregate number not to exceed 2,400.

2. Each Party undertakes to limit, from January 1, 1981, strategic offensive arms referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article to an aggregate number not to exceed 2,250, and to initiate reductions of those arms which as of that date would be in excess of this aggregate number.

3. Within the aggregate numbers provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article and subject to the provisions of this Treaty, each Party has the right to determine the composition of these aggregates.

4. For each bomber of a type equipped for ASBMs, the aggregate numbers provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article shall include the maximum number of such missiles for which a bomber of that type is equipped for one operational mission.

5. A heavy bomber equipped only for ASBMs shall not itself be included in the aggregate numbers provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article.

6. Reductions of the numbers of strategic offensive arms required to comply with the provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article shall be carried out as provided for in Article XI.

Article IV

1. Each Party undertakes not to start construction of additional fixed ICBM launchers.

2. Each Party undertakes not to relocate fixed ICBM launchers.

3. Each Party undertakes not to convert launchers of light ICBMs, or of ICBMs of older types deployed prior to 1964, into launchers of heavy ICBMs of types deployed after that time.

4. Each Party undertakes in the process of modernization and replacement of ICBM silo launchers not to increase the original internal volume of an ICBM silo launcher by more than thirty-two percent. Within this limit each Party has the right to determine whether such an increase will be made through an increase in the original diameter or in the original depth of an ICBM silo launcher, or in both of these dimensions.

Agreed Statement. The word "original" in paragraph 4 of Article IV of the Treaty refers to the internal dimensions of an ICBM silo launcher, including its internal volume, as of May 26, 1972, or as of the date on which such launcher becomes operational, whichever is later.

Common Understanding. The obligations provided for in paragraph 4 of Article IV of the Treaty and in the Agreed Statement thereto mean that the original diameter or the original depth of an ICBM silo launcher may not be increased by an amount greater than that which would result in an increase in the original internal volume of the ICBM silo launcher by thirty-two percent solely through an increase in one of these dimensions.

5. Each Party undertakes:

(a) not to supply ICBM launcher deployment areas with intercontinental ballistic missiles in excess of a number consistent with normal deployment, maintenance, training, and replacement requirements;

(b) not to provide storage facilities for or to store ICBMs in excess of normal deployment requirements at launch sites of ICBM launchers;

(c) not to develop, test, or deploy systems for rapid reload of ICBM launchers.

Agreed Statement. The term "normal deployment requirements," as used in paragraph 5 of Article IV of the Treaty, means the deployment of one missile at each ICBM launcher.

6. Subject to the provisions of this Treaty, each Party undertakes not to have under construction at any time strategic offensive arms referred to in paragraph 1 of Article III in excess of numbers consistent with a normal construction schedule.

Common Understanding. A normal construction schedule, in paragraph 6 of Article IV of the Treaty, is understood to be one consistent with the past or present construction practices of each Party.

7. Each Party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ICBMs which have a launch-weight greater or a throw-weight greater than that of the heaviest, in terms of either launch-weight or throw-weight, respectively, of the heavy ICBMs deployed by either Party as of the date of signature of this Treaty.

First Agreed Statement. The launch-weight of an ICBM is the weight of the fully loaded missile itself at the time of launch.

Second Agreed Statement. The throw-weight of an ICBM is the sum of the weight of:

(a) its reentry vehicle or reentry vehicles;

(b) any self-contained dispensing mechanisms or other appropriate devices for targeting one reentry vehicle, or for releasing or for dispensing and targeting two or more reentry vehicles; and

(c) its penetration aids, including devices for their release.

Common Understanding. The term "other appropriate devices," as used in the definition of the throw-weight of an ICBM in the Second Agreed Statement to paragraph 7 of Article IV of the Treaty, means any devices for dispensing and targeting two or more reentry vehicles; and any devices for releasing two or more reentry vehicles or for targeting one reentry vehicle, which cannot provide their reentry vehicles or reentry vehicle with additional velocity of more than 1,000 meters per second.

8. Each Party undertakes not to convert land-based launchers of ballistic missiles which are not ICBMs into launchers for launching ICBMs, and not to test them for this purpose.

Common Understanding. During the term of the Treaty, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will not produce, test, or deploy ICBMs of the type designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the RS-14 and known to the United States of America as the SS-16, a light ICBM first flight-tested after 1970 and flight-tested only with a single reentry vehicle; this Common Understanding also means that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will not produce the third stage of that missile, the reentry vehicle of that missile, or the appropriate device for targeting the reentry vehicle of that missile.

9. Each Party undertakes not to flight-test or deploy new types of ICBMs, that is, types of ICBMs not flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, except that each Party may flight-test and deploy one new type of light ICBM.

First Agreed Statement. The term "new types of ICBMs," as used in paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty, refers to any ICBM which is different from those ICBMs flight-tested as of May 1, 1979 in any one or more of the following respects:

(a) the number of stages, the length, the largest diameter, the launch-weight, or the throw-weight, of the missile;

(b) the type of propellant (that is, liquid or solid) of any of its stages.

First Common Understanding. As used in the First Agreed Statement to paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty, the term "different," referring to the length, the diameter, the launch-weight, and the throw-weight, of the missile, means a difference in excess of five percent.

Second Agreed Statement. Every ICBM of the one new type of light ICBM permitted to each Party pursuant to paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty shall have the same number of stages and the same type of propellant (that is, liquid or solid) of each stage as the first ICBM of the one new type of light ICBM launched by that Party. In addition, after the twenty-fifth launch of an ICBM of that type, or after the last launch before deployment begins of ICBMs of that type, whichever occurs earlier, ICBMs of the one new type of light ICBM permitted to that Party shall not be different in any one or more of the following respects: the length, the largest diameter, the launch-weight, or the throw-weight, of the missile.

A Party which launches ICBMs of the one new type of light ICBM permitted pursuant to paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty shall promptly notify the other Party of the date of the first launch and of the date of either the twenty-fifth or the last launch before deployment begins of ICBMs of that type, whichever occurs earlier.

Second Common Understanding. As used in the Second Agreed Statement to paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty, the term "different," referring to the length, the diameter, the launch-weight, and the throw-weight, of the missile, means a difference in excess of five percent from the value established for each of the above parameters as of the twenty-fifth launch or as of the last launch before deployment begins, whichever occurs earlier. The values demonstrated in each of the above parameters during the last twelve of the twenty-five launches or during the last twelve launches before deployment begins, whichever twelve launches occur earlier, shall not vary by more than ten percent from any other of the corresponding values demonstrated during those twelve launches.

Third Common Understanding. The limitations with respect to launch-weight and throw-weight, provided for in the First Agreed Statement and the First Common Understanding to paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty, do not preclude the flight-testing or the deployment of ICBMs with fewer reentry vehicles, or fewer penetration aids, or both, than the maximum number of reentry vehicles and the maximum number of penetration aids with which ICBMs of that type have been flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, even if this results in a decrease in launch-weight or in throw-weight in excess of five percent.

In addition to the aforementioned cases, those limitations do not preclude a decrease in launch-weight or in throw-weight in excess of five percent, in the case of the flight-testing or the deployment of ICBMs with a lesser quantity of propellant, including the propellant of a self-contained dispensing mechanism or other appropriate device, than the maximum quantity of propellant, including the propellant of a self-contained dispensing mechanism or other appropriate device, with which ICBMs of that type have been flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, provided that such an ICBM is at the same time flight-tested or deployed with fewer reentry vehicles, or fewer penetration aids, or both, than the maximum number of reentry vehicles and the maximum number of penetration aids with which ICBMs of that type have been flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, and the decrease in launch-weight and throw-weight in such cases results only from the reduction in the number of reentry vehicles, or penetration aids, or both, and the reduction in the quantity of propellant.

Fourth Common Understanding. The limitations with respect to launch-weight and throw-weight, provided for in the Second Agreed Statement and the Second Common Understanding to paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty, do not preclude the flight-testing or the deployment of ICBMs of the one new type of light ICBM permitted to each Party pursuant to paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty with fewer reentry vehicles, or fewer penetration aids, or both, than the maximum number of reentry vehicles and the maximum number of penetration aids with which ICBMs of that type have been

flight-tested, even if this results in a decrease in launch-weight or in throw-weight in excess of five percent.

In addition to the aforementioned cases, those limitations do not preclude a decrease in launch-weight or in throw-weight in excess of five percent, in the case of the flight-testing or the deployment of ICBMs of that type with a lesser quantity of propellant, including the propellant of a self-contained dispensing mechanism or other appropriate device, than the maximum quantity of propellant, including the propellant of a self-contained dispensing mechanism or other appropriate device, with which ICBMs of that type have been flight-tested, provided that such an ICBM is at the same time flight-tested or deployed with fewer reentry vehicles, or fewer penetration aids, or both, than the maximum number of reentry vehicles and the maximum number of penetration aids with which ICBMs of that type have been flight-tested, and the decrease in launch-weight and throw-weight in such cases results only from the reduction in the number of reentry vehicles, or penetration aids, or both, and the reduction in the quantity of propellant.

10. Each Party undertakes not to flight-test or deploy ICBMs of a type flight-tested as of May 1, 1979 with a number of reentry vehicles greater than the maximum number of reentry vehicles with which an ICBM of that type has been flight-tested as of that date.

First Agreed Statement. The following types of ICBMs and SLBMs equipped with MIRVs have been flight-tested with the maximum number of reentry vehicles set forth below:

For the United States of America

ICBMs of the Minuteman III type — seven reentry vehicles;
SLBMs of the Poseidon C-3 type — fourteen reentry vehicles;
SLBMs of the Trident C-4 type — seven reentry vehicles;

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ICBMs of the RS-16 type — four reentry vehicles;
ICBMs of the RS-18 type — six reentry vehicles;
ICBMs of the RS-20 type — ten reentry vehicles;
SLBMs of the RSM-50 type — seven reentry vehicles.

Common Understanding. Minuteman III ICBMs of the United States of America have been deployed with no more than three reentry vehicles. During the term of the Treaty, the United States of America has no plans to and will not flight-test or deploy missiles of this type with more than three reentry vehicles.

Second Agreed Statement. During the flight-testing of any ICBM, SLBM, or ASBM after May 1, 1979 the number of procedures for releasing or for dispensing may not exceed the maximum number of reentry vehicles established for missiles of corresponding types as provided for in paragraphs 10, 11, 12, and 13 of Article IV of the Treaty. In this Agreed Statement "procedures for releasing or for dispensing" are understood to mean maneuvers of a missile associated with targeting and releasing or dispensing its reentry vehicles to aim points, whether or not a reentry vehicle is actually released or dispensed. Procedures for releasing anti-missile defense penetration aids will not be considered to be procedures for releasing or for dispensing a reentry vehicle so long as the procedures for releasing anti-missile defense penetration aids differ from those for releasing or for dispensing reentry vehicles.

Third Agreed Statement. Each Party undertakes:

(a) not to flight-test or deploy ICBMs equipped with multiple reentry vehicles, of a type flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, with reentry vehicles the weight of any of which is less than the weight of the lightest of those reentry vehicles with which an ICBM of that type has been flight-tested as of that date;

(b) not to flight-test or deploy ICBMs equipped with a single reentry vehicle and without an appropriate device for targeting a reentry vehicle, of a type flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, with a reentry vehicle the weight of which is less than the weight of the lightest reentry vehicle on an ICBM of a type equipped with MIRVs and flight-tested by that Party as of May 1, 1979; and

(c) not to flight-test or deploy ICBMs equipped with a single reentry vehicle and with an appropriate device for targeting a reentry vehicle, of a type flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, with a reentry vehicle the weight of which is less than fifty percent of the throw-weight of that ICBM.

11. Each Party undertakes not to flight-test or deploy ICBMs of the one new type permitted pursuant to paragraph 9 of this Article with a number of reentry vehicles greater than the maximum number of reentry vehicles with which an ICBM of either Party has been flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, that is, ten.

First Agreed Statement. Each Party undertakes not to flight-test or deploy the one new type of light ICBM permitted to each Party pursuant to paragraph 9 of Article IV of the Treaty with a number of reentry vehicles greater than the maximum number of reentry vehicles with which an ICBM of that type has been flight-tested as of the twenty-fifth launch or the last launch before deployment begins of ICBMs of that type, whichever occurs earlier

Second Agreed Statement. During the flight-testing of any ICBMs, SLBM, or ASBM after May 1, 1979 the number of procedures for releasing or for dispensing may not exceed the maximum number of reentry vehicles established for missiles of corresponding types as provided for in paragraphs 10, 11, 12, and 13 of Article IV of the Treaty. In this Agreed Statement "procedures for releasing or for dispensing" are understood to mean maneuvers of a missile associated with targeting and releasing or dispensing its reentry vehicles to aim points, whether or not a reentry vehicle is actually released or dispensed. Procedures for releasing anti-missile defense penetration aids will not be considered to be procedures for releasing or for dispensing a reentry vehicle so long as the procedures for releasing anti-missile defense penetration aids differ from those for releasing or for dispensing reentry vehicles.

12. Each Party undertakes not to flight-test or deploy SLBMs with a number of reentry vehicles greater than the maximum number of reentry vehicles with which an SLBM of either Party has been flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, that is, fourteen.

First Agreed Statement. The following types of ICBMs and SLBMs equipped with MIRVs have been flight-tested with the maximum number of reentry vehicles set forth below:

For the United States of America

ICBMs of the Minuteman III type — seven reentry vehicles;
SLBMs of the Poseidon C-3 type — fourteen reentry vehicles;
SLBMs of the Trident C-4 type — seven reentry vehicles;

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ICBMs of the RS-16 type — four reentry vehicles;
ICBMs of the RS-18 type — six reentry vehicles;
ICBMs of the RS-20 type — ten reentry vehicles;
SLBMs of the RSM-50 type — seven reentry vehicles.

Second Agreed Statement. During the flight-testing of any ICBM, SLBM, or ASBM after May 1, 1979 the number of procedures for releasing or for dispensing may not exceed the maximum number of reentry vehicles established for missiles of corresponding types as provided for in paragraphs 10, 11, 12, and 13 of Article IV of the Treaty. In this Agreed Statement "procedures for releasing or for dispensing" are understood to mean maneuvers of a missile associated with targeting and releasing or dispensing its reentry vehicles to aim points, whether or not a reentry vehicle is actually released or dispensed. Procedures for releasing anti-missile defense pene-

tration aids will not be considered to be procedures for releasing or for dispensing a reentry vehicle so long as the procedures for releasing anti-missile defense penetration aids differ from those for releasing or for dispensing reentry vehicles.

13. Each Party undertakes not to flight-test or deploy ASBMs with a number of reentry vehicles greater than the maximum number of reentry vehicles with which an ICBM of either Party has been flight-tested as of May 1, 1979, that is, ten.

Agreed Statement. During the flight-testing of any ICBM, SLBM, or ASBM after May 1, 1979 the number of procedures for releasing or for dispensing may not exceed the maximum number of reentry vehicles established for missiles of corresponding types as provided for in paragraphs 10, 11, 12, and 13 of Article IV of the Treaty. In this Agreed Statement "procedures for releasing or for dispensing" are understood to mean maneuvers of a missile associated with targeting and releasing or dispensing its reentry vehicles to aim points, whether or not a reentry vehicle is actually released or dispensed. Procedures for releasing anti-missile defense penetration aids will not be considered to be procedures for releasing or for dispensing a reentry vehicle so long as the procedures for releasing anti-missile defense penetration aids differ from those for releasing or for dispensing reentry vehicles.

14. Each Party undertakes not to deploy at any one time on heavy bombers equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers a number of such cruise missiles which exceeds the product of 28 and the number of such heavy bombers.

First Agreed Statement. For the purposes of the limitation provided for in paragraph 14 of Article IV of the Treaty, there shall be considered to be deployed on each heavy bomber of a type equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers the maximum number of such missiles for which any bomber of that type is equipped for one operational mission.

Second Agreed Statement. During the term of the Treaty no bomber of the B-52 or B-1 types of the United States of America and no bomber of the Tupolev-95 or Myasishchev types of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be equipped for more than twenty cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

Article V

1. Within the aggregate numbers provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article III, each Party undertakes to limit launchers of ICBMs and SLBMs equipped with MIRVs, ASBMs equipped with MIRVs, and heavy bombers equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers to an aggregate number not to exceed 1,320.

2. Within the aggregate number provided for in paragraph 1 of this Article, each Party undertakes to limit launchers of ICBMs and SLBMs equipped with MIRVs, and ASBMs equipped with MIRVs to an aggregate number not to exceed 1,200.

3. Within the aggregate number provided for in paragraph 2 of this Article, each Party undertakes to limit launchers of ICBMs equipped with MIRVs to an aggregate number not to exceed 820.

4. For each bomber of a type equipped for ASBMs equipped with MIRVs, the aggregate numbers provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article shall include the maximum number of ASBMs for which a bomber of that type is equipped for one operational mission.

Agreed Statement. If a bomber is equipped for ASBMs equipped with MIRVs, all bombers of that type shall be considered to be equipped for ASBMs equipped with MIRVs.

5. Within the aggregate numbers provided for in paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of this Article and subject to the provisions of this Treaty, each Party has the right to determine the composition of these aggregates.

Article VI

1. The limitations provided for in this Treaty shall apply to those arms which are:

(a) operational;

(b) in the final stage of construction;

(c) in reserve, in storage, or mothballed;

(d) undergoing overhaul, repair, modernization, or conversion.

2. Those arms in the final stage of construction are:

(a) SLBM launchers on submarines which have begun sea trials;

(b) ASBMs after a bomber of a type equipped for such missiles has been brought out of the shop, plant, or other facility where its final assembly or conversion for the purpose of equipping it for such missiles has been performed;

(c) other strategic offensive arms which are finally assembled in a shop, plant, or other facility after they have been brought out of the shop, plant, or other facility where their final assembly has been performed.

3. ICBM and SLBM launchers of a type not subject to the limitation provided for in Article V, which undergo conversion into launchers of a type subject to that limitation, shall become subject to that limitation as follows:

(a) fixed ICBM launchers when work on their conversion reaches the stage which first definitely indicates that they are being so converted;

(b) SLBM launchers on a submarine when that submarine first goes to sea after their conversion has been performed.

Agreed Statement. The procedures referred to in paragraph 7 of Article VI of the treaty shall include procedures determining the manner in which mobile ICBM launchers of a type not subject to the limitation provided for in Article V of the treaty, which undergo conversion into launchers of a type subject to that limitation, shall become subject to that limitation, unless the Parties agree that mobile ICBM launchers shall not be deployed after the date on which the Protocol ceases to be in force.

4. ASBMs on a bomber which undergoes conversion from a bomber of a type equipped for ASBMs which are not subject to the limitation provided for in Article V into a bomber of a type equipped for ASBMs which are subject to that limitation shall become subject to that limitation when the bomber is brought out of the shop, plant, or other facility where such conversion has been performed.

5. A heavy bomber of a type not subject to the limitation provided for in paragraph 1 of Article V shall become subject to that limitation when it is brought out of the shop, plant, or other facility where it has been converted into a heavy bomber of a type equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers. A bomber of a type not subject to the limitation provided for in paragraph 1 or 2 of Article III shall become subject to that limitation and to the limitation provided for in paragraph 1 of Article V when it is brought out of the shop,

plant, or other facility where it has been converted into a bomber of a type equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

6. The arms subject to the limitations provided for in this Treaty shall continue to be subject to these limitations until they are dismantled, are destroyed, or otherwise cease to be subject to these limitations under procedures to be agreed upon.

Agreed Statement. The procedures for removal of strategic offensive arms from the aggregate numbers provided for in the Treaty, which are referred to in paragraph 6 of Article VI of the Treaty, and which are to be agreed upon in the Standing Consultative Commission, shall include:

(a) procedures for removal from the aggregate numbers, provided for in Article V of the Treaty, of ICBM and SLBM launchers which are being converted from launchers of a type subject to the limitation provided for in Article V of the Treaty, into launchers of a type not subject to that limitation;

(b) procedures for removal from the aggregate numbers, provided for in Articles III and V of the Treaty, of bombers which are being converted from bombers of a type subject to the limitations provided for in Article III of the Treaty into airplanes or bombers of a type not so subject.

Common Understanding. The procedures referred to in subparagraph (b) of the Agreed Statement to paragraph 6 of Article VI of the Treaty for removal of bombers from the aggregate numbers provided for in Articles III and V of the Treaty shall be based upon the existence of functionally related observable differences which indicate whether or not they can perform the mission of a heavy bomber, or whether or not they can perform the mission of a bomber equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

7. In accordance with the provisions of Article XVII, the Parties will agree in the Standing Consultative Commission upon procedures to implement the provisions of this Article.

Article VII

1. The limitations provided for in Article III shall not apply to ICBM and SLBM test and training launchers or to space vehicle launchers for exploration and use of outer space. ICBM and SLBM test and training launchers are ICBM and SLBM launchers used only for testing or training.

Common Understanding. The term "testing," as used in Article VII of the Treaty, includes research and development.

2. The Parties agree that:

(a) there shall be no significant increase in the number of ICBM or SLBM test and training launchers or in the number of such launchers of heavy ICBMs;

(b) construction or conversion of ICBM launchers at test ranges shall be undertaken only for purposes of testing and training;

(c) there shall be no conversion of ICBM test and training launchers or of space vehicle launchers into ICBM launchers subject to the limitations provided for in Article III.

First Agreed Statement. The term "significant increase," as used in subparagraph 2(a) of Article VII of the Treaty, means an increase of fifteen percent or more. Any new ICBM test and training launchers which replace ICBM test and training launchers at test ranges will be located only at test ranges.

Second Agreed Statement. Current test ranges where ICBMs are tested are located: for the United States of America, near Santa Maria, California, and at Cape Canaveral, Florida; and for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in the areas of Tyura-Tam and Plesetskaya. In the future, each Party shall provide notification in the Standing Consultative Commission of the location of any other test range used by that Party to test ICBMs.

First Common Understanding. At test ranges where ICBMs are tested, other arms, including those not limited by the Treaty, may also be tested.

Second Common Understanding. Of the eighteen launchers of fractional orbital missiles at the test range where ICBMs are tested in the area of Tyura-Tam, twelve launchers may be converted to launchers for testing missiles undergoing modernization.

Dismantling or destruction of the twelve launchers shall begin upon entry into force of the Treaty and shall be completed within eight months, under procedures for dismantling or destruction of these launchers to be agreed upon in the Standing Consultative Commission. These twelve launchers shall not be replaced.

Conversion of the six launchers may be carried out after entry into force of the Treaty. After entry into force of the Treaty, fractional orbital missiles shall be removed and shall be destroyed pursuant to the provisions of subparagraph 1(c) of Article IX and of Article XI of the Treaty and shall not be replaced by other missiles, except in the case of conversion of these six launchers for testing missiles undergoing modernization. After removal of the fractional orbital missiles, and prior to such conversion, any activities associated with these launchers shall be limited to normal maintenance requirements for launchers in which missiles are not deployed. These six launchers shall be subject to the provisions of Article VII of the Treaty and, if converted, to the provisions of the Fifth Common Understanding to paragraph 5 of Article II of the Treaty.

Article VIII

1. Each Party undertakes not to flight-test cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers or ASBMs from aircraft other than bombers or to convert such aircraft into aircraft equipped for such missiles.

Agreed Statement. For purposes of testing only, each Party has the right, through initial construction or, as an exception to the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article VIII of the Treaty, by conversion, to equip for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers or for ASBMs no more than sixteen airplanes, including airplanes which are prototypes of bombers equipped for such missiles. Each Party also has the right, as an exception to the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article VIII of the Treaty, to flight-test from such airplanes cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers and, after the date on which the Protocol ceases to be in force, to flight-test ASBMs from such airplanes as well, unless the Parties agree that they will not flight-test ASBMs after that date. The limitations provided for in Article III of the Treaty shall not apply to such airplanes.

The aforementioned airplanes may include only:

(a) airplanes other than bombers which, as an exception to the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article VIII of the Treaty, have been converted into airplanes equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers or for ASBMs;

(b) airplanes considered to be heavy bombers pursuant to subparagraph 3(c) or 3(d) of Article II of the Treaty; and

(c) airplanes other than heavy bombers which, prior to March 7, 1979, were used for testing cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

The airplanes referred to in subparagraphs (a) and (b) of this Agreed Statement shall be distinguishable on the basis of

functionally related observable differences from airplanes which otherwise would be of the same type but cannot perform the mission of a bomber equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers or for ASBMs.

The airplanes referred to in subparagraph (c) of this Agreed Statement shall not be used for testing cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers after the expiration of a six-month period from the date of entry into force of the Treaty, unless by the expiration of that period they are distinguishable on the basis of functionally related observable differences from airplanes which otherwise would be of the same type but cannot perform the mission of a bomber equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

First Common Understanding. The term "testing," as used in the Agreed Statement to paragraph 1 of Article VIII of the Treaty, includes research and development.

Second Common Understanding. The Parties shall notify each other in the Standing Consultative Commission of the number of airplanes, according to type, used for testing pursuant to the Agreed Statement to paragraph 1 of Article VIII of the Treaty. Such notification shall be provided at the first regular session of the Standing Consultative Commission held after an airplane has been used for such testing.

Third Common Understanding. None of the sixteen airplanes referred to in the Agreed Statement to paragraph 1 of Article VIII of the Treaty may be replaced, except in the event of the involuntary destruction of any such airplane or in the case of the dismantling or destruction of any such airplane. The procedures for such replacement and for removal of any such airplane from that number, in case of its conversion, shall be agreed upon in the Standing Consultative Commission.

2. Each Party undertakes not to convert aircraft other than bombers into aircraft which can carry out the mission of a heavy bomber as referred to in subparagraph 3(b) of Article II.

Article IX

1. Each Party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy:

(a) ballistic missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers for installation on waterborne vehicles other than submarines, or launchers of such missiles;

Common Understanding to subparagraph (a). The obligations provided for in subparagraph 1(a) of Article IX of the Treaty do not affect current practices for transporting ballistic missiles.

(b) fixed ballistic or cruise missile launchers for emplacement on the ocean floor, on the seabed, or on the beds of internal waters and inland waters, or in the subsoil thereof, or mobile launchers of such missiles, which move only in contact with the ocean floor, the seabed, or the beds of internal waters and inland waters, or missiles for such launchers;

Agreed Statement to subparagraph (b). The obligations provided for in subparagraph 1(b) of Article IX of the Treaty shall apply to all areas of the ocean floor and the seabed, including the seabed zone referred to in Articles I and II of the 1971 Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof.

(c) systems for placing into Earth orbit nuclear weapons or any other kind of weapons of mass destruction, including fractional orbital missiles;

Common Understanding to subparagraph (c). The provisions of subparagraph 1(c) of Article IX of the Treaty do not require the dismantling or destruction of any existing launchers of either Party.

(d) mobile launchers of heavy ICBMs;

(e) SLBMs which have a launch-weight greater or a throw-weight greater than that of the heaviest, in terms of either launch-weight or throw-weight, respectively, of the light ICBMs deployed by either Party as of the date of signature of this Treaty, or launchers of such SLBMs; or

(f) ASBMs which have a launch-weight greater or a throw-weight greater than that of the heaviest, in terms of either launch-weight or throw-weight, respectively, of the light ICBMs deployed by either Party as of the date of signature of this Treaty.

First Agreed Statement to subparagraphs (e) and (f). The launch-weight of an SLBM or of an ASBM is the weight of the fully loaded missile itself at the time of launch.

Second Agreed Statement to subparagraphs (e) and (f). The throw-weight of an SLBM or of an ASBM is the sum of the weight of:

(a) its reentry vehicle or reentry vehicles;

(b) any self-contained dispensing mechanisms or other appropriate devices for targeting one reentry vehicle, or for releasing or for dispensing and targeting two or more reentry vehicles; and

(c) its penetration aids, including devices for their release.

Common Understanding to subparagraphs (e) and (f). The term "other appropriate devices," as used in the definition of the throw-weight of an SLBM or of an ASBM in the Second Agreed Statement to subparagraphs 1(e) and 1(f) of Article IX of the Treaty, means any devices for dispensing and targeting two or more reentry vehicles; and any devices for releasing two or more reentry vehicles or for targeting one reentry vehicle, which cannot provide their reentry vehicles or reentry vehicle with additional velocity of more than 1,000 meters per second.

2. Each Party undertakes not to flight-test from aircraft cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers which are equipped with multiple independently targetable warheads and not to deploy such cruise missiles on aircraft.

Agreed Statement. Warheads of a cruise missile are independently targetable if maneuvering or targeting of the warheads to separate aim points along ballistic trajectories or any other flight paths, which are unrelated to each other, is accomplished during a flight of a cruise missile.

Article X

Subject to the provisons of this Treaty, modernization and replacement of strategic offensive arms may be carried out.

Article XI

1. Strategic offensive arms which would be in excess of the aggregate numbers provided for in this Treaty as well as strategic offensive arms prohibited by this Treaty shall be dismantled or destroyed under procedures to be agreed upon in the Standing Consultative Commission.

2. Dismantling or destruction of strategic offensive arms which would be in excess of the aggregate number

provided for in paragraph 1 of Article III shall begin on the date of the entry into force of this Treaty and shall be completed within the following periods from that date: four months for ICBM launchers; six months for SLBM launchers; and three months for heavy bombers.

3. Dismantling or destruction of strategic offensive arms which would be in excess of the aggregate number provided for in paragraph 2 of Article III shall be initiated no later than January 1, 1981, shall be carried out throughout the ensuing twelve-month period, and shall be completed no later than December 31, 1981.

4. Dismantling or destruction of strategic offensive arms prohibited by this Treaty shall be completed within the shortest possible agreed period of time, but not later than six months after the entry into force of this Treaty.

Article XII

In order to ensure the viability and effectiveness of this Treaty, each Party undertakes not to circumvent the provisions of this Treaty, through any other state or states, or in any other manner.

Article XIII

Each Party undertakes not to assume any international obligations which would conflict with this Treaty.

Article XIV

The Parties undertake to begin, promptly after the entry into force of this Treaty, active negotiations with the objective of achieving, as soon as possible, agreement on further measures for the limitation and reduction of strategic arms. It is also the objective of the Parties to conclude well in advance of 1985 an agreement limiting strategic offensive arms to replace this Treaty upon its expiration.

Article XV

1. For the purpose of providing assurance of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty, each Party shall use national technical means of verification at its disposal in a manner consistent with generally recognized principles of international law.

2. Each Party undertakes not to interfere with the national technical means of verification of the other Party operating in accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article.

3. Each Party undertakes not to use deliberate concealment measures which impede verification by national technical means of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty. This obligation shall not require changes in current construction, assembly, conversion, or overhaul practices.

First Agreed Statement. Deliberate concealment measures, as referred to in paragraph 3 of Article XV of the Treaty, are measures carried out deliberately to hinder or deliberately to impede verification by national technical means of compliance with the provisions of the Treaty.

Second Agreed Statement. The obligation not to use deliberate concealment measures, provided for in paragraph 3 of Article XV of the Treaty, does not preclude the testing of anti-missile defense penetration aids.

First Common Understanding. The provisions of paragraph 3 of Article XV of the Treaty and the First Agreed Statement thereto apply to all provisions of the Treaty, including provisions associated with testing. In this connection, the obligation not to use deliberate concealment measures includes the obligation not to use deliberate concealment measures associated with testing, including those measures aimed at concealing the association between ICBMs and launchers during testing.

Second Common Understanding. Each Party is free to use various methods of transmitting telemetric information during testing, including its encryption, except that, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 3 of Article XV of the Treaty, neither Party shall engage in deliberate denial of telemetric information, such as through the use of telemetry encryption, whenever such denial impedes verification of compliance with the provisions of the Treaty.

Third Common Understanding. In addition to the obligations provided for in paragraph 3 of Article XV of the Treaty, no shelters which impede verification by national technical means of compliance with the provisions of the Treaty shall be used over ICBM silo launchers.

Article XVI

1. Each Party undertakes, before conducting each planned ICBM launch, to notify the other Party well in advance on a case-by-case basis that such a launch will occur, except for single ICBM launches from test ranges or from ICBM launcher deployment areas, which are not planned to extend beyond its national territory.

First Common Understanding. ICBM launches to which the obligations provided for in Article XVI of the Treaty apply, include, among others, those ICBM launches for which advance notification is required pursuant to the provisions of the Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed September 30, 1971, and the Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Prevention of Incidents On and Over the High Seas, signed May 25, 1972. Nothing in Article XVI of the Treaty is intended to inhibit advance notification, on a voluntary basis, of any ICBM launches not subject to its provisions, the advance notification of which would enhance confidence between the Parties.

Second Common Understanding. A multiple ICBM launch conducted by a Party, as distinct from single ICBM launches referred to in Article XVI of the Treaty, is a launch which would result in two or more of its ICBMs being in flight at the same time.

Third Common Understanding. The test ranges referred to in Article XVI of the Treaty are those covered by the Second Agreed Statement to paragraph 2 of Article VII of the Treaty.

2. The Parties shall agree in the Standing Consultative Commission upon procedures to implement the provisions of this Article.

Article XVII

1. To promote the objectives and implementation of the provisions of this Treaty, the Parties shall use the Standing Consultative Commission established by the Memorandum of Understanding Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Regarding the Establishment of a Standing Consultative Commission of December 21, 1972.

2. Within the framework of the Standing Consultative Commission, with respect to this Treaty, the Parties will:

(a) consider questions concerning compliance with the obligations assumed and related situations which may be considered ambiguous;

(b) provide on a voluntary basis such information as either Party considers necessary to assure confidence in compliance with the obligations assumed;

(c) consider questions involving unintended interference with national technical means of verification, and questions involving unintended impeding of verification by national technical means of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty;

(d) consider possible changes in the strategic situation which have a bearing on the provisions of this Treaty;

(e) agree upon procedures for replacement, conversion, and dismantling or destruction, of strategic offensive arms in cases provided for in the provisions of this Treaty and upon procedures for removal of such arms from the aggregate numbers when they otherwise cease to be subject to the limitations provided for in this Treaty, and at regular sessions of the Standing Consultative Commission, notify each other in accordance with the aforementioned procedures, at least twice annually, of actions completed and those in process;

(f) consider, as appropriate, possible proposals for further increasing the viability of this Treaty, including proposals for amendments in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty;

(g) consider, as appropriate, proposals for further measures limiting strategic offensive arms.

3. In the Standing Consultative Commission the Parties shall maintain by category the agreed data base on the numbers of strategic offensive arms established by the Memorandum of Understanding Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Regarding the Establishment of a Data Base on the Numbers of Strategic Offensive Arms of June 18, 1979.

Agreed Statement. In order to maintain the agreed data base on the numbers of strategic offensive arms subject to the limitations provided for in the Treaty in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article XVII of the Treaty, at each regular session of the Standing Consultative Commission the Parties will notify each other of and consider changes in those numbers in the following categories: launchers of ICBMs; fixed launchers of ICBMs; launchers of ICBMs equipped with MIRVs; launchers of SLBMs; launchers of SLBMs equipped with MIRVs; heavy bombers; heavy bombers equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers; heavy bombers equipped only for ASBMs; ASBMs; and ASBMs equipped with MIRVs.

Article XVIII

Each Party may propose amendments to this Treaty. Agreed amendments shall enter into force in accordance with the procedures governing the entry into force of this Treaty.

Article XIX

1. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each Party. This Treaty shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of instruments of ratification and shall remain in force through December 31, 1985, unless replaced earlier by an agreement further limiting strategic offensive arms.

2. This Treaty shall be registered pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. Each Party shall, in exercising its national sovereignty, have the right to withdraw from this Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this Treaty have jeopardized its supreme interests. It shall give notice of its decision to the other Party six months prior to withdrawal from the Treaty. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events the notifying Party regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.

Done at Vienna on June 18, 1979, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
(Signature)	(Signature)

Protocol to Treaty

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Having agreed on limitations on strategic offensive arms in the Treaty,

Have agreed on additional limitations for the period during which this Protocol remains in force, as follows:

Article I

Each Party undertakes not to deploy mobile ICBM launchers or to flight-test ICBMs from such launchers.

Article II

1. Each Party undertakes not to deploy cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers on sea-based launchers or on land-based launchers.

2. Each Party undertakes not to flight-test cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers which are equipped with multiple independently targetable warheads from sea-based launchers or from land-based launchers.

Agreed Statement. Warheads of a cruise missile are independently targetable if maneuvering or targeting of the warheads to separate aim points along ballistic trajectories or any other flight paths, which are unrelated to each other, is accomplished during a flight of a cruise missile.

3. For the purposes of this Protocol, cruise missiles are unmanned, self-propelled, guided, weapon-delivery vehicles which sustain flight through the use of aerodynamic lift over most of their flight path and which are flight-tested from or deployed on sea-based or land-based launchers, that is, sea-launched cruise missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles, respectively.

First Agreed Statement. If a cruise missile is capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers, all cruise missiles of that type shall be considered to be cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

First Common Understanding. If a cruise missile has been flight-tested to a range in excess of 600 kilometers, it shall be

considered to be a cruise missile capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

Second Common Understanding. Cruise missiles not capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers shall not be considered to be of a type capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers if they are distinguishable on the basis of externally observable design features from cruise missiles of types capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers.

Second Agreed Statement. The range of which a cruise missile is capable is the maximum distance which can be covered by the missile in its standard design mode flying until fuel exhaustion, determined by projecting its flight path onto the Earth's sphere from the point of launch to the point of impact.

Third Agreed Statement. If an unmanned, self-propelled, guided vehicle which sustains flight through the use of aerodynamic lift over most of its flight path has been flight-tested or deployed for weapon delivery, all vehicles of that type shall be considered to be weapon-delivery vehicles.

Third Common Understanding. Unmanned, self-propelled, guided vehicles which sustain flight through the use of aerodynamic lift over most of their flight path and are not weapon-delivery vehicles, that is, unarmed, pilotless, guided vehicles, shall not be considered to be cruise missiles if such vehicles are distinguishable from cruise missiles on the basis of externally observable design features.

Fourth Common Understanding. Neither Party shall convert unarmed, pilotless, guided vehicles into cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers, nor shall either Party convert cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers into unarmed, pilotless, guided vehicles.

Fifth Common Understanding. Neither Party has plans during the term of the Protocol to flight-test from or deploy on sea-based or land-based launchers unarmed, pilotless, guided vehicles which are capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers. In the future, should a Party have such plans, that Party will provide notification therof to the other Party well in advance of such flight-testing or deployment. This Common Understanding does not apply to target drones.

Article III

Each Party undertakes not to flight-test or deploy ASBMs.

Article IV

This Protocol shall be considered an integral part of the Treaty. It shall enter into force on the day of the entry into force of the Treaty and shall remain in force through December 31, 1981, unless replaced earlier by an agreement on further measures limiting strategic offensive arms.

Done at Vienna on June 18, 1979, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
(Signature)	(Signature)

Memorandum of Understanding

Regarding the Establishment of a Data Base on the Numbers of Strategic Offensive Arms

For the purposes of the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, the Parties have considered data on numbers of strategic offensive arms and agree that as of November 1, 1978 there existed the following numbers of strategic offensive arms subject to the limitations provided for in the Treaty which is being signed today.

	U.S.A.	U.S.S.R.
Launchers of ICBMs	1,054	1,398
Fixed launchers of ICBMs	1,054	1,398
Launchers of ICBMs equipped with MIRVs	550	576
Launchers of SLBMs	656	950
Launchers of SLBMs equipped with MIRVs	496	128
Heavy bombers	574	156
Heavy bombers equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers	0	0
Heavy bombers equipped only for ASBMs	0	0
ASBMs	0	0
ASBMs equipped with MIRVs	0	0

At the time of entry into force of the Treaty the Parties will update the above agreed data in the categories listed in this Memorandum.

Done at Vienna on June 18, 1979, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
(Signature)	(Signature)

Statement of Data

On the Numbers of Strategic Offensive Arms as of the Date of Signature of the Treaty

United States

The United States of America declares that as of June 18, 1979 it possesses the following numbers of strategic offensive arms subject to the limitations provided for in the Treaty which is being signed today:

Launchers of ICBMs	1,054
Fixed launchers of ICBMS	1,054
Launchers of ICBMs equipped with MIRVs	550
Launchers of SLBMs	656
Launchers of SLBMs equipped with MIRVs	496

Heavy bombers	573
Heavy bombers equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers	3
Heavy bombers equipped only for ASBMs	0
ASBMs	0
ASBMs equipped with MIRVs	0

(Signature)

Soviet Union

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declares that as of June 18, 1979 it possesses the following numbers of strategic offensive arms subject to the limitations provided for in the Treaty which is being signed today:

Launchers of ICBMs	1,398
Fixed launchers of ICBMs	1,398
Launchers of ICBMs equipped with MIRVs	608
Launchers of SLBMs	950
Launchers of SLBMs equipped with MIRVs	144
Heavy bombers	156
Heavy bombers equipped for cruise missiles capable of a range in excess of 600 kilometers	0
Heavy bombers equipped only for ASBMs	0
ASBMs	0
ASBMs equipped with MIRVs	0

(Signature)

Joint Statement

Of Principles and Basic Guidelines for Subsequent Negotiations on the Limitation of Strategic Arms

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Having concluded the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms,

Reaffirming that the strengthening of strategic stability meets the interests of the Parties and the interests of international security,

Convinced that early agreement on the further limitation and further reduction of strategic arms would serve to strengthen international peace and security and to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war,

Have agreed as follows:

First. The Parties will continue to pursue negotiations, in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, on measures for the further limitation and reduction in the numbers of strategic arms, as well as for their further qualitative limitation.

In furtherance of existing agreements between the Parties on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms, the Parties will continue, for the purposes of reducing and averting the risk of outbreak of nuclear war, to seek measures to strengthen strategic stability by, among other things, limitations on strategic offensive arms most destabilizing to the strategic balance and by measures to reduce and to avert the risk of surprise attack.

Second. Further limitations and reductions of strategic arms must be subject to adequate verification by national technical means, using additionally, as appropriate, cooperative measures contributing to the effectiveness of verification by national technical means. The Parties will seek to strengthen verification and to perfect the operation of a Standing Consultative Commission in order to promote assurance of compliance with the obligations assumed by the Parties.

Third. The Parties shall pursue in the course of these negotiations, taking into consideration factors that determine the strategic situation, the following objectives:

1) significant and substantial reductions in the numbers of strategic offensive arms;

2) qualitative limitations on strategic offensive arms, including restrictions on the development, testing, and deployment of new types of strategic offensive arms and on the modernization of existing strategic offensive arms;

3) resolution of the issues included in the Protocol to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms in the context of the negotiations relating to the implementation of the principles and objectives set out herein.

Fourth. The Parties will consider other steps to ensure and enhance strategic stability, to ensure the equality and equal security of the Parties, and to implement the above principles and objectives. Each Party will be free to raise any issue relative to the further limitation of strategic arms. The Parties will also consider further joint measures, as appropriate, to strengthen international peace and security and to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war.

Vienna, June 18, 1979

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
(Signature)	(Signature)

Soviet Backfire Statement

On June 16, 1979, President Brezhnev handed President Carter the following written statement:

"The Soviet side informs the US side that the Soviet 'Tu-22M' airplane, called 'Backfire' in the USA, is a medium-range bomber, and that it does not intend to give this airplane the capability of operating at intercontinental distances. In this connection, the Soviet side states that it will not increase the radius of action of this airplane in such a way as to enable it to strike targets on the territory of the USA. Nor does it intend to give it such a capability in any other manner, including by in-flight refueling. At the same time, the Soviet side states that it will not increase the production rate of this airplane as compared to the present rate."

* * *

President Brezhnev confirmed that the Soviet Backfire production rate would not exceed 30 per year.

President Carter stated that the United States enters into the SALT II Agreement on the basis of the commitments contained in the Soviet statement and that it considers the carrying out of these commitments to be essential to the obligations assumed under the Treaty.

Supreme Court Term (1978-79)

Supreme Court Ends a 'Liberal' Term

The Supreme Court concluded its October 1978 term with decisions in which the justices upheld affirmative action, abortion, busing, and the rights of women, consumers and criminal defendants.

That end-of-term series of rulings seemed to rebut the conventional wisdom that the court's "liberal" period ended ten years earlier, when the retiring Chief Justice Earl Warren handed the court's gavel to Chief Justice Warren E. Burger.

Among the more notable of the late-term rulings announced in May, June and early July 1979 were those in which the court:

- Backed the voluntary adoption of affirmative action programs to improve job opportunities for blacks and other minority workers.
- Upheld massive busing orders for the desegregation of public schools in northern cities.
- Held that a teen-ager had the right to an abortion without her parents' consent.
- Upheld a trial judge's decision to exclude the press and the public from a pretrial hearing on the evidence to be admitted in a murder case. *(Details, p. 33-A)*
- Expanded the rights of women to bring federal suits protesting sex discrimination.
- Gave direct consumer purchasers the right to sue manufacturers whose anti-competitive practices increased the cost of consumer items.
- Expanded the rights of prisoners to win federal review and reversal of their convictions in state courts.

There were, of course, numerous rulings which seemed to fall on the "conservative" side of an issue. The court upheld a state's law giving veterans an absolute preference for state civil service jobs — and it backed as constitutionally sufficient the laws of two states allowing parents to institutionalize their children for mental illness.

It also refused to exempt the controversial drug Laetrile from regular federal requirements for drug safety and effectiveness, even when it was administered only to terminal patients.

But, on balance, the term that ended July 2, 1979, was a "liberal" one for the court. Among the most surprising decisions were those in which the court expanded the rights of individuals to bring their claims into federal courts and which enlarged the role of federal judges in the controversial areas of school desegregation and state criminal procedures.

These decisions were particularly unexpected in light of the often-expressed concern of the chief justice and several other members of the court over the increasing workload of federal courts in general and the Supreme Court in particular.

Among the court's decisions likely to increase the caseload of federal courts even further were those in which it:

- Held that the Fifth Amendment provides a constitutional basis for individuals to sue federal officials for depriving them of life, liberty or property without due process of law. In the case of *Davis v. Passman,* a five-man majority of the court held that this amendment's guarantee of due process and equal protection gave a woman fired by a member of Congress because of her sex a basis for suing him for damages in federal court. *(Pp. 22-A, 39-A)*
- Declared that the 1972 Education Amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 — forbidding sex discrimination in educational programs receiving federal funds — could be enforced through lawsuits brought by individuals who felt themselves the victims of such discrimination. In the case of *Cannon v. University of Chicago,* a six-man majority held that the statutory ban could be enforced this way as well as through termination of federal funds to the offending programs.
- Held that Congress in the 1914 Clayton Antitrust Act intended to allow direct consumer purchasers — as well as larger entities injured by price-fixing — to bring treble damage suits against the manufacturers engaging in such anti-competitive activity. This was a unanimous holding of an eight-man court in the case of *Reiter v. Sonotone Corp.*
- Expanded the right of individuals and municipalities who claimed that they were "injured" by housing discrimination on the part of realtors to sue under the Fair Housing Act of 1968, even though they themselves were not frustrated by racial bias in their effort to find a place to live. A seven-man majority agreed upon this ruling in the case of *Gladstone Realtors v. Village of Bellwood.*
- Held that federal judges must give full consideration to the claim of state prisoners, who seek release from detention through a writ of *habeas corpus,* that they were indicted by an unfairly selected grand jury. The court made clear in the case of *Rose v. Mitchell* that such a claim must be considered even though the prisoner had been subsequently convicted by a fairly selected trial jury. And, the seven-man majority declared, if the federal judge found discrimination in the grand jury process, he must overturn the resulting conviction.
- Abandoned the rule that federal judges reviewing a state prisoner's claim that he was convicted with insufficient evidence must uphold the conviction if there was any evidence to sustain it. In the case of *Jackson v. Virginia,* the unanimous court set out a new rule: federal judges should uphold a conviction against such a challenge only if they find sufficient evidence to convince a judge or jury of guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.
- Upheld federal court orders requiring massive busing in northern school systems, where segregation had not been required by law for almost a century. These were the court's holdings in the cases of *Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman* and *Columbus Board of Education v. Penick.* *(Details, p. 32-A)*

Several of the most significant late-term rulings of the court illustrated the crosscutting voting patterns of the justices and the lack of any strong individual leader on the court. This was apparent particularly when the justices addressed issues that divide citizens as well as judges — questions of fair trial and free press, of discrimination and

Supreme Court Supports Hill Bias Suits . . .

Members of Congress can be sued under the Constitution for damages by employees who claim to be victims of sex discrimination, a divided Supreme Court ruled June 5. *(Text, p. 39-A)*

The vulnerability of members to individual job bias suits remains unsettled, however, because senators and representatives may have immunity under another constitutional provision, an issue the court didn't decide.

But the decision established a right for citizens to seek damages from federal officials beyond Congress under a constitutional claim that did not exist previously.

In a 5-4 decision, the court held that the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution gives individuals the right to sue members of Congress for monetary damages for alleged job bias. Citizens can now use this case as precedent for damage suits against public officials for job discrimination and other violations of due process rights.

The Fifth Amendment provides that "no person [shall be] deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Earlier Supreme Court decisions have established that the Fifth Amendment forbids the federal government from denying individuals equal protection under the law.

The decision was in keeping with Supreme Court decisions in recent years that limit the protection that governments and government officials — both state and federal — have enjoyed from damage suits by private citizens. *(1978 Almanac p. 3-A)*

Immunity Issue

A key issue the court did not decide is whether a member of Congress is immune from such a lawsuit under the "Speech or Debate" clause of the Constitution which shields members from court suits for actions taken as part of their official duties. This issue almost certainly will have to be settled eventually by the Supreme Court.

In a footnote, the court appeared to urge prompt resolution of the speech and debate immunity issue. The footnote said: "We note . . . that the Clause shields federal legislators with absolute immunity not only from the consequences of litigation's results, but also from the burden of defending themselves. . . . Defenses based upon the Clause should thus ordinarily be given priority, since federal legislators should be exempted from litigation if their conduct is in fact protected by the Clause."

Even with this issue unresolved, the decision was seen by some members as likely to prod Congress into establishing its own procedures for dealing with job discrimination, rather than to leave the determination of such discrimination complaints to the courts.

Others, however, predicted Congress would attempt to continue to "lay low" — as one staff member put it — on the enforcement of job discrimination complaints until the question of legislative immunity has been settled.

Davis v. Passman

The decision came in the case of *Davis* v. *Passman* in which a former House employee, Shirley Davis, sued former Rep. Otto E. Passman, D-La. (1947-76), after he fired her in 1974, in order to give her job to a male. *(1978 Almanac p. 859)*

The court did not decide the merits of Davis' claim, but only her right to bring a suit.

Following the court's decision, Davis and Passman settled the case out of court for an undisclosed sum of money. The settlement left unresolved whether members of Congress are immune from bias suits under the "Speech or Debate" clause of the Constitution.

Davis' case was based principally on a letter that Passman wrote to her in which he said "on account of the unusually heavy work load in my Washington office, and the diversity of the job, I concluded that it was essential that the understudy to my administrative assistant be a man."

Davis' claim under the Constitution was necessary because Congress has exempted itself from all statutory job discrimination protections.

Both chambers have anti-discrimination rules in their ethics codes, but in-house procedures to enforce the rules are cumbersome in the House and non-existent in the Senate. Although a number of Hill employees have claimed to be the victim of job bias, no official complaints have ever been filed in either house.

Davis first brought suit against Passman in 1974 before Federal District Court Judge Tom Stagg. He dismissed her complaint, ruling that Davis had no legal protection from job discrimination by a member of Congress.

Stagg's decision, however, did not deal with the applicability of the "Speech or Debate" clause.

On appeal to the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, a three-judge panel upheld Davis' right to sue in a 2-1 decision in January 1977. The appeals court panel raised the issue of legislative immunity on its own and decided that the protection provided members by the Constitution "does not extend to staff dismissals because they are not 'legislative tasks.' "

Passman, however, asked the full appeals court to review the three-judge panel's ruling. In 1978, the judges voted 12-2 to dismiss Davis' suit, but their decision never mentioned the issue of legislative immunity.

Court's Decision

In its decision, written by Justice William J. Brennan Jr., the Supreme Court said the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals had erred in dismissing Davis' complaint on grounds that Congress had not created a statutory damages remedy for congressional employees and for lack of a private right of action under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

Brennan was joined in his opinion by Justices Harry A. Blackmun, Thurgood Marshall, John Paul Stevens and Byron R. White.

The majority agreed with Davis' lawyers that in a major 1971 case, *Bivens v. Six Unknown Named Agents of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics*, the Supreme Court had established that a person deprived of his constitutional rights by a federal action could sue a federal official for money damages. That case, however, was based on the Fourth Amendment's prohibition on unreasonable

. . . In Deciding 'Davis v. Passman' Case

searches and seizures. Davis claim of a right to sue was based on the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, a potentially much broader precedent if she won.

In the *Davis* case, the Supreme Court rejected the appellate court's reasoning that eligibility to sue for damages should be determined on the basis of the relevant federal statute.

Despite the fact that Congress did not include its own employees in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, "the class of those litigants who allege that their own constitutional rights have been violated, and who at the same time have no effective means other than the judiciary to enforce those rights, must be able to invoke the existing jurisdiction of the courts for the protection of their justiciable constitutional rights," the court said.

In the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the court went on, "there is no evidence . . . that Congress meant . . . to foreclose alternative remedies available to those not covered by the statute. Such silence is far from 'the clearly discernible will of Congress' perceived by the Court of Appeals."

The court's majority opinion also rejected the 5th Circuit's argument that to permit Davis' suit to go forward might result in "deluging federal courts with claims."

"We do not perceive the potential for such a deluge," the Supreme Court said in its decision. "And, of course, were Congress to create equally effective alternative remedies, the need for damages relief might be obviated."

Three Dissents

Three separate dissents were filed in the decision.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, joined by Justices Lewis F. Powell and William H. Rehnquist, said the case presented "very grave questions of separation of powers."

"Historically," Burger wrote, "staffs of members have been considered so intimately a part of the policymaking and political process that they are not subject to being selected, compensated or tenured as others who serve the government." The majority opinion, he said, therefore "encroaches" on Congress' legislative prerogatives.

A member's need for loyal, politically compatible and trustworthy employees, Burger went on, "may, on occasion, lead a member to employ a particular person on a racial, ethnic, religious or gender basis thought to be acceptable to the constituency represented, even though in other branches of government — or in the private sector — such selection factors might be prohibited."

Potter Stewart, joined by Rehnquist, said in a second dissent that he would have preferred first remanding the case to the Court of Appeals to determine the applicability of the "Speech or Debate" clause to the case. If the court found the clause to be relevant, "that is the end of this case," Stewart said.

In the other dissent, Powell, joined by Burger and Rehnquist, took issue with the majority's conclusion that the Constitution requires the federal courts "to entertain private suits that Congress has not authorized." He argued the courts should be permitted to exercise discretion in acting on such private suits.

Congressional Reaction

There was little immediate reaction from Congress to the *Davis* v. *Passman* decision. However, members who in the past have championed extending job discrimination protections to congressional employees said the decision would help their cause.

"The last plantation apparently has been shot down," commented Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., who, along with Reps. Robert F. Drinan, D-Mass., and Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., had introduced a resolution (H Res 292) to provide protections and a grievance procedure for House employees subjected to job discrimination.

Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., who had introduced legislation (S 1112) to do away with Congress' exemption from nine major laws, including several labor protection laws, said he thought the court's action would improve his bill's chances for passage.

"I expect it's probably going to help my legislation," he said. "It makes it clear to everybody up here that they don't have the protection [from lawsuits] that they thought they had."

On June 7, Leahy offered an amendment to the fiscal 1980 authorization legislation for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (S 721) directing the commission to recommend by April 1, 1980, how to eliminate Congress' exemption from the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The amendment was adopted on a voice vote.

However, Fred Williams, co-founder of the Senate Black Staffers Group, disagreed with Leahy's optimism. "I don't think the Senate is going to do anything," he said. "The decision won't help at all because it still does not provide a mechanism for dealing with discrimination complaints. And even if the Senate did establish a mechanism, I can't imagine them establishing a mechanism that will have jurisdiction over discrimination in the senators' offices."

Senate, House Rules

The Senate adopted its rule 50 barring job discrimination in April 1977, to become effective in 1979. However, no enforcement mechanism for the rule has yet been set out by the Senate. Nor has the committee with jurisdiction over job discrimination, the Select Ethics Committee, taken any action on enforcement guidelines or grievance procedures.

A resolution establishing a grievance procedure cleared two committees during the 95th Congress but died in late 1978 when it became apparent it would be filibustered. Much of the opposition came from senators unwilling to accept any limits on their power to hire and fire employees.

In the House, Rule 43, enforced by the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, bars job discrimination. It went into effect in January 1975.

Complaints can be filed by House employees only if three House members have been asked to file the complaint for them and have declined to do so. The committee then would have to hold a preliminary investigation on the complaint. A majority of the committee is required to vote to approve a formal investigation before the complaint can be officially considered.

affirmative action, and of separation of powers and official immunity.

Press, Public and Fair Trials

Criminal suspects and defendants won several notable victories before the Supreme Court in the October 1978 term, but none was more controversial than that in the case of *Gannett Co. Inc. v. DePasquale,* announced on the last day of the term.

On July 2 the court by a 5-4 vote upheld the decision of New York Judge Daniel A. DePasquale to grant the request of two men on trial for murder that a pretrial hearing on evidence against them be closed to the public and the press. The hearing concerned the effort of the defendants to suppress certain evidence allegedly obtained in violation of their constitutional rights.

Among the persons excluded from the hearing was a reporter for a Gannett newspaper in Rochester, N.Y. Gannett challenged DePasquale's decision to close the hearing; the newspaper chain argued that both the press and the public had a constitutional right to attend the hearing. It based this argument on the Sixth Amendment guarantee of public trials and the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of the press.

The case was argued in early November 1978. It was under advisement by the court for almost the entire term.

Decision

Gannett lost its challenge. Voting to uphold the judge's decision to close the hearing were Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, and Justices Potter Stewart, Lewis F. Powell Jr., William H. Rehnquist and John Paul Stevens.

Stewart wrote the majority opinion, based primarily upon a literal reading of the Sixth Amendment, which states that "[i]n all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial. . . ." The majority, Stewart explained, found that this guarantee applied solely to the defendant, not to the press or the public. In this case, it was the defendant who asked that the hearing be closed.

"The Constitution nowhere mentions any right of access to a criminal trial on the part of the public," wrote Stewart. "Its guarantee, like the others enumerated, is personal to the accused. . . . Our cases have uniformly recognized the public trial guarantee as one created for the benefit of the defendant."

Indeed, Stewart continued, pretrial hearings were often closed. Such a measure was "often one of the most effective methods that a trial judge can employ to attempt to insure that the fairness of a trial will not be jeopardized by the dissemination of such [prejudicial] information throughout the community before the trial itself has even begun."

The First Amendment argument received only brief consideration by the majority. The majority declined to decide whether the press had a constitutional right to attend hearings and trials. Stewart explained: "[E]ven assuming . . . that the First and Fourteenth Amendments may guarantee such access in some situations . . . this putative right was given all appropriate deference by the state . . . court in the present case. . . . [T]he actions of the trial judge here were consistent with any right of access the petitioner [Gannett] may have had. . . ."

To support that conclusion, Stewart pointed out that the Gannett reporter did not object at the time the defendants asked that the hearing be closed, that Gannett was given an opportunity to voice its objections to the judge later. Stewart also said the judge specifically held that the defendants' right to a fair trial outweighed the right of the press to access, and that the denial of access was only temporary since a transcript of the hearing was later made public.

Varying Interpretations

The controversy which flared over the court's decision was foreshadowed and compounded by the varying interpretations which members of the majority gave it.

In a concurring opinion, Chief Justice Burger emphasized that the court actually settled only the relatively narrow question whether *pretrial hearings* could constitutionally be closed to the press and the public.

But in another concurring opinion, Justice Rehnquist set out his view that so long as a defendant and prosecutor agreed that *a hearing or a trial* should be closed, the Constitution did not require the judge to give any reason at all for excluding press and public from such a proceeding.

In still another separate opinion, Justice Powell said he would rule that the press did have a constitutional right to be present at such a hearing, but that the judge had properly considered and decided to limit that access in this case.

Dissent

Justices Harry A. Blackmun, William J. Brennan Jr., Byron R. White and Thurgood Marshall dissented from the majority's holding in an opinion considerably longer than that written by Stewart.

In the dissent, written by Justice Blackmun, these justices took issue with the majority on almost every point — including the facts upon which the ruling was based.

Rebutting the court's assumption that the pretrial publicity in this case was sufficient to threaten the defendants' right to a fair trial, Blackmun described the press coverage of the case as "placid, routine and innocuous."

The dissenters, like the majority, did not address the First Amendment issues presented by Gannett. Instead, they argued that the majority failed to give sufficient weight to the substantial public interest in open trials and hearings.

Dismissing the need to consider the First Amendment arguments, Justice Blackmun wrote that a newspaper publisher "enjoys the same right of access . . . [to this sort of trial or hearing] . . . as does the general public."

But the right of the general public was a weighty and important one, argued the dissenters. "It has been said that publicity 'is the soul of justice.' . . . And in many ways it is: open judicial processes, especially in the criminal field, protect against judicial, prosecutorial, and police abuse; provide a means for citizens to obtain information about the criminal justice system and the performance of public officials; and safeguard the integrity of the courts.

"Publicity is essential to the preservation of public confidence in the rule of law and in the operation of courts. Only in rare circumstances does this principle clash with the rights of the criminal defendant to a fair trial so as to justify exclusion.

"The Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments require that the States take care to determine that those circumstances exist before excluding the public from a hearing to which it otherwise is entitled to come freely. Those circumstances did not exist in this case."

Questions of Discrimination

On June 27 the court released its second major decision on the question of "reverse discrimination," upholding voluntary affirmative action programs as in keeping with the spirit, if not the letter, of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The court's 5-2 decision came in the case of *United Steelworkers of America v. Weber, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation v. Weber, United States v. Weber.*

A year earlier, by shifting 5-4 votes, the court in the case of Allan Bakke had held that the 1964 act forbade university admissions officials to use racial quotas in making admissions decisions, but that the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection did not foreclose some consideration of race in admissions decisions.

The *Weber* case was based solely upon the 1964 act. That statute contains a general ban on employer discrimination among employees because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. It also declares that "[i]t shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer, labor organization or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs, to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training."

Weber, a white man employed by Kaiser in Louisiana, was denied a slot in a job-training program in his plant, although several blacks with less seniority were accepted into the program. His exclusion was the result of the company's adoption of an affirmative action plan to increase minority representation in certain jobs by setting aside half the slots in all such training programs for black workers. Weber went to court, arguing that Kaiser had engaged in illegal "reverse discrimination" in violation of the language of the 1964 act.

Weber won in both lower courts. Kaiser, the steelworkers' union, which had cooperated with Kaiser on adoption of the affirmative action program, and the Justice Department asked the Supreme Court to reverse the lower courts and reinstate the affirmative action program.

Decision

The court reversed the lower rulings, although to do so it was forced to abandon a literal reading of the 1964 act. In a brief opinion released June 27, a five-man majority held that the Kaiser affirmative action program fell within the "area of discretion left by Title VII [of the 1964 act] to the private sector voluntarily to adopt affirmative action plans designed to eliminate conspicuous racial imbalance in traditionally segregated job categories."

The majority was composed of Justices Brennan, Stewart, White, Marshall and Blackmun. All but Stewart had voted in Bakke's case to uphold quotas and consideration of race. Justice Brennan wrote the opinion, giving the majority's reasons for departing from the literal meaning of the 1964 act's ban on employer discrimination:

"The prohibition against racial discrimination . . . must . . . be read against the background of the legislative history . . . and the historical context from which the Act arose. . . . Examination of those sources makes clear that an interpretation of the sections that forbade all race-conscious affirmative action would 'bring about an end completely at variance with the purpose of the statute' and must be rejected. . . ."

Brennan then quoted portions of the Senate debate and House report on the act, and concluded: "Given this legislative history, we cannot agree with [Weber] that Congress intended to prohibit the private sector from taking effective steps to accomplish the goal that Congress designed Title VII to achieve. . . . It would be ironic indeed if a law triggered by a Nation's concern over centuries of racial injustice and intended to improve the lot of those who had been excluded from the American dream for so long' . . . constituted the first legislative prohibition of all voluntary, private, race-conscious efforts to abolish traditional patterns of racial segregation and hierarchy."

In conclusion, the majority made clear that some affirmative action programs might indeed run afoul of the language of the act, but not the one challenged here.

Justices Powell and Stevens did not participate in the court's decision.

Dissent

Chief Justice Burger and Justice Rehnquist dissented. Chief Justice Burger wrote that he would vote with the majority if he were a member of Congress voting to amend Title VII, but that he disagreed with the majority's decision which "[u]nder the guise of statutory 'construction' . . . effectively rewrites Title VII. . .," amending it "to do precisely what both its sponsors and its opponents agreed the statute was *not* intended to do."

"If 'affirmative action' programs such as the one . . . in this case are to be permitted," Burger concluded, "it is for Congress, not this Court, to so direct."

In a dissenting opinion three times as long as that of the majority, Justice Rehnquist lambasted the majority for engaging in the kind of double-talk satirized in George Orwell's book *1984.* The majority's decision, said Rehnquist, marked a dramatic switch in the court's interpretation of Title VII.

Formerly, he said, the court had held " 'that the obligation imposed by Title VII is to provide an equal opportunity for *each* applicant [for a job or promotion] regardless of race. . . .' " This about-face he described as "a *tour de force* reminiscent not of jurists . . . but of escape artists such as Houdini."

"In passing Title VII," Rehnquist concluded, "Congress outlawed *all* racial discrimination, recognizing that no discrimination based on race is benign, that no action disadvantaging a person because of his color is affirmative. With today's holding, the Court introduces into Title VII a tolerance for the very evil that the law was intended to eradicate, without offering even a clue as to what the limits on that tolerance may be."

Intent of Congress

Congressional intent was also of central importance in four decisions announced by the court in late March and April 1979.

The justices turned to legislative history and statutory language in deciding whether states could provide unemployment benefits to striking workers, the National Labor Relations Board had jurisdiction over teachers in church-run schools, the Federal Communications Commission had the authority to require cable television systems to open some of their channels to citizen groups and others wishing to use them, and the Freedom of Information Act could be used to force the government to withhold information sought by citizens.

State Aid to Strikers

Congress has never expressly forbidden states to allow striking workers to collect unemployment benefits. On March 21, the Supreme Court held that states remain free to provide those benefits to persons on strike. By a 6-3 vote, the court thus resolved a question of longstanding dispute, upholding New York's unemployment compensation law.

The ruling came in a case brought by the New York Telephone Company after a 1971 strike in which its employees, while on strike, collected some $49 million in unemployment benefits, much of it funded by employer contributions. The company argued that state law conflicted with federal labor policy by placing the government on the side of the worker in a collective bargaining dispute, contrary to the principle of federal labor law that the government should remain neutral in such situations. *(New York Telephone Company v. New York State Department of Labor)*

The six-man majority reached the decision to uphold the state law by at least three different lines of reasoning. Justice Stevens announced the result in an opinion joined by Justices White and Rehnquist. Justices Brennan, Marshall and Blackmun concurred in separate opinions.

The majority interpreted congressional silence on the matter of unemployment benefits for strikers as evidence that Congress had "decided to tolerate" such state policies. Justice Stevens noted that a similar New York law was in effect in 1935 when Congress enacted the National Labor Relations Act, giving Congress ample basis for making clear in the law that such aid was pre-empted by federal labor law. But neither then nor in subsequent amendments to that law had Congress made any such statement.

The dissenting justices, on the other hand, argued that without clear evidence of congressional intent to allow states to provide such benefits to persons on strike, laws like New York's should be held invalid.

Church Schools and Unions

In a second labor question resolved the same day, the court held that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) did not have jurisdiction over teachers in church-run schools. *(NLRB v. Catholic Bishop of Chicago)*

The court reached this decision by a 5-4 vote. Chief Justice Burger wrote the court's opinion; Justices Brennan, White, Marshall and Blackmun dissented.

Again, congressional silence was at the heart of the case. The majority read "the absence of a clear expression of Congress' intent to bring teachers in church-operated schools within the jurisdiction of the Board" as sufficient reason to "decline to construe the Act in a manner that could in turn call upon the Court to resolve difficult and sensitive questions arising out of the guarantees of the First Amendment. . . ."

Dissenting justices noted, however, that Congress did include eight express categories of workers not subject to the National Labor Relations Act, and that teachers in church-run schools were not among those exceptions. Thus, they reasoned, Congress intended to include those teachers within the jurisdiction of the NLRB and under the protection of federal labor law.

Cable Television and the FCC

Cable television interests won a Supreme Court ruling denying the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) authority to require cable systems to open a certain number of channels to citizen groups and other third parties who wished to use them. *(FCC v. Midwest Video Corporation; American Civil Liberties Union v. FCC; National Black Media Coalition v. Midwest Video Corporation)*

The court divided 6-3 on the issue. Justice White wrote the majority opinion, which viewed the FCC rules as attempting to impose "common-carrier obligations" on cable systems. This, he wrote, was in direct conflict with the provisions of the Communications Act of 1934 which stated that broadcasters were not to be treated as common carriers.

Freedom of Information

The basic objective of Congress in passing the Freedom of Information Act was disclosure of information, held the Supreme Court in April. And so the court unanimously called a halt to efforts by individuals and corporations to use that law as a basis for "reverse Freedom of Information" lawsuits to forbid government disclosure of information.

Chrysler Corporation, a Pentagon contractor, was required to submit reports concerning its affirmative action efforts to the Defense Department. Employees suing the company on charges of job discrimination filed a Freedom of Information request with the department for disclosure of some of those reports.

Chrysler went into federal court for an order halting such disclosure. The company reasoned that the information sought under the act fell within the "trade secret" exemption to the Freedom of Information Act and so must be withheld. Furthermore, Chrysler argued that the Trade Secrets Act forbade disclosure of this information by the government.

The Supreme Court rejected those arguments insofar as they were based on the Freedom of Information Act, but told the lower court hearing the case to reconsider the claim that disclosure was prohibited by the Trade Secrets Act.

The justices rejected the argument that the act's exemption of nine categories of information bound government agencies to withhold that information. To the contrary, wrote Rehnquist, the act protected the confidentiality of information in those categories only to the extent that the agency in possession of the information decided to claim the exemption. Since the exemptions only allowed and did not mandate non-disclosure, Chrysler had no legal basis for its suit. *(Chrysler Corp. v. Brown)*

Sex and Schools

Sex discrimination was at issue in half a dozen cases before the court during the 1978-1979 term, and in four out of six, the court ruled in favor of the victim of such discrimination.

Early in the term, the court in the case of *Orr v. Orr* held it unfair, under the constitutional guarantee of equal protection, for a state to allow ex-wives, but never ex-husbands, to receive alimony.

Alimony should be awarded — if provided at all — on the basis of need, not of sex, the Supreme Court held in March. By a 6-3 vote the court struck down an Alabama law similar to statutes in ten other states which allow only women, not men, to be considered eligible for alimony awards in divorce actions.

A state law excluding men from alimony eligibility violated the 14th Amendment guarantee of equal protection, held the court. A state could by law deny alimony to

men and women — or make both eligible — but it could not constitutionally use sex as a proxy for need in all divorce actions.

Writing for the majority, Justice Brennan noted that since individualized hearings on the financial circumstances of marital partners already occur in the course of divorce proceedings, it would not inconvenience states with such laws to base alimony decisions on the factor of need rather than sex.

In May, the court in the case of *Cannon v. University of Chicago,* held that individuals could sue in federal court to protest sex discrimination by schools in violation of Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments. A month later, however, the court in the case of *Great American Federal Savings & Loan Assn. v. Novotny* refused to allow individuals to use damage suits based on a Reconstruction-era civil rights law to enforce the sex discrimination ban of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Early in June, the court in the case of *Davis v. Passman* provided a broad new constitutional basis for sex discrimination — and racial discrimination — suits against members of Congress and other federal government employers. In the *Davis* case, a closely divided court held for the first time that the due process guarantee of the Fifth Amendment provides a basis for such federal lawsuits. *(Details, box, p. 22-A)*

The following day, however, women's rights groups lost a major case, when the court by a vote of 7-2 upheld the Massachusetts law granting armed forces veterans an absolute preference over all other applicants for civil service jobs. The majority found in the case of *Personnel Administrator of Massachusetts v. Feeney* that this preference did not violate the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause which, it said, guaranteed only "equal laws, not equal results." The preference operated to discriminate against non-veterans in general, not women in particular, wrote Justice Stewart for the majority.

Late in the term, working women scored a victory when the court struck down as unconstitutional the provision of the Social Security Act which provided benefits to a family when the father was unemployed — but not when the mother lost her job. The court was unanimous on this point in the case of *Califano v. Westcott,* although it divided over the proper method of remedying this constitutional defect.

School Desegregation

On July 2, the court spoke to the issue of school desegregation for the only time during a term which marked the 25th anniversary of its landmark ruling in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka.*

In two cases involving the schools of Dayton and Columbus, Ohio — where state law had not since 1888 required racial segregation — the court upheld court-ordered busing plans. Although the majority did not expressly say so, the court's decisions appeared to eliminate the long-held and often-criticized distinction between *de jure* segregation, imposed by state law or official action, and *de facto* segregation, the result of housing patterns and other factors outside government control.

In the case of *Columbus Board of Education v. Penick* and *Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman,* the court held the lack of a state law imposing segregation to be largely irrelevant to the responsibility of school officials to desegregate their system. Because the school systems of Dayton and Columbus had been largely segregated by race in 1954 — at the time of the *Brown* decision — the boards administering those systems had an affirmative constitutional responsibility to end that segregation, wrote Justice White for the majority. The vote in the Columbus case was 7-2; in the Dayton case, 5-4. Chief Justice Burger and Justice Stewart concurred in the first, but joined Justices Powell and Rehnquist in dissent in the second.

White explained that the majority felt that because school officials in the two cities had not acted to eliminate segregation in the schools — and because the systems were still, in the 1970s, largely segregated by race, federal judges were justified in ordering large-scale busing of students among schools in the systems in order to rebalance the racial mix of the student bodies at each school.

The majority rejected the school boards' arguments that there was not enough evidence that school officials had intentionally discriminated to justify the systemwide remedy of busing. White explained that the majority agreed with the lower courts hearing the cases "that actions having foreseeable and anticipated disparate [racial] impact are relevant evidence to prove the ultimate fact, forbidden purpose." He cited the court's first decision concerning non-southern school segregation in the Denver case of *Keyes v. School District No. 1* in 1973. In that case, White pointed out, the court had found that "purposeful discrimination in a substantial part of a school system furnishes a sufficient basis for an inferential finding of a systemwide discriminatory intent unless otherwise rebutted. . . ."

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Powell characterized the majority's decision as "remarkably insensitive to the now widely accepted view that a quarter of a century after *Brown v. Board of Education* . . . the federal judiciary should be limiting rather than expanding the extent to which courts are operating the public school systems of our country. . . . [T]he Court's opinions condone the creation of bad constitutional law and will be even worse for public education. . . ."

Congressional Immunity

Late in the October 1978 term, the court released two decisions concerning the immunity which the Constitution grants to members of Congress from prosecution for their legislative activities. The relevant constitutional language is known as the Speech or Debate Clause: it provides that "for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in an other place."

In the case of *United States v. Helstoski,* decided June 18, the court forbade federal prosecutors to use any evidence of past legislative actions in prosecuting former Rep. Henry Helstoski, D-N.J. (1965-76), on charges that he accepted money in return for introducing private bills allowing certain aliens to remain in the United States.

A week later, on June 26, the court held that this immunity did not protect Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis., from being sued for libel by a scientist who charged that he had been injured by Proxmire's remarks ridiculing his research. The allegedly libelous remarks were made on the Senate floor and then published in a newsletter and press release. While the remarks on the floor were protected by the Speech or Debate Clause, their publication in the newsletter and press release were not so protected, held the court in the case of *Hutchinson v. Proxmire.*

Bills and Bribes

After ten voluntary appearances before grand juries investigating reports that aliens had paid members of

Congress to introduce private bills to allow them to remain in the United States, Helstoski was indicted in June 1976 for allegedly accepting payments for such legislative services. Helstoski, who was defeated in the following November elections, asked the trial court to dismiss the indictment, arguing that it violated his constitutional immunity under the Speech or Debate Clause.

The trial judge refused to dismiss the indictment but did rule that the prosecutors could not use as evidence against Helstoski any bills that he had, in fact, introduced. The court of appeals upheld this ruling, and the government asked the Supreme Court to overturn it.

The government lost its argument. Chief Justice Burger, writing for five members of the majority, reiterated the court's statement in the earlier immunity cases of *United States v. Johnson* (1966) and *United States v. Brewster* (1972): "Evidence of a legislative act of a Member may not be introduced by the Government in a prosecution under . . . [the law making it a crime for federal officials to accept payment in order to take certain official actions]."

Burger acknowledged that the exclusion of evidence of past legislative actions would make prosecution of Helstoski and others more difficult, but pointed out that such was indeed the purpose of the Speech or Debate Clause. That clause, he explained, was intended "to preserve the constitutional structure of separate, coequal and independent branches of government."

However, Burger wrote, the clause did not prevent introduction of evidence of "a promise to deliver a speech, to vote, or to solicit other votes at some future date." It only forbade the use of evidence of an action already taken: "a *promise* to introduce a bill is not a legislative act."

Justices Stevens and Stewart took issue with Burger's opinion insofar as it required exclusion of evidence which simply referred to legislative acts. They agreed that the Constitution forbade the prosecution from attempting to prove that a legislative act was performed in return for a bribe, but would hold that it allowed the use of evidence concerning the congressman's motivation in seeking and accepting such payments, even if it made reference to past or future legislative actions for which payment had been given.

Justice Brennan, on the other hand, dissented because the majority did not go far enough; he would order dismissal of the indictment altogether, holding that only Congress itself could punish members who accepted bribes for performing legislative acts.

Justice Powell did not participate in this decision.

Labels and Libel

After the agencies which had funded his research into measuring aggression in certain animals were given a "Golden Fleece Award" from Proxmire for wasting the taxpayers' money, Ronald Hutchinson, a behavioral scientist, sued the senator, originator of the award, for libel. He contended that Proxmire had damaged his professional reputation and interfered with his contractual relations with those agencies.

Proxmire invoked the Speech or Debate Clause as a defense to the libel suit, arguing that it protected the statements he had made concerning the award on the Senate floor, and in a press release, which incorporated the speech text.

Furthermore, Proxmire contended, the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech protected his use of the newsletter to further publicize the award, and calls made by a staff aide to the funding agencies concerning the award.

The trial court agreed with Proxmire and summarily ruled in the senator's favor, finding also that the scientist was a public figure who must prove "actual malice" to recover damages, and that he had not done so. The court of appeals upheld this ruling, and Hutchinson appealed to the Supreme Court.

The court overturned the lower court's rulings concerning the newsletter, press release and telephone calls. Chief Justice Burger, writing for the eight-member majority, pointed out "that a Member may be held liable for republishing defamatory statements originally made in either House. We perceive no basis for departing from that long-established rule. . . . A speech by Proxmire in the Senate could be wholly immune and would be available to other Members of Congress and the public in the Congressional Record. But neither the newsletters nor the press release were 'essential to the deliberations of the Senate' and neither were part of the deliberative process. . . .Valuable and desirable as it may be in broad terms, the transmittal of such information by individual Members in order to inform the public and other Members is not a part of the legislative function or the deliberations that make up the legislative process. As a result, transmittal of such information by press release and newsletters is not protected by the Speech or Debate Clause," Burger concluded.

In a footnote, the majority added that potentially libelous remarks that were made in the subsequent conversations with agencies funding the criticized research also were not protected by the Speech or Debate Clause.

The court also concluded that Hutchinson was not a public figure, that he did not thrust himself into the public eye and did not have the access to the media that public figures were assumed to have as a means of responding to defamatory remarks. Thus he did not have to prove "actual malice" in order to recover damages.

Justice Stewart added a statement setting out his view that the remarks made by Proxmire or his aide in conversations with the funding agencies were protected by the Speech or Debate Clause, whether or not they were defamatory.

Justice Brennan dissented and would find the newsletters and press releases protected by the Constitution. "In my view," he wrote, "public criticism by legislators of unnecessary governmental expenditures, whatever its form, is a legislative act shielded by the Speech or Debate Clause."

Libel and Free Press

The First Amendment does not protect the editorial process — the pre-publication thoughts, conclusions and conversations of editors and reporters — from scrutiny by those who charge that they have been libeled by the product of that process. The Supreme Court announced this decision in the case of *Herbert v. Lando*.

By a vote of 6-3, the court rejected the argument of CBS producer Barry Lando, backed by his network, that the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of the press made such matters privileged from disclosure.

Justice White wrote the majority opinion, which was joined by Chief Justice Burger and Justices Blackmun, Powell, Rehnquist and Stevens. Dissenting were Justices Marshall, Stewart and, in part, Justice Brennan.

The immediate result of the court's ruling was to require Lando to answer questions concerning his conclu-

sions and conversations during preparation of a 1973 segment of the CBS program "Sixty Minutes." The segment concerned former Army Lt. Col. Anthony Herbert, who had earlier drawn substantial media attention with his charges that the Army had covered up reports of atrocities committed by U.S. servicemen in Vietnam. Herbert subsequently sued CBS, Lando, Mike Wallace, the reporter in the segment, and *Atlantic Monthly,* for whom Lando wrote an article on the subject, for millions of dollars in libel damages, charging that the report and article had depicted him as a liar.

As part of pretrial discovery in the case, Herbert's attorneys questioned Lando extensively about the report. He answered many questions, but refused — claiming the First Amendment privilege — to respond to any concerning the editorial process involved in producing the report.

The trial court ordered Lando to respond to those questions. Herbert was a public figure, and under the standards set out by the Supreme Court, he must prove "actual malice" in the report before he can recover damages. Actual malice, in this context, means a finding that the report was prepared either with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of its truth or falseness.

The trial court pointed out that Lando's thoughts and conclusions in preparing the report were crucial to determining whether or not such malice existed. But the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit reversed the trial court, holding that the First Amendment protected such matters from disclosure. The Supreme Court reversed the appeals court, agreeing with the trial court that Lando must answer the questions about the editorial process.

Justice White reasoned that under the court's landmark libel ruling setting out the "actual malice" standard — *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964) — the court "made it essential to proving liability that plaintiffs focus on the conduct and state of mind of the defendant. To be liable, the alleged defamer of public officials or of public figures must know or have reason to suspect that his publication is false. . . . Inevitably, unless liability is to be completely foreclosed, the thoughts and editorial processes of the alleged defamer would be open to examination."

If the court read the First Amendment to protect the editorial process from such scrutiny, continued White, a person charging libel would not be able to use direct evidence — the defendant's thoughts, conclusions and conversations — to prove actual malice, but only indirect evidence concerning the defendant's state of mind.

Such a privilege was not necessary to protect freedom of the press, said White. "[O]ur cases necessarily contemplate examination of the editorial process to prove the necessary awareness of probable falsehood, and if indirect proof of this element does not stifle truthful publication and is consistent with the First Amendment . . . we do not understand how direct inquiry with respect to the ultimate issue would be substantially more suspect."

Justice Brennan agreed with the majority's rejection of an absolute First Amendment protection for factual matters and the "mental processes" of an editor or reporter. But he dissented in part, saying that he would hold that the First Amendment protected from disclosure "predecisional communication among editors" — unless a public figure could demonstrate a strong initial case that the libel in question was in fact defamatory and false.

Justice Marshall agreed with Brennan's distinction, but would grant an absolute privilege from disclosure for the substance of editorial conversations.

Court and the Press

Efforts by the nation's news media to win expanded First Amendment protection were notably unsuccessful in the 1978-1979 Supreme Court term.

The justices rejected arguments that the First Amendment extended any special privileges to the media beyond those granted to the general public.

The most dramatic defeat handed the press came in the decision, announced July 2, 1979, in the case of *Gannett Co. Inc. v. DePasquale,* upholding a trial judge's decision to exclude press and public from a pretrial hearing in a murder case. *(Details, p. 33-A)*

Earlier, in November 1978, the court refused to hear the case of *The New York Times* and its reporter, M. A. Farber, who had refused to turn over documents and materials he had used in writing articles which led a murder prosecution.

The newspaper and the reporter cited the First Amendment guarantee of a free press in refusing to turn over the materials, despite a court order that they do so. They were held in contempt and fined. Farber was imprisoned for the duration of the trial. The defendant was acquitted.

In April, the Columbia Broadcasting System, "Sixty Minutes" producer Barry Lando and reporter Mike Wallace went down to defeat before the court. By a 6-3 vote, the court held that the First Amendment does not protect the editorial process — including the state of mind of a producer and reporter putting together an article or broadcast — from subsequent investigation as part of a libel suit based on that article or broadcast.

On the contrary, wrote Justice Byron R. White for the majority, the landmark libel ruling of *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* (1964) actually demands such inquiry.

In the *Times* case, which for the first time extended to the media some constitutional protection against libel damage suits brought by public figures, the court held that public figures could recover damages only if they could prove that the libelous statements were published or broadcast with "actual malice."

How, asked White, could the absence or existence of "actual malice" be determined without some investigation into the thoughts of the editor and reporter in putting together the publication or program? *(Herbert v. Lando, accompaning story)*

Later in the term, the court refused to expand the category of persons required to prove "actual malice" in order to recover damages for libel. In the case of *Wolston v. Reader's Digest Association* decided late in June, the court held that an individual whose only publicity related to a long-ago contempt conviction was not a public figure. Only Justice William J. Brennan Jr. dissented from that holding.

The press did win one case before the court during the term. On June 26, the court in the case of *Smith v. Daily Mail Publishing Co.* struck down a West Virginia law which made it a crime for a newspaper to publish the name of a juvenile involved in a crime — unless the newspaper obtained prior judicial approval of that publication. The court was unanimous. Chief Justice Burger wrote the opinion.

Justice Stewart dissented, arguing that "inquiry into the broad 'editorial process' is simply not relevant in a libel suit brought by a public figure against a publisher. And if such an inquiry is not relevant, it is not permissible." He elaborated by pointing out that the critical issue in a libel suit was "that which was in fact published. What was *not* published has nothing to do with the case."

'Public Figures' Category Narrowed

Two months after the decision in *Herbert v. Lando,* the court handed down a potentially more far-reaching ruling concerning libel lawsuits, but the ruling in *Wolston v. Readers' Digest Association Inc.* drew far less attention than the earlier case.

In *Wolston,* the court held 8-1 that Ilya Wolston, a man who had been convicted of contempt during the 1950s for failing to appear to testify before a grand jury investigating espionage, was *not* a public figure within the meaning of the court's libel rulings. Thus, he was able to recover damages for libel without proving "actual malice."

This ruling substantially narrowed the category of public figures and simultaneously enlarged the liability of the pres to lawsuits brought by persons — like Wolston — who involuntarily became the focus of public attention and news reports by being charged with or found guilty of unlawful activity.

Stops and Searches

The Fourth Amendment protects persons against unreasonable searches and seizures by government agents. In March 1979, the Supreme Court held, 8-1, that police may not stop motorists at random just to check licenses and auto registrations. Without some cause to believe that a car is being driven in violation of the law, such random stops violate the guarantee against unreasonable seizures, declared the court.

"An individual operating or travelling in an automobile does not lose all reasonable expectation of privacy simply because the automobile and its use are subject to government regulations," wrote Justice White for the court.

The justices, with only Justice Rehnquist dissenting, announced the decision in the case of William J. Prouse III, charged with possession of marijuana after some of that substance was found in his car at such a random stop. Prouse argued that the marijuana could not be used as evidence against him because it had been illegally seized. The Supreme Court agreed. *(Delaware v. Prouse)*

The reasonableness of a seizure under the Fourth Amendment guarantee is determined by balancing the intrusion of a law enforcement practice upon an individual's privacy against the state interest served by the practice, wrote White.

In this case random stops make only a "marginal contribution" to ensuring compliance with state traffic laws and encouraging highway safety and thus cannot withstand a constitutional challenge, he stated.

Therefore, concluded White for the court, without some "articulable and reasonable suspicion" that a vehicle is being driven in violation of state laws or that the vehicle or the occupant is otherwise violating the law, "stopping an automobile and detaining the driver in order to check his driver's license and the registration of the automobile are unreasonable under the Fourth Amendment." White added that there are other less intrusive methods of checking such documents, including the use of roadblock stops.

Justice Rehnquist dissented, describing as " 'curiouser and curiouser' " the court's reasoning that "a highway patrolman needs neither probable cause nor articulable suspicion to stop *all* motorists on a particular thoroughfare, but he cannot without articulable suspicion stop *less* than all motorists."

Searches and Evidence

In one of the term's first decisions, announced in December 1978, the court appeared to link the protection of the Fourth Amendment to ownership of the place searched or the items seized. In *Rakas v. Illinois,* the court held 5-4 that passengers in a car could not challenge the search of that car because they owned neither the vehicle nor the items of evidence produced in the search.

Writing for the majority, Justice Rehnquist declared that "A person who is aggrieved by an illegal search and secured by a search of a third person's premises or property has not had any of his Fourth Amendment rights infringed."

Entry and Eavesdropping

Since 1967 the Supreme Court has held that the Fourth Amendment governs the government's use of wiretaps and electronic surveillance devices.

In 1968 Congress included statutory authorization for such surveillance in the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of that year, requiring the government to obtain a warrant — similar to a search warrant — for each instance of wiretapping or "bugging." *(Congress and the Nation Vol. II, p. 326)*

While wiretaps can be installed on telephone lines outside the place where the tapped telephone is located, "bugs" usually must be installed inside the dwelling or office under surveillance. Agents thus are often required to break into those places to install and remove the "bugs."

Lawrence Dalia, whose office was entered secretly by agents who planted a "bug" and thereby obtained incriminating evidence against him, challenged that entry as a violation of his Fourth Amendment rights and as unauthorized by the 1968 law. *(Dalia v. United States)*

The Supreme Court in April 1979 rejected Dalia's arguments. Such covert entry, declared the court, was neither unconstitutional nor illegal. Justice Powell wrote the opinion.

The court was unanimous in declaring that "[t]he Fourth Amendment does not prohibit *per se* a covert entry performed for the purpose of installing otherwise legal electronic bugging equipment." But it divided 6-3 on the question whether Congress, in passing the 1968 Act, had authorized such entry.

The majority found that "Congress clearly understood that it was conferring power upon the courts to authorize covert entries" as part of the process of installing electronic surveillance equipment. Justices Brennan, Marshall and Stevens dissented on this point. Justice Stevens spoke for the threesome, criticizing the majority for converting congressional "silence into thunder" by its interpretation of the 1968 law.

And the court divided 5-4 on an even more specific point, as the majority held that covert entry need not be specifically authorized by the warrant approving the surveillance. Powell wrote that to require this would be to extend the warrant requirement of the Fourth Amendment to an extreme. Justice Stewart joined the three dissenting justices on the earlier point in disagreeing with this view.

MAJOR DECISIONS, 1978-1979 TERM

BUSINESS LAW

Antitrust

Group Life & Health Insurance Company v. Royal Drug Co. Inc., decided by a 5-4 vote, Feb. 27, 1979. Stewart wrote the majority opinion; Brennan, Marshall, Powell and Chief Justice Burger dissented.

The partial immunity from antitrust laws that Congress has granted to the insurance industry does not extend to protect from antitrust challenge arrangements between an insurance company and certain pharmacies to lower the cost of prescription drugs for the insuror's policyholders. These arrangements are not *per se* illegal, but they are subject to challenge as being in violation of federal antitrust laws barring price-fixing.

Broadcast Music Inc. v. Columbia Broadcasting System, American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers v. Columbia Broadcasting System, decided by votes of 9-0 and 8-1, April 17, 1979. White wrote the majority opinion; Stevens dissented in part.

The blanket licensing system maintained by Broadcast Music Inc. and the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers for the performance of copyrighted musical compositions is not *per se* a violation of the federal antitrust law against price-fixing. The system could, however, be an unreasonable restraint of trade and thus a violation of other antitrust laws.

Reiter v. Sonotone Corporation, decided by a vote of 8-0, June 11, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the opinion; Brennan did not participate.

Consumers, who are forced by price-fixing among manufacturers to pay higher prices for items they purchase for personal use, may qualify to bring treble damage suits under the Clayton Antitrust Act. Direct consumer purchasers could fall within the category of persons injured by such anti-competitive activity and thus authorized to bring such suits.

Eminent Domain

United States v. 564.54 Acres of Land, More or Less, decided by a vote of 8-0, May 14, 1979. Marshall wrote the opinion; Powell did not participate.

When the U.S. government acquires land through condemnation, exercising its power of eminent domain to acquire privately-owned land for public use, the Fifth Amendment requirement of "just compensation" obligates the government to pay the owner the fair market value of the property, not just the replacement value.

Securities Law

International Brotherhood of Teamsters v. Daniel, decided by a vote of 8-0, Jan. 16, 1979. Powell wrote the court's opinion; Stevens did not participate in the decision.

An individual's interest in a compulsory, non-contributory pension plan is not a security within the meaning and protection of the federal securities laws, such as its anti-fraud and disclosure requirements.

Burks v. Lasker, decided by a vote of 8-0, May 14, 1979. Brennan wrote the opinion; Rehnquist did not participate.

Federal courts should apply relevant state law to determine whether independent ("outside") directors of a mutual fund have the power to move for the dismissal of a stockholder's derivative suit against the other directors of the fund, brought under the Investment Company and Investment Advisers Acts. Congress, in passing those laws, did not absolutely forbid directors to take such actions.

United States v. Naftalin, decided by a vote of 8-0, May 21, 1979. Brennan wrote the court's opinion; Powell did not participate.

The provision of the Securities Act of 1933, which prohibits stock fraud, protects brokers defrauded by other brokers as well as investors so injured.

Touche Ross & Co. v. Redington, decided by a vote of 7-1, June 18, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the majority opinion; Marshall dissented; Powell did not participate.

The Securities Exchange Act provision which requires securities brokers to file certain financial reports with federal agencies does not provide a basis for customers of such firms to sue accountants who audited such reports but failed to disclose or uncover false statements.

The court rebuffed efforts by representatives of customers of a bankrupt brokerage firm to sue, for damages, the accountants who had failed to point out false statements in the reports filed by the brokerage firm, statements that concealed the true financial condition of the company. The court found that Congress did not intend to authorize such suits.

State Powers

Hughes v. Oklahoma, decided by a vote of 7-2, April 24, 1979. Brennan wrote the majority opinion; Chief Justice Burger and Rehnquist dissented.

Geer v. Connecticut (1896) is overruled; a state impermissibly interferes with the flow of interstate commerce when it bans the export of minnows caught legally in its own waters.

Japan Line Ltd. v. County of Los Angeles, decided by an 8-1 vote, April 30, 1979. Blackmun wrote the majority opinion; Rehnquist dissented.

A county may not impose a property tax on cargo shipping containers owned by foreign shipping companies and only temporarily present in the United States. Taxes imposed by states on foreign commerce are permissible only if they avoid the risk of imposing multiple taxes on the same items and if they do not impair federal uniformity in an area where uniformity is needed.

Arizona Public Service Company v. Snead, decided by a unanimous vote, April 18, 1979. Stewart wrote the opinion.

The 1976 Tax Reform Act forbids a state to tax the generation of electricity in such a way as to discriminate against out-of-state consumers of that electricity.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Age Discrimination

Vance v. Bradley, decided by a vote of 8-1, Feb. 22, 1979. White wrote the majority opinion; Marshall dissented.

Congress does not violate the equal protection guarantee implicit in the Fifth Amendment due process clause when it requires the nation's diplomats to retire at age 60, at least a decade earlier than other government officials.

Housing

Gladstone Realtors v. Village of Bellwood, decided by a vote of 7-2, April 17, 1979. Powell wrote the majority opinion; Stewart and Rehnquist dissented.

Individuals and municipal corporations, even if they are not the direct victims of housing discrimination, have standing to sue discriminatory realtors under the Fair Housing Act of 1968, if they can demonstrate actual injury.

Jobs

New York City Transit Authority v. Beazer, decided by votes of 6-3 and 5-4, March 21, 1979. Stevens wrote the majority opinion; Brennan, White and Marshall dissented; Powell dissented in part.

A city does not violate the 1964 Civil Rights Act ban on job discrimination — nor the 14th Amendment guarantee of equal protection — when it refuses to hire persons who participate in, or have completed, a methadone maintenance program. This policy was part of the transit authority's general policy against hiring drug users.

Public Schools

Columbus Board of Education v. Penick, decided by a vote of 7-2, July 2, 1979. White wrote the court's majority opinion; Powell and Rehnquist dissented.

The court upheld a massive busing order for the public schools of Columbus, Ohio. Although state law had not, since 1888, required the operation of racially segregated public schools, the court found that because the Columbus schools were segregated in 1954 — when the court first declared segregated public schools unconstitutional — school officials had an affirmative constitutional duty to act to terminate that segregation.

Columbus officials had not carried out that responsibility, the court found, but had indeed acted to continue some degree of segregation. Because these actions had system-wide impact, the lower courts considering the case acted properly in imposing a system-wide remedy that required the reassignment of 42,000 students in the system and the additional busing of 37,000 students.

Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman, decided by a 5-4 vote, July 2, 1979. White wrote the opinion; Stewart, Powell, Rehnquist and Chief Justice Burger dissented.

The court upheld a system-wide plan for desegregating the public schools of Dayton, Ohio, where no state law since 1888 had required racial segregation in the schools. But because Dayton officials were in 1954 operating a segregated school system, and had not acted in the intervening years to end that segregation, the majority of the court found justified the system-wide desegregation order.

Reverse Discrimination

United Steelworkers of America v. Weber, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation v. Weber, United States v. Weber, decided by a vote of 5-2, June 27, 1979. Brennan wrote the majority opinion; Rehnquist and Chief Justice Burger dissented; Powell and Stevens did not participate.

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act — which forbids employers to use race as a basis for discriminating against employees or job applicants — does not prohibit the voluntary adoption of race-conscious affirmative action plans by private employers to eliminate conspicuous racial imbalance in traditionally segregated job categories.

Sex Discrimination

Orr v. Orr, decided by a 6-3 vote, March 5, 1979. Brennan wrote the majority opinion; Chief Justice Burger, Powell and Rehnquist dissented.

The 14th Amendment guarantee that states shall not deny anyone the equal protection of the laws acts to prohibit states from allowing only women, not men, to receive alimony in a divorce settlement.

Cannon v. University of Chicago, decided by a 6-3 vote, May 14, 1979. Stevens wrote the majority opinion; White, Blackmun and Powell dissented.

Private individuals may bring federal lawsuits to enforce the ban in Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 on sex discrimination by education programs which receive federal financial aid. The 1972 Amendments provide explicitly for enforcement of this ban only through termination of federal funds; the court found that in addition, the ban could be enforced by individuals bringing lawsuits.

Davis v. Passman, decided by a 5-4 vote, June 4, 1979. Brennan wrote the majority opinion; Chief Justice Burger, Powell, Rehnquist and Stewart dissented.

The Fifth Amendment, which protects individuals against federal action depriving them of life, liberty or property without due process of law, provides congressional employees with a basis for bringing lawsuits challenging their dismissal when they argue that such dismissal violated their due process rights and that they should be awarded damages to compensate them for that violation.

Personnel Administrator of Massachusetts v. Feeney, decided by a 7-2 vote, June 5, 1979. Stewart wrote the majority opinion; Marshall and Brennan dissented.

A state does not violate the 14th Amendment guarantee of equal protection when it gives veterans an absolute preference for civil service appointments. This veterans' preference does not deny women the equal protection of the law, even though women constitute only two percent of the state's veterans and women applicants are clearly disadvantaged by the preference.

"[T]he Fourteenth Amendment guarantees equal laws, not equal results." The distinction in this law is not between men and women but between veterans and non-veterans. Without proof that the law was intended to discriminate against women, it is not unconstitutional.

Great American Federal Savings & Loan Assn. v. Novotny, decided by a vote of 6-3, June 11, 1979. Stewart wrote the majority opinion; White, Brennan and Marshall dissented.

An individual aggrieved by a violation of the ban on sex discrimination included in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 may not bring a damage suit against those causing the injury by invoking the provision of federal law, first enacted in 1871, which grants individuals the right to sue in federal courts to win compensation for injuries resulting from conspiracies to deprive them of their constitutional rights. Such suits may be brought only to protest constitutional violations, not violations of subsequently enacted federal civil rights laws.

Califano v. Westcott, Pratt v. Westcott, decided by votes of 9-0 and 5-4, June 25, 1979. Blackmun wrote the majority opinion; Chief Justice Burger, Powell, Stewart and Rehnquist dissented in part.

The Social Security Act provision which provides welfare benefits to a family when the father is unemployed, but not when the mother is unemployed, violates the constitutional requirement of equal protection.

Such a gender-based classification is not substantially related to the attainment of any important statutory goal, but is instead only "part of the 'baggage of sexual stereotypes,' . . . that presumes the father has the 'primary

responsibility to provide a home and its essentials,' ... while the mother is the 'center of the home and family life.' ...Legislation that rests on such presumptions, without more, cannot survive scrutiny under the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment [which includes the promise of equal protection of the laws]."

The majority upheld a lower court's order directing that this aid be extended to families where the mother was unemployed, as well as to those with unemployed fathers. The dissenters said that Congress should make the decision to thus expand the program or drop it altogether.

CRIMINAL LAW

Due Process

Bell v. Wolfish, decided by votes of 6-3 and 5-4, May 14, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the majority opinion; Marshall, Stevens and Brennan dissented; Powell dissented in part.

Persons detained before trial in a federal detention center are not denied due process of law, nor any other constitutional rights, by the conditions of confinement there, which include housing two inmates in a room originally intended for single occupancy, restrictions on the books that may be received by inmates, prohibitions on the receipt of packages by inmates, and body-cavity searches of inmates after visits from non-inmates.

"Ensuring security and order at the institution is a permissible nonpunitive objective, whether the facility houses pretrial detainees, convicted inmates, or both.... [W]e think that these particular restrictions and practices were reasonable responses ... to legitimate security concerns."

Greenholtz v. Inmates of the Nebraska Penal and Correctional Complex, decided by votes of 5-4 and 6-3, May 29, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the opinion; Powell dissented in part; Marshall, Brennan and Stevens dissented in part.

The constitutional guarantee of due process does apply to some state parole procedures, but it does not require that every eligible inmate be given a formal hearing, be allowed to participate in parole board hearings, or be fully informed of the evidence upon which the board decided not to grant him discretionary parole.

Baker v. McCollan, decided by a vote of 6-3, June 26, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the majority opinion; Marshall, Stevens and Brennan dissented.

The mistaken arrest of an individual — and his subsequent detention for eight days before the error was discovered — did not constitute a violation of his constitutional rights. The arrest followed regular procedures, including the obtaining of an arrest warrant, and thus did not deny him due process of law.

The false arrest and detention cannot then serve as the basis of a civil rights damage suit in federal court against the arresting official. Such an individual may, in most jurisdictions, sue for false arrest, but does not have a constitutional claim to make in federal court: "The Constitution does not guarantee that only the guilty will be arrested."

Fair Trial

Duren v. Missouri, decided by an 8-1 vote, Jan. 9, 1979. White wrote the majority opinion; Rehnquist dissented.

States violate the constitutional requirement that juries be drawn from a cross-section of the community when they provide a blanket exemption for all women, upon request, from jury duty.

Burch v. Louisiana, decided by a unanimous vote, April 17, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the opinion.

A state may constitutionally use juries of as few as six persons, but if it does so, the Constitution requires that the jury must reach its verdict unanimously.

The court overturned the conviction of a Louisiana man on obscenity charges, because the guilty verdict was returned by a six-man jury divided 5-1. "[L]ines must be drawn somewhere if the substance of the jury trial right is to be preserved," declared Rehnquist for the court.

Kentucky v. Whorton, decided by a vote of 6-3, May 21, 1979. *Per curiam* opinion; Stewart, Brennan and Marshall dissented.

A judge's failure to give a trial jury a requested instruction making clear that every defendant is presumed innocent until proven guilty is not in and of itself a violation of the constitutional guarantee of due process. Such a failure should be evaluated in light of the totality of the circumstances to determine whether or not it denied a defendant due process or a fair trial.

Jackson v. Virginia, decided by a vote of 8-0, June 28, 1979. Stewart wrote the opinion; Powell did not participate.

The 14th Amendment's guarantee of due process includes the right to be convicted of a crime only if the state presents evidence of guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. Federal courts are empowered to protect this right for state, as well as federal, prisoners.

Thus, when a state prisoner seeks review by a federal judge of his conviction, arguing that he was found guilty upon insufficient evidence, the federal judge should consider whether the evidence was sufficient to justify a rational judge or jury in finding the defendant guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.

The court discarded the existing rule that a federal judge should uphold a state conviction, and deny *habeas corpus* relief to the prisoner, if he found that there was any evidence to sustain the conviction. In this particular case, the court found the evidence sufficient to justify conviction.

Rose v. Mitchell, decided by a vote of 7-2, July 2, 1979. Blackmun wrote the majority opinion; Stevens and White dissented in part.

A claim of racial discrimination in the selection of a grand jury must be reviewed by a federal court considering a state prisoner's petition for *habeas corpus* relief based on that claim. Such review is not rendered unnecessary by the fact that the defendant was found guilty beyond a reasonable doubt by a properly constituted trial jury.

The court affirmed its century-old statement that "a criminal conviction of a Negro cannot stand under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment if it is based on an indictment of a grand jury from which Negroes were excluded by reason of their race."

A federal court should review the allegation of discrimination whether or not the claim was considered in state courts. *Stone v. Powell* (1976) does not limit federal review of such claims.

The court held in this particular case, however, that the state prisoners did not present sufficient proof of their claim of discrimination to justify their release on *habeas corpus.*

Gannett Co. Inc. v. DePasquale, decided by a 5-4 vote, July 2, 1979. Stewart wrote the majority opinion; Blackmun, Brennan, White and Marshall dissented.

The court upheld the decision of a state judge to exclude the press and public from a pretrial hearing concerning the effort of murder defendants to exclude from use at their trial certain evidence in the possession of the state. The defendants requested that the hearing be closed.

The Sixth Amendment guarantee of a public trial assures that right to the defendant, not to the press or the public, held the majority. Thus the press had no right to challenge the decision to close this hearing.

"To safeguard the due process rights of the accused, a trial judge has an affirmative constitutional duty to minimize the effects of prejudicial pretrial publicity," wrote Stewart. "Closure of pretrial proceedings is often one of the most effective methods that a trial judge can employ to attempt to insure that the fairness of a trial will not be jeopardized by the dissemination of such information throughout the community before the trial itself has even begun."

The dissenters viewed the Sixth Amendment as incorporating a right of public access to trials and pretrial hearings: "Publicity is essential to the preservation of public confidence in the rule of law and in the operation of courts. Only in rare circumstances does this principle clash with the rights of the criminal defendant to a fair trial so as to justify exclusion."

Right to Counsel

Scott v. Illinois, decided by a 5-4 vote, March 5, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the majority opinion; Brennan, Marshall, Blackmun and Stevens dissented.

The Sixth Amendment guarantee of the aid of an attorney for persons charged with crimes means that the state must provide a lawyer to every criminal defendant sent to prison for his offense, not to every defendant whose crime could have — but did not — result in a prison sentence. "Actual imprisonment" is the proper test for determining when the right to counsel applies in such cases.

North Carolina v. Butler, decided by a 5-3 vote, April 24, 1979. Stewart wrote the majority opinion; Brennan, Marshall and Stevens dissented; Powell did not participate in the decision.

Miranda v. Arizona (1966), which forbids the use of evidence obtained from a suspect interrogated by police who fail to advise him of his constitutional rights or to respect his request that interrogation cease until his attorney is present, does not require in all cases that a suspect expressly waive his right to remain silent and to have the aid of an attorney during questioning.

Silence alone is insufficient reason to assume that a suspect has waived these rights, but "[t]hat does not mean that the defendant's silence, coupled with an understanding of his rights and a course of conduct indicating waiver, may never support a conclusion that a defendant has waived his rights. . . . [I]n at least some cases, waiver can be clearly inferred from the actions and words of the person interrogated."

Search and Seizure

Rakas v. Illinois, decided by a 5-4 vote, Dec. 11, 1978. Rehnquist wrote the majority opinion; White, Brennan, Marshall and Stevens dissented.

Passengers in a car from which a gun is seized by police, acting without a warrant, have no basis from which to argue that their Fourth Amendment rights were violated by that seizure and thus that the gun should not be used as evidence against them. The passengers claimed to own neither the car nor the gun and so lacked standing to ask for suppression of that evidence.

The Fourth Amendment right to be secure against unreasonable search and seizure is a personal right, wrote Rehnquist: "A person who is aggrieved by an illegal search and seizure only through the introduction of damaging evidence secured by a search of a third person's premises or property has not had any of his Fourth Amendment rights infringed."

Delaware v. Prouse, decided by a vote of 8-1, March 27, 1979. White wrote the majority opinion; Rehnquist dissented.

The Fourth Amendment forbids police to stop motorists at random just to check licenses and auto registrations. Without cause to believe that a car is being driven in violation of the law, such a random stop violates the guarantee against unreasonable seizure.

Dalia v. United States, decided by votes of 9-0, 6-3 and 5-4, April 18, 1979. Powell wrote the majority opinion; Brennan, Marshall, Stevens, and Stewart dissented in part.

Covert entry of a dwelling or office by federal agents for the purpose of planting electronic surveillance devices — "bugs" — need not be authorized specifically in the warrant authorizing the surveillance. Such entry is neither unconstitutional nor illegal.

"The Fourth Amendment does not prohibit *per se* a covert entry performed for the purpose of installing otherwise legal electronic bugging equipment," declared the court unanimously. But it divided over whether Congress, in approving the provisions of the 1968 Crime Control and Safe Streets Act authorizing electronic surveillance, also authorized such covert entry. The majority found that Congress did and approved such entry as necessary to install electronic "bugs."

Dunaway v. New York, decided by a vote of 6-2, June 5, 1979. Brennan wrote the opinion; Chief Justice Burger and Rehnquist dissented; Powell did not participate.

Police may not detain a person for questioning in custody if they have less than probable cause necessary for a traditional arrest. Such detention constitutes an unreasonable "seizure" of the person. Self-incriminating statements made by a person detained without probable cause may not be used as evidence against him, even if he made them after he was warned of his constitutional rights according to procedures set out in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966).

Lo-Ji Sales Inc. v. New York, decided by a vote of 9-0, June 11, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the opinion.

Police may not constitutionally search a place and seize a large number of items with a search warrant that only specifically identifies two items to be seized. The amendment of the warrant after the search to include a list of all the items seized does not comply with the Fourth Amendment requirement that a warrant "particularly describ[e] . . . the things to be seized." Evidence taken in such a search is not admissible in court.

Smith v. Maryland, decided by a vote of 5-3, June 20, 1979. Blackmun wrote the majority opinion; Stewart, Marshall and Brennan dissented; Powell did not participate in the decision.

The use of a pen register, at the central telephone company office, to record numbers dialed from a particular telephone does not violate the Fourth Amendment guarantee of security against unreasonable search and seizure, even if use of the pen register is not authorized by a warrant. The majority held that an individual does not

have a reasonable expectation that the numbers he dials from his home telephone will remain private information.

Arkansas v. Sanders, decided by a vote of 7-2, June 20, 1979. Powell wrote the majority opinion; Blackmun and Rehnquist dissented.

The Fourth Amendment requires that police, in the absence of exigent circumstances, obtain a search warrant before they open and search luggage seized from a taxicab.

Michigan v. DeFillippo, decided by a vote of 6-3, June 25, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the majority opinion; Brennan, Marshall and Stevens dissented.

Evidence seized from a man arrested for refusing to identify himself to police — as a city ordinance required — may properly be used at his trial, even if the ordinance has subsequently been held unconstitutional. The exclusionary rule — forbidding the use of illegally obtained evidence — does not forbid the use of evidence seized in such a good-faith arrest.

Brown v. Texas, decided by a 9-0 vote, June 25, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the opinion.

Police may not stop a person upon the street, without any reasonable suspicion to believe he was engaged in criminal conduct, and require him to identify himself and explain his presence. Such a "seizure" of his person violates the Fourth Amendment guarantee of security against unreasonable searches and seizures. The court overturned the conviction of an individual who refused, under these circumstances, to identify himself. The court did not declare the law itself unconstitutional.

Self-Incrimination

Corbitt v. New Jersey, decided by a 6-3 vote, Dec. 11, 1978. White wrote the majority opinion; Stevens, Brennan and Marshall dissented.

A state does not penalize the exercise of the Sixth Amendment right to a jury trial or the Fifth Amendment right to plead "not guilty" when it provides a mandatory life sentence for a person convicted of murder after a trial, while providing lesser sentences for persons who plead "no contest" to the same crime, foregoing a trial.

New Jersey v. Portash, decided by a 7-2 vote, March 20, 1979. Stewart wrote the majority opinion; Chief Justice Burger and Blackmun dissented.

The Fifth Amendment guarantee that the government will not compel a person to incriminate himself forbids state officials to use an individual's immunized grand jury testimony to impeach his credibility at a subsequent trial at which he testifies in his own defense.

Fare v. Michael C., decided by a 5-4 vote, June 20, 1979. Blackmun wrote the majority opinion; Marshall, Brennan, Stevens and Powell dissented.

The Fifth Amendment privilege against compelled self-incrimination, as interpreted by the court in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966) to require police to follow particular procedures in custodial interrogation of suspects, does not require that police cease to question a juvenile who requests the presence of his probation officer during interrogation.

The request for a probation officer is not the same as the request for an attorney. *Miranda* therefore does not require suppression of self-incriminatory statements made in the absence of the probation officer.

ELECTION LAW

Dougherty County, Ga. Board of Education v. White, decided by votes of 6-3 and 5-4, Nov. 28, 1979. Marshall wrote the majority opinion; Powell, Rehnquist and Chief Justice Burger dissented; Stewart dissented in part.

A county school board comes within the category of governmental units affected by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The school board's rule requiring employees who run for elective political office to take unpaid leave during their candidacy is a voting law, practice or procedure that must be cleared with federal officials before it is changed or put into effect.

The court required a Georgia county school board to obtain approval of its rule to this effect, even though the rule directly affected candidates, not voters.

ENVIRONMENTAL LAW

Andrus v. Sierra Club, decided by a 9-0 vote, June 11, 1979. Brennan wrote the court's opinion.

The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 does not require federal agencies to prepare environmental impact statements to accompany their annual appropriations requests. Such requests are neither proposals for legislation nor major federal actions within the impact statement requirement of the law.

FEDERAL COURTS

Quern v. Jordan, decided by a unanimous vote, March 5, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the opinion.

The Eleventh Amendment — which protects a state against being sued in federal court without its consent — does not protect a state from a federal court order directing it to notify all persons who might have been improperly denied benefits because of illegal state procedures for determining their eligibility for past benefits. Such a notice order constitutes *prospective* relief and thus is proper under the court's ruling in *Edelman v. Jordan* (1974) denying a federal court the power to order the payment of retroactive benefits.

Nevada v. Hall, decided by a 6-3 vote, March 5, 1979. Stevens wrote the majority opinion; Blackmun, Rehnquist and Chief Justice Burger dissented.

The Constitution does not protect a state from being sued in the courts of another state. This is a matter for states to work out without federal interference.

Chapman v. Houston Welfare Rights Organization, Gonzalez v. Young, decided by a 6-3 vote, May 14, 1979. Stevens wrote the majority opinion; Stewart, Brennan and Marshall dissented.

Federal courts have jurisdiction over civil cases in which an individual claims that he has been denied rights guaranteed him by the Constitution or by federal civil rights or equal rights laws. This jurisdiction does not extend to cases challenging state welfare regulations as being in conflict with the Social Security Act.

United States v. Addonizio, decided by a vote of 7-0, June 4, 1979. Stevens wrote the court's opinion; Brennan and Powell did not participate.

A federal judge does not have the authority to revise a sentence lawfully imposed upon a convicted defendant, who now attacks the sentence as improper because the Parole Commission's decision resulted in a longer period of detention than the sentencing judge expected.

Moore v. Sims, decided by a vote of 5-4, June 11, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the majority opinion; Stevens, Brennan, Stewart and Marshall dissented.

Federal courts should have abstained from ruling on a constitutional challenge brought by parents to a comprehensive state child abuse law. State law provided an adequate opportunity for the parents to raise their constitutional claims in state courts, and so federal courts should not have intervened to rule on the validity of the law or to interfere with its enforcement until state courts considered those claims.

Helstoski v. Meanor, decided by a vote of 7-1, June 18, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the majority opinion; Brennan dissented; Powell did not participate.

A writ of *mandamus* ordering dismissal of an indictment is not the proper remedy for a former member of Congress to seek to halt his prosecution for legislative acts in violation of the constitutional grant of immunity from such prosecution. The challenge that the prosecution is unconstitutional should instead be used as a basis for appealing the trial judge's refusal to dismiss the indictment.

FIRST AMENDMENT

Church and State

Jones v. Wolf, decided by a 5-4 vote, July 2, 1979. Blackmun wrote the majority opinion; Powell, Chief Justice Burger, Stewart and White dissented.

State courts may properly apply neutral legal principles in resolving a dispute between church factions over church property; such state action is not in violation of the First Amendment freedom of religion clause. State courts in such disputes are not required to defer to the resolution of the dispute by a church tribunal.

Freedom of Speech

Givran v. Western Line Consolidated School District, decided by a unanimous vote, Jan. 9, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the opinion.

The First Amendment guarantee of free speech protects schoolteachers and other public employees from being fired for criticizing public policy in private conversations. The First Amendment protects private remarks as well as public speeches.

Friedman v. Rogers, Rogers v. Friedman, Texas Optometric Association v. Rogers, decided by a vote of 7-2, Feb. 21, 1979. Powell wrote the majority opinion; Marshall and Blackmun dissented.

The limited protection which the First Amendment extends to commercial speech does not prevent a state from forbidding the practice of optometry under a trade name. Trade names in and of themselves have no meaning and convey little real information. Furthermore, trade names may be used to mislead customers, a practice against which a state may act.

Freedom of the Press

Herbert v. Lando, decided by a 6-3 vote, April 18, 1979. White wrote the majority opinion; Marshall, Stewart, and Brennan dissented.

The First Amendment does not protect the editorial process — the pre-publication thoughts, conclusions and conversations of editors and reporters — from scrutiny by those who charge that they were libeled by the broadcast or article which resulted.

The court rejected the media's argument that such questioning curtailed the protected freedom of the press. To the contrary, wrote Justice White, the landmark libel holding in *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964), which gave the press constitutional protection from libel suits by public figures, requires such inquiry to ascertain whether or not a libelous publication was the result of "actual malice."

Smith v. Daily Mail Publishing Co., decided by a vote of 8-0, June 26, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the court's opinion; Powell did not participate.

A state may not make it a crime for a newspaper to publish the name of a child involved in juvenile court proceedings unless the paper obtains prior judicial approval of that publication. The First Amendment guarantee of freedom of the press forbids such a restriction on the publication of truthful information in the public domain.

Wolston v. Reader's Digest Association Inc., decided by a vote of 8-1, June 26, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the majority opinion; Brennan dissented.

An individual whose only publicity related to a contempt conviction resulting from his failure to appear before a grand jury investigating espionage is not a public figure within the meaning of *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964) and thus, when suing for libel, is not required to prove actual malice in order to recover damages.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Chrysler Corporation v. Brown, decided by a unanimous vote, April 18, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the opinion.

The Freedom of Information Act does not provide a basis for lawsuits seeking to forbid government disclosure of certain information. The law was intended to provide for disclosure of information, not for the withholding of information.

The act's exemption of nine categories of material from disclosure does not *require* the government to withhold material which falls within those categories, but simply *permits* withholding of such information if the relevant agency finds it desirable.

Federal Open Market Committee of Federal Reserve System v. Merrill, decided by a vote of 7-2, June 28, 1979. Blackmun wrote the majority opinion; Stevens and Stewart dissented.

Domestic policy directives from the open market committee to a federal reserve system official, ordering expansion or contraction of the nation's money supply, may qualify for temporary exemption from immediate disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act as intra-agency memoranda qualifying for exemption because they contain confidential commercial information.

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Abortion

Colautti v. Franklin, decided by a 6-3 vote, Jan. 9, 1979. Blackmun wrote the majority opinion; Chief Justice Burger, White and Rehnquist dissented.

Pennsylvania interfered too much with a doctor's exercise of medical judgment concerning his patient when it, by law, required physicians performing abortions to protect the life of the fetus whenever they had sufficient reason to believe that the fetus might be able to survive outside the mother's body. Physicians could be prosecuted for failing to comply with this requirement even in performing abortions before the seventh month of pregnancy, the usual point at which a fetus can survive outside its mother.

Bellotti v. Baird, Hunerwald v. Baird, decided by an 8-1 vote, July 2, 1979. Powell announced the decision in an opinion joined by Chief Justice Burger, Stewart and Rehnquist; Stevens, Brennan, Marshall and Blackmun concurred; White dissented.

Massachusetts law requiring parental consent for an abortion for an unmarried minor — or requiring judicial approval in the absence of parental consent — impermissibly burdens the individual's right to an abortion by requiring parental notification of any judicial proceedings concerning the minor's abortion decision and by allowing the judge to deny a mature and competent minor the right to have an abortion if he feels it is not in her best interest.

Aliens

Ambach v. Norwick, decided by a 5-4 vote, April 17, 1979. Powell wrote the majority opinion; Blackmun, Brennan, Marshall and Stevens dissented.

The 14th Amendment guarantee of equal protection of the laws is not violated by a state decision forbidding aliens, unless they are applicants for U.S. citizenship, to work as public elementary or secondary school teachers. The role of public school teachers is critical in developing the attitudes of students toward government and society; it is therefore rational for the state to decide to exclude from such jobs persons who have not become a part of the process of self-government by becoming citizens.

Children

Parham v. J. L., decided by votes of 9-0 and 6-3, June 20, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the opinion; Brennan, Marshall and Stevens dissented in part.

Georgia's law which authorizes a parent or guardian to commit children to state mental institutions for treatment does not deny such children due process. Due process is satisfied in such cases if some kind of inquiry is made by a neutral factfinder, who may be a physician, to determine whether or not requirements for admission are fulfilled and if there is a periodic review of the child's continuing need for commitment. The inquiry concerning admission need not be a formal hearing.

Secretary of Public Welfare of Pennsylvania v. Institutionalized Juveniles et. al., decided by votes of 9-0 and 6-3, June 20, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the majority opinion; Brennan, Marshall and Stevens dissented in part.

Pennsylvania law providing procedures for the commitment of mentally ill and mentally retarded juveniles to state mental institutions is constitutional under due process standards set out in *Parham v. J. L. (above).*

Drivers

Mackey v. Montrym, decided by a 5-4 vote, June 25, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the majority opinion; Stevens, Stewart, Brennan and Marshall dissented.

Massachusetts does not deny motorists due process of law when it automatically suspends for 90 days the driver's license of any driver who refuses to take a chemical or breath analysis test when arrested for drunken driving. A post-suspension hearing, at which the driver may dispute his alleged refusal, is sufficient to meet the requirements of due process; there need not be a pre-suspension hearing.

Handicapped Persons

Southeastern Community College v. Davis, decided by a vote of 9-0, June 11, 1979. Powell wrote the court's opinion.

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 does not forbid college admissions officials to deny admission to a particular course of study to a handicapped person when it adjudges that the handicap would preclude the applicant's successful completion of the course. The act does not require schools to modify their program in order to expand the educational opportunity available to seriously handicapped persons.

Illegitimate Children

Lalli v. Lalli, decided by a vote of 5-4, Dec. 11, 1978. Powell announced the court's decision in an opinion joined by Burger and Stewart. Blackmun and Rehnquist concurred; Brennan, White, Marshall and Stevens dissented.

New York law does not violate the guarantee of equal protection by allowing an illegitimate child to inherit from his father who dies without a will only if paternity has been established during the father's lifetime by judicial order.

Caban v. Mohammed, decided by a vote of 5-4, April 24, 1979. Powell wrote the majority opinion; Chief Justice Burger, Rehnquist, Stevens and Stewart dissented.

New York law allowing the natural mother of an illegitimate child, but not the natural father, to veto the child's adoption denies fathers the equal protection of the law. This distinction is not sufficiently related to the state's interest in facilitating adoption of such children, held the majority, to justify such unequal treatment of fathers and mothers.

Parham v. Hughes, decided by a 5-4 vote, April 24, 1979. Stewart announced the court's decision in an opinion joined by Chief Justice Burger, Rehnquist and Stevens; Powell concurred; White, Brennan, Marshall and Blackmun dissented.

Georgia law allowing the natural mother, but not the natural father, of an illegitimate child killed in an accident to sue for damages, unless the father had legitimated the child, does not deny the father's equal protection of the law. This distinction between fathers who legitimated their children and those who did not is rationally related to the state's interest in avoiding problems of proving paternity after the child's death.

Califano v. Boles, decided by a 5-4 vote, June 27, 1979. Rehnquist wrote the majority opinion; Marshall, Brennan, White and Blackmun dissented.

The Social Security Act does not deny equal protection to the mothers of illegitimate children who never married the children's father by denying them "mother's insurance benefits" payable to the widows, widowers and divorced wives of deceased wage earners with young children. This denial of benefits is rationally related to the assumption that the mother was not in fact economically dependent upon the deceased wage earner.

Mentally ill Persons

Addington v. Texas, decided by a vote of 8-0, April 30, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the court's opinion; Powell did not participate.

The court for the first time formally acknowledged that commitment to a mental institution is a deprivation of personal liberty which falls within the constitutional protection of due process.

The fact of mental illness and the need for commitment need not be proved beyond a reasonable doubt to justify an individual's involuntary civil commitment to a

state mental hospital. But these elements must be proved by more than simply a preponderance of the evidence. The court suggested that an intermediate standard of proof was appropriate, such as proof by clear and convincing evidence.

LABOR LAW

New York Telephone Company v. New York State Department of Labor, decided by a 6-3 vote, March 21, 1979. Stevens announced the decision of the court in an opinion joined by White and Rehnquist. Brennan, Marshall and Blackmun concurred; Stewart, Powell and Chief Justice Burger dissented.

States are free to provide unemployment benefits to striking workers. Federal labor law does not forbid states to provide strikers such aid.

National Labor Relations Board v. Catholic Bishop of Chicago, decided by a 5-4 vote, March 21, 1979.

The National Labor Relations Board does not have jurisdiction over teachers in church-run schools. The majority said that in the "absence of a clear expression of Congress' intent to bring teachers in church-operated schools within the jurisdiction of the Board," the court would not read the National Labor Relations Act as including those teachers.

Ford Motor Co. v. National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), decided by a vote of 9-0, May 14, 1979. White wrote the opinion.

The price of food and beverages sold in an in-plant cafeteria and in in-plant vending machines is a matter subject to collective bargaining under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act.

Babbitt v. United Farm Workers National Union, decided by votes of 9-0 and 7-2, June 5, 1979. White wrote the majority opinion; Brennan and Marshall dissented in part.

The court rebuffed a broad challenge brought by the United Farm Workers to a state farm labor act enacted by the Arizona legislature in 1972. The court held that the union's challenges to two provisions of the law were premature, that federal courts should allow state courts to interpret two other challenged provisions first, and that the provisions setting out procedures for electing employee bargaining representatives did not violate the First Amendment freedom of association.

OFFICIAL IMMUNITY

United States v. Helstoski, decided by a vote of 5-3, June 18, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the majority opinion; Stevens, Stewart and Brennan dissented.

The Speech or Debate Clause of the Constitution — which provides that "for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place" — prohibits government prosecutors from using, as evidence in the bribery trial of a former congressman, any evidence referring to his performance of a legislative act.

Chief Justice Burger wrote that "the Speech or Debate Clause was designed to preclude prosecution of Members for legislative acts. . . . [R]eferences to past legislative acts of a Member cannot be admitted without undermining the values protected by the Clause."

The majority did hold, however, that the constitutional protection did not extend to "a promise to deliver a speech, to vote, or to solicit other votes at some future date . . . a *promise* to introduce a bill is not a legislative act." Evidence of such a promise could be used by the prosecution without violating the Constitution.

Hutchinson v. Proxmire, decided by votes of 8-1 and 7-2, June 26, 1979. Chief Justice Burger wrote the majority opinion; Brennan dissented; Stewart dissented in part.

The immunity extended by the Speech or Debate Clause to the legislative actions of members of Congress protects libelous remarks included in a speech on the floor of the House or Senate, but it does not protect those remarks when they are republished in a senator's press releases or newsletters. This immunity also does not extend to efforts by the senator or his staff to influence the conduct of executive agencies or to libelous comments made by the senator or his staff in conversations with agency officials.

A scientist thrust into the public eye as a result of such libelous remarks and his response to them is not a "public figure" within the meaning of *New York Times Co. v. Sullivan* (1964) and so is not required to prove that the remarks were motivated by "actual malice" in order to prevail in his suit for damages.

OTHER DECISIONS

Federal Communications Commission v. Midwest Video Corporation; American Civil Liberties Union v. FCC; National Black Media Coalition v. Midwest Video Corporation, decided by a 6-3 vote, April 2, 1979. White wrote the opinion; Stevens, Brennan and Marshall dissented.

The Communications Act of 1934 states that broadcasters are not to be treated as common carriers. Thus the Federal Communications Commission lacks authority to require cable television systems to open a certain number of channels to citizen groups and other third parties who wish to use them. Such rules impose common carrier obligations on the cable systems.

United States v. Rutherford, decided by a unanimous vote, June 18, 1979. Marshall wrote the court's opinion.

The Federal Food Drug and Cosmetic Act does not exempt — from its requirement that new drugs marketed for use in the United States be safe and effective — drugs intended for use by terminally ill patients.

The court thus refused to support a lower court's ruling requiring the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to allow the use, by terminally ill patients, of the drug Laetrile. If such an exemption is to be created, wrote Marshall, it "is a question for legislative judgment, not judicial inference."

Minnesota v. First of Omaha Service Corp.; Marquette National Bank of Minneapolis v. First of Omaha Service Corp., decided by a 9-0 vote, Dec. 18, 1978. Brennan wrote the court's opinion.

Under the National Bank Act (NBA), national banks are permitted to charge their customers interest at whatever rate is allowed by the laws of the state in which the banks themselves are located.

The court held that under that provision, a national bank located in Nebraska may charge its credit card customers who reside in Minnesota 18 percent per year, as Nebraska law allows, despite Minnesota's law limiting interest rates charged on credit accounts to 12 percent a year. ▮

Davis v. Passman Decision

Following is the text of the Supreme Court decision June 5, 1979, in the case of Shirley Davis v. former Rep. Otto E. Passman, D-La. (1947-77). Most footnotes and numerous legal citations and other references have been omitted from the text reprinted below.

MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN delivered the opinion of the Court.

Bivens v. Six Unknown Named Agents of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, 403 U.S. 388 (1971), held that a "cause of action for damages" arises under the Constitution when Fourth Amendment rights are violated. The issue presented for decision in this case is whether a cause of action and a damages remedy can also be implied directly under the Constitution when the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment is violated. The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, en banc, concluded that "no civil action for damages" can be thus implied. 571 F. 2d 793, 801 (1978). We granted certiorari, — U.S. — (1978), and we now reverse.

I

At the time this case commenced, respondent Otto E. Passman was a United States Congressman from the Fifth Congressional District of Louisiana. On February 1, 1974, Passman hired petitioner Shirley Davis as a deputy administrative assistant. Passman subsequently terminated her employment, effective July 31, 1974, writing Davis that, although she was an "able, energetic and a very hard worker," he had concluded "that it was essential that the understudy to my Administrative Assistant be a man."

Davis brought suit in the United States District Court for the Western District of Louisiana, alleging that Passman's conduct discriminated against her "on the basis of sex in violation of the United States Constitution and the Fifth Amendment thereto." Davis sought damages in the form of backpay. Jurisdiction for her suit was founded on 28 U.S.C. § 1331 (a), which provides in pertinent part that federal "district courts shall have original jurisdiction of all civil actions wherein the matter in controversy exceeds the sum or value of $10,000 . . . and arises under the Constitution . . . of the United States. . . ."

Passman moved to dismiss Davis' action for failure to state a claim upon which relief can be granted, Fed. Rule Civ. Proc. 12 (b)(6), arguing, *inter alia,* that "the law affords no private right of action" for her claim. The District Court accepted this argument, ruling that Davis had "no private right of action." A panel of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit reversed. 544 F. 2d 865 (1977). The panel concluded that a cause of action for damages arose directly under the Fifth Amendment; that, taking as true the allegations in Davis' complaint, Passman's conduct violated the Fifth Amendment; and that Passman's conduct was not shielded by the Speech or Debate Clause of the Constitution, Art. I, § 6, cl. 1.

The Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, sitting en banc, reversed the decision of the panel. The en banc Court did not reach the merits, nor did it discuss the application of the Speech or Debate Clause. The Court instead held that "no right of action may be implied from the Due Process Clause of the fifth amendment." The Court reached this conclusion on the basis of the criteria that had been set out in *Cort v. Ash,* 422 U.S. 66 (1975), for determining whether a private cause of action should be implied from a federal statute. Noting that Congress had failed to create a damages remedy for those in Davis' position, the Court also concluded that "the proposed damage remedy is not constitutionally compelled" so that it was not necessary to "countermand the clearly discernible will of Congress" and create such a remedy.

II

In *Bivens v. Six Unknown Named Agents of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, supra,* federal agents had allegedly arrested and searched Bivens without probable cause, thereby subjecting him to great humiliation, embarrassment, and mental suffering. *Bivens* held that the Fourth Amendment guarantee against "unreasonable searches and seizures" was a constitutional right which Bivens could enforce through a private cause of action, and that a damages remedy was an appropriate form of redress. Last Term, *Butz v. Economou,* 438 U.S. 478 (1978), reaffirmed this holding stating that "the decision in *Bivens* established that a citizen suffering a compensable injury to a constitutionally protected interest could invoke the general federal-question jurisdiction of the district courts to obtain an award of monetary damages against the responsible federal official."

Today we hold that *Bivens* and *Butz* require reversal of the holding of the en banc Court of Appeals. Our inquiry proceeds in three stages. We hold first that, pretermitting the question whether respondent's conduct is shielded by the Speech or Debate Clause, petitioner asserts a constitutionally protected right; second, that petitioner has stated a cause of action which asserts this right, and third, that relief in damages constitutes an appropriate form of remedy.

A

The Fifth Amendment provides that "[n]o person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. . . ." In numerous decisions, this Court "has held that the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment forbids the Federal Government from denying equal protection of the laws. "To withstand scrutiny under the equal protection component of the Fifth Amendment's Due Process Clause, 'classifications by gender must serve important governmental objectives and must be substantially related to achievement of those objectives.' *Craig v. Buren,* 429 U.S. 190, 197 (1976)." *Califano v. Webster,* 430 U.S. 313, 316-317 (1977). The Equal Protection Component of the Due Process Clause thus confers on petitioner a federal constitutional right to be free from gender discrimination which cannot meet these requirements.[11] We inquire next whether petitioner has a cause of action to assert this right.

B

It is clear that the District Court had jurisdiction under 28 U.S.C. § 1331 (a) to consider petitioner's claim. It is equally clear, and the en banc Court of Appeals so held, that the Fifth Amendment confers on petitioner a constitutional right to be free from illegal discrimination. Yet the Court of Appeals concluded that petitioner could not enforce this right because she lacked a

[11] Respondent argues that the subject matter of petitioner's suit is nonjusticiable because judicial review of congressional employment decisions would necessarily involve a "lack of respect due coordinate branches of government." *Baker* v. *Carr,* 369 U.S. 186, 217 (1962). We disagree. While we acknowledge the gravity of respondent's concerns, we hold that judicial review of congressional employment decisions is constitutionally limited only by the reach of the Speech or Debate Clause of the Constitution, Art. I § 6, cl. 1. The Clause provides that Senators and Representatives, "for any Speech or Debate in either House, . . . shall not be questioned in any other Place." It protects Congressmen for conduct necessary to perform their duties "within the sphere of legitimate legislative activity." *Eastland* v. *United States Servicemen's Fund,* 421 U.S. 491, 501 (1975). The purpose of the Clause is "to protect the integrity of the legislative process by insuring the independence of individual legislators." *United States* v. *Brewster,* 408 U.S. 501, 507 (1972). Thus "[i]n the American governmental structure the clause serves the . . . function of reinforcing the separation of powers so deliberately established by the Founders." *United States* v. *Johnson,* 383 U.S. 169, 178 (1966). The Clause is therefore a paradigm example of a "textually demonstrable constitutional commitment of [an] issue to a coordinate political department." *Baker* v. *Carr, supra,* at 217. Since the Speech or Debate Clause speaks so directly to the separation of powers concerns raised by respondent, we conclude that if respondent is not

cause of action. The meaning of this missing "cause of action," however, is far from apparent.

Almost half a century ago Justice Cardozo recognized that a " 'cause of action' may mean one thing for one purpose and something different for another." *United States v. Memphis Cotton Oil Co.*, 288 U.S. 62, 67-68 (1933). The phrase apparently became a legal term of art when the New York Code of 1848 abolished the distinction between actions at law and suits in equity and simply required a plaintiff to include in his complaint "[a] statement of the facts constituting the cause of action. . . ." By the first third of the 20th century, however, the phrase had become so encrusted with doctrinal complexity that the authors of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure eschewed it altogether, requiring only that a complaint contain "a short and plain statement of the claim showing that the pleader is entitled to relief." Nevertheless, courts and commentators have continued to use the phrase "cause of action" in the traditional sense established by the Codes to refer roughly to the alleged invasion of "recognized legal rights" upon which a litigant bases his claim for relief.

This is not the meaning of the "cause of action" which the Court of Appeals below refused to imply from the Fifth Amendment, however, for the Court acknowledged that petitioner had alleged an invasion of her constitutional right to be free from illegal discrimination. Instead the Court of Appeals appropriated the meaning of the phrase "cause of action" used in the many cases in which this Court has parsed congressional enactments to determine whether the rights and obligations so created could be judicially enforced by a particular "class of litigants." *Cannon v. University of Chicago*, — U.S. —, — (1979). *Securities Investor Protection Corp. (SIPC) v. Barbour*, 421 U.S. 412 (1975), for example, held that although "Congress' primary purpose in . . . creating the SIPC was . . . the protection of investors," and although investors were thus "the intended beneficiaries of the [Securities Investor Protection] Act [of 1970]," investors nevertheless had no private cause of action judicially to compel SIPC "to commit its funds or otherwise to act for the protection" of investors. We held that under the Act only the Securities and Exchange Commission had a cause of action enabling it to invoke judicial authority to require SIPC to perform its statutory obligations. On the other hand, *Texas & N.O.R. Co. v. Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks*, 281 U.S. 548 (1930), held that § 2 of the Railway Labor Act of 1926, which provides that railroad employees be able to designate representatives "without interference, influence, or coercion," did not confer "merely an abstract right," but was judicially enforceable through a private cause of action.

In cases such as these, the question is which class of litigants may enforce in court legislatively created rights or obligations. If a litigant is an appropriate party to invoke the power of the courts, it is said that he has a "cause of action" under the statute, and that this cause of action is a necessary element of his "claim." So understood, the question whether a litigant has a "cause of action" is analytically distinct and prior to the question of what relief, if any, a litigant may be entitled to receive. The concept of a "cause of action" is employed specifically to determine who may judicially enforce the statutory rights or obligations.

It is in this sense that the Court of Appeals concluded that petitioner lacked a cause of action. The Court of Appeals reached this conclusion through the application of the criteria set out in *Cort v. Ash*, for ascertaining whether a private cause of action may be implied from "a statute not expressly providing one." The Court of Appeals used these criteria to determine that those in petitioner's position should not be able to enforce the Fifth Amendment's Due Process Clause, and that petitioner therefore had no cause of action under the Amendment. This was error, for the question of who may enforce a *statutory* right is fundamentally different than the question of who may enforce a right that is protected by the Constitution.

Statutory rights and obligations are established by Congress, and it is entirely appropriate for Congress, in creating these rights and obligations, to determine in addition who may enforce them and in what manner. For example, statutory rights and obligations are often embedded in complex regulatory schemes, so that if they are not enforced through private causes of action, they may nevertheless be enforced through alternative mechanisms, such as criminal prosecutions. In each case, however, the question is the nature of the legislative intent informing a specific statute, and *Cort* set out the criteria through which this intent could be discerned.

The Constitution, on the other hand, does not "partake of the prolixity of a legal code." *M'Culloch v. Maryland*, 4 Wheat. 316, 407 (1819). It speaks instead with a majestic simplicity. One of "its important objects," *ibid.*, is the designation of rights. And in "its great outlines," *ibid.*, the judiciary is clearly discernible as the primary means through which these rights may be enforced. As James Madison stated when he presented the Bill of Rights to the Congress:

> "If [these rights] are incorporated into the Constitution, independent tribunals of justice will consider themselves in a peculiar manner the guardians of those rights; they will be an impenetrable bulwark against every assumption of power in the Legislative or Executive; they will be naturally led to resist every encroachment upon rights expressly stipulated for in the Constitution by the declaration of rights." 1 Annals of Congress 439 (Gales & Seaton, eds. 1834).

At least in the absence of "a textually demonstrable constitutional commitment of [an] issue to a coordinate political department," *Baker v. Carr, supra*, at 217, we presume that justiciable constitutional rights are to be enforced through the courts. And, unless such rights are to become merely precatory, the class of those litigants who allege that their own constitutional rights have been violated, and who at the same time have no effective means other than the judiciary to enforce these rights, must be able to invoke the existing jurisdiction of the courts for the protection of their justiciable constitutional rights. "The very essence of civil liberty," wrote Chief Justice Marshall in *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137, 163 (1803), "certainly consists in the right of every individual to claim the protection of the laws, whenever he receives an injury. One of the first duties of government is to afford that protection." Traditionally, therefore, "it is established practice for this Court to sustain the jurisdiction of federal courts to issue injunctions to protect rights safeguarded by the Constitution and to restrain individual state officers from doing what the 14th Amendment forbids the State to do." Indeed, this Court has already settled that a cause of action may be implied directly under the Equal Protection Component of the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment in favor of those who seek to enforce this constitutional right. The plaintiffs in *Bolling v. Sharpe*, 347 U.S. 497 (1954), for example, claimed that they had been refused admission into certain public schools in the District of Columbia solely on account of their

shielded by the Clause, the question whether his dismissal of petitioner violated her Fifth Amendment rights would, as we stated in *Powell* v. *McCormack*, 395 U.S. 486 (1969),

"require no more than an interpretation of the Constitution. Such a determination falls within the traditional role accorded courts to interpret the law, and does not involve a lack of respect due [a] coordinate branch of government, nor does it involve an initial policy determination of a kind clearly for non-judicial discretion. *Baker* v. *Carr*, 369 U.S. 186, at 217." 395 U.S. at 548-549.

The en banc Court of Appeals did not decide whether the conduct of respondent was shielded by the Speech or Debate clause. In the absence of such a decision, we also intimate no view on this question. We note, however, that the Clause shields federal legislators with absolute immunity "not only from the consequences of litigation's results, but also from the burden of defending themselves." *Dombrowski* v. *Eastland* 387 U.S. 82, 82 (1967). Defenses based upon the Clause should thus ordinarily be given priority, since federal legislators should be exempt from litigation if their conduct is in fact protected by the Clause. We nevertheless decline to remand this case to the en banc Court of Appeals before we have decided whether petitioner's complaint states a cause of action, and whether a damage remedy is an appropriate form of relief. These questions are otherwise properly before us and may be resolved without imposing on respondent additional litigative burdens. Refusal to decide them at this time may actually increase these burdens.

race. They rested their suit directly on the Fifth Amendment and on the general federal question jurisdiction of the district courts. The District Court dismissed their complaint for failure "to state a claim upon which relief can be granted." Fed. Rule Civ. Proc. 12(b)(6). This Court reversed. Plaintiffs were clearly the appropriate parties to bring such a suit, and this Court held that equitable relief should be made available.

Like, the plaintiffs in *Bolling v. Sharpe, supra,* petitioner rests her claim directly on the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment. She claims that her rights under the Amendment have been violated, and that she has no effective means other than the judiciary to vindicate these rights. We conclude, therefore, that she is an appropriate party to invoke the general federal question jurisdiction of the District Court to seek relief. She has a cause of action under the Fifth Amendment.

Although petitioner has a cause of action, her complaint might nevertheless be dismissed under Rule 12 (b)(6) unless it can be determined that judicial relief is available. We therefore proceed to consider whether a damages remedy is an appropriate form of relief.

C

We approach this inquiry on the basis of established law. "[I]t is . . . well settled that where legal rights have been invaded, and a federal statute provides for a general right to sue for such invasion, federal courts may use any available remedy to make good the wrong done." *Bell v. Hood, supra,* at 684. *Bivens, supra,* holds that in appropriate circumstances a federal district court may provide relief in damages for the violation of constitutional rights if there are "no special factors counselling hesitation in the absence of affirmative action by Congress."

First, a damages remedy is surely appropriate in this case. "Historically, damages have been regarded as the ordinary remedy for an invasion of personal interests in liberty." *Bivens, supra,* at 395. Relief in damages would be judicially manageable, for the case presents a focused remedial issue without difficult questions of valuation or causation. Litigation under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has given federal courts great experience evaluating claims for backpay due to illegal sex discrimination. Moreover, since respondent is no longer a Congressman, equitable relief in the form of reinstatement would be unavailing. And there are available no other alternative forms of judicial relief. For Davis, as for Bivens, "it is damages or nothing."

Second, although a suit against a Congressman for putatively unconstitutional actions taken in the course of his official conduct does raise special concerns counselling hesitation, we hold that these concerns are coextensive with the protections afforded by the Speech or Debate Clause. If respondent's actions are not shielded by the Clause, we apply the principle that "legislators ought generally to be bound by [the law] as are ordinary persons." *Gravel v. United States,* 408 U.S. 606, 615 (1972). Cf. *Doe v. McMillan,* 412 U.S. 306, 320 (1973). As *Butz v. Economou* stated only last Term:

> "Our system of jurisprudence rests on the assumption that all individuals, whatever their position in government, are subject to federal law:
>
> " 'No man in this country is so high that he is above the law. No officer of the law may set that law at defiance with impunity. All officers of the government, from the highest to the lowest, are creatures of the law, and are bound to obey it.' *United States v. Lee,* 106 U.S. [196,] 220 [(1882)]." 438 U.S. at 506.

Third, there is in this case "no *explicit* congressional declaration that persons" in petitioner's position injured by unconstitutional federal employment discrimination "may not recover money damages from" those responsible for the injury. *Bivens* (Emphasis supplied.) The Court of Appeals apparently interpreted § 717 of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as an explicit congressional prohibition against judicial remedies for those in petitioner's position. When § 717 was added to Title VII to protect federal employees from discrimination, it failed to extend this protection to congressional employees. There is no evidence, however, that Congress meant § 717 to foreclose alternative remedies available to those not covered by the statute. Such silence is far from "the clearly discernible will of Congress" perceived by the Court of Appeals. Indeed, the Court of Appeals' conclusion that § 717 permits judicial relief to be made available only to those who are protected by the statute is patently inconsistent with *Hampton v. Mow Sun Wong,* 426 U.S. 88 (1976), which held that equitable relief was available in a challenge to the constitutionality of Civil Service Commission regulations excluding aliens from federal employment. That § 717 does not prohibit discrimination on the basis of alienage did not prevent *Hampton* from authorizing relief. In a similar manner, we do not now interpret § 717 to foreclose the judicial remedies of those expressly unprotected by the statute. On the contrary, § 717 leaves undisturbed whatever remedies petitioner might otherwise possess.

Finally, the Court of Appeals appeared concerned that, if a damages remedy were made available to petitioner, the danger existed "of deluging federal courts with claims. . . ." We do not perceive the potential for such a deluge. By virtue of 42 U.S.C. § 1983, a damages remedy is already available to redress injuries such as petitioner's when they occur under color of state law. Moreover, a plaintiff seeking a damages remedy under the Constitution must first demonstrate that his constitutional rights have been violated. We do not hold that every tort by a federal official may be redressed in damages. And, of course, were Congress to create equally effective alternative remedies, the need for damages relief might be obviated. But perhaps the most fundamental answer to the concerns expressed by the Court of Appeals is that provided by Justice Harlan concurring in *Biven:*

> "Judicial resources, I am well aware, are increasingly scarce these days. Nonetheless, when we automatically close the courthouse door solely on this basis, we implicitly express a value judgment on the comparative importance of classes of legally protected interests. And current limitations upon the effective functioning of the courts arising from budgetary inadequacies should not be permitted to stand in the way of the recognition of otherwise sound constitutional principles."

We conclude, therefore, that in this case, as in *Bivens,* if petitioner is able to prevail on the merits, she should be able to redress her injury in damages, a "remedial mechanism normally available in the federal courts." *Bivens, supra,* at 397.

III

We hold today that the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, en banc, must be reversed because petitioner has a cause of action under the Fifth Amendment, and because her injury may be redressed by a damages remedy. The Court of Appeals did not consider, however, whether respondent's conduct was shielded by the Speech or Debate Clause of the Constitution. Accordingly, we do not reach this question. And, of course, we express no opinion as to the merits of petitioner's complaint.

The judgment of the Court of Appeals is reversed and the case is remanded for further proceedings consistent with this opinion.

So ordered.

Court Upholds Taiwan Treaty Termination

The Supreme Court Dec. 13, 1979, dismissed a case brought by Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., and others against President Carter for terminating treaty arrangements with Taiwan without approval of Congress. The vote was 7-2. Following are the texts of opinions in the action.

Powell Statement

Although I agree with the result reached by the Court, I would dismiss the complaint as not ripe for judicial review.

This Court has recognized that an issue should not be decided if it is not ripe for judicial review. . . . Prudential considerations persuade me that a dispute between Congress and the President is not ready for judicial review unless and until each branch has taken action asserting its constitutional authority. Differences between the President and the Congress are commonplace under our system. The differences should, and almost invariably do, turn on political rather than legal considerations. The Judicial Branch should not decide issues affecting the allocation of power between the President and Congress until the political branches reach a constitutional impasse. Otherwise, we would encourage small groups or even individual Members of Congress to seek judicial resolution of issues before the normal political process has the opportunity to resolve the conflict.

In this case, a few Members of Congress claim that the President's action in terminating the treaty with Taiwan has deprived them of their constitutional role with respect to a change in the supreme law of the land. Congress has taken no official action. In the present posture of this case, we do not know whether there ever will be an actual confrontation between the Legislative and Executive Branches. Although the Senate has considered a resolution declaring that Senate approval is necessary for the termination of any mutual defense treaty . . . no final vote has been taken on the resolution. . . . Moreover, it is unclear whether the resolution would have retroactive effect. It cannot be said that either the Senate or the House has rejected the President's claim. If the Congress chooses not to confront the President, it is not our task to do so. I therefore concur in the dismissal of this case.

Mr. Justice Rehnquist suggests, however, that the issue presented by this case is a nonjusticiable political question which can never be considered by this Court. I cannot agree. In my view, reliance upon the political-question doctrine is inconsistent with our precedents. As set forth in the seminal case of *Baker* v. *Carr* the doctrine incorporates three inquiries: (i) Does the issue involve resolution of questions committed by the text of the Constitution to a coordinate branch of government? (ii) Would resolution of the question demand that a court move beyond areas of judicial expertise? (iii) Do prudential considerations counsel against judicial intervention? In my opinion the answer to each of these inquiries would require us to decide this case if it were ready for review.

First, the existence of "a textually demonstrable constitutional commitment of the issue to a coordinate political branch," . . . turns on an examination of the constitutional provisions governing the exercise of the power in question. . . . No constitutional provision explicitly confers upon the President the power to terminate treaties. Further, Art. II, § 2 of the Constitution authorizes the President to make treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate. Article VI provides that treaties shall be a part of the supreme law of the land. These provisions add support to the view that the text of the Constitution does not unquestionably commit the power to terminate treaties to the President alone. . . .

Second, there is no "lack of judicially discoverable and manageable standards for resolving" this case; nor is a decision impossible "without an initial policy determination of a kind clearly for nonjudicial discretion." *Baker* v. *Carr*. . . . We are asked to decide whether the President may terminate a treaty under the Constitution without congressional approval. Resolution of the question may not be easy, but it only requires us to apply normal principles of interpretation to the constitutional provisions at issue. . . . The present case involves neither review of the President's activities as Commander-in-Chief nor impermissible interference in the field of foreign affairs. Such a case would arise if we were asked to decide, for example, whether a treaty required the President to order troops into a foreign country. But "it is error to suppose that every case or controversy which touches foreign relations lies beyond judicial cognizance." *Baker* v. *Carr*. . . . This case "touches" foreign relations, but the question presented to us concerns only the constitutional division of power between Congress and the President.

A simple hypothetical demonstrates the confusion that I find inherent in Mr. Justice Rehnquist's concurring opinion. Assume that the President signed a mutual defense treaty with a foreign country and announced that it would go into effect despite its rejection by the Senate. Under Mr. Justice Rehnquist's analysis that situation would present a political question even though Art. II, § 2, clearly would resolve the dispute. Although the answer to the hypothetical case seems self-evident because it demands textual rather than interstitial analysis, the nature of the legal issue presented is no different from the issue presented in the case before us. In both cases, the Court would interpret the Constitution to decide whether congressional approval is necessary to give a Presidential decision on the validity of a treaty the force of law. Such an inquiry demands no special competence or information beyond the reach of the judiciary. . . .

Finally, the political-question doctrine rests in part on prudential concerns calling for mutual respect among the three branches of government. Thus, the Judicial Branch should avoid "the potentiality of embarrassment [that would result] from multifarious pronouncements by various departments on one question." Similarly, the doctrine restrains judicial action where there is an "unusual need for unquestioning adherence to a political decision already made."

If this case were ripe for judicial review . . . none of these prudential considerations would be present. Interpretation of the Constitution does not imply lack of respect for a coordinate branch. . . . If the President and the Congress had reached irreconcilable positions, final disposition of the question presented by this case would eliminate, rather than create, multiple constitutional interpretations. The spectre of the Federal Government brought to a halt because of the mutual intransigence of the President and the Congress would require this Court to provide a resolution pursuant to our duty "to say what the law is.' . . .

In my view, the suggestion that this case presents a political question is incompatible with this Court's willingness on previous occasions to decide whether one branch of our government has impinged upon the power of another. . . . Under the criteria enunciated in *Baker* v. *Carr*, we have the responsibility to decide whether both the Executive and Legislative Branches have constitutional roles to play in termination of a treaty. If the Congress, by appropriate formal action, had challenged the President's authority to terminate the treaty with Taiwan, the resulting uncertainty could have serious consequences for our country. In that situation, it would be the duty of this Court to resolve the issue.

Rehnquist Statement

Mr. Justice Rehnquist with whom the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Stewart and Mr. Justice Stevens join, concurring.

I am of the view that the basic question presented by the petitioners in this case is "political" and therefore nonjusticiable because it involves the authority of the President in the conduct of our country's foreign relations and the extent to which the Senate or the Congress is authorized to negate the action of the President. In *Coleman* v. *Miller* . . . (1939), a case in which members of the Kansas Legislature brought an action attacking a vote of the State Senate in favor of the ratifica-

tion of the Child Labor Amendment, Mr. Chief Justice Hughes wrote in what is referred to as the "Opinion of the Court":

> "We think that . . . the question of the efficacy of ratifications by state legislatures, in the light of previous rejection or attempted withdrawal, should be regarded as a political question pertaining to the political departments, with the ultimate authority in the Congress in the exercise of its control over the promulgation of the adoption of the Amendment. . . . The precise question as now raised is whether, when the legislature of the State, as we have found, has actually ratified the proposed Amendment, the Court should restrain the State officers from certifying the ratification to the Secretary of State, because of an earlier rejection, and thus prevent the question from coming before the political departments. We find no basis in either Constitution or statute for such judicial action. Article V, speaking solely of ratification, contains no provision as to rejection. . . .". . . .

Thus, Mr. Chief Justice Hughes' opinion concluded that "Congress in controlling the promulgation of the adoption of a constitutional amendment has the final determination of the question whether by lapse of time its proposal of the amendment had lost its vitality prior to the required ratifications." *[Coleman v. Miller].*

I believe it follows *a fortiori* from *Coleman* that the controversy in the instant case is a nonjusticiable political dispute that should be left for resolution by the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government. Here, while the Constitution is express as to the manner in which the Senate shall participate in the ratification of a Treaty it is silent as to that body's participation in the abrogation of a Treaty. In this respect the case is directly analogous to *Coleman* . . . As stated in *Dyer v. Blair,* . . . (1975) (three-judge court):

> "A question that might be answered in different ways for different amendments must surely be controlled by political standards rather than standards easily characterized as judicially manageable."

In light of the absence of any constitutional provision governing the termination of a Treaty, and the fact that different termination procedures may be appropriate for different treaties . . . the instant case in my view also "must surely be controlled by political standards."

I think that the justifications for concluding that the question here is political in nature are even more compelling than in *Coleman* because it involves foreign relations — specifically a treaty commitment to use military force in the defense of a foreign government if attacked. In *United States* v. *Curtiss-Wright Corp* . . . (1936), this Court said:

> "Whether, if the Joint Resolution had related solely to internal affairs it would be open to the challenge that it constituted an unlawful delegation of legislative power to the Executive, we find it unnecessary to determine. The whole aim of the Resolution is to affect a situation entirely external to the United States, and falling within the category of foreign affairs. . . .". . . .

The present case differs in several important respects from *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.* v. *Sawyer* . . . (1952), cited by petitioners as authority both for reaching the merits of this dispute and for reversing the Court of Appeals. In *Youngstown* private litigants brought a suit contesting the President's authority under his war powers to seize the Nation's steel industry, an action of profound and demonstrable domestic impact. Here, by contrast, we are asked to settle a dispute between coequal branches of our government, each of which has resources available to protect and assert its interests, resources not available to private litigants outside the judicial forum. Moreover, as in *Curtiss-Wright,* the effect of this action, as far as we can tell, is "entirely external to the United States, and [falls] within the category of foreign affairs." Finally, as already noted, the situation presented here is closely akin to that presented in *Coleman,* where the Constitution spoke only to the procedure for ratification of an amendment, not to its rejection.

Having decided that the question presented in this action is nonjusticiable, I believe that the appropriate disposition is for this Court to vacate the decision of the Court of Appeals and remand with instructions for the District Court to dismiss the complaint. This procedure derives support from our practice in disposing of moot actions in federal courts. For more than 30 years, we have instructed lower courts to vacate any decision on the merits of an action that has become moot prior to a resolution of the case in this Court. . . . The Court has required such decisions to be vacated in order to "prevent a judgment, unreviewable because of mootness, from spawning any legal consequences." . . .It is even more imperative that this Court invoke this procedure to ensure that resolution of a "political question," which should not have been decided by a lower court, does not "spawn any legal consequences." An Art. III court's resolution of a question that is "political" in character can create far more disruption among the three coequal branches of government than the resolution of a question presented in a moot controversy. Since the political nature of the questions presented should have precluded the lower courts from considering or deciding the merits of the controversy, the prior proceedings in the federal courts must be vacated, and the complaint dismissed.

Blackmun, Brennan Statements

Mr. Justice Blackmun, with whom Mr. Justice White joins, dissenting in part.

In my view, the time factor and its importance are illustory; if the President does not have the power to terminate the Treaty (a substantial issue that we should address only after briefing and oral argument), the notice of intention to terminate surely has no legal effect. It is also indefensible, without further study, to pass on the issue of justiciability or on the issues of standing or ripeness. While I therefore join in the grant of the petition for certiorari, I would set the case for oral argument and give it the plenary consideration it so obviously deserves.

Mr. Justice Brennan, dissenting.

I respectfully dissent from the order directing the District Court to dismiss this case, and would affirm the judgment of the Court of Appeals insofar as it rests upon the President's well-established authority to recognize, and withdraw recognition from, foreign governments. . . .

In stating that this case presents a nonjusticiable "political question," the plurality, in my view, profoundly misapprehends the political question principle as it applies to matters of foreign relations. Properly understood, the political question doctrine restrains courts from reviewing an exercise of foreign policy judgment by the coordinate political branch to which authority to make that judgment has been "constitutional[ly] commit[ted]." *Baker* v. *Carr* . . . But the doctrine does not pertain when a court is faced with the *antecedent* question whether a particular branch has been constitutionally designated as the repository of political decisionmaking power. . . . The issue of decisionmaking authority must be resolved as a matter of constitutional law, not political discretion; accordingly, it falls within the competence of the courts.

The constitutional question raised here is prudently answered in narrow terms. Abrogation of the defense treaty with Taiwan was a necessary incident to Executive recognition of the Peking government, because the defense treaty was predicated upon the now-abandoned view that the Taiwan government was the only legitimate political authority in China. Our cases firmly establish that the Constitution commits to the President alone the power to recognize, and withdraw recognition from, foreign regimes. . . . That mandate being clear, our judicial inquiry into the treaty rupture can go no further. . . . ▮

Court of Appeals Decision

Following is the text of the principal decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit in the case brought by Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., and others against President Carter for terminating treaty arrangements with Taiwan without approval

of Congress. The court upheld the president's power to terminate the treaty on his own authority. Its action reversed an earlier decision by a U.S. District Court holding that the president did not have this power.

The court's decision was announced Nov. 30, 1979. Omitted from the text below are footnotes and additional opinions filed by some of the judges.

PER CURIAM: The court *en banc* has before it for review the judgment of the District Court that the notice of termination given by the President pursuant to the terms of the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China is ineffective absent either (1) a manifestation of the consent of the Senate to such termination by a two-thirds vote or (2) an approving majority vote therefor by both houses of Congress. The preliminary questions we confront are, first, whether the District Court was without jurisdiction because appellees lacked standing, and, second, whether it should in any event have declined to exercise jurisdiction by reason of the political nature of the question it was called upon to decide. Since a majority of the court does not exist to dispose of the appeal on either of these bases, we reach the merits and reverse.

In doing so, however, we think it important at the outset to stress that the Treaty, as it was presented to the Senate in 1954 and consented to by it, contained an explicit provision for termination by either party on one year's notice. The Senate, in the course of giving its consent, exhibited no purpose and took no action to reserve a role for itself — by amendment, reservation or condition — in the effectuation of this provision.

Neither has the Senate, since the giving of the notice of termination, purported to take any final or decisive action with respect to it, either by way of approval or disapproval. The constitutional issue we face, therefore, is solely and simply the one of whether the President in these precise circumstances is, on behalf of the United States, empowered to terminate the Treaty in accordance with its terms. It is our view that he is, and that the limitations which the District Court purported to place on his action in this regard have no foundation in the Constitution.

Background

In the aftermath of the Chinese Revolution and the Korean War, the United States and the Republic of China (ROC) negotiated a Mutual Defense Treaty, primarily directed against the perceived threat from the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Treaty was signed by representatives of both nations on December 2, 1954. It was approved by the Senate, and finally signed by the President on February 11, 1955. Article V of the Treaty provided that, in the event of an attack on Taiwan, the Pescadores, or United States territories in the western Pacific, each nation "would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes." Article X of the Treaty provided that it would remain in force "indefinitely," but said that "[e]ither Party may terminate it one year after notice has been given to the other Party."

At that time both the ROC and PRC claimed — and still claim — to be the sole legitimate government of China; both considered Taiwan a part of China. Since then over 100 nations, including all of our NATO allies and Japan, have officially recognized the PRC as the sole government of China, breaking off relations with Taiwan. In 1971 the United Nations admitted delegates from the PRC to the seats reserved for China in the General Assembly and Security Council, and expelled those from the ROC.

In the early 1970's the United States began to pursue a policy of closer relations with the PRC. The early stage of this effort culminated in President Nixon's visit to the mainland of China, during which the two nations released the "Shanghai Communique," declaring the goal of "normalization of relations between China and the United States." The PRC stipulated that full mutual diplomatic recognition was preconditioned on United States agreement to cease all diplomatic and other official relations with the ROC, to withdraw United States military units from Taiwan, and to terminate the Mutual Defense Treaty with the ROC.

In September 1978 Congress passed and the President signed the International Security Assistance Act of 1978, Pub. L. No. 95-384, 92 Stat. 746. Section 26 of that Act, called the "Dole-Stone Amendment," provided:

> It is the sense of the Congress that there should be prior consultation between the Congress and the executive branch on any proposed policy changes affecting the continuation in force of the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954.

On December 15, 1978, President Carter announced that the United States would recognize the PRC as the sole government of China, effective January 1, 1979, and would simultaneously withdraw recognition from the ROC. In addition, the United States announced that the ROC would be notified that "the Mutual Defense Treaty is being terminated in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty." On December 23, 1978, the State Department formally notified the ROC that the Treaty would terminate on January 1, 1980.

While severing all official ties with the ROC, the United States has sought to preserve "extensive, close, and friendly commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people on Taiwan." The Taiwan Relations Act, Pub. L. No. 96-8, 93 Stat. 14, signed into law on April 10, 1979, established the statutory framework for such relations. It provided:

> For all purposes, including actions in any court in the United States, the Congress approves the continuation in force of all treaties and other international agreements, including multilateral conventions, entered into by the United States and the governing authorities on Taiwan recognized by the United States as the Republic of China prior to January 1, 1979, and in force between them on December 31, 1978, unless and until terminated in accordance with law.

Id. § 4(c).

On December 22, 1978, plaintiffs-appellees filed this suit in District Court, seeking declaratory and injunctive relief to prevent termination of the Treaty without senatorial or congressional consent. The complaint alleged that the President violated his sworn duty to uphold the laws, including the treaties, of the United States. It asserted that the President has no unilateral power under the Constitution to abrogate treaties, and that the United States, not the President, is the party invested by Article X of the Treaty with the power of termination.

On June 6, 1979, the District Court dismissed the suit, without prejudice, for lack of standing. The court observed that three resolutions then pending in the Senate might resolve the controversy without need for judicial intervention. The court concluded:

> If the Congress approves the President's action, the issue presently before the Court would be moot. If the Senate or the Congress takes action, the result of which falls short of approving the President's termination effort, then the controversy will be ripe for a judicial declaration. . . .

JA 631-632.

Within hours of the District Court order the Senate called up Senate Resolution 15 which, as amended by the Foreign Relations Committee, would have recognized some fourteen grounds that would justify unilateral action by the President to terminate treaty obligations of the United States. By a vote of 59 to 35 the Senate substituted for its consideration an amendment drafted by Senator Harry Byrd, Jr.:

> That it is the sense of the Senate that approval of the United States Senate is required to terminate any mutual defense treaty between the United States and another nation.

125 Cong. Rec. S7015, S7038-S7039 (daily ed. June 6, 1979). Later that day, during the course of debate on the amended resolution, a dispute arose among the Senators over whether the resolution would have retrospective, or merely prospective, effect. No final vote was ever taken on the resolution, and the Majority Leader returned the resolution to the calendar.

On June 12, 1979, after the Byrd amendment was voted on, the plaintiffs-appellees filed a motion in District Court for alteration or amendment of the June 6 order of dismissal. They contended that the Senate's action on the Byrd amendment

satisfied the court's stated criteria for creating a justiciable controversy. On October 17, 1979, the District Court granted this motion, ruling that the plaintiffs had suffered the requisite injury in fact because of the denial of their right to be consulted and to vote on treaty termination. The court also ruled that the case did not present a nonjusticiable political question. Reaching the constitutional question, the court granted plaintiffs' cross-motion for summary judgment. This appeal followed.

I

For purposes of the standing issue, we accept, as we must, appellees' pleaded theories as valid. A majority of the court is of the view that, at least as their principal theory has evolved — that the Senate has a constitutional right to vote on the President's proposed treaty termination and to block such termination with a one-third plus one vote — the appellee Senators have standing.

If there is merit to their allegations, such Senators have suffered injury in fact from the President's action terminating the Treaty without Senate consent. This action has deprived the Senate of the opportunity — which appellees assert to be constitutionally prescribed — to vote whether to prevent the termination of this treaty. By excluding the Senate from the treaty termination process, the President has deprived each individual Senator of his alleged right to cast a vote that will have binding effect on whether the Treaty can be terminated. The President has thus nullified the right that each appellee Senator claims under the Constitution to be able to block the termination of this treaty by voting, in conjunction with one-third of his colleagues, against it.

In our decisions on congressional standing this court has carefully drawn a distinction between (1) a diminution in congressional influence resulting from an Executive action that nullifies a specific congressional vote or opportunity to vote, in an objectively verifiable manner — which, we have found, constitutes injury in fact; and (2) a diminution in a legislator's effectiveness, subjectively judged by him or her, resulting from Executive action withholding information or failing to obey a statute enacted through the legislator's vote, where the plaintiff-legislator still has power to act through the legislative process to remedy the alleged abuses — in which situations we do not find injury in fact. To be cognizable for standing purposes, the alleged diminution in congressional influence must amount to a disenfranchisement, a complete nullification or withdrawal of a voting opportunity; and the plaintiff must point to an objective standard in the Constitution, statutes or congressional house rules, by which disenfranchisement can be shown.

In the present case, appellees plead an objective standard in the Constitution as giving them a right to vote on treaty termination. They further allege disenfranchisement in the context of a specific measure, *i.e.*, the proposed termination of the Mutual Defense Treaty. Whether the President's action amounts to a complete disenfranchisement depends on whether appellees have left to them any legislative means to vote in the way they claim is their right. In other words, do they have effective power to block the termination of this treaty despite the President's action? This is the crucial issue, and the focus of our disagreement with the concurring opinion.

The crucial fact is that, on the record before us, there is no conceivable senatorial action that could likely prevent termination of the Treaty. A congressional resolution or statute might at most have persuasive effect with the President; it could not block termination if he persisted in his present interpretation of the Constitution giving him unilateral power to terminate. That appellee Senators have no power to enact a remedy is especially clear in light of the nature of their constitutional claim. They claim the right to block termination with only one-third plus one of their colleagues. There is no way that such a minority can even force a resolution to the floor, let alone pass it. To pretend that effective remedies are open to appellees is to ignore that, first, their alleged right would enable them to block termination with a minority, and, second, that even if they could muster a majority, any legislative action they might take under the present circumstances could well be futile. The only way the Senate can effectively vote on treaty termination, with the burden on termination proponents to secure a two-thirds majority, is for the President to submit the proposed treaty termination to the Senate as he would a proposed treaty. This is the concrete remedy appellees seek. For the court to require of them some other legislative action before allowing them standing to pursue this claim would be to require a useless act.

Since the President has not afforded an opportunity for an up-or-down vote as appellees request, we do not know whether the Senate would actually block the President's action if given the opportunity. Yet courts consistently vindicate the right to vote without first demanding that the votes when cast will achieve their intended end. A live controversy exists in appellees' claim of an opportunity to cast a binding vote. The President's action has deprived them of this opportunity completely, in the sense that they have no legislative power to exercise an equivalent voting opportunity. Therefore, appellee Senators have standing.

II

Various considerations enter into our determination that the President's notice of termination will be effective on January 1, 1980. The result we reach draws upon their totality, but in listing them hereinafter we neither assign them hierarchical values nor imply that any one factor or combination of factors is determinative.

1. We turn first to the argument, embraced by the District Court, drawn from the language of Article II, § 2, of the Constitution. It is that, since the President clearly cannot enter into a treaty without the consent of the Senate, the inference is inescapable that he must in all circumstances seek the same senatorial consent to terminate that treaty. As a matter of language alone, however, the same inference would appear automatically to obtain with respect to the termination by the President of officers appointed by him under the same clause of the Constitution and subject to Senate confirmation. But the Supreme Court has read that clause as not having such an inevitable effect in any and all circumstances. *Compare Myers* v. *United States*, 272 U.S. 52 (1926) *with* In Re *Humphrey's Executor* v. *United States*, 295 U.S. 602 (1935). In the area of foreign relations in particular, where the constitutional commitment of powers to the President is notably comprehensive, it has never been suggested that the services of Ambassadors — appointed by the President, confirmed by the Senate, and of critical importance as they are to the successful conduct of our foreign relations — may not be terminated by the President without the prior authorization of that body.

Expansion of the language of the Constitution by sequential linguistic projection is a tricky business at best. Virtually all constitutional principles have unique elements and can be distinguished from one another. As the Supreme Court has recognized with respect to the clause in question, it is not abstract logic or sterile symmetry that controls, but a sensible and realistic ascertainment of the meaning of the Constitution in the context of the specific action taken.

2. The District Court's declaration, in the alternative, that the necessary authority in this instance may be granted by a majority of each house of Congress presumably has its source in the Supremacy Clause of Article VI. The argument is that a treaty, being a part of the "supreme Law of the Land," can only be terminated at the least by a subsequent federal statute.

The central purpose of the Supremacy Clause has been accepted to be that of causing each of the designated supreme laws — Constitution, statute, and treaty — to prevail, for purposes of domestic law, over state law in any form. Article VI speaks explicitly to the judges to assure that this is so. But these three types of supreme law are not necessarily the same in their other characteristics, any more than are the circumstances and terms of their creation the same. Certainly the Constitution is silent on the matter of treaty termination. And the fact that it speaks to the common characteristic of supremacy over state law does not provide any basis for concluding that a treaty must be unmade either by (1) the same process by which it was made, or (2) the alternative means by which a statute is made or terminated.

3. The constitutional institution of advice and consent of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators concur, is a special and extraordinary condition of the exercise by the President of certain specified powers under Article II. It is not lightly to be extended in instances not set forth in the Constitution. Such an extension by implication is not proper unless that implication is unmistakably clear.

The District Court's absolutist extension of this limitation to termination of treaties, irrespective of the particular circumstances involved, is not sound. The making of a treaty has the consequences of an entangling alliance for the nation. Similarly, the amending of a treaty merely continues such entangling alliances, changing only their character, and therefore also requires the advice and consent of the Senate. It does not follow, however, that a constitutional provision for a special concurrence (two-thirds of the Senators) prior to entry into an entangling alliance necessarily applies to its termination in accordance with its terms.

4. The Constitution specifically confers no power of treaty termination on either the Congress or the Executive. We note, however, that the powers conferred upon Congress in Article I of the Constitution are specific, detailed, and limited, while the powers conferred upon the President by Article II are generalized in a manner that bespeaks no such limitation upon foreign affairs powers. "Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President. . . ." Although specific powers are listed in Section 2 and Section 3, these are in many instances not powers necessary to an Executive, while "The executive Power" referred to in Section 1 is nowhere defined. There is no required two-thirds vote of the Senate conditioning the exercise of any power in Section 1.

In some instances this difference is reflective of the origin of the particular power in question. In general, the powers of the federal government arise out of specific grants of authority delegated by the states — hence the enumerated powers of Congress in Article I, Section 8. The foreign affairs powers, however, proceed directly from the sovereignty of the Union. "[I]f they had never been mentioned in the Constitution, [they] would have vested in the federal government as necessary concomitants of nationality." *United States* v. *Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.*, 299 U.S. 304, 318 (1936).

The President is the constitutional representative of the United States with respect to external affairs. It is significant that the treaty power appears in Article II of the Constitution, relating to the executive branch, and not in Article I, setting forth the powers of the legislative branch. It is the President as Chief Executive who is given the constitutional authority to enter into a treaty; and even after he has obtained the consent of the Senate it is for him to decide whether to ratify a treaty and put it into effect. Senatorial confirmation of a treaty concededly does not obligate the President to go forward with a treaty if he concludes that it is not in the public interest to do so.

Thus, in contrast to the lawmaking power, the constitutional initiative in the treaty-making field is in the President, not Congress. It would take an unprecedented feat of judicial construction to read into the Constitution an absolute condition precedent of congressional or Senate approval for termination of all treaties, similar to the specific one relating to initial approval. And it would unalterably affect the balance of power between the two Branches laid down in Articles I and II.

5. Ultimately, what must be recognized is that a treaty is *sui generis*. It is not just another law. It is an international compact, a solemn obligation of the United States and a "supreme Law" that supersedes state policies and prior federal laws. For clarity of analysis, it is thus well to distinguish between treaty-making as an international act and the consequences which flow domestically from such act. In one realm the Constitution has conferred the primary role upon the President; in the other, Congress retains its primary role as lawmaker. The fact that the Constitution, statutes, and treaties are all listed in the Supremacy Clause as being superior to any form of state law does not mean that the making and unmaking of treaties can be analogized to the making and unmaking of domestic statutes any more than it can be analogized to the making or unmaking of a constitutional amendment.

The recognized powers of Congress to implement (or fail to implement) a treaty by an appropriation or other law essential to its effectuation, or to supersede for all practical purposes the effect of a treaty on domestic law, are legislative powers, not treaty-making or treaty termination powers. The issue here, however, is not Congress' legislative powers to supersede or affect the domestic impact of a treaty; the issue is whether the Senate (or Congress) must in this case give its prior consent to discontinue a treaty which the President thinks it desirable to terminate in the national interest and pursuant to a provision in the treaty itself. The existence, in practical terms, of one power does not imply the existence, in constitutional terms, of the other.

6. If we were to hold that under the Constitution a treaty could only be terminated by exactly the same process by which it was made, we would be locking the United States into all of its international obligations, even if the President and two-thirds of the Senate minus one firmly believed that the proper course for the United States was to terminate a treaty. Many of our treaties in force, such as mutual defense treaties, carry potentially dangerous obligations. These obligations are terminable under international law upon breach by the other party or change in circumstances that frustrates the purpose of the treaty. In many of these situations the President must take immediate action. The creation of a constitutionally obligatory role in all cases for a two-thirds consent by the Senate would give to one-third plus one of the Senate the power to deny the President the authority necessary to conduct our foreign policy in a rational and effective manner.

7. Even as to the formal termination of treaties, as the District Court pointed out, "a variety of means have been used to terminate treaties." There is much debate among the historians and scholars as to whether in some instances the legislature has been involved at all; they are agreed that, when involved, that involvement with the President has taken many different forms. It appears moreover that the Senate may wish to continue to determine the nature of its involvement on a case by case basis. 125 Cong. Rec. S16683-S16692 (daily ed. Nov. 15, 1979).

The District Court concluded that the diversity of historical precedents left an inconclusive basis on which to decide the issue of whether the President's power to terminate a treaty must always be "shared" in some way by the Senate or Congress. We agree. Yet we think it is not without significance that out of all the historical precedents brought to our attention, in no situation has a treaty been continued in force over the opposition of the President.

There is on the other hand widespread agreement that the President has the power as Chief Executive under many circumstances to exercise functions regarding treaties which have the effect of either terminating or continuing their vitality. Prominent among these is the authority of the President as Chief Executive (1) to determine whether a treaty has terminated because of a breach, *Charlton* v. *Kelly*, 229 U.S. 447, 473-476 (1913); and (2) to determine whether a treaty is at an end due to changed circumstances.

In short, the determination of the conduct of the United States in regard to treaties is an instance of what has broadly been called the "foreign affairs power" of the President. We have no occasion to define that term, but we do take account of its vitality. The *Curtiss-Wright* opinion, written by a Justice who had served in the United States Senate, declares in oft-repeated language that the President is "the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations." That status is not confined to the service of the President as a channel of communication, as the District Court suggested, but embraces an active policy determination as to the conduct of the United States in regard to a treaty in response to numerous problems and circumstances as they arise.

8. How the vital functions of the President in implementing treaties and in deciding on their viability in response to changing events can or should interact with Congress' legitimate concerns and powers in relating to foreign affairs is an area into which we should not and do not prema-

turely intrude. History shows us that there are too many variables to lay down any hard and fast constitutional rules.

We cannot find an implied role in the Constitution for the Senate in treaty termination for some but not all treaties in terms of their relative importance. There is no judicially ascertainable and manageable method of making any distinction among treaties on the basis of their substance, the magnitude of the risk involved, the degree of controversy which their termination would engender, or by any other standards. We know of no standards to apply in making such distinctions. The facts on which such distinctions might be drawn may be difficult of ascertainment; and the resolution of such inevitable disputes between the two Branches would be an improper and unnecessary role for the courts. To decide whether there was a breach or changed circumstances, for example, would involve a court in making fundamental decisions of foreign policy and would create insuperable problems of evidentiary proof. This is beyond the acceptable judicial role. All we decide today is that two-thirds Senate consent or majority consent in both houses is not necessary to terminate this treaty in the circumstances before us now.

9. The circumstances involved in the termination of the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China include a number of material and unique elements. Prominent is assertion by the officials of both the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China that each of them is the government of China, intending the term China to comprehend both the mainland of China and the island of Taiwan. In the 1972 Shanghai Communique, the United States acknowledged that position and did not challenge it. It is in this context that the recent Joint Communique set forth as of January 1, 1979 that the United States recognizes the People's Republic of China as "the sole legal government of China." This action made reference to "the people of Taiwan," stating that the peoples of the United States and Taiwan "will maintain cultural, commercial and other unofficial relations." This formulation was confirmed by the Taiwan Relations Act.

It is undisputed that the Constitution gave the President full constitutional authority to recognize the PRC and to derecognize the ROC. What the United States has evolved for Taiwan is a novel and somewhat indefinite relationship, namely, of unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan. The subtleties involved in maintaining amorphous relationships are often the very stuff of diplomacy — a field in which the President, not Congress, has responsibility under our Constitution. The President makes a responsible claim that he has authority as Chief Executive to determine that there is no meaningful vitality to a mutual defense treaty when there is no recognized state. That is not to say that the recognition power automatically gives the President authority to take any action that is required or requested by the state being recognized. We do not need to reach this question. Nevertheless, it remains an important ingredient in the case at bar that the President has determined that circumstances have changed so as to preclude continuation of the Mutual Defense Treaty with the ROC; diplomatic recognition of the ROC came to an end on January 1, 1979, and now there exist only "cultural, commercial and other unofficial relations" with the "people on Taiwan."

10. Finally, and of central significance, the treaty here at issue contains a termination clause. The existence of Article X of the ROC treaty, permitting termination by either party on one year's notice, is an overreaching factor in this case, which in effect enables all of the other considerations to be knit together.

Without derogating from the executive power of the President to decide to act contrary to the wording of a treaty — for example, because of a breach by the other party *(Charlton* v. *Kelly, supra),* or because of a doctrine of fundamental change of circumstances *(rebus sic stantibus)* — the President's authority as Chief Executive is at its zenith when the Senate has consented to a treaty that expressly provides for termination on one year's notice, and the President's action is the giving of notice of termination.

As already noted, we have no occasion to decide whether this factor would be determinative in a case lacking other factors identified above, *e.g.,* under a notice of withdrawal from the NATO treaty unaccompanied by derecognition of the other signatories. No specific restriction or condition on the President's action is found within the Constitution or this treaty itself. The termination clause is without conditions and without designation as to who shall act to terminate it. No specific role is spelled out in either the Constitution or this treaty for the Senate or the Congress as a whole. That power consequently devolves upon the President, and there is no basis for a court to imply a restriction on the President's power to terminate not contained in the Constitution, in this treaty, or in any other authoritative source.

While under the termination clause of this and similar treaties the power of the President to terminate may appear theoretically absolute, to think that this is so would be to ignore all historical practices in treaty termination and past and current reciprocal relationships between the Chief Executive and Congress. The wide variety of roles played by the Executive and the Congress (or the Senate alone) in the past termination of treaties teaches us nothing conclusive as to constitutional theory, but it instructs us as to what may fairly be contemplated as to the President's future exercise of the treaty termination power. Treaty termination is a political act, but political acts are not customarily taken without political support. Even if formal advice and consent is not constitutionally required as a prerequisite to termination, it might be sought. If the Congress is completely ignored, it has its arsenal of weapons, as previous Chief Executives have on occasion been sharply reminded.

Thus, the court is not to be taken as minimizing the role of the legislature in foreign affairs. The legislature's powers, including prominently its dominant status in the provision of funds, and its authority to investigate the Executive's functioning, establish authority for appropriate legislative participation in foreign affairs. The question of whether the Senate may be able to reserve to itself in particular treaties, at the time of their original submission, a specific role in their termination is not presented by the record in this appeal and we decide nothing with respect to it. The matter before us is solely one of whether the Constitution nullifies the procedure followed by the President in this instance. We find the President did not exceed his authority when he took action to withdraw from the ROC treaty, by giving notice under Article X of the Treaty, without the consent of the Senate or other legislative concurrences.

III

In our holding in this case we do not ignore the question of justiciability. We regard the only issue here to be whether the constitutional allocation of governmental power between two branches requires prior legislative consent to the termination of this treaty under the circumstances presented by this record. Viewing the issue before us so narrowly and in the circumstances of this treaty and its history to date, we see no reason which we could in good conscience invoke to refrain from judgment, and conclude that it is the duty of the court to confront and decide that issue.

Reversed ▮

Nominations and Confirmations

Senate Confirms New Carter Cabinet

President Carter's July Cabinet shake-up, in which five Cabinet secretaries were fired or resigned in a two-day period, produced consternation on Capitol Hill.

But the president had little trouble getting his Cabinet replacements, as well as his other major nominees, confirmed by the Senate in 1979.

Of the 4,384 civilian nominations Carter sent to the Senate, 4,294 were confirmed, eight were withdrawn, 81 — most for relatively minor positions — were still pending before the Senate when Congress adjourned and one was not acted upon before the end of the session.

In instances where the Senate fails to act on a nomination before the end of a session, the nomination must be returned to the White House unless the Senate agrees under a unanimous consent resolution to carry consideration of the nomination over until the next session.

In 81 cases, the Senate agreed to carry over the nominations. But in one case — that of William A. Lubbers to be general counsel to the National Labor Relations Board — business groups' opposition to the nomination helped block any Senate action. The nomination was thus sent back to Carter, who named Lubbers to a recess appointment as general counsel, an appointment that would last until adjournment of the 96th Congress.

Cabinet Reshuffle

Following close on the heels of Carter's July Camp David domestic summit, 33 top-ranking administration officials — including all 12 department secretaries — submitted their resignations. It was never made clear if the resignations were specifically requested by Carter or suggested by someone else.

By July 19, resignations of five Cabinet secretaries had been accepted — but it was clear that three were leaving at Carter's direction. The three fired secretaries were Joseph A. Califano Jr. (Health, Education and Welfare), W. Michael Blumenthal (Treasury) and Brock Adams (Transportation).

All had poor relations with key White House staff members who made up the core of Georgians closest to Carter. The fired officials were regarded as being poor "team players," and some political observers said the firings suggested Carter regarded loyalty more highly than ability.

The other two departures were James R. Schlesinger (Energy) and Griffin B. Bell (Justice). But their departures were not viewed as firings since both earlier had announced plans to leave the administration. Schlesinger, however, had been under attack from members of Congress.

One Cabinet member, Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris, was named to replace Califano.

The other significant Cabinet-level change took place when United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young resigned July 15 in the wake of protests from Congress, Israel and other critics distressed over his unauthorized contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Young was succeeded by Donald F. McHenry, who had been Young's top assistant at the U.N. McHenry was confirmed by the Senate Sept. 21 by an 83-0 vote. *(Vote 301, p. 51-S)*

Following the Cabinet shakeup, Carter also reorganized his White House staff. Hamilton Jordan was given the title of chief of staff, an action that raised some concern the controversial Carter adviser would cut off the access of Cabinet members from the Oval Office.

Cabinet Replacements

In contrast to the controversy surrounding the resignations of the department secretaries, Carter's nominations of their successors prompted little opposition on Capitol Hill.

Health, Education and Welfare

To fill the HEW slot, Carter July 20 nominated HUD Secretary Harris. She was easily confirmed July 27 by voice vote.

Harris came to HEW with high ratings from urban officials, who praised her management of HUD. That esteem had been hard earned.

When she began her tenure at HUD in 1977, the nation's mayors and urban activists had expressed dissatisfaction with Harris' lack of experience in handling housing issues. But by the time she left to run HEW, the one-time Harris detractors agreed that she had done a good job administering the nation's labyrinth of housing laws.

Education

The nation got a new executive branch department — and a new Cabinet member — when the Senate Nov. 30 confirmed 81-2 the nomination of Judge Shirley M. Hufstedler to be the first secretary of education. *(Vote 437, p. 73-S)*

Hufstedler, 57, was to head the new Department of Education, which was carved out of HEW after a prolonged congressional debate. *(Story, p. 465)*

Housing and Urban Development

With Harris' departure to HEW, the HUD post fell to former New Orleans Mayor Moon Landrieu.

Landrieu was unanimously confirmed by the Senate Sept. 12, despite some lawmakers's concerns about his links with private developers.

When he left office in 1978 after two four-year terms as mayor, Landrieu joined Joseph C. Canizaro Interest Inc., a real estate development firm. As mayor, Landrieu had helped arrange a land-swap and processed a federal grant for Canizaro's multimillion-dollar "Canal Place" renewal project.

Landrieu, a former head of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, received the nearly unanimous endorsement of urban officials, who lauded him as "a man from the trenches" already on intimate terms with cities and their needs.

Transportation

To succeed ousted Transportation Secretary Brock Adams, Carter July 27 nominated Portland, Ore., Mayor Neil E. Goldschmidt.

Goldschmidt, like Landrieu a big-city mayor, had been serving in that post since 1972. Goldschmidt was easily confirmed by the Senate Sept. 21 on an 83-0 vote. *(Vote 302, p. 51-S)*

Energy

Named July 20 to replace Energy Secretary Schlesinger — who had been persistently criticized in Congress for being a poor manager — was Charles W. Duncan Jr., deputy secretary of defense since the beginning of the Carter administration.

Duncan, president of the Atlanta-based Coca-Cola Co. from 1971 to 1974, won easy Senate confirmation July 31. The vote was 95-1. *(Vote 236, p. 40-S)*

During confirmation hearings before the Senate Energy Committee, lawmakers warned the former businessman that he would find managing the Energy Department tough going. And, they sought assurances from Duncan that the secretary's access to the president would not be blocked by White House aides.

The lone vote against Duncan's confirmation was cast by William Proxmire, D-Wis., who questioned whether Duncan possessed enough knowledge about energy.

Treasury

On July 20, Carter nominated Federal Reserve Board Chairman G. William Miller to take over the Treasury post from Blumenthal. The Senate Aug. 2 unanimously voted to confirm Miller, by a 98-0 vote. *(Vote 242, p. 41-S)*

Unlike Blumenthal, whose policy stands were often at odds with the administration's, Miller demonstrated during his Federal Reserve Board chairmanship that his views on inflation and recession were close to Carter's.

To replace Miller at the Federal Reserve, Carter July 27 nominated as chairman Paul A. Volcker, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Volker had strong conservative credentials and his appointment was almost universally hailed in business circles and on Capitol Hill.

He was confirmed by the Senate Aug. 2 by a 94-1 vote. *(Vote 241, p. 41-S)*

Justice

In sharp contrast to 1978 fight over Benjamin R. Civiletti's nomination to be deputy attorney general, his July 19 appointment to the post of attorney general aroused little controversy on Capitol Hill.

The 1978 controversy centered on Civiletti's role in the ouster of Republican U.S. Attorney David Marston of Philadelphia, who Republicans charged was fired because of political pressure. The Judiciary Committee grilled Civiletti for 17 days on the matter.

This time, Civiletti received strong bipartisan support from committee members and was confirmed 94-1 by the Senate Aug. 1. *(Vote 240, p. 40-S)*

Commerce

Philip M. Klutznick was confirmed as secretary of commerce Dec. 20 by a vote of 74-0. Klutznick, who had broad business, international banking, Democratic and Jewish ties, succeeded Juanita M. Kreps, who resigned for personal reasons, effective Nov. 1, 1979. *(Vote 494, p. 82-S)*

FEC Nominations

As in 1978, Carter once again found some of his nominations to the politically sensitive Federal Election Commission (FEC) mired in controversy. But unlike 1978 — when two of Carter's FEC nominees failed to receive Senate confirmation — 1979 saw all of his FEC appointments winning confirmation.

Reiche. Intra-party bickering temporarily delayed the confirmation of Republican Frank P. Rieche to a GOP vacancy on the six-member commission.

Reiche, a Princeton lawyer and chairman of the New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, was nominated by Carter May 1 from a list of names supplied by Republican congressional leaders.

Reiche's nomination, however, was questioned sharply by freshman GOP Sen. Gordon J. Humphrey of New Hampshire. At the request of Humphrey, the Senate Rules Committee June 6 postponed for a week the vote on Reiche.

Humphrey questioned Reiche's views on a number of issues, including public financing of congressional elections. He complained that some of Reiche's views were too similar to the Democrats' on the bipartisan FEC.

But Humprhey had few allies. Two prominent Republicans on the Rules Committee — Minority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., Tenn., and Mark O. Hatfield, Ore. — expressed support for Reiche.

By a 9-0 vote, the Rules Committee June 14 reported Reiche's nomination to the floor.

But the nomination continued to touch off intra-party controversy and a final vote on the nomination was put off until after the July 4 recess.

Along with Humphrey, thirteen other senators asked Baker to delay floor action. But after conservatives gave up their delaying tactics, the Senate July 25 confirmed Reiche by a 73-25 vote. The opposition included 21 of the Senate's 41 Republicans. *(Vote 214, p. 37-S)*

The action followed defeat of a proposal by Humphrey to recommit the nomination to the Rules Committee. The vote on Humphrey's motion was 28-70. *(Vote 213, p. 37-S)*

McGarry, Friedersdorf. After a four- and 17-month wait, respectively, the Senate Feb. 21 confirmed without debate and by voice votes Senate Republican Policy Committee Staff Director Max L. Friedersdorf and Boston lawyer John W. McGarry to seats on the FEC.

Carter chose Fiedersdorf to fill a Republican vacancy and McGarry to take a Democratic seat on the commission. The ease with which the nominations sailed through the Senate belied the earlier struggles that took place over the two seats.

Friedersdorf was Carter's second choice to fill the Republican slot on the commission. But unlike the president's first selection — Samuel D. Zagoria — Friedersdorf was approved by Republican congressional leaders and his nomination drew praise from members of the Senate Rules Committtee.

McGarry's nomination, however, sparked more controversy.

Carter first submitted McGarry's nomination in September 1977. But Republicans stalled the nomination for nearly a year, criticizing McGarry's close ties to House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., and questioning aspects of his complex financial dealings.

McGarry's nomination was finally approved by the Rules Committee in August 1978 but was not acted upon before adjournment.

Shortly after Congress adjourned, Carter gave McGarry a recess appointment to the FEC, a move that brought an angry reponse from the Democratic FEC commissioner that McGarry replaced, former Michigan Democratic Chairman Neil Staebler. Staebler filed an unsuccessful lawsuit against McGarry, contending that he should not be replaced until his successor was confirmed by the Senate.

Foreign Policy Posts

Three of Carter's nominees to foreign policy posts ran into considerable opposition.

Krueger. Carter's nomination April 26 of former Rep. Robert (Bob) Krueger, D-Texas, to be ambassador-at-large and coordinator for Mexican affairs was greeted with hostility by some lawmakers who accused Carter of creating the job especially for the one-time congressman who had narrowly lost to John Tower, R-Texas, in a bitter 1978 Senate race.

Opponents of the nomination said Mexico did not have a similar at-large post and that it was not clear what Krueger would be doing.

Despite the complaints, the Senate confirmed Krueger Oct. 22 by a 48-35 vote. *(Vote 363, p. 61-S)*

Woodcock. The nomination as ambassador to China of Leonard Woodcock, head of the United States Liaison Office in Peking and former president of the United Automobile Workers (UAW), became ensnared in the more general debate over U.S.-China relations. Carter nominated Woodcock Jan. 15 and the Senate confirmed him by an 82-9 vote Feb. 26. *(Vote 8, p. 3-S)*

Although no one in the Senate challenged Woodcock's qualifications to be ambassador, a substantial number of Republicans argued for delaying his confirmation. Some said he should not be confirmed until after Congress had passed legislation supporting future relations between the United States and Taiwan; others maintained he should not be confirmed while China was engaged in a war against Vietnam.

But the Carter administration lobbied successfully to have the nomination approved before March 1, the date the United States and China were scheduled to exchange ambassadors and embassies.

Seignious. Carter's Oct. 20 nomination of retired Gen. George M. Seignious II as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) drew fire both from arms control advocates and military hard-liners.

The Senate March 1 confirmed the nomination by voice vote, but not before foreign policy hard-liners had complained that the nomination of the retired general was a Carter administration ploy to improve prospects for Senate ratification of a U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation agreement (SALT II).

Arms control advocates expressed concern that Seignious' 31 years in military life would run counter to his mission as head of the arms control agency. They argued that the former general would bend the agency toward traditional military approaches to U.S. security, stressing more weapons, rather than emphasizing the search for security through arms limitation.

But Seignious countered that his opponents were discounting the fact that a military man, more than most, would be acutely aware of the danger of an accelerated arms race.

Judgeships

Nominations for federal judgeships touched off four controversies in the Senate in 1979.

Abner Mikva. Beating back intense pressure from the gun lobby, the Senate Sept. 25 by a 58-31 vote confirmed Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., for a seat on the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Carter had nominated Mikva to the prestigious judgeship May 25. *(Vote 308, p. 52-S)*

Confirmation came despite efforts by some groups — primarily the National Rifle Association and senators sympathetic to its views — to deny Mikva the seat.

The NRA had been a consistent foe of Mikva throughout his congressional career because of his outspoken support of gun control legislation.

Bailey Brown. The question of whether federal judges should be required to resign from all-white social clubs fired the debate over the nomination of U.S. District Judge Bailey Brown to a seat on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit. Carter nominated Brown to the seat March 15.

When questioned about his club membership by members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Brown said he would suspend his membership until he was convinced the club did not discriminate, but that he would not resign.

The committee accepted Brown's compromise, but then went on to state its position that persons nominated to the federal bench should not belong to social clubs that practice discrimination.

During floor debate Sept. 25 on the nomination, several liberal senators, led by Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y., questioned whether Brown's decision to suspend — rather than to resign — his membership, was in line with the spirit of the committee's policy statement. Despite Javits' urging that the nomination be rejected, the Senate voted to confirm Brown by an 83-12 vote. *(Vote 307, p. 52-S)*

Cornelia Kennedy. The question of racial bias also colored the controversy surrounding Carter's nomination April 9 of U.S. District Court Judge Cornelia G. Kennedy to a seat of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit.

Several senators — including Judiciary Committee Chairman Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass. — joined spokespersons for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and other minority groups in charging that Judge Kennedy tended to rule in civil rights cases against those asserting a civil rights violation.

But Sen. Alan K. Simpson, R-Wyo., and other lawmakers, disputed the accuracy of the minority groups' findings, and the Senate by voice vote Sept. 25 agreed to confirm the Kennedy nomination.

L. T. Senter Jr. Still another judgeship controversy focusing on charges of racial bias took place over the nomination of L. T. Senter Jr. to be a federal district judge for the northern district of Mississippi.

The nomination battle, which took place on the Senate floor in the early morning hours of Dec. 21, pitted two old foes on civil rights against one another: Javits, a long-time civil rights proponent, and John C. Stennis, D-Miss., who for years fought efforts to pass civil rights legislation.

Opponents charged that Senter had used racist remarks and questioned his behavior in sending his children to an all-white private academy. Senter was confirmed by a vote of 43-25. The vote, according to observers, was proof of the civil rights lobby's loss of power over the past decade. *(Vote 497, p. 82-S)*

(continued on p. 52-A)

Membership of Federal Regulatory Agencies, 1979

Civil Aeronautics Board

(Five members appointed for six-year terms; not more than three members from one political party; agency due to expire Jan. 1, 1985.)

Member	Party	Term Expires	Nominated	Confirmed by Senate
Gloria Schaffer	D	12/31/84	7/13/78	9/13/78
Marvin S. Cohen (C)	D	12/31/85	11/29/79	*
Richard J. O'Melia	R	12/31/80	5/16/74	9/19/74
Elizabeth E. Bailey	R	12/31/83	7/8/77	7/28/77
Vacancy				

Commodity Futures Trading Commission

(Five members appointed for five-year terms; not more than three members from one political party.)

James M. Stone (C)	D	4/15/83	1/15/79	4/10/79
Read P. Dunn Jr.	D	4/15/80	4/3/79	4/26/79
Robert L. Martin	R	6/19/81	6/3/76	6/17/76
David G. Gartner	D	5/19/83	5/10/78	5/17/78
Vacancy				

Consumer Product Safety Commission

(Five members appointed for seven-year terms; not more than three members from one political party.)

Susan B. King (C)	D	10/26/84	1/20/78	2/28/78
Stuart M. Statler	R	8/13/86	6/14/79	8/10/79
R. David Pittle	D	10/26/82	1/20/78	2/1/78
Edith B. Sloan	D	10/26/83	1/20/78	2/28/78
Samuel D. Zaboria	R	10/26/85	9/29/78	10/10/78

Federal Communications Commission

(Seven members appointed for seven-year terms; not more than four members from one political party.)

Charles D. Ferris (C)	D	6/30/84	9/12/77	10/10/77
Tyrone Brown	D	6/30/86	6/11/79	7/17/79
James H. Quello	D	6/30/80	1/22/74	4/22/74
Robert E. Lee	R	6/30/81	5/17/74	6/27/74
Abbott Washburn	R	6/30/82	6/18/75	9/26/75
Joseph R. Fogarty	D	6/30/83	6/21/76	9/8/76
Anne P. Jones	R	6/30/86	1/15/79	3/21/79

Federal Election Commission

(Six members appointed for six-year terms; not more than three members from one political party.)

Robert O. Tiernan (C)	D	4/30/81	5/17/76	5/18/76
Joan D. Aikens	R	4/30/81	5/17/76	5/18/76
Max L. Friedersdorf	R	4/30/83	1/15/79	2/21/79
Thomas E. Harris	D	4/30/85	5/1/79	6/19/79
John W. McGarry	D	4/30/83	1/15/79	2/21/79
Frank P. Reiche	R	4/30/85	5/1/79	7/25/79

Federal Energy Regulatory Commission

(Five members appointed to staggered four-year terms; not more than three members from one political party.)

Charles B. Curtis (C)	I	6/22/80	9/30/77	10/20/77
George R. Hall	D	6/22/80	9/13/77	10/20/77
Georgiana R. Sheldon	R	6/22/80	9/13/77	10/20/77
Matthew Holden Jr.	D	6/22/81	9/26/77	10/20/77
Vacancy				

Federal Reserve System Governors

(Seven members appointed for 14-year terms; no statutory limitation on political party membership.)

Paul A. Volcker (C)	D	1/31/92	8/17/79	8/2/79
Nancy H. Teeters	D	1/31/84	8/28/78	9/15/78
J. Charles Partee	I	1/31/86	12/8/75	12/19/75
Henry C. Wallich	R	1/31/88	1/11/74	2/8/74
Emmett J. Rice	—	1/31/90	4/12/79	6/12/79
Frederick H. Schultz	D	1/31/82	4/12/79	7/18/79

Federal Trade Commission

(Five members appointed for seven-year terms; not more than three members from one political party.)

Michael J. Pertschuk (C)	D	9/25/84	3/25/77	4/6/77
Patricia P. Bailey	R	9/25/80	8/3/79	10/23/79
Paul Rand Dixon	D	9/25/81	9/5/74	9/26/74
Robert Pitofsky	D	9/25/82	5/25/78	6/28/78
David A. Clanton	R	9/25/83	7/20/76	7/29/76

Interstate Commerce Commission

(Eleven members appointed for seven-year terms; not more than six members from one political party. President Carter decided to cut the commission's size by not filling vacancies.)

Darius W. Gaskins Jr. (C)	D	12/31/84	5/16/79	7/16/79
Marcus Alexis	D	12/31/85	5/17/79	7/16/79
Thomas A. Trantum	R	12/31/85	5/16/79	7/16/79
George M. Stafford	R	12/31/80	1/15/74	2/27/74
Charles L. Clapp	R	12/31/80	1/22/74	2/27/74
Robert C. Gresham	R	12/31/81	6/3/74	9/19/74
Five vacancies				

Nuclear Regulatory Commission

(Five members appointed for five-year terms; not more than three members from one political party.)

Joseph M. Hendrie (C)	R	6/30/81	6/29/77	8/3/77
Victor Gilinsky	D	6/30/84	5/15/79	6/27/79
Richard T. Kennedy	R	6/30/80	12/12/74	12/19/74
Peter A. Bradford	D	6/30/82	6/12/77	8/3/77
James F. Ahearne	—	6/30/83	5/18/78	7/21/78

Securities and Exchange Commission

(Five members appointed for five-year terms; not more than three members from one political party.)

Harold M. Williams (C)	D	6/5/82	3/30/77	4/7/77
John R. Evans	R	6/5/83	6/11/79	9/18/79
Philip A. Loomis Jr.	R	6/5/84	6/11/79	9/18/79
Irving M. Pollack	D	6/5/80	7/1/75	8/1/75
Roberta S. Karmel	D	6/5/81	8/1/77	9/22/77

(C) Chairman. ** Member sitting on commission pending Senate confirmation.*

Patricia M. Wald. By a vote of 77-21 the Senate July 24 voted to confirm the nomination of Patricia M. Wald to a seat on the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Carter nominated Wald April 30. *(Vote 212, p. 36-S)*

Her confirmation was preceded by a host of charges from Republicans and conservatives that the assistant attorney general for legislative affairs' views of the rights of children, the mentally ill and other oppressed groups were too liberal.

Leading conservative opposition to the nomination was New Hampshire's Republican senator, Humphrey, who said that Wald's liberal views on children's rights, such as her suggestion that some children under 18 might be mature enough to vote, would undermine the family.

But other lawmakers, including Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., countered that Wald's outspoken advocacy of controversial issues was no reason to deny her the confirmation.

Leahy wondered "whether we are reaching a point where we feel that no one should serve on the bench unless they have led a life of intellectual monasticism."

1979 Confirmations

Listed below are 256 persons named to major federal posts and confirmed by the Senate in 1979. Information is given in the following order: name of office, salary, appointee, voting residence, last occupation before appointment, previous political or policy posts, date and place of birth, party affiliation (where available), confirmation date.

Ambassadorial confirmations are listed only if the appointment was of more than routine interest.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Council of Economic Advisers

Member, $52,750 — **George C. Eads;** Santa Monica, Calif.; director of regulatory policies and institutions program (1978-79) and senior economist (1977-78), Rand Corp.; executive director, National Commission on Supplies and Shortages (1975-77); Aug. 20, 1942, in Clarksville, Texas; Dem.; June 5.

Council on Environmental Quality

Member, $52,750 — **Robert H. Harris;** Fairview, W.Va.; associate director of toxic chemicals program, Environmental Defense Fund (1973-79); associate, Ralph Nader's Corporate Accountability Research Group (1972-73); assistant professor of civil engineering, University of Maryland (1971-73); Oct. 16, 1941, in Fairmont, W.Va.; Nov. 16.

Council on Wage and Price Stability

Director, $52,750 — **R. Robert Russell;** Escondido, Calif.; deputy director, Council on Wage and Price Stability (1978-79); faculty, University of California at San Diego (1973-78); associate professor of economics, University of California at Santa Barbara (1966-73); professional staff, Council of Economic Advisers (1965-66); Feb. 17, 1938, in Rock Springs, Wyo.; Sept. 18.

Office of Management and Budget

Deputy director, $55,387.50 — **John Patrick White;** McLean, Va.; assistant secretary of defense for manpower, reserve affairs and logistics (1977-79); worked for Rand Corp. (1968-77) and served as senior vice president (1975-77); Feb. 27, 1937, in Syracuse, N.Y.; April 10.

Office of Special Representative for Trade Negotiations

Special Representative, $69,639 — **Reubin Askew;** Tallahassee, Fla.; governor, Fla. (1971-79); Fla. state senator (1962-70); Fla. state representative (1958-62); assistant county solicitor (1956-58); Sept. 11, 1928, in Muskogee, Okla.; Dem.; Sept. 25.

Deputy special representative, $55,387.50 — **Robert Hormats;** Chevy Chase, Md.; senior deputy assistant secretary of state for economic and business affairs (1977-79); senior staff member for international economic affairs, National Security Council (1974-77); international affairs fellow of Council of Foreign Relations (1973-74); senior consultant to the Commission on Critical Choices for Americans (1973); April 13, 1943, in Baltimore, Md.; Dec. 3.

Deputy special representative, $55,387.50 — **Michael B. Smith;** Potomac, Md.; chief negotiator of textile matters for the U.S. (1975-79); chief of presidential correspondence, White House (1970-1975); principal officer, Lyon, and deputy principal officer, Strasbourg, France (1969-70); June 16, 1936, in Marblehead, Mass.; Dec. 14.

CABINET DEPARTMENTS

Department of Agriculture

Deputy secretary, $60,662.50 — **James H. Williams;** Ocala, Fla.; lieutenant governor, Fla. (1975-79); Fla. senate (1968-74); June 17, 1926, in Ocala, Fla.; Dem.; Feb. 26.

Under secretary for international affairs and commodity programs, $55,387.50 — **Dale Ernest Hathaway;** Washington, D.C.; assistant secretary of agriculture for international affairs and commodity programs (1977-79); director, International Food Policy Research Institute (1975-77); June 28, 1925 in Decatur, Mich.; Dem.; March 8.

Assistant secretary, $52,750 — **James C. Webster;** Madison, S.D.; director, office of congressional and public affairs, Agriculture Department (1977-1979); chief clerk and press secretary, U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry (1975-77); legislative assistant and press secretary to U.S. Sen. George McGovern (1975-77); Feb. 9, 1938, in Grand Island, Neb.; Dem.; Oct. 19.

General counsel, $52,750 — **Daniel Marcus;** Bethesda, Md.; deputy general counsel, HEW (1977-79); attorney, Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering (1966-77); Jan. 5, 1941, in Brooklyn, N.Y.; June 27.

Department of Commerce

Secretary, $69,630 — **Philip M. Klutznick;** Chicago, Ill.; attorney and real estate developer; U.S. representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (1961-62); ambassador, U.S. delegations to the United Nations (1957, 61, 62); commissioner, Federal Public Housing Authority (1944-46); July 9, 1907, in Kansas City, Mo.; Dem.; Dec. 20.

Under secretary, $55,387.50 — **Luther H. Hodges Jr.;** Charlotte, N.C.; chairman of the board, North Carolina National Bank (1962-79); research associate and instructor, University of North Carolina (1961-62); Nov. 19, 1936, in Eden, N.C.; Dem.; June 27.

Assistant secretary for maritime affairs, $52,750 — **Samuel B. Nemirow;** Fairfax, Va.; deputy assistant secretary for maritime affairs (1972-1979); chief, regulations division, Transportation Department (1970-72); attorney, Galland, Kharasch, Calkins and Brown (1969-70); Oct. 23, 1940, in Hartford, Conn.; July 18.

Bureau of the Census

Director, $50,112.50 — **Vincent P. Barabba;** Pittsford, N.Y.; manager, office of market research, Xerox Corporation (1976-1979); director, Bureau of the Census (1973-1976); Sept. 6, 1934, in Chicago, Ill.; July 27.

Patent and Trademark Office

Commissioner, $50,112.50 — **Sidney A. Diamond;** Tucson, Ariz.; assistant commissioner, Trademark Office (1978); attorney, Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hayes & Handler (1971-78); vice presi-

dent, International Patent and Trademark Association; Oct. 17, 1914, in New York, N.Y.; Nov. 26.

Department of Defense

Deputy secretary, $60,662.50 — **W. Graham Claytor Jr.;** Washington, D.C.; secretary of the Navy (1977-79); chairman of the board (1976-77) and chief executive officer (1967-77), Southern Railway System; March 14, 1912, in Roanoke, Va.; Dem.; July 27.

Under secretary for policy, $55,387.50 — **Robert W. Komer;** Alexandria, Va.; advisor on NATO affairs (1978) and consultant (1977) to Secretary of Defense; consultant, Rand Corp. (1969-76); ambassador to Turkey (1968-69); Feb. 23, 1922, in Chicago, Ill.; Oct. 19.

Assistant secretary for health affairs, $52,750 — **John Howard Moxley III;** La Jolla, Calif.; dean, school of medicine, University of California at San Diego (1973-1979); dean, school of medicine, University of Maryland (1969-73); instructor in medicine and assistant to the dean, Harvard University Medical School (1966-69); Jan. 10, 1935, in Elizabeth, N.J.; July 23.

Assistant secretary for manpower, reserve affairs and logistics, $52,750 — **Robert B. Pirie Jr.;** Bethesda, Md.; deputy assistant secretary of defense for manpower, reserve affairs and logistics (1977-79); deputy assistant director for national security, Congressional Budget Office (1975-77); Sept. 10, 1933, in San Diego, Calif.; Independent; June 13.

Assistant secretary for civil works, $52,750 — **Michael Blumenfeld;** Washington, D.C.; deputy under secretary of the Army; director of public affairs, New York University; director of public affairs and education, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Nov. 10, 1934, in Brooklyn, N.Y.; April 10.

Navy

Secretary, $60,662.50 — **Edward Hidalgo;** Washington, D.C.; assistant secretary of the Navy for manpower and logistics (1977-1979); general counsel and congressional liaison, USIA (1973-76); special assistant for economic affairs to director, USIA (1972-73); partner, Cahill, Gordon and Reindel (1966-72); special assistant to the secretary of the Navy (1965-66); Oct. 12, 1912, in Mexico City, Mexico; Oct. 19.

Department of Education

Secretary, $69,630 — **Shirley Mount Hufstedler;** Los Angeles, Calif.; judge, U.S. Court of Appeals, Ninth Judicial Circuit (1969-79); judge, Calif. court of appeals, second district (1966-68); judge, superior court, Los Angeles County (1961-66); attorney, Beardsley, Hufstedler & Kemble (1951-61); Aug. 24, 1925, in Denver, Colo.; Nov. 30.

Department of Energy

Secretary, $69,630 — **Charles William Duncan Jr.;** Houston, Texas; deputy secretary of defense (1977-79); executive vice president and then president, Coca-Cola Co. (1964-77); Sept. 9, 1926, in Houston, Texas; July 31.

Deputy secretary, $60,662.50 — **John C. Sawhill;** New York, N.Y.; president, New York Univerity (1975-79); deputy administrator and then administrator, Federal Energy Administration (1974-75); associate director for natural resources, energy and science, Office of Management and Budget (1973-74); senior vice president for planning, Commercial Credit Corporation (1968-73); June 12, 1936, in Cleveland, Ohio; Rep.; Oct. 1.

Under secretary, $55,387.50 — **John Mark Deutch;** Lexington, Mass.; director, office of energy research and faculty member (1970-77) and chairman of chemistry department (1976-77), Massachusetts Institute of Technology; professor, Princeton University (1966-69); consultant, Bureau of the Budget (1965-66); system analyst, office of the Secretary of Defense (1961-65); May 29, 1938, in Brussels, Belgium; August 3.

Assistant secretary for international affairs, $52,750 — **Leslie J. Goldman;** Des Plaines, Ill.; principal deputy assistant secretary of energy for policy and evaluation (1977-79); special counsel to U.S. Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson (1970-77); April 22, 1945, in Chicago, Ill.; Dec. 20.

Assistant secretary for policy and evaluation, $52,750 — **William Walker Lewis;** Washington, D.C.; principal deputy assistant secretary of defense for program analysis and evaluation (1977-79); senior operations officer, the World Bank (1973-77); director, office of analytical studies, University of California (1971-73); associate provost and lecturer, Princeton University (1969-71); March 29, 1942, in Roanoke, Va.; Nov. 16.

Assistant secretary for resource applications, $52,750 — **Ruth M. Davis;** Silver Spring, Md.; deputy under secretary of defense for research and advanced technology (1977-1979); various positions at the National Institutes of Health (1967-70); research management, Department of Defense (1961-65); research management, David Taylor Model Basin (1958-61); Oct. 19, 1928, in Sharpsville, Pa.; Nov. 16.

Assistant secretary for fossil energy, $52,750 — **George M. Fumich Jr.;** Arlington, Va.; program director for fossil energy (1977-79); senior staff in fossil energy, Energy Research and Development Administration (1975-77); associate director and then director, office of coal research, Interior Department (1963-75); director, office of minerals exploration, Interior Department (1961-63); attorney, Christopher Coal Co. (1948-61); Dec. 8, 1917, in Calamady, Pa.; Dec. 20.

Assistant secretary for nuclear energy, $52,750 — **George W. Cunningham;** Newbern, Tenn.; deputy chief of U.S. mission to International Atomic Energy Agency (1978-79); program director and metallurgical engineer (1965-78); Dec. 3, 1930, in Union City, Tenn.; Dec. 20.

Assistant secretary for conservation and solar application, $52,750 — **Thomas E. Stelson;** Atlanta, Ga.; vice president for research, Georgia Institute of Technology (1974-79); dean and professor of civil engineering, Alcoa professor (1961-71), head of department of civil engineering (1959-61) and faculty member (1952-1971), Carnegie-Mellon University; Aug. 24, 1928, in Iowa City, Iowa.; Dec. 20.

Federal Energy Regulatory Commission

Member for term expiring Oct. 1, 1983, $55,387.50 — **Charles B. Curtis;** Bethesda, Md.; attorney, Van Ness, Curtis, Feldman & Sutcliffe (1977); Carter-Mondale transition team as liaison to Federal Energy Administration (1976-77); counsel, U.S. House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce (1971-76); special counsel, Securities and Exchange Commission (1967-71); April 27, 1940, in Upper Darby, Pa.; Independent; Nov. 16.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Secretary, $69,630 — **Patricia Roberts Harris;** Washington, D.C.; Secretary of HUD (1977-79); partner, Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman (1970-77); Democratic National Committeewoman (1973-77); ambassador to Luxembourg (1965-67); delegate to the Democratic National Convention (1964); May 31, 1924, in Mattoon, Ill.; Dem.; July 27.

Under secretary, $55,387.50 — **Nathan J. Stark;** Pittsburgh, Pa.; vice chancellor for health professions, University of Pittsburgh (1974-79); senior vice president, Hallmark Cards Inc. (1959-74); Nov. 9, 1920, in Minneapolis, Minn.; Oct. 31.

Assistant secretary for planning and evaluation, $52,750 — **Ben W. Heineman Jr.;** Chicago, Ill.; deputy assistant secretary for planning and evaluation; executive assistant to Secretary of HEW; law clerk to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart; Jan. 25, 1944, in Chicago, Ill.; May 7.

Assistant secretary for legislation, $52,750 — **William B. Welsh;** Annandale, Va.; assistant secretary of HUD (1979); executive director for governmental affairs, AFSCME (1972-79); executive director, Democratic National Committee (1969-71); administrative assistant to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey (1967-68); Sept. 18, 1924, in Munfordville, Ky.; Oct. 31.

Assistant secretary for public affairs, $52,750 — **Billy M. Wise;** Vienna, Va.; assistant to Secretary of HUD for public affairs (1977-79); press secretary to U.S. Sen. Birch Bayh (1969-77); re-

porter, *Life* magazine (1961-69); reporter, *Tulsa Tribune* (1960-61); Nov. 1, 1936, in Shawnee, Okla.; Oct. 31.

General counsel, $52,750 — **Richard I. Beattie;** Washington, D.C.; executive assistant to Secretary of HEW (1978-79); deputy general counsel, HEW (1977-78); board of directors, City School News (1975-77); trustee, Community Law Offices (1970-77); March 24, 1939, in New York, N.Y.; June 27.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Secretary, $69,630 — **Moon Landrieu;** New Orleans, La.; mayor, New Orleans (1970-78); president, U.S. Conference of Mayors (1975); city councilman, New Orleans (1966-70); La. state representative (1960-66); July 23, 1930, in New Orleans, La.; Dem.; Sept. 12.

Under secretary, $55,387.50 — **Victor Marrero;** Bronx, N.Y.; vice chairman, N.Y. State Housing Finance Agency (1978-79); chairman, New York City Planning Commission (1976-77); first assistant to Gov. Hugh L. Carey (1975-76); Sept. 1, 1941, in Santurce, P.R.; Dem.; Dec. 20.

Assistant secretary for fair housing and equal opportunity, $52,750 — **Sterling Tucker;** Washington, D.C.; chairman, D.C. City Council (1975-79); executive director, Washington Urban League (1956-75); Dec. 21, 1923, in Akron, Ohio; Dem.; Feb. 8.

General counsel, $52,750 — **Jane McGrew**; Chevy Chase, Md.; partner, Steptoe & Johnson (1970-79); March 16, 1947, in New York, N.Y.; Oct. 31.

Department of Justice

Attorney general, $69,630 — **Benjamin R. Civiletti;** Baltimore, Md.; deputy attorney general (1978-79); assistant attorney general (criminal division) (1977-78); attorney, Venable, Baetjer and Howard (1964-77); July 17, 1935, in Peekskill, N.Y.; Dem.; Aug. 1.

Assistant attorney general (civil division), $52,750 — **Alice Daniel;** Washington, D.C.; general counsel and interim director, Legal Services Corporation (1976-79); deputy legal affairs secretary to Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. (1975); director, American Civil Liberties Union (1974-75); faculty, Hastings College of Law (1972-74); NAACP Legal Defense Fund (1970-72); attorney, California Legal Aid Society (1967-70); Sept. 17, 1934, in New York, N.Y.; Nov. 26.

Assistant attorney general (antitrust), $52,750 — **Sanford M. Litvack**; Rockville Centre, N.Y.; attorney, Donovan, Leisure, Newton and Irvine (1961-79); trial attorney, antitrust division (1959-61); April 29, 1936, in Brooklyn, N.Y.; Dec. 20.

Assistant attorney general (office of legislative affairs), $52,750 — **Alan A. Parker;** Calif.; general counsel, House Judiciary Committee (1973-79); legal assistant to U.S. Rep. Don Edwards (1971-73); partner, Chargin and Parker (1965-71); inheritance tax-appraiser, office of the Calif. State Controller (1960-67); Nov. 28, 1927, New York, N.Y.; Aug. 1.

Assistant attorney general (office for improvements in administration of justice), $52,750 — **Maurice Rosenberg;** White Plains, N.Y.; professor, school of law, Columbia University (1956-1979); special assistant to attorney general (1976-77); Sept. 3, 1919, in Oswego, N.Y.; July 12.

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration

Administrator, $55,387.50 — **Henry S. Dogin**; Armonk, N.Y.; deputy administrator, policy development; acting administrator, Drug Enforcement Agency; deputy assistant attorney general, criminal division, LEAA; administrator, New York regional office; assistant district attorney, New York County; Dec. 26, 1934, in Brooklyn, N.Y.; March 21.

Associate administrator (office of juvenile justice and delinquency prevention), $52,750 — **Ira M. Schwartz**; Bellevue, Wash.; executive director, Washington Council on Crime and Delinquency (1977-79); executive director, John Howard Association (1973-77); director of purchase services, Hennepin County, Minn., Welfare Department (1972-73); Nov. 1, 1944, in Minneapolis, Minn.; Dec. 19.

Department of Labor

Under secretary, $55,387.50 — **John N. Gentry;** Reston, Va.; labor-management relations advisor to Wage and Price Stability Council Chairman Alfred E. Kahn; chairman, President Carter's board of inquiry under Taft-Hartley (1978); attorney, Wirtz and Gentry (1970); May 16, 1930, in Williamsport, Pa.; Oct. 25.

Assistant secretary for labor-management relations, $52,750 — **William P. Hobgood;** Springfield, Va.; director of mediation services, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (1977-79); mediator in Louisville, Ky., Charlotte, N.C., and Washington, D.C.; Feb. 19, 1939, in Atlanta, Ga.; July 27.

Deputy assistant secretary for veterans' employment, $50,112.50 — **Dennis R. Wyant;** Bethesda, Md.; special assistant to administrator of veterans affairs; chief, economic concerns and disabled veterans; staff coordinator, committee on disabled veterans, President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped; Oct. 27, 1943, in Parsons, Kan.; March 22.

Bureau of Labor Statistics

Commissioner, $52,750 — **Janet L. Norwood;** Bethesda, Md.; principal deputy commissioner (1976-79); deputy commissioner, data analysis (1972-75); chief, division of consumer prices and price indexes (1966-72); economist, office of foreign labor and trade (1963-66); Dec. 11, 1923, in Newark, N.J.; May 16.

Department of State

Assistant secretary for congressional relations, $52,750 — **J. Brian Atwood;** Md.; deputy assistant secretary of state for congressional affairs (1977-79); legislative assistant to U.S. Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (1971-77); July 25, 1942, in Wareham, Mass.; Aug. 1.

Assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, $52,750 — **William Garton Bowdler;** Florida; director, bureau of intelligence and research (1978-79); ambassador to South Africa (1975-78); deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs (1973) and then acting assistant secretary (1974); ambassador to Guatemala (1971-73); ambassador to El Salvador (1968-71); March 27, 1924, in Buenos Aires, Argentina; Dec. 14.

Assistant secretary for international narcotics matters, $52,750 — **K. Mathea Falco;** Washington, D.C.; senior adviser to Secretary of State and director for international narcotics control matters; special assistant to president, Drug Abuse Council; chief counsel and staff director, U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency; assistant to director of national office of legal services, Office of Economic Opportunity; law clerk to chief judge and administrator of Criminal Justice Act, D.C. juvenile court; Oct. 15, 1944, in Montgomery, Ala.; Feb. 1.

Assistant secretary for economic and business affairs, $52,750 — **Deane R. Hinton;** Chicago, Ill.; U.S. representative to European communities (1976-79); senior advisor to the under secretary of state for economic affairs (1975); ambassador to Zaire (1974-75); deputy executive director, Council on International Economic Policy (1971-73); March 12, 1923, in Missoula, Mont.; Dec. 19.

Assistant secretary for administration, $52,750 — **Thomas M. Tracy;** Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.; counselor for administration, Bonn (1978-79); counselor for administration, Moscow (1975-78); administrative officer, Brussels (1973-75); July 8, 1936, in Great Barrington, Mass.; Sept. 18.

Agency for International Development

Administrator, $60,662.50 — **Douglas J. Bennet Jr.**; Hadlyme, Conn.; assistant secretary of state for congressional relations (1977-79); staff director, U.S. Senate Budget Committee (1974-77); administrative assistant to U.S. Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (1973-74); administrative assistant to U.S. Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (1969-73); assistant to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey (1967-69); June 23, 1938, in Orange, N.J.; Aug. 1.

Assistant Administrator, $52,750 — **Genta A. Hawkins**; Huntington Park, Calif.; legislative management officer, State Department (1978-79); legislative assistant to U.S. Rep. David R. Obey

and U.S. Sen. Gary Hart (1977-78); AID liaison officer, Nassau (1974-77); Sept. 3, 1940, in Anadarko, Okla.; Nov. 5.

Ambassadors

Ambassador-at-large, $60,662.50 — **W. Beverly Carter Jr.;** Philadelphia, Pa.; ambassador to Liberia (1975-79); ambassador to Tanzania (1972-75); deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs (1969-72); Feb. 1, 1921, in Coatesville, Pa.; Feb. 8.

Ambassador-at-large for Middle East negotiations, $60,662.50 — **Sol M. Linowitz;** Washington, D.C.; partner, Coudert Brothers (1969-79); chairman, Presidential Commission on World Hunger (1978); co-negotiator, Panama Canal treaty talks (1977); Dec. 7, 1913, in Trenton, N.J.; Dec. 20.

Ambassador-at-large and coordinator for Mexican affairs, $60,662.50 — **Robert Krueger;** New Braunfels, Texas; U.S. representative (1975-79); chairman of board, Comal Hosiery Mills; professor and dean, college of arts and sciences, Duke University; Sept. 19, 1935, in New Braunfels, Texas; Dem.; Oct. 22.

Ambassador-at-large and coordinator for refugee affairs, $60,662.50 — **Dick Clark;** Lamont, Iowa; U.S. senator (1973-79); administrative assistant to U.S. Rep. John Culver; Sept. 14, 1928, in Central City, Iowa; Dem.; March 29.

Ambassador to Bulgaria, $50,112.50 — **Jack Richard Perry;** Ga.; deputy executive secretary (1978-79); deputy chief of mission, Stockholm (1976-78); deputy chief of mission, Prague (1972-76); international relations officer (1970-72); political officer, Paris (1966-69); March 21, 1930, in Atlanta, Ga.; Sept. 18.

Ambassador to Burma, $50,112.50 — **Patricia M. Byrne;** South Euclid, Ohio; ambassador to Mali (1976); deputy chief of mission, Colombo, Sri Lanka (1972-75); political officer for Asian affairs, Paris (1969-72); June 1, 1925, in Cleveland, Ohio; Nov. 26.

Ambassador to Canada, $60,662.50 — **Kenneth M. Curtis;** Cape Elizabeth, Maine; U.S. commissioner, International Joint Commission, U.S. and Canada (1978-79); chairman, Democratic National Committee (1977-78); attorney, Curtis, Thaxter, Corey, Lipez and Stevens (1975-77); governor, Maine (1967-75); Feb. 8, 1931, in Leeds, Maine; Dem.; Sept. 27.

Ambassador to China, $60,662.50 — **Leonard Woodcock;** Detroit, Mich.; chief, U.S. liaison office, Peking (1977-79); member (1940-) and president (1970-77), UAW; Feb. 15, 1911, in Providence, R.I.; Feb. 26.

Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, $50,112.50 — **Francis J. Meehan;** Washington, D.C.; deputy chief of mission, Bonn (1977-79); deputy chief of mission, Budapest (1975-77); counselor for political affairs, Bonn (1972-75); Feb. 14, 1924, in East Orange, N.J.; March 21.

Ambassador to Egypt, $60,662.50 — **Alfred L. Atherton Jr.;** Palm Beach Gardens, Fla.; ambassador-at-large (1978-79); assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs (1974-78); deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs (1970-74); country director for Israel and Arab-Israel affairs (1967-70); Nov. 22, 1921, in Pittsburgh, Pa.; May 16.

Ambassador to Guatemala, $50,112.50 — **Frank V. Ortiz Jr.;** Santa Fe, N.M.; ambassador to Barbados (1977-79); deputy executive secretary of state (1975-77); country director for Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay (1973-75); deputy chief of mission in Montevideo, Uruguay (1970-73); counselor for political affairs in Lima, Peru (1967-70); country desk officer for Spain (1963-66); special assistant to ambassador, Mexico City (1961-63); March 14, 1926, in Santa Fe, N.M.; June 27.

Ambassador to Iran, $60,662.50 — **Walter L. Cutler;** Alexandria, Va.; ambassador to Zaire (1975-79); country director for Central African affairs (1974-75); Nov. 25, 1931, in Boston, Mass.; May 16.

Ambassador to Liberia, $55,387.50 — **Robert P. Smith;** McLean, Va.; ambassador to Ghana (1976-79); ambassador to Malta (1974-76); deputy chief of mission, Pretoria, South Africa (1970-74); officer in charge Ghanaian affairs, bureau of African affairs (1965-69); March 5, 1929, in Joplin, Mo.; June 27.

Ambassador to Morocco, $52,750 — **Angier Biddle Duke;** New York, N.Y.; president, National Committee on American Foreign Policy (1976-79); commissioner of civic affairs and public events, New York City (1974-76); ambassador to Denmark (1968-69); ambassador to Spain (1965-68); chief of protocol (1961-65); Nov. 30, 1915, in New York, N.Y.; Oct. 31.

Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Negotiations (U.S. representative), $50,112.50 — **Jonathan Dean,** New York, N.Y.; acting and deputy representative, Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations; chairman, Interagency Coordinating Committee for Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Negotiations; deputy U.S. representative to Berlin negotiations; special assistant to counselor, State Department; June 15, 1924, in New York, N.Y.; Feb. 8.

Ambassador to Nauru, $55,387.50 — **Philip Henry Alston Jr.;** Atlanta, Ga.; ambassador to Australia (1977-), to serve concurrently as ambassador to Nauru; partner, Alston, Miller & Gaines (1934-77); April 19, 1911, in Atlanta, Ga.; May 16.

Ambassador to New Zealand and Western Samoa, $52,750 — **Anne Clark Martindell;** Princeton, N.J.; director, office of U.S. foreign disaster assistance (1977-79); N.J. state senator (1973-77); July 18, 1914, in New York, N.Y.; June 27.

Ambassador to Nicaragua, $50,112.50 — **Lawrence A. Pezzullo;** Bethesda, Md.; ambassador to Uruguay (1977-1979); deputy assistant secretary of state for congressional relations (1975-77); special assistant to ambassador-at-large (1974-75); office of Central American affairs (1972-74); May 3, 1926, in New York, N.Y.; May 16.

Ambassador to Niger, $50,112.50 — **Jame Keough Bishop;** New Rochelle, N.Y.; director, North African affairs (1977-79); deputy director, office of West African affairs (1974-76); international relations officer, bureau of African affairs (1970-74); July 21, 1938, in New Rochelle, N.Y.; June 27.

Ambassador to Nigeria, $60,662.50 — **Stephen Low;** Cincinnati, Ohio; ambassador to Zambia (1976-79); National Security Council (1974-76); director of Brazilian affairs (1971-74); counselor for political affairs in Brasilia, Brazil (1968-71); Dec. 2, 1927, in Cincinnati, Ohio; Sept. 18.

Ambassador to Switzerland, $50,112.50 — **Richard David Vine;** Santa Rosa, Calif.; principal deputy assistant secretary of state for European affairs (1977-79); deputy assistant secretary of state for European affairs (1972-77); director, Western European affairs (1972-74); deputy chief of mission, Bern, Switzerland (1969-72); Dec. 10, 1925, in New York, N.Y.; Sept. 18.

Ambassador to Tunisia, $52,750 — **Stephen W. Bosworth;** Jenison, Mich.; deputy assistant secretary of state for international resources and food policy (1976-79); director, office of fuels and energy, bureau of economic and business affairs (1974-76); assistant to U.S. special representative for Panama Canal negotiations (1964-67); Dec. 4, 1939, in Grand Rapids, Mich.; Feb. 8.

Ambassador to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, $60,662.50 — **Thomas J. Watson Jr.;** Conn.; chairman, General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament (1978-79); successively as vice president, executive vice president, president, chairman of the board and chairman of the executive committee, International Business Machines Corp. (1937-1979); Jan. 8, 1914, in Dayton, Ohio; Aug. 1.

United Nations (U.S. representative), $60,662.50 — **Donald F. McHenry;** Washington, D.C.; project director for humanitarian policy studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1973-77); lecturer, school of foreign service, Georgetown University (1971-73); special assistant to the counselor, State Department (1969-71); Oct. 13, 1936, in St. Louis, Mo.; Sept. 21.

United Nations (deputy U.S. representative), $55,387.50 — **James W. Spain;** Calif.; ambassador to Tanzania (1975-79); diplomat in residence, Florida State University (1974-75); deputy chief of mission, Ankara, Turkey (1972-74); consul general, Istanbul (1970-72); July 22, 1926, in Chicago, Ill.; Aug. 1.

United Nations (deputy U.S. representative), $55,387.50 — **William J. vanden Heuvel;** New York, N.Y.; U.S. representative to European office of U.N. (1977-79); attorney, Stroock and Stroock and Lavan (1965-77); acting regional administrator, Office of Economic Opportunity (1964-65); special assistant to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (1963-64); April 14, 1930, in Rochester, N.Y.; Nov. 5.

United Nations (U.S. representative to European office of U.N.), $55,387.50 — **Gerald B. Helman;** Ann Arbor, Mich.; deputy assistant secretary of state for international organization af-

fairs (1977-79); director, office of U.N. political affairs (1976-77); deputy director (1974-76) and counselor for political-military affairs (1968-73), USNATO, Brussels; Nov. 4, 1932, in Detroit, Mich.; Dec. 5.

Ambassador to Uruguay, $50,112.50 — **Lyle Franklin Lane;** Tacoma, Wash.; principal officer, U.S. interest section, Havana, Cuba (1977-79); deputy chief of mission, Lima, Peru (1976-77); deputy chief of mission, San Jose, Costa Rica (1973-76); deputy executive director, office of management, bureau of inter-American affairs (1972-73); Sept. 19, 1926, in Tacoma, Wash.; Sept. 18.

Ambassador to Zaire, $55,387.50 — **Robert B. Oakley;** Shreveport, La.; deputy assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs (1977-79); National Security Council (1974-77); political officer, Beirut (1971-74); March 12, 1931, in Dallas, Texas; Nov. 5.

Department of Transportation

Secretary, $69,630 — **Neil Goldschmidt;** Portland, Ore.; mayor, Portland (1972-79); city council, Portland (1971-72); attorney, Portland Legal Aid Service (1967-70); June 16, 1940, in Eugene, Ore.; Dem.; Sept. 21.

Assistant secretary for policy, plans and international affairs, $52,750 — **William B. Johnston;** Clifton, Va.; associate director, White House domestic policy staff (1977-79); national issues staff of Carter presidential campaign and Carter transition team (1976); research associate, Center for Social Policy Studies (1972-76); consultant to Labor Department (1975-76); consultant to the Ford Foundation (1973-75); Aug. 25, 1945, in Washington, D.C.; Dec. 20.

Assistant secretary for governmental and public affairs, $52,750 — **Susan J. Williams;** McLean, Va.; acting assistant secretary of transportation (1979); director, congressional relations (1977-79); special assistant to D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (1973-77); July 31, 1940, in Philadelphia, Pa.; Dec. 20.

Department of Treasury

Secretary, $69,630 — **G. William Miller;** Providence, R.I.; chairman, board of governors, Federal Reserve System (1978-79); chief executive officer (1968-78) and chairman of the board (1974-78), Textron Inc.; Democratic National Convention delegate (1968); March 9, 1925, in Sapulpa, Okla.; Dem.; Aug. 2.

Assistant secretary for administration, $55,387.50 — **Walter J. McDonald;** Washington, D.C.; acting assistant secretary of treasury (1978-79); deputy director, Office of Management and Budget (1974-78); financial manager and equal employment opportunity officer, office of the Secretary; Dec. 21, 1926, in Staten Island, N.Y.; June 27.

INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

Commodity Futures Trading Commission

Chairman for term expiring April 15, 1983, $55,387.50 — **James M. Stone;** Boston, Mass.; commissioner of insurance, Mass. (1975-79); consultant (1971) and then vice president-economist (1974-75), Fairfield and Ellis; Nov. 12, 1947, in New York, N.Y.; Dem.; April 10.

Member for remainder of term expiring April 13, 1980; $52,750 — **Read P. Dunn Jr.;** Chevy Chase, Md.; executive director, International Institute for Cotton (1966-75); director of foreign trade for National Cotton Council (1945-66); March 11, 1914, in Greenville, Miss.; Dem.; April 26.

Consumer Product Safety Commission

Member for term expiring Oct. 26, 1986, $52,750 — **Stuart M. Statler;** Washington, D.C.; chief minority counsel, U.S. Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (1973-79); counsel to U.S. Sen. Charles H. Percy (1971-79); special assistant to chairman, National Commission on Product Safety (1968-70); June 15, 1943, in New York, N.Y.; Rep.; July 30.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

Member for term expiring July 25, 1984, $50,000 — **Daniel E. Leach;** Alexandria, Va.; vice chairman since 1977, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; general counsel, Democratic Policy Committee, U.S. Senate (1966-76); attorney, Sullivan, Eaimes, Moody and Petrillo (1965-66); April 2, 1937, in Detroit, Mich.; Dem.; July 25.

General counsel for term expiring July 26, 1983, $50,112.50 — **Leroy D. Clark;** New York, N.Y.; professor, school of law, New York University (1968-79); assistant counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (1962-68); staff counsel, State of New York attorney general's office (1961-62); April 27, 1934, in New York, N.Y.; Dem.; July 26.

Environmental Protection Agency

Assistant administrator, $52,750 — **Eckardt C. Beck;** Holmdel, N.J.; regional administrator (1978-79), deputy assistant administrator (1975-78), deputy commissioner, Conn. department of environmental protection (1973-75); director of air compliance, Conn. department of environmental protection (1972-73); May 21, 1943, in New York, N.Y.; Independent; Dec. 14.

Federal Communications Commission

Member for term expiring June 30, 1986, $52,750 — **Tyrone Brown;** Washington, D.C.; attorney, Caplin & Drysdale (1974-77); director and vice president for legal affairs, Post-Newsweek Stations Inc. (1971-74); assistant to U.S. Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (1970-71); Nov. 5, 1942, in Norfolk, Va.; Dem.; July 13.

Federal Election Commission

Member for term expiring April 30, 1983, $52,750 — **Max L. Friedersdorf;** Franklin, Ind.; staff director, U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee (1977-79); White House congressional liaison office (1971-77); attorney, Covington & Burling (1968-70); July 7, 1929, in Grammer, Ind.; Rep.; Feb. 21.

Member for term expiring April 30, 1985, $52,750 — **Thomas E. Harris;** Alexandria, Va.; associate general counsel, AFL-CIO, (1955-75); May 12, 1925, in Little Rock, Ark.; Dem.; June 19.

Member for term expiring April 30, 1983, $52,750 — **John Warren McGarry;** Boston, Mass.; attorney, Sheff & McGarry (1962-73); special counsel, House Administration Committee (1962-72); June 11, 1922, in Boston, Mass.; Dem.; Feb. 21.

Member for term expiring April 30, 1985, $52,750 — **Frank P. Reiche;** Princeton, N.J.; attorney, Smith, Stratton & Wise (1962-79); chairman, N.J. election law enforcement commission (1973-79); May 29, 1929, in Hartford, Conn.; Rep.; July 25.

Federal Home Loan Bank Board

Chairman for term expiring June 30, 1981, $55,387.50 — **Jay Janis;** Coral Gables, Fla.; under secretary, HUD (1977-79); senior vice president for management and business affairs, University of Massachusetts, Boston (1976-77); chairman, board of trustees, Florida International University Foundation (1974-75); Dec. 22, 1932, in Los Angeles, Calif.; Dem.; Sept. 12.

Member for term expiring June 30, 1983, $52,750 — **Andrew A. DiPrete;** Providence, R.I.; lawyer, Tillinghast, Collins & Graham (1965-79); director, R.I. department of business regulation (1963-65); Dec. 6, 1929, in Cranston, R.I.; Rep.; June 27.

Federal Maritime Commission

Member for term expiring June 30, 1984, $52,750 — **James V. Day;** Kennebunk, Maine; member since 1961, Federal Maritime Commission; national director of public affairs, American Legion (1956-61); Nov. 27, 1914, in South Brewer, Maine; Rep.; Nov. 20.

Federal Reserve System

Chairman for term expiring Jan. 31, 1992, $60,662.50 — **Paul A. Volcker;** New York, N.Y.; president, Federal Reserve Bank of

New York (1975-79); under secretary of treasury for monetary affairs (1969-74); vice president and director of planning, Chase Manhattan Bank (1965-69); deputy under secretary of treasury for monetary affairs (1963-65); Sept. 5, 1927 in Cape May, N.J.; Dem.; Aug. 2.

Member for term expiring Jan. 31, 1990, $55,387.50 — **Emmett J. Rice;** Washington, D.C.; senior vice president, National Bank of Washington (1971-79); U.S. alternate executive director, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (1966-71); Dec. 21, 1919, in Florence, S.C.; June 12.

Member for term expiring Jan. 31, 1982, $55,387.50 — **Frederick H. Schultz;** Jacksonville, Fla.; chairman of board, Barnett Investment Services Inc., and director of Barnett Banks of Florida (1973-79); member, Fla. house of representatives (1963-70); speaker of the Fla. house (1968-70); Jan. 16, 1929, in Jacksonville, Fla.; Dem.; July 18.

Federal Trade Commission

Member for term expiring Sept. 25, 1980, $52,750 — **Patricia P. Bailey;** Washington, D.C.; staff of general counsel, Merit Systems Protection Board (1979); special assistant to assistant attorney general (1978-79); June 20, 1937, in Ft. Smith, Ark.; Rep.; Oct. 23.

General Services Administration

Administrator, $55,387.50 — **Rowland G. Freeman III;** Ft. Belvoir, Va.; commandant, Defense Systems Management College, Ft. Belvoir (1977-79); commander, Naval Weapons Center, China Lake (1974-77); deputy chief of naval materiel procurement and production (1968-73); Feb. 11, 1922, in New York, N.Y.; June 27.

Interstate Commerce Commission

Chairman for term expiring Dec. 31, 1984, $55,387.50 — **Darius W. Gaskins Jr.;** Washington, D.C.; deputy assistant secretary for policy analysis, Energy Department (1978-79); director, office of economic analysis, Civil Aeronautics Board (1977-78); director, bureau of economics, Federal Trade Commission (1976-77); assistant professor of economics, University of California at Berkeley (1975-76); Sept. 16, 1939, in Washington, D.C.; Dem.; July 16.

Member for term expiring Dec. 31, 1985, $52,750 — **Marcus Alexis;** Evanston, Ill.; chairman, economics division, Northwestern University (1970-79); professor, University of Rochester (1962-70); Feb. 26, 1932, in New York, N.Y.; Dem.; July 16.

Member for term expiring Dec. 31, 1985, $52,750 — **Thomas A. Trantum;** Ridgefield, Conn.; financial analyst, L. F. Rothschild, Unterberg, Towbin (1978-79); financial analyst, Wainwright Securities (1971-78); July 25, 1944, in Englewood, N.J.; Rep.; July 16.

National Mediation Board

Member for term expiring July 1, 1982, $52,750 — **Robert Joseph Brown;** Bethesda, Md.; under secretary (1977-79), regional administrator (1974-77) and associate manpower administrator (1966-74), Labor Department; commissioner of employment security, state of Minnesota (1965-66); Sept. 10, 1929, in Seattle, Wash.; Dem.; Aug. 1.

National Science Foundation

Assistant director for astronomical, atmospheric, earth and ocean sciences, $50,112.50 — **Francis Severin Johnson;** Dallas, Texas; professor of natural sciences (1969-79), director of Center for Advanced Studies (1971-74) and acting president (1969-71), University of Texas; July 20, 1918, in Omak, Wash.; Oct. 31.

Assistant director for mathematical and physical sciences and engineering, $50,112.50 — **William Klemperer;** Watertown, Mass.; professor of chemistry, Harvard University (1965-79); Oct. 6, 1927, in New York, N.Y.; Oct. 31.

National Transportation Safety Board

Member for term expiring Dec. 31, 1984, $52,750 — **G. H. Patrick Bursley;** Bethesda, Md.; chief counsel, Coast Guard (1976-78); commander, Second Coast Guard District (1974-76); captain of the port of Baltimore, Coast Guard (1972-74); April 5, 1925, in Istanbul, Turkey; July 30.

Member for term expiring Dec. 31, 1983, $52,750 — **Patricia A. Goldman;** Washington, D.C.; executive director, The Wednesday Group, U.S. House of Representatives; legislative counsel, National League of Cities and U.S. Conference of Mayors; research consultant, U.S. Chamber of Commerce; legislative assistant, House Education and Labor Commitee; research assistant, Joint Economic Committee; March 22, 1924, in Newton, N.J.; Rep.; June 5.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Member for term expiring June 30, 1984, $55,387.50 — **Victor Gilinsky;** Bethesda, Md.; head, physical science department, Rand Corp.; assistant director, policy and program review, Atomic Energy Commission; May 28, 1934, in Warsaw, Poland; Dem.; June 27.

Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission

Chairman for term expiring April 27, 1985, $55,387.50 — **Timothy F. Cleary,** Bethesda, Md.; reappointment to commission, member since 1973 and chairman since 1977; Sept. 30, 1925, in Cork, Ireland; Dem.; April 26.

Postal Rate Commission

Commissioner for term expiring Oct. 14, 1982, $52,750 — **A. Lee Fritschler;** Washington, D.C.; acting dean, college of public affairs and professor of government, American University (1964-79); May 5, 1937, in Schenectady, N.Y.; July 27.

Commissioner for term expiring Nov. 22, 1984, $52,750 — **James H. Duffy;** Bethesda, Md.; secretary for the majority, U.S. Senate (1976-79); chief counsel, U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections; April 6, 1918, in Cranston, R.I.; Dem.; May 10.

Railroad Retirement Board

Member for term expiring Aug. 28, 1984, $52,750 — **Charles J. Chamberlain;** Des Plaines, Ill.; labor member, U.S. Railroad Retirement Board, Chicago (1977-79); president, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen (1967-79); chairman, Railway Labor Executives' Association (1970-77); Aug. 7, 1921, in Ashton, Ill.; Dem.; July 26.

Securities and Exchange Commission

Member for term expiring June 5, 1983; $52,750 — **John R. Evans;** Murray, Utah; staff, U.S. Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee (1964-73); economics assistant to U.S. Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (1963-64); June 1, 1932, in Bisbee, Ariz.; Rep.; Sept. 18.

Member for term expiring June 5, 1984, $52,750 — **Philip A. Loomis Jr.;** Chevy Chase, Md.; general counsel, Securities and Exchange Commission (1955-63); June 11, 1915, in Colorado Springs, Colo.; Rep.; Sept. 18.

Tennessee Valley Authority

Member for term expiring May 18, 1981, $52,750 — **Bob Clement;** Knoxville, Tenn.; Bob Clement and Associates (1979); member (1972-76) then chairman (1976-78); Tennessee Public Service Commission; Sept. 23, 1943, in Nashville, Tenn.; Aug. 2.

JUDICIARY

U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeals

Judge for the second circuit, $57,500 — **Amalya L. Kearse;** New York, N.Y.; partner, Hughes Hubbard & Reed (1969-79); lec-

turer, New York University Law School (1968-69); June 11, 1937, in Vauxhall, N.J.; June 19.

Judge for the second circuit, $57,500 — **Jon O. Newman;** West Hartford, Conn.; judge, U.S. district court, Conn. (1972-79); U.S. attorney, Conn. (1964-69); May 2, 1932, in New York, N.Y.; June 19.

Judge for the third circuit, $57,500 — **Dolores Korman Sloviter;** Philadelphia, Pa.; professor, school of law, Temple University (1975-79); Sept. 5, 1932, in Philadelphia, Pa.; June 19.

Judge for the fourth circuit, $57,500 — **Francis D. Murnaghan Jr.;** Baltimore, Md.; partner, Venable, Baetjer and Howard (1957-79); assistant attorney general, Md. (1952-54); June 20, 1920, in Baltimore, Md.; July 12.

Judge for the fourth circuit, $57,500 — **James M. Sprouse;** Charleston, W.Va.; lawyer, private practice (1975-79); justice, W.Va. supreme court of appeals (1972-75); Dec. 3, 1923, in Williamson, W.Va.; Sept. 11.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **R. Lanier Anderson III;** Macon, Ga.; associate, Anderson, Walker & Reichert (1963-79); Nov. 12, 1936, in Macon, Ga.; July 12.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Thomas A. Clark,** Tampa, Fla.; lawyer, Carlton, Fields, Ward, Emmanuel, Smith & Cutler (1961-79); county solicitor, Decatur County (1952-55); Dec. 20, 1920, in Atlanta, Ga.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Reynaldo G. Garza;** Brownsville, Texas; judge, U.S. district court, Texas (1961-79); July 7, 1915, in Brownsville, Texas; July 12.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Joseph W. Hatchett;** Tallahassee, Fla.; justice, Fla. supreme court (1975-79); U.S. magistrate, Fla. (1971-75); Sept. 17, 1932, in Clearwater, Fla.; July 12.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Albert J. Henderson;** Marietta, Ga.; judge, U.S. district court, Ga. (1968-79); judge, superior court, Cobb County (1961-68); Dec. 20, 1920, in Canton, Ga.; July 12.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Frank Minis Johnson Jr.;** Montgomery, Ala.; judge, U.S. district court, Ala. (1955-79); U.S. attorney, Ala. (1953-55); Oct. 30, 1918, in Winston County, Ala.; June 19.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Sam D. Johnson Jr.;** Austin, Texas; justice, Texas supreme court (1973-79); justice, 14th district court, Houston (1967-72); executive director, Houston Legal Foundation (1965-67); Nov. 17, 1920, in Hubbard, Texas; Oct. 4.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Henry A. Politz;** Shreveport, La.; lawyer, Booth, Lockard, Jack, Pleasant & LeSage (1959-79); May 9, 1932, in Napoleonville, La.; July 12.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Carolyn D. Randall;** Houston, Texas; lawyer, Childs, Fortenbach, Beck & Guyton (1973-78); associate, Fulbright & Jaworski (1962-72); Jan. 30, 1938, in Syracuse, N.Y.; July 12.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Thomas M. Reavley;** Austin, Texas; counsel, Scott & Douglass (1977-79); justice, Texas supreme court (1968-77); justice, 167th district, Austin (1964-68); June 21, 1921, in Quitman, Texas; July 12.

Judge for the fifth circuit, $57,500 — **Albert Tate Jr.;** Baton Rouge, La.; justice, La. supreme court (1958, 70-79); court of appeals, third circuit (1960-70); Sept. 20, 1920, in Opelousas, La.; Oct. 4.

Judge for the sixth circuit, $57,500 — **Bailey Brown;** Memphis, Tenn.; judge, U.S. district court, Tenn. (1961-79); partner, Burch, Porter & Johnson (1946-61); June 16, 1917, in Memphis, Tenn.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the sixth circuit, $57,500 — **Nathaniel R. Jones;** Youngstown, Ohio; general counsel, NAACP (1968-79); Kerner Commission (1967-68); assistant U.S. attorney, Ohio (1962-67); May 13, 1926, in Youngstown, Ohio; Oct. 4.

Judge for the sixth circuit, $57,500 — **Cornelia G. Kennedy;** Grosse Pointe Woods, Mich.; judge, U.S. district court, Mich. (1970-77); judge, third judicial circuit, Mich. (1966-70); August 4, 1923, in Detroit, Mich.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the sixth circuit, $57,500 — **Boyce F. Martin Jr.;** Louisville, Ky.; chief judge, Ky. court of appeals (1976-79); judge, circuit court, Jefferson County (1974-76); first assistant attorney, Jefferson County (1970-74); Oct. 23, 1935, in Boston, Mass.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the seventh circuit, $57,500 — **Richard D. Cudahy;** Milwaukee, Wis.; partner, Isham, Lincoln & Beale (1975-79); member, Public Service Commission (1972-75); Feb. 2, 1926, in Milwaukee, Wis.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the ninth circuit, $57,500 — **Arthur L. Alarcon;** Pacific Palisades, Calif.; judge, court of appeals (1978-79); judge, superior court, Los Angeles County (1964-78); Aug. 14, 1925, in Los Angeles, Calif.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the ninth circuit, $57,500 — **J. Jerome Farris;** Seattle, Wash.; judge, Wash. court of appeals (1969-79); partner, Farris, Bangs & Horowitz (1965-69); March 4, 1930, in Birmingham, Ala.; Sept. 26.

Judge for the ninth circuit, $57,500 — **Warren John Ferguson;** Fullerton, Calif.; judge, U.S. district court, Calif. (1966-79); judge, appellate department (1965-66); Oct. 31, 1920, in Eureka, Nev.; Nov. 26.

Judge for the ninth circuit, $57,500 — **Betty Binns Fletcher;** Seattle, Wash.; lawyer, Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher (1956-79); March 29, 1923, in Tacoma, Wash.; Sept. 26.

Judge for the ninth circuit, $57,500 — **Dorothy Wright Nelson;** Pasadena, Calif.; dean, University of Southern California Law Center (1957-79); Sept. 30, 1928, in San Pedro, Calif.; Dec. 19.

Judge for the ninth circuit, $57,500 — **Cecil F. Poole;** San Francisco, Calif.; judge, U.S. district court, Calif. (1961-70); legal counsel to Gov. Edmund G. Brown (1958-61); July 25, 1914, in Birmingham, Ala.; Nov. 26.

Judge for the ninth circuit, $57,500 — **Harry Pregerson;** Woodland Hills, Calif.; judge, U.S. district court, Calif. (1967-79); judge, superior court, Los Angeles (1966-67); judge, municipal court, Los Angeles (1965-66); Oct. 13, 1923, in Los Angeles, Calif.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the ninth circuit, $57,500 — **Mary M. Schroeder;** Paradise Valley, Ariz.; judge, Ariz. court of appeals (1975-79); Dec. 4, 1940, in Boulder, Colo.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the ninth circuit, $57,500 — **Otto R. Skopil Jr.;** Lake Oswego, Ore.; judge, U.S. district court, Ore. (1972-79); June 13, 1919, in Portland, Ore.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the tenth circuit, $57,500 — **Stephanie K. Seymour;** Tulsa, Okla.; lawyer, Doerner, Stuart, Saunders, Daniel & Anderson (1975-79); Oct. 16, 1940, in Battle Creek, Mich.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the District of Columbia circuit, $54,500 — **Abner J. Mikva;** Evanston, Ill.; U.S. representatives (1969-72; 1975-79); Ill. house of representatives (1957-66); law clerk for U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sherman Minton (1951-52); Jan. 21, 1926, in Milwaukee, Wis.; Dem.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the District of Columbia circuit, $54,500 — **Patricia M. Wald;** Chevy Chase, Md.; assistant attorney general, Justice Department (1977-79); attorney, Mental Health Law Project (1973-77); Sept. 16, 1928, in Tarrington, Conn.; July 24.

U.S. Tax Court

Judge (15-year term), $54,500 — **Arthur L. Nims III;** Madison, N.J.; partner, McCarter & English (1955-79); secretary, Section on Taxation, American Bar Association (1977-79); special attorney, IRS (1951-55); Jan. 3, 1923, in Oklahoma City, Okla.; June 29.

U.S. District Courts

Judge for the district of Arizona, $54,500 — **Richard M. Bilby;** Tucson, Ariz.; lawyer, Bilby, Shoenhair, Warnock & Dolph (1959-79); May 29, 1931, in Tucson, Ariz.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the district of Arizona, $54,500 — **Valdemar A. Cordova;** Scottsdale, Ariz.; judge, superior court, Phoenix (1965-67, 76-79); partner, Renaud, Cook, Miller & Cordova (1967-76); city council, Phoenix (1956-59); Dec. 6, 1922, in Phoenix, Ariz.; June 19.

Judge for eastern district of Arkansas, $54,500 — **William Ray Overton;** Little Rock, Ark.; partner, Wright, Lindsey & Jennings (1967-79); Sept. 19, 1939, in Malvern, Ark.; May 10.

Judge for the central district of California, $54,500 — **Terry J. Hatter Jr.;** Los Angeles, Calif.; judge, superior court, Los Angeles (1977-79); assistant to the mayor, Los Angeles (1974-77); executive director, Western Center on Law and Poverty (1970-73); March 11, 1932, in Chicago; Ill.; Dec. 19.

Judge for the eastern district of California, $54,500 — **Lawrence K. Karlton;** Sacramento, Calif.; judge, superior court, Sacramento (1976-79); May 28, 1935, in Brooklyn, N.Y.; July 23.

Judge for the eastern district of California, $54,500 — **Edward Dean Price;** Modesto, Calif.; U.S. magistrate, eastern district of California (1956-79); Feb. 12, 1919, in Sanger, Calif.; Dec. 19.

Judge for the eastern district of California, $54,500 — **Milton Lewis Schwartz;** Sacramento, Calif.; lawyer, McDonough, Holland, Schwartz & Allen (1974-79); special prosecutor, Plumas County (1953-54); Jan. 20, 1920, in Oakland, Calif.; Nov. 26.

Judge for the district of Colorado, $54,500 — **Jim R. Carrigan;** Boulder, Colo.; justice, Colo. supreme court (1976-79); partner, Carrigan & Bragg (1967-76); Aug. 24, 1929, in Mobridge, S.D.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the district of Colorado, $54,500 — **Zita L. Weinshienk;** Denver, Colo.; judge, 2nd judicial district court (1972-79); municipal judge, Denver (1964-72); April 3, 1933, in St. Paul, Minn.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the district of Connecticut, $54,500 — **Jose A. Carbanes;** North Haven, Conn.; counsel, Yale University (1978-79); reviewing authority, HEW (1977-78); Dec. 22, 1940, in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico; Dec. 7.

Judge for the district of Connecticut, $54,500 — **Warren W. Eginton;** Stamford, Conn.; lawyer, Cummings & Lockwood (1953-79); lawyer, Davis, Polk and Wardwell (1951-53); Feb. 16, 1924, in Brooklyn, N.Y.; July 23.

Judge for the middle district of Florida, $54,500 — **Susan H. Black;** Jacksonville, Fla.; judge, 4th judicial circuit court (1974-79); judge, Duval County court (1973-74); assistant general counsel, Jacksonville (1972-73); assistant state attorney for fourth judicial circuit (1969-72); Oct. 20, 1943, in Valdosta, Ga.; July 23.

Judge for the middle district of Florida, $54,500 — **William J. Castagna;** Clearwater, Fla.; partner, MacKenzie, Castagna, Bennison & Gardner (1950-79); June 25, 1924, in Philadelphia, Pa.; July 23.

Judge for the northern district of Florida, $54,500 — **Lynn C. Higby;** Panama City, Fla.; lawyer, Isler, Higby, Brown, Smoak & Watson (1967-79); Aug. 6, 1938, in Orlando, Fla.; Oct. 4.

Judge for the southern district of Florida, $54,500 — **Edward B. Davis;** Miami, Fla.; counsel, High, Stack, Lazenby & Bender (1960-79); Feb. 10, 1933, in West Palm Beach, Fla.; Oct. 4.

Judge for the southern district of Florida, $54,500 — **Alcee L. Hastings;** Lauderhill, Fla.; judge, 17th judicial circuit court (1977-79); Sept. 5, 1936, in Altamonte Springs, Fla.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the southern district of Florida, $54,500 — **James W. Kehoe;** Miami, Fla.; judge, 3rd district court of appeal, Dade County (1963-79); Sept. 27, 1925, in Portsmouth, Va.; Oct. 4.

Judge for the southern district of Florida, $54,500 — **James C. Paine;** West Palm Beach, Fla.; partner, Jones, Paine & Foster (1950-79); May 20, 1924, in Valdosta, Ga.; Oct. 4.

Judge for the southern district of Florida, $54,500 — **Eugene P. Spellman;** Miami, Fla.; general counsel, Biscayne College (1970-79); special assistant attorney general (1969-70); Sept. 16, 1930, in New York, N.Y.; Oct. 4,

Judge for the northern district of Georgia, $54,500 — **Orinda D. Evans;** Atlanta, Ga.; lawyer, Alston, Miller & Gaines (1969-79); April 23, 1943, in Savannah, Ga.; July 23.

Judge for the northern district of Georgia, $54,500 — **Robert H. Hall;** Atlanta, Ga.; judge, court of appeals (1961-79); assistant attorney general (1953-61); Nov. 28, 1921, in Soperton, Ga.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the northern district of Georgia, $54,500 — **Marvin H. Shoob;** Atlanta, Ga.; partner, Shoob, McLain, Merritt & Lyle (1948-79); Feb. 23, 1923, in Walterboro, S.C.; July 23.

Judge for the northern district of Georgia, $54,500 — **G. Ernest Tidwell;** Atlanta, Ga.; judge, superior court, Fulton County (1971-79); judge, state court, Fulton County (1968-71); state attorney general's office (1966-68); Aug. 1, 1931, in Atlanta, Ga.; July 23.

Judge for the northern district of Georgia, $54,500 — **Robert L. Vining Jr.;** Dalton, Ga.; judge, superior court, Murray County (1969-79); March 30, 1931, in Chatsworth, Ga.; July 23.

Judge for the northern district of Georgia, $54,500 — **Horace T. Ward;** Atlanta, Ga.; judge, superior court, Fulton County (1977-79); judge, state court, Fulton County (1974-77); assistant county attorney, Fulton County (1971-74); July 29, 1927, in La Grange, Ga.; Dec. 5.

Judge for the southern district of Georgia, $54,500 — **Dudley H. Bowen Jr.;** Augusta, Ga.; lawyer, Dye, Miller, Bowen & Tucker (1975-79); referee in bankruptcy, U.S. district court, Ga. (1972-75); June 25, 1941, in Augusta, Ga.; Nov. 26.

Judge for the northern district of Illinois, $54,500 — **Marvin E. Aspen;** Chicago, Ill.; judge, circuit court, Cook County (1971-79); July 11, 1934, in Chicago, Ill.; July 23.

Judge for the northern district of Illinois, $54,500 — **James B. Moran;** Evanston, Ill.; lawyer, Bell, Boyd, Marshall & Lloyd (1958-79); June 20, 1930, in Evanston, Ill.; July 23.

Judge for the southern district of Illinois, $54,500 — **William L. Beatty;** Granite City, Ill.; judge, 3rd judicial circuit, Madison County (1968-79); Sept. 4, 1925, in Mendota, Ill.; Oct. 4.

Judge for the southern district of Indiana, $54,500 — **Gene E. Brooks;** Evansville, Ind.; referee in bankruptcy (1968-79); Evansville; June 21, 1931, in Griffin, Ind.; Oct. 4.

Judge for the southern district of Iowa, $54,500 — **Harold Duane Vietor;** Cedar Rapids, Iowa; judge, district court (1965-79); Dec. 29, 1931, in Parkersburg, Iowa; May 10.

Judge for the district of Kansas, $54,500 — **Dale Emerson Saffels;** Wichita, Kan.; partner, Gott, Hope, Gott, Young & Saffels (1975-79); Kan. Corporation Commission (1967-75); Kan. house of representatives (1955-62); Finney County attorney (1951-55); Aug. 31, 1921, in Moline, Kan.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the eastern district of Kentucky, $54,500 — **William O. Bertelsman;** Ft. Thomas, Ky.; partner, Bertelsman & Bertelsman (1962-79); Jan. 31, 1936, in Cincinnati, Ohio; Nov. 26.

Judge for the eastern district of Kentucky, $54,500 — **Scott E. Reed;** Lexington, Ky.; justice, Ky. supreme court (1975-79); judge, court of appeals (1969-75); July 3, 1921, in Lexington, Ky.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the eastern district of Louisiana, $54,500 — **George Arceneaux Jr.;** Houma La.; lawyer, Duval, Arceneaux, Lewis & Funderburk (1960-79); administrative assistant to U.S. Sen. Allen J. Ellender (1956-60); May 17, 1928, in New Orleans, La.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the eastern district of Louisiana, $54,500 — **Peter Hill Beer;** New Orleans, La.; judge, circuit court of appeals (1974-79); city council, New Orleans (1970-74); April 12, 1928, in New Orleans, La.; Nov. 26.

Judge for the eastern district of Louisiana, $54,500 — **Patrick E. Carr;** Metairie, La.; judge, 24th judicial district court, Jefferson Parish (1975-79); lawyer, Carr and Kollin (1964-75); Oct. 2, 1922, in Jasper County, Miss.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the eastern district of Louisiana, $54,500 — **Veronica D. Wicker;** Metairie, La.; magistrate, U.S. district court, La. (1977-79); Nov. 26, 1930, in Monessen, Pa.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the middle district of Louisiana, $54,500 — **John V. Parker;** Baton Rouge, La.; partner, Sanders, Downing, Kean & Cazedessus (1966-79); assistant city-parish attorney, Baton Rouge (1956-66); Oct. 14, 1928, in Baton Rouge, La.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the western district of Louisiana, $54,500 — **John M. Shaw;** Opelousas, La.; lawyer, Lewis & Lewis (1958-79); Nov. 14, 1931, in Beaumont, Texas; Sept. 25.

Judge for the district of Maine, $54,500 — **George J. Mitchell;** South Portland, Maine; U.S. attorney, Maine (1977-79); Aug. 20, 1933, in Waterville, Maine; Oct. 4.

Judge for the district of Maryland, $54,500 — **Joseph C. Howard Sr.;** Baltimore, Md.; assistant city solicitor, Baltimore (1968-79); assistant state's attorney, Baltimore (1964-68); Dec. 9, 1922, in Des Moines, Iowa; Oct. 4.

Judge for the district of Maryland, $54,500 — **Shirley B. Jones;** Baltimore, Md.; associate judge, Baltimore supreme court (1961-79); associate judge, orphan's court, Baltimore (1959-61); assistant state attorney general (1958-59); assistant city solicitor, Baltimore (1952-58); June 27, 1925, in Cambridge, Md.; Oct. 4.

Judge for the district of Massachusetts, $54,500 — **Robert E. Keeton;** Cambridge, Mass.; associate dean (1975-79) and Langdell

professor (1973-79), Harvard Law School; Dec. 16, 1919, in Clarksville, Texas; March 21.

Judge for the district of Massachusetts, $54,500 — **John Joseph McNaught;** Andover, Mass.; associate judge, Massachusetts Superior Court (1972-79); partner, Esdaile, McKenney & McNaught (1958-72); Nov. 22, 1921, in Malden, Mass.; March 21.

Judge for the district of Massachusetts, $54,500 — **David Sutherland Nelson;** Mass.; associate justice, Massachusetts Superior Court (1973-79); assistant attorney general, Massachusetts (1971-73); Dec. 2, 1933, in Boston, Mass.; March 21.

Judge for the district of Massachusetts, $54,500 — **Rya W. Zobel;** Cohasset, Mass.; attorney, Goodwin, Procter & Hoar (1973-79); attorney, Hill & Barlow (1967-73); Dec. 18, 1931, in Zwickau, Germany; March 21.

Judge for the eastern district of Michigan, $54,500 — **Avern Cohn;** Detroit, Mich.; lawyer, Honigan, Miller, Schwartz and Cohn (1961-79); July 23, 1923, in Detroit, Mich.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the eastern district of Michigan, $54,500 — **Stewart A. Newblatt;** Clarkston, Mich.; lawyer, Newblatt and Grossman (1976-79); judge, 7th judicial circuit (1962-70); Dec. 23, 1927, in Detroit, Mich.; Sept. 25.

Judge for eastern district of Michigan, $54,500 — **Anna Diggs-Taylor;** Detroit, Mich.; supervising assistant corporation counsel, Detroit (1975-79); legislative assistant to U.S. Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. and Detroit office manager (1967-70); assistant U.S. attorney, eastern district of Michigan (1965-66); Dec. 6, 1932, in Washington, D.C.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the western district of Michigan, $54,500 — **Richard Alan Enslen;** Kalamazoo, Mich.; private practice (1976-79); judge, district court (1969-70); city judge, Kalamazoo (1968); director, Peace Corps, Costa Rica (1965-67); May 28, 1931, in Kalamazoo, Mich.; Dec. 20.

Judge for the western district of Michigan, $54,500 — **Benjamin F. Gibson;** East Lansing, Mich.; professor, Thomas Cooley Law School (1979); private practice (1964-79); July 13, 1931, in Safford, Ala.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the western district of Michigan, $54,500 — **Douglas W. Hillman;** Grand Rapids, Mich.; lawyer, Hillman, Baxter & Hammond (1965-79); Feb. 15, 1922, in Grand Rapids, Mich.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the northern district of Mississippi, $54,500 — **L. T. Senter Jr.;** Aberdeen, Miss.; circuit judge, 1st district of Mississippi (1968-79); U.S. commissioner, northern district of Mississippi (part-time) (1966-68); Monroe County prosecuting attorney (1960-64); July 30, 1933, in Fulton, Miss.; Dec. 21.

Judge for the eastern district of Missouri, $54,500 — **William L. Hungate;** Town & Country, Mo.; lawyer, Thompson & Mitchell (1977-79); U.S. representative (1964-77); special state assistant attorney general (1958-64); Dec. 14, 1922, in Benton, Ill.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the western district of Missouri, $54,500 — **Howard F. Sachs;** Kansas City, Mo.; lawyer, Spencer, Fane, Britt & Browne (1956-79); Sept. 13, 1925, in Kansas City, Mo.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the western district of Missouri, $54,500 — **Scott O. Wright;** Columbia, Mo.; lawyer, Brown, Wright, Willbrand, Simon and Eng (1959-79); prosecuting attorney, Boone County (1955-59); Jan. 15, 1923, in Haigler, Neb.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the district of Montana, $54,500 — **Paul G. Hatfield;** Helena, Mont.; U.S. senator (1978-79); chief justice, Montana Supreme Court (1977-78); April 29, 1928, in Great Falls, Mont.; Sept. 9.

Judge for the district of Nevada, $54,500 — **Edward C. Reed Jr.;** Reno, Nev.; special deputy attorney general for Nevada (1967-79); managing partner, Reed & Bowen (1953-79); July 8, 1924, in Mason, Nev.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the district of New Hampshire, $54,500 — **Martin F. Loughlin;** Manchester, N.H.; chief judge, superior court, Manchester (1977-79); associate justice, superior court, Manchester (1963-77); March 11, 1923, in Manchester, N.H.; April 24.

Judge for the district of New Jersey, $54,500 — **Harold Arnold Ackerman;** Springfield, N.J.; judge, superior court (1973-79); judge, district court, Union county (1965-73); judge of compensation, N.J. labor department (1956-65); administrative assistant, N.J. commissioner of labor (1955-56); Feb. 15, 1928, in Newark, N.J.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the district of New Jersey, $54,500 — **Dickinson Richards Debevoise;** Short Hills, N.J.; partner, Riker, Danzig, Scherer & Debevoise (1953-79); April 23, 1924, in Orange, N.J.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the district of New Jersey, $54,500 — **H. Lee Sarokin;** Short Hills, N.J.; lawyer, Lasser, Sarokin and Hochman (1965-79); assistant counsel, Union City (1959-65); Nov. 25, 1928, in Perth Amboy, N.J.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the district of New Jersey, $54,500 — **Anne Elise Thompson;** Trenton, N.J.; prosecutor, Mercer County (1975-79); municipal court judge (1972-75); municipal prosecutor (1970-72); assistant public defender (1967-70); July 8, 1934, in Philadelphia, Pa.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the district of New Mexico, $54,500 — **Juan Guerrero Burciaga;** Albuquerque, N.M.; lawyer, Ussery, Burciaga & Parrish (1964-79); special assistant to N.M. attorney general (1967-69); law clerk, U.S. district court (1963-64); Aug. 17, 1929, in Roswell, N.M.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the northern district of New York, $54,500 — **Neal P. McCurn;** Syracuse, N.Y.; lawyer, Mackenzie, Smith, Lewis, Mitchell & Hughes (1952-79); delegate, N.Y. state constitutional convention (1967); April 6, 1926, in Syracuse, N.Y.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the eastern district of Oklahoma, $54,500 — **Frank Howell Seay;** Seminole, Okla.; district judge, Seminole, Pontotoc and Hughes counties (1974-79); Sept. 5, 1938, in Shawnee, Okla.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the northern district of Oklahoma, $54,500 — **Thomas Rutherford Brett;** Tulsa, Okla.; partner, Jones, Givens, Brett, Gotcher, Doyle & Bogan Inc. (1969-79); assistant county attorney (1957-58); Oct. 2, 1931, in Oklahoma City, Okla.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the northern district of Oklahoma, $54,500 — **James Oliver Ellison;** Tulsa, Okla.; partner, Boone, Ellison & Smith (1955-79); Jan. 11, 1929, in St. Louis, Mo.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the western district of Oklahoma, $54,500 — **Lee Roy West;** Claremore, Okla.; lawyer, Hall, Estill, Hardwick, Gable, Collingsworth & Nelson (1978-79); judge, 22nd judicial district, Okla. (1965-73); Nov. 26, 1929, in Clayton, Okla.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the eastern district of Pennsylvania, $54,500 — **James T. Giles;** Philadelphia, Pa.; lawyer, Pepper, Hamilton & Scheetz (1968-79); National Labor Relations Board (1967-68); Jan. 31, 1943, in Charlottesville, Va.; Nov. 26.

Judge for the middle district of Pennsylvania, $54,500 — **Richard P. Conaboy;** Scranton, Pa.; judge, court of common pleas, 45th judicial district (1962-79); deputy attorney general and Pa. liquor control board (1959-62); June 12, 1925, in Scranton, Pa.; July 23.

Judge for the middle district of Pennsyvlania, $54,500 — **Sylvia H. Rambo;** Carlisle, Pa.; judge, court of common pleas (1976-78); public defender (1971-76); April 17, 1936, in Royersford, Pa.; July 23.

Judge for the western district of Pennsyvlania, $54,500 — **Alan N. Bloch;** Pittsburgh, Pa.; private practice (1959-79); April 12, 1932, in Pittsburgh, Pa.; Oct. 31.

Judge for the district of South Carolina, $54,500 — **Falcon B. Hawkins;** Mt. Pleasant, S.C.; lawyer, Hawkins & Morris (1963-79); law clerk to Ernest F. Hollings (1963); March 16, 1927, in Charleston, S.C.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the district of South Carolina, $54,500 — **C. Weston Houck;** Florence, S.C.; lawyer, Houck, Clarke and Johnson (1971-79); S.C. house of representatives (1963-66); April 16, 1933, in Florence, S.C.; Sept. 25.

Judge for the district of South Carolina, $54,500 — **Matthew J. Perry Jr.;** Columbia, S.C.; judge, U.S. Court of Military Appeals (1975-79); Aug. 3, 1921, in Columbia, S.C.; Sept. 19.

Judge for the district of South Dakota, $54,500 — **Donald James Porter;** Pierre, S.D.; associate justice, S.D. supreme court (1977-79); partner, Martens, Goldsmith, May & Porter (1959-76); March 24, 1921, in Madison, S.D.; May 10.

Judge for eastern district of Texas, $54,500 — **Robert M. Parker;** Longview, Texas; partner, Nichols & Parker (1966-79); administrative assistant, U.S. Rep. Ray Roberts (1965-66); Oct. 19, 1937, in Longview, Texas; April 24.

Judge for northern district of Texas, $54,500 — **David O. Belew Jr.,** Ft. Worth, Texas; partner, Cantey, Hanger, Gooch,

Munn & Collins (1952-79); assistant U.S. attorney (1949-52); March 27, 1920, in Ft. Worth, Texas; April 24.

Judge for northern district of Texas, $54,500 — **Jerry L. Buchmeyer**; Dallas, Texas; partner, Thompson, Knight, Simmons & Bullion (1957-79); Sept. 5, 1933, in Overton, Texas; Oct. 4.

Judge for the northern district of Texas, $54,500 — **Harold Barefoot Sanders Jr.;** Dallas, Texas; partner, Clark, West, Keller, Sanders and Butler (1969-79); legislative counsel to the president (1967-69); assistant attorney general, Department of Justice (1966-67); Feb. 5, 1925, in Dallas, Texas; Dem.; April 24.

Judge for the southern district of Texas, $54,500 — **Norman W. Black;** Houston, Texas; magistrate, U.S. district court, Texas (1976-79); attorney and partner, Black, Hebinck, Hargrove & Clark (1973-76); Dec. 6, 1931, in Houston, Texas; May 10.

Judge for the southern district of Texas, $54,500 — **George E. Cire;** Houston, Texas; justice, 14th district court, Houston (1976-79); Sept. 29, 1922, in Houston, Texas; May 10.

Judge for the southern district of Texas, $54,500 — **James DeAnda;** McAllen, Texas; partner, Flore, Sanchez, DeAnda & Vidaurri (1974-79); attorney, Edwards & DeAnda (1969-74); Aug. 21, 1925, in Houston, Texas; May 10.

Judge for the southern district of Texas, $54,500 — **Hugh Gibson Jr.;** Galveston, Texas; justice, 56th district court, Galveston (1969-79); Nov. 8, 1918, in Rogers, Texas; Oct. 4.

Judge for the southern district of Texas, $54,500 — **George P. Kazen;** Laredo, Texas; partner, Mann, Castillon, Freed & Kazen (1963-79); attorney, Texas supreme court (1961-62); Feb. 29, 1940, in Laredo, Texas; May 10.

Judge for the southern district of Texas, $54,500 — **Gabrielle Anne Kirk McDonald;** Houston, Texas; partner, McDonald and McDonald (1969-79); staff attorney, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (1966-69); April 12, 1942, in St. Paul, Minn.; May 10.

Judge for the western district of Texas, $54,500 — **Lucius Desha Bunton III;** Odessa, Texas; lawyer, Shafer, Gilliland, Davis, Bunton & McCollum Inc. (1960-79); district attorney, 83rd judicial district (1954-60); Dec. 1, 1924, in Del Rio, Texas; Nov. 26.

Judge for the western district of Texas, $54,500 — **Harry Lee Hudspeth;** El Paso, Texas; magistrate, U.S. district court, Texas (1977-79); Dec. 28, 1935, in Dallas, Texas; Nov. 26.

Judge for the district of Utah, $54,500 — **David K. Winder;** Salt Lake City, Utah; district court judge (1977-79); deputy district attorney (1965-66); assistant U.S. attorney (1963-65); deputy county attorney (1959-63); June 8, 1932, in Salt Lake City, Utah; Dec. 4.

Judge for the eastern district of Washington, $54,500 — **Robert J. McNichols;** Spokane, Wash.; lawyer, Winston & Cashatt (1955-79); deputy prosecuting attorney (1953-55); law clerk, Wash. supreme court (1952); April 19, 1922, in Bowners Ferry, Idaho; Dec. 5.

Judge for the district of West Virginia, $54,500 — **William Matthew Kidd;** Sutton, W.Va.; judge, 14th judicial circuit (1977-79); prosecuting attorney, Braxton County (1962-70); W.Va. house of delegates (1951-52); June 15, 1918, in Burnsville, W.Va.; Dec. 20.

Judge for the southern district of West Virginia, $54,500 — **Robert J. Staker;** Williamson, W.Va.; judge, 30th judicial circuit court, Mingo County (1969-79); commissioner of accounts, Mingo County (1955-68); Feb. 14, 1925, in Kermit, W.Va.; Sept. 11.

Judge for the western district of Wisconsin, $54,500 — **Barbara B. Crabb;** Madison, Wis.; U.S. magistrate, western district of Wisconsin (1971-79); research assistant, Univ. of Wisconsin Law School (1968-71); March 17, 1939, in Green Bay, Wis.; Oct. 31. ▮

POLITICAL REPORT

CQ

Modest Republican Gains in 1979 Elections

Republicans made modest gains in the 1979 off-year elections but failed to meet their goal of capturing three new governorships in the South.

Instead, they gained only one of the southern governorships — Louisiana. Kentucky and Mississippi remained in Democratic hands. In two special House elections held in 1979, the Republicans held on to one seat and took over the other from the Democrats.

Louisiana Governor

The Republicans' major triumph of the year was the victory of U.S. Rep. David C. Treen in his race for governor of Louisiana. It was the first time in a hundred years that the Republicans had captured that state's highest office.

In complete but unofficial returns, Treen defeated Democrat Louis Lambert, chairman of the state public service commission, by 9,557 votes. The count was Treen, 690,691, and Lambert, 681,134.

The Dec. 8 election was a runoff between the top two finishers in the Oct. 27 primary. Under Louisiana's unusual election system, all candidates, regardless of party, ran in the October primary. Because no candidate received more than 50 percent of the vote in that election, the December runoff was required.

A fierce fratricidal battle among Louisiana's Democrats gave the Republicans their golden opportunity. Lambert was declared the second-place finisher in the October primary only after a protracted and bitter dispute with Democratic Lt. Gov. James E. Fitzmorris Jr., who ran ahead of Lambert in the first unofficial tabulation of votes. But later calculations erased Fitzmorris' lead, and he charged election fraud.

Fitzmorris contested the outcome in the state courts, but after losing in the state supreme court he declined to continue the challenge in federal court. Thwarted in the courts, Fitzmorris gave Treen a ringing endorsement, promising to campaign for him "every hour that the Lord gives me breath."

Lambert's problems mounted as all of the other three major Democratic candidates in the primary also backed Treen. Nevertheless, Lambert put on a strong campaign, receiving the backing of labor and black organizations. He also was supported by outgoing Democratic Gov. Edwin W. Edwards, who was ineligible to run for a third term.

Lambert barnstormed the state in Huey Long's style, presenting himself as a champion of the consumer and the "little man." He ran strongly in most of the traditionally Democratic rural areas.

Treen promised a clean, frugal administration and made crime-fighting one of his major issues. He also sought to take advantage of the primary voting controversy by endorsing an election reform plan, including a nine-member election commission with broad powers of investigation.

The Republican ran strongly in the state's cities and their surrounding suburbs. Those areas are the centers of strength for emerging Republican parties throughout the South. He also ran well in Acadiana, the Cajun area in southern Louisiana. He represented part of the area in the House.

While Treen's victory buoyed Republican spirits, the party was disappointed in its effort to make further inroads in southern governorships. In Kentucky and Mississippi, Democrats came up with attractive moderate candidates who appealed to the broad range of their states' traditional Democratic voters. With no strong reason to choose a Republican, voters in those states stuck with their old Democratic allegiances.

Kentucky Governor

In Kentucky, the Nov. 7 gubernatorial contest featured a struggle between former Republican Gov. Louie B. Nunn (1967-71) and Democrat John Y. Brown Jr., son of a well-known Kentucky politician but who had never sought office himself.

To some the campaign was a contest between the old style, as practiced by Nunn who played a rough-and-tumble brand of politics, and the new style, which Brown personified through the use of extensive television advertising.

The glamour of Brown and his wife Phyllis George, a former Miss America and television sportscaster, drew national attention to the race. Brown spent a record $1.5 million on the general election, campaigning by helicopter and using sophisticated computer-assisted voter identification programs.

Brown also ran an extensive television campaign that focused on his experience as a businessman, which he said he would use to bring industry to the state. He made his fortune merchandising Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Nunn devoted his campaign to attacks on what he characterized as Brown's jet-setting life style. The Republican sought to cut into the state's two-to-one Democratic registration edge, but his intensely personal broadsides against Brown backfired.

Brown swamped Nunn, gaining the second-largest statewide plurality in the state's history. In unofficial returns, Brown won 553,077 votes against Nunn's 379,932.

Mississippi Governor

In Mississippi, voters opted for experience in the Nov. 7 gubernatorial election as they chose former Lt. Gov. William Winter, a Democrat, over Republican Gil Carmichael.

Winter won the governorship on his third try, having lost Democratic primaries in 1967 and 1975. He succeeded in shedding the liberal label that had plagued him in those two contests and attracted support from the disparate elements of Mississippi's Democratic Party.

Winter's platform centered around a call to "clean up the mess in Jackson," which he charged resulted from the inexperience of the outgoing governor, Democrat Cliff Finch. Winter had been in public life for 32 years, first as a state legislator, then state tax collector, state treasurer and lieutenant governor.

Winter had run second in the initial Democratic primary to Evelyn Gandy, the state's incumbent lieutenant governor. But the state's Democrats were not quite ready to select a woman as their nominee, and Winter won the nomination in the runoff. It was not a particularly bitter primary, and Democrats soon united behind Winter.

Winter ran well throughout the state, particularly among urban voters and rural blacks. He carried 79 of the state's 82 counties against Carmichael, rolling up 382,512 votes to Carmichael's 247,162 in complete unofficial returns.

The 1978 National Vote

The following chart is based on official vote totals from every state except Colorado, which will not publish official results until early April. The U.S. House vote is based on figures from 427 of the nation's 435 districts. In the other eight districts — five in Florida, two in Arkansas and one in Oklahoma — candidates ran unopposed and no vote was recorded. The U.S. Senate vote is the aggregate of 34 of the 35 races (no vote was tabulated in Louisiana), while the gubernatorial vote is from the 36 states that had such contests in 1978. Votes cast for major party House and gubernatorial candidates in New York on the Conservative or Liberal party lines are included in the total for "others."

	Races Won		Democratic		Republican		Others		
	Dem.	Rep.	Vote	Percent	Vote	Percent	Vote	Percent	Total Vote
U.S. House	277	158	29,137,433	53.4	24,414,242	44.7	1,039,890	1.9	54,591,565
U.S. Senate	15	20	15,269,462	49.8	14,822,048	48.3	578,680	1.9	30,670,190
Governor	21	15	24,267,539	50.7	22,053,623	46.1	1,566,936	3.3	47,888,098

For Carmichael and the Republicans, it was a disappointing showing. Like Winter, Carmichael had lost two previous statewide races. In 1972, against veteran Democatic Sen. James O. Eastland (1943-79), Carmichael surprised many when he won 39 percent of the vote and carried 11 counties. Three years later, when he lost his first governor's bid to Finch, Carmichael received 45 percent of the vote and won pluralities in 16 counties.

The national Republican Party funneled $150,000 into Carmichael's campaign. GOP presidential candidates Ronald Reagan and John B. Connally campaigned for Carmichael. But it was to no avail against a united Democratic Party.

The year's gubernatorial elections left the Republicans with 19 governorships — a gain of one over their total after the 1978 elections — but still far behind the Democrats' total of 31.

After the 1968 elections, Republicans had held 31 of the nation's governorships.

House Contests

The two House elections were caused by the deaths of Reps. William A. Steiger, R-Wis., on Dec. 4, 1978, and Leo J. Ryan, D-Calif., on Nov. 18, 1978.

Ryan was killed in an ambush in Port Kaituma, Guyana, while investigating a commune run by Jim Jones, a religious cult leader. Steiger died of a heart attack. Both had been re-elected to the 96th Congress in November 1978. Both special elections were held April 3.

Steiger Seat

Republicans retained Steiger's seat by a narrow margin. Unofficial returns gave Republican Thomas E. Petri 71,596 votes to Democrat Gary R. Goyke's 70,238.

Petri, a state senator, had been the Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate in 1974 against Democrat Gaylord Nelson, losing with only 35.8 percent of the vote. But he prevailed in the special House election with a well-financed campaign that linked him to Steiger's popular brand of moderate Republicanism.

Petri also received some late help from Steiger's widow, who sent a letter to district voters urging support for Petri, and from a state right-to-life group, the Wisconsin Citizens Concerned for Life.

Backing Petri because of his long-time opposition to abortion, the Citizens Concerned for Life sent leaflets to their membership and Roman Catholic churches on the weekend before the election.

Goyke, also a state senator, had an aggressive campaign style and substantial financial and manpower assistance from organized labor. He campaigned forcefully, claiming that he had leadership ability and that the more reserved Petri did not.

Goyke came within 1,400 votes of becoming only the second Democratic congressional winner from the district in the last 40 years.

Ryan Seat

In California, the Republicans picked up the seat that had been held by Democrat Ryan since the district's creation in the 1972 redistricting.

Running a well-financed campaign that stressed his experience in local government, Republican Bill Royer, a San Mateo County supervisor, was an easy winner over Democrat Joe Holsinger, Ryan's former administrative assistant. Complete unofficial returns gave Royer 52,494 votes to Holsinger's 37,566.

Holsinger campaigned as Ryan's logical political heir but was hurt by bitter intra-party bickering. He never recovered from a nasty primary with George Corey, a former San Bruno city councilman. Many of Corey's workers either backed Royer or, like Corey, sat out the campaign.

Royer dominated television advertising and ran an effective series of commercials that included an endorsement from popular Republican Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr. from the neighboring 12th District.

Royer also received assistance from former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, who was featured at a Royer fundraiser. Most of the Republican members of the California House delegation also campaigned for Royer.

The two Republican House victories reduced the Democratic majority in the House to 276-159 and continued the GOP hot streak in House special elections. From February 1977 through the end of 1979, Republicans won six of eight special House elections and took over five seats that were formerly held by Democrats. ∎

Complete, Official 1978 Election Results

Following are final 1978 vote returns for the Senate, House and governorships, compiled by Congressional Quarterly from results furnished by the secretaries of state or election boards in the 50 states.

All candidates are included who were listed on the ballot. Due to the exclusion of scattered write-in votes from this chart and the results of rounding numbers in computing percentages, the totals do not always equal 100 percent.

* indicates incumbents.

X denotes unopposed candidates.

ALABAMA

	Vote Total	Per Cent
Governor		
Forrest (Fob) James Jr. (D)	551,886	72.6
Guy Hunt (R)	196,963	25.9
Richard Dare (DET)	3,522	0.5
Jim Partain (P)	8,103	1.1
Senator (six-year term)		
Howell Heflin (D)	547,054	94.0
Jerome B. Couch (P)	34,951	6.0
Senator (two-year term)		
Donald Stewart (D)	401,852	54.9
James D. Martin (R)	316,170	43.2
Michael R. A. Erdy (LIBERT)	6,006	0.8
Joseph T. Robino Jr. (PEACE)	1,768	0.2
A. J. Killingsworth (P)	5,814	0.8
House		
1 L. W. (Red) Noonan (D)	40,450	36.1
Jack Edwards (R)*	71,711	63.9
2 Wendell Mitchell (D)	49,341	46.0
William L. Dickinson (R)*	57,924	54.0
3 Bill Nichols (D)*	X	100.0
4 Tom Bevill (D)*	X	100.0
5 Ronnie G. Flippo (D)*	68,985	96.8
Harvey N. Crumhorn (LIBERT)	2,250	3.2
6 Don Hawkins (D)	40,771	38.3
John Buchanan (R)*	65,700	61.7
7 Richard C. Shelby (D)	77,742	95.9
Fulton Gray (C)	3,285	4.1

ALASKA

	Vote Total	Per Cent
Governor		
Chancy Croft (D)	25,656	20.2
Jay S. Hammond (R)*	49,580	39.1
Tom Kelly (I)	15,656	12.3
Walter J. Hickel (write in)	33,555	26.4
Donald Wright (I)	2,463	1.9
Senator		
Donald W. Hobbs (D)	29,574	24.1
Ted Stevens (R)*	92,783	75.6
House		
AL Patrick Rodey (D)	55,176	44.4
Don Young (R)*	68,811	55.4

ARIZONA

	Vote Total	Per Cent
Governor		
Bruce Babbitt (D)*	282,605	52.5
Evan Mecham (R)	241,093	44.8
V. Gene Lewter (LIBERT)	10,421	1.9
Jessica Sampson (SOC WORK)	4,437	0.8
House		
1 Ken Graves (D)	33,178	29.0
John J. Rhodes (R)*	81,108	71.0
2 Morris K. Udall (D)*	67,878	52.5
Tom Richey (R)	58,697	45.4
Joe Bach (LIBERT)	1,402	1.1
Betsy McDonald (SOC WORK)	1,220	0.9
3 Bob Stump (D)*	111,850	85.0
Kathleen Cooke (LIBERT)	19,813	15.0
4 Michael L. McCormick (D)	48,661	33.8
Eldon Rudd (R)*	90,768	63.1
Lawrence W. Jerome (LIBERT)	4,407	3.1

ARKANSAS

	Vote Total	Per Cent
Governor		
Bill Clinton (D)	335,101	63.4
A. Lynn Lowe (R)	193,746	36.6
Senator		
David Pryor (D)	399,916	76.6
Thomas Kelly Jr. (R)	84,722	16.2
John G. Black (I)	37,488	7.2
House		
1 Bill Alexander (D)*	X	100.0
2 Doug Brandon (D)	62,140	48.8
Ed Bethune (R)	65,285	51.2
3 William C. Mears (D)	35,748	21.6
John Paul Hammerschmidt (R)*	130,086	78.4
4 Beryl F. Anthony Jr. (D)	X	100.0

CALIFORNIA

	Vote Total	Per Cent
Governor		
Edmund G. Brown Jr. (D)*	3,878,812	56.0
Evelle J. Younger (R)	2,526,534	36.5
Theresa F. Dietrich (AM I)	67,103	1.0
Marilyn Seals (PFP)	70,864	1.0
Ed Clark (I)	377,960	5.5
House		
1 Harold T. Johnson (D)*	125,122	59.4
James E. Taylor (R)	85,690	40.6
2 Norma Bork (D)	99,712	45.3
Don H. Clausen (R)*	114,451	52.0
Irv Sutley (PFP)	6,097	2.8
3 Robert T. Matsui (D)	105,537	53.4
Sandy Smoley (R)	91,966	46.6
4 Vic Fazio (D)	87,764	55.4
Rex Hime (R)	70,733	44.6
5 John L. Burton (D)*	106,046	66.8
Dolores Skore (R)	52,603	33.2
6 Phillip Burton (D)*	81,801	68.3
Tom Spinosa (R)	33,515	28.0
Raymond O. Heaps (AM I)	4,452	3.7
7 George Miller (D)*	109,676	63.4
Paula Gordon (R)	58,332	33.7
Melvin E. Stanley (AM I)	4,857	2.8
8 Ronald V. Dellums (D)*	94,824	57.4
Charles V. Hughes (R)	70,481	42.6
9 Fortney H. (Pete) Stark (D)*	88,179	65.4
Robert S. Allen (R)	41,138	30.5
Lawrence J. Phillips (PFP)	5,562	4.1
10 Don Edwards (D)*	84,488	67.1
Rudy Hansen (R)	41,374	32.9

Abbreviations for Party Designations

ALO D	—Aloha Democrat	IA	—Independent American	PFP	—Peace and Freedom
AM	—American	IP	—Independent Party	R	—Republican
AM I	—American Independent	I-R	—Independent-Republican	RTL	—Right to Life
BRP	—Betsy Ross Party	L	—Liberal	SA	—Savings Account
C	—Conservative	LAB	—Labor	SOC	—Socialist
COM	—Communist	LIBERT	—Libertarian	SOC LAB	—Socialist Labor
CONSU	—Consumers	LRU	—La Raza Unita	SOC WORK	—Socialist Workers
D	—Democratic	LU	—Liberty Union	TEA	—Tea Party '78
DET	—Determination	NAT S	—National Statesman	USLP	—United States Labor Party
DFL	—Democrat Farmer-Labor	NEWT	—Newtist Party	USP	—United States Party
F LIBERT	—Free Libertarian	NON PART	—Nonpartisan	UT	—United Taxpayers
HG	—Honest Government	P	—Prohibition	WORK	—Workers
I	—Independent	PEACE	—Peace		

11	Leo J. Ryan (D)*	92,882	60.5
	David Welch (R)	54,621	35.6
	Nicholas W. Kudrovzeff (AM I)	5,961	3.9
12	Kirsten Olsen (D)	34,472	21.5
	Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (R)*	116,982	73.1
	Harold Boylan (AM I)	5,609	3.5
	Adele Fumino (PFP)	3,022	1.9
13	Norman Y. Mineta (D)*	100,809	57.5
	Dan O'Keefe (R)	69,306	39.5
	Robert Goldsborough (PFP)	5,246	3.0
14	John J. McFall (D)*	76,602	42.6
	Norman D. Shumway (R)	95,962	53.4
	George D. Waldron (AM I)	7,163	4.0
15	Tony Coelho (D)	75,212	60.1
	Chris Patterakis (R)	49,914	39.9
16	Leon E. Panetta (D)*	104,550	61.4
	Eric Seastrand (R)	65,808	38.6
17	John Krebs (D)*	67,885	45.5
	Charles (Chip) Pashayan Jr. (R)	81,296	54.5
18	Bob Sogge (D)	58,900	40.7
	William Thomas (R)	85,663	59.3
19	Jerome Zamos (D)	41,672	24.3
	Robert J. Lagomarsino (R)*	123,192	71.7
	Milton Shiro Takei (PFP)	6,887	4.0
20	Pat Lear (D)	65,695	33.6
	Barry M. Goldwater Jr. (R)*	129,714	66.4
21	James C. Corman (D)*	73,869	59.5
	G. (Rod) Walsh (R)	44,519	35.9
	Bill Hill (PFP)	5,750	4.6
22	Robert S. Henry (D)	54,442	35.4
	Carlos J. Moorhead (R)*	99,502	64.6
23	Anthony C. (Tony) Beilenson (D)*	117,498	65.6
	Joseph Barbara (R)	61,496	34.4
24	Henry A. Waxman (D)*	85,075	62.7
	Howard G. Schaefer (R)	44,243	32.6
	Kevin Casey Peters (PFP)	6,453	4.8
25	Edward R. Roybal (D)*	45,881	67.4
	Robert K. Watson (R)	22,205	32.6
26	John H. Rousselot (R)*	X	100.0
27	Carey Peck (D)	85,880	49.0
	Robert K. Dornan (R)*	89,392	51.0
28	Julian C. Dixon (D)	X	100.0
29	Augustus F. Hawkins (D)*	65,214	85.0
	Uriah J. Fields (R)	11,512	15.0
30	George E. Danielson (D)*	66,241	71.4
	Henry Ares (R)	26,511	28.6
31	Charles H. Wilson (D)*	55,667	67.8
	Dan Grimshaw (R)	26,490	32.2
32	Glenn M. Anderson (D)*	74,004	71.4
	Sonya (Sonny) Mathison (R)	23,242	22.4
	Ida Bader (AM I)	6,363	6.1
33	Dennis S. Kazarian (D)	62,540	44.0
	Wayne Grisham (R)	79,533	56.0
34	Mark W. Hannaford (D)*	73,608	43.7
	Daniel E. Lungren (R)	90,554	53.7
	Lawrence J. Stafford (AM I)	4,410	2.6
35	Jim Lloyd (D)*	80,388	54.0
	David Dreier (R)	68,442	46.0
36	George E. Brown Jr. (D)*	80,448	62.9
	Dana Warren Carmody	47,417	37.1
37	Dan Corcoran (D)	60,463	34.8
	Jerry Lewis (R)	106,581	61.4
	Bernard Wahl (AM I)	6,544	3.8
38	Jerry M. Patterson (D)*	75,471	58.6
	Don Goedeke (R)	53,298	41.4
39	William E. Farris (D)	63,891	36.3
	William E. Dannemeyer (R)	112,160	63.7
40	Jim McGuy (D)	76,358	34.1
	Robert E. Badham (R)*	147,882	65.9
41	King Golden Jr. (D)	77,540	41.9
	Bob Wilson (R)*	107,685	58.1
42	Lionel Van Deerlin (D)*	85,126	73.7
	Lawrence C. Mattera (R)	30,319	26.3
43	Ruben B. Brooks (D)	76,308	31.3
	Clair W. Burgener (R)*	167,150	68.7

COLORADO

Governor		
Richard D. Lamm (D)*	483,985	58.7
Ted Strickland (R)	317,292	38.5
Earl F. Dodge (NAT S)	2,198	0.3
Sal A. Mandor (NEWT)	2,452	0.3
Elsa Blum (SOC WORK)	3,890	0.5
E. L. Roy Peister (TEA)	13,990	1.7
Senator		
Floyd K. Haskell (D)*	330,247	40.3
William L. Armstrong (R)	480,596	58.7
Veeder V. Dorn (USP)	5,789	0.7
John Shue (NAT S)	2,518	0.3
House		
1 Patricia Schroeder (D)*	82,742	61.5
Gene Hutcheson (R)	49,845	37.0
Iris Adley (SOC WORK)	2,043	1.5
2 Timothy E. Wirth (D)*	98,889	52.9
Ed Scott (R)	88,072	47.1
3 Ray Kogovsek (D)	69,669	49.3
Harold L. McCormick (R)	69,303	49.0
Henry John Olshaw (I)	2,470	1.7
4 Morgan Smith (D)	65,241	38.8
James P. (Jim) Johnson (R)*	103,121	61.2
5 Gerry Frank (D)	52,914	34.4
Ken Kramer (R)	91,933	59.8
L. W. Dan Bridges (I)	8,933	5.8

CONNECTICUT

Governor		
Ella T. Grasso (D)*	613,109	59.1
Ronald A. Sarasin (R)	422,316	40.7
House		
1 William R. Cotter (D)*	102,749	59.5
Ben F. Andrews Jr. (R)	67,828	39.3
Donna C. McDonough (USLP)	1,965	1.1
2 Christopher J. Dodd (D)*	116,624	69.9
Thomas H. Connell (R)	50,167	30.1
3 Robert N. Giaimo (D)*	96,830	58.1
John G. Pucciano (R)	66,663	40.0
Joelle R. Fishman (COM)	3,068	1.8
4 Michael G. Morgan (D)	59,918	41.6
Stewart B. McKinney (R)*	83,990	58.4
5 William R. Ratchford (D)	96,738	52.3
George C. Guidera (R)	88,162	47.7
6 Toby Moffett (D)*	119,537	64.2
Daniel F. MacKinnon (R)	66,664	35.8

DELAWARE

Senator		
Joe Biden (D)*	93,930	58.0
James H. Baxter Jr. (R)	66,479	41.0
Donald G. Gies (AM)	1,663	1.0
House		
AL Gary E. Hindes (D)	64,863	41.2
Thomas B. Evans Jr. (R)*	91,689	58.2
James E. Hicks (AM)	1,014	0.6

FLORIDA

Governor		
Robert Graham (D)	1,406,580	55.6
Jack M. Eckerd (R)	1,123,888	44.4
House		
1 Earl D. Hutto (D)	85,608	63.3
Warren Briggs (R)	49,715	36.7
2 Don Fuqua (D)*	112,649	81.7
Peter L. W. Brathwaite (R)	25,148	18.3
3 Charles E. Bennett (D)*	X	100.0
4 Bill Chappell Jr. (D)*	113,302	73.1
Tom Boney (R)	41,647	26.9
5 David R. Best (D)	101,867	48.9
Richard Kelly (R)*	106,319	51.1
6 James A. Christison (D)	40,654	21.2
C. W. Bill Young (R)*	150,694	78.8
7 Sam Gibbons (D)*	X	100.0
8 Andy Ireland (D)*	X	100.0
9 Bill Nelson (D)	89,543	61.5
Edward J. Gurney (R)	56,074	38.5
10 L. A. (Skip) Bafalis (R)*	X	100.0
11 Dan Mica (D)	123,346	55.3
Bill James (R)	99,757	44.7
12 Edward J. Stack (D)	107,037	61.6
J. Herbert Burke (R)*	66,610	38.4
13 William Lehman (D)*	X	100.0
14 Claude Pepper (D)*	65,202	63.1
Al Cardenas (R)	38,081	36.9
15 Dante B. Fascell (D)*	108,837	74.2
Herbert J. Hoodwin (R)	37,897	25.8

GEORGIA

Governor		
George Busbee (D)*	534,572	80.7
Rodney M. Cook (R)	128,139	19.3
Senator		
Sam Nunn (D)*	536,320	83.1
John W. Stokes (R)	108,808	16.9
House		
1 Bo Ginn (D)*	X	100.0
2 Dawson Mathis (D)*	X	100.0
3 Jack Brinkley (D)*	X	100.0
4 Elliott H. Levitas (D)*	60,284	80.9
Homer Cheung (R)	14,221	19.1
5 Wyche Fowler Jr. (D)*	52,739	75.5
Thomas P. Bowles Jr. (R)	17,132	24.5
6 Virginia Shapard (D)	39,451	45.6
Newt Gingrich (R)	47,078	54.4
7 Larry P. McDonald (D)*	47,090	66.5
Ernie Norsworthy (R)	23,698	33.5
8 Billy Lee Evans (D)*	X	100.0
9 Ed Jenkins (D)*	47,264	76.9
David G. Ashworth (R)	14,172	23.1
10 Doug Barnard (D)*	X	100.0

HAWAII

Governor		
George Ariyoshi (D)*	153,394	54.5
John R. Leopold (R)	124,610	44.3
John Moore (ALO D)	542	0.2
Gregory C. Reese (LIBERT)	1,059	0.4
Alema L. Leota (NON PART)	1,982	0.7
House		
1 Cecil (Cec) Heftel (D)*	84,552	73.3
William D. Spillane (R)	24,470	21.2
Debra Figueroa (ALO D)	2,095	1.8
Peter D. Larsen (LIBERT)	4,295	3.7
2 Daniel K. Akaka (D)*	118,272	85.7
Charles Isaak (R)	15,697	11.4
Amelia O. Fritts (LIBERT)	3,988	2.9

IDAHO

Governor		
John V. Evans (D)*	169,540	58.8
Allan E. Larsen (R)	114,149	39.6
Wayne L. Loveless (AM)	4,877	1.7
Senator		
Dwight Jensen (D)	89,635	31.6
James A. McClure (R)*	194,412	68.4
House		
1 Roy Truby (D)	57,972	40.1
Steven D. Symms (R)*	86,680	59.9
2 Stan Kress (D)	60,040	42.7
George Hansen (R)*	80,591	57.3

ILLINOIS

Governor		
Michael J. Bakalis (D)	1,263,134	40.1
James R. Thompson (R)*	1,859,684	59.0
Georgia Shields (LIBERT)	11,420	0.4

Cecil L. Lampkin (SOC WORK)	11,026	0.4
Melvin Klenetsky (USLP)	4,737	0.2
Senator		
Alex R. Seith (D)	1,448,187	45.5
Charles H. Percy (R)*	1,698,711	53.3
Bruce Green (LIBERT)	16,320	0.5
Paricia Grogan (SOC WORK)	15,922	0.5
Gerald M. Rose (USLP)	5,465	0.2
House		
1 Bennett Stewart (D)	47,581	58.5
A. A. Rayner (R)	33,540	41.3
2 Morgan F. Murphy (D)*	80,906	86.0
James Wognum (R)	11,104	11.8
Carl Holmes (I)	2,064	2.2
3 Marty Russo (D)*	95,701	65.2
Robert L. Dunne (R)	51,098	34.8
4 Andrew D. Thomas (D)	46,788	33.1
Edward J. Derwinski (R)*	94,435	66.9
5 John G. Fary (D)*	98,702	84.0
Joseph A. Barracca (R)	18,802	16.0
6 Jeanne P. Quinn (D)	44,543	33.8
Henry J. Hyde (R)*	87,193	66.2
7 Cardiss Collins (D)*	64,716	86.3
James C. Holt (R)	10,273	13.7
8 Dan Rostenkowski (D)*	81,457	86.0
Carl C. LoDico (R)	13,302	14.0
9 Sidney R. Yates (D)*	87,543	75.3
John M. Collins (R)	28,673	24.7
10 Abner J. Mikva (D)*	89,479	50.2
John E. Porter (R)	88,829	49.8
11 Frank Annunzio (D)*	112,365	73.7
John Hoeger (R)	40,044	26.3
12 Gilbert Bogen (D)	28,424	20.5
Philip M. Crane (R)*	110,503	79.5
13 Frederick J. Steffen (D)	40,675	38.8
Robert McClory (R)*	64,060	61.2
14 James A. Romanyak (D)	39,438	24.9
John N. Erlenborn (R)*	118,741	75.1
15 Tim L. Hall (D)	48,756	37.6
Tom Corcoran (R)*	80,856	62.4
16 Ernest W. Dahlin (D)	40,471	34.5
John B. Anderson (R)*	76,752	65.4
17 Clifford J. Sinclair (D)	39,260	29.4
George M. O'Brien (R)*	94,375	70.6
18 Virgil R. Grunkemeyer (D)	44,527	34.1
Robert H. Michel (R)*	85,973	65.9
19 Tom Railsback (R)*	X	100.0
20 Victor W. Roberts (D)	48,426	30.4
Paul Findley (R)*	111,054	69.6
21 Kenneth E. Baughman (D)	27,054	21.7
Edward R. Madigan (R)*	97,473	78.3
22 Terry L. Bruce (D)	73,331	46.0
Daniel B. Crane (R)	86,051	54.0
23 Melvin Price (D)*	74,247	74.2
Daniel J. Stack (R)	25,858	25.8
24 Paul Simon (D)*	110,298	65.6
John T. Anderson (R)	57,763	34.4

INDIANA

House		
1 Adam Benjamin Jr. (D)*	72,367	80.3
Owen W. Crumpacker (R)	17,419	19.3
Christopher Martinson (USLP)	384	0.4
2 Floyd Fithian (D)*	82,402	56.5
J. Philip Oppenheim (R)	52,842	36.2
James Logan (AM)	1,166	0.8
William Costas (I)	9,368	6.4
3 John Brademas (D)*	64,336	55.5
Thomas L. Thorson (R)	50,145	43.3
R. Craig Fisher (LIBERT)	1,381	1.2
4 John D. Waldo (D)	42,238	33.8
Dan Quayle (R)*	80,527	64.4
Terry Hively (AM)	2,352	1.9
5 Max E. Heiss (D)	45,479	32.4
Elwood Hillis (R)*	94,950	67.6
6 David W. Evans (D)*	66,421	52.2
David G. Crane (R)	60,630	47.6
John W. Rothrock Jr. (LIBERT)	231	0.2
7 Charlotte Zietlow (D)	67,469	43.7
John T. Myers (R)*	86,955	56.3
8 David L. Cornwell (D)*	76,654	48.0
H. Joel Deckard (R)	83,019	52.0
9 Lee H. Hamilton Jr. (D)*	99,727	65.6
Frank I. Hamilton Jr. (R)	52,218	34.4
10 Phil Sharp (D)*	73,343	56.1
William G. Frazier (R)	55,999	42.8
George W. Ames (AM)	1,400	1.1
11 Andy Jacobs Jr. (D.)*	61,504	57.2
Charles F. Bosma (R)	45,809	42.6
Henry Slubowski (SOC WORK)	128	0.1

IOWA

Governor		
Jerome Fitzgerald (D)	345,519	41.0
Robert Ray (R)*	491,713	58.3
John H. Ball (LIBERT)	3,947	0.5
Joseph W. Grant (SOC)	1,935	0.2
Senator		
Dick Clark (D)*	395,066	47.9
Roger Jepsen (R)	421,598	51.1
Ben L. Olson (LIBERT)	3,689	0.4
Gerald L. Baker (by petition)	4,223	0.5
House		
1 Dick Myers (D)	45,037	35.8
Jim Leach (R)*	79,940	63.5
William R. Douglas (SOC)	978	0.8
2 Michael T. Blouin (D)*	65,450	47.1
Tom Tauke (R)	72,644	52.3
James D. Roberson (by petition)	884	0.6
3 John Knudson (D)	34,880	25.2
Charles E. Grassley (R)*	103,659	74.8
4 Neal Smith (D)*	88,526	64.7
Charles E. Minor (R)	48,308	35.3
5 Tom Harkin (D)*	82,333	58.9
Julian B. Garrett (R)	57,377	41.1
6 Berkley Bedell (D)*	87,139	66.3
Willis E. Junker (R)	44,320	33.7

KANSAS

Governor		
John W. Carlin (D)	363,835	49.4
Robert F. Bennett (R)*	348,015	47.3
Frank W. Shelton Jr. (AM)	17,053	2.3
Barry Beets (P)	7,343	1.0
Senator		
Bill Roy (D)	317,602	42.4
Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R)	403,354	53.9
James R. Maher (C)	22,497	3.0
Russell Mikels (P)	5,386	0.7
House		
1 Keith G. Sebelius (R)*	X	100.0
2 Martha Keys (D)*	70,460	48.0
Jim Jeffries (R)	76,419	52.0
3 Larry Winn Jr. (R)*	X	100.0
4 Dan Glickman (D)*	100,139	69.5
James P. Litsey (R)	43,854	30.5
5 Donald L. Allegrucci (D)	62,402	41.4
Robert Whittaker (R)	86,011	57.0
Jack C. Blackwell (P)	2,353	1.6

KENTUCKY

Senator		
Walter (Dee) Huddleston (D)*	290,730	61.0
Louie R. Guenthner (R)	175,766	36.9
Anthony R. McCord (AM)	10,244	2.1
House		
1 Carroll Hubbard Jr. (D)*	X	100.0
2 William H. Natcher (D)*	X	100.0
3 Romano L. Mazzoli (D)*	37,346	65.7
Norbert D. Leveronne (R)	17,785	31.3
James Burfeind (SOC WORK)	428	0.8
Tom Beckham (I)	1,312	2.3
4 George C. Martin (D)	32,212	34.2
Gene Snyder (R)*	62,087	65.8
5 Jesse M. Ramey (D)	15,714	20.8
Tim Lee Carter (R)*	59,743	79.2
6 Tom Easterly (D)	47,436	46.1
Larry J. Hopkins (R)	52,092	50.6
Lloyd K. Rogers (AM)	3,323	3.2
7 Carl D. Perkins (D)*	51,559	76.5
Granville Thomas (R)	15,861	23.5

LOUISIANA

Senator		
J. Bennett Johnston Jr. (D)*	X	100.0
House		
1 Robert L. Livingston (R)*	X	100.0
2 Lindy Boggs (D)*	X	100.0
3 David C. Treen (R)*	X	100.0
4 Claude (Buddy) Leach (D)	65,583	50.1
Jimmy Wilson (R)	65,317	49.9
5 Jerry Huckaby (D)*	X	100.0
6 W. Henson Moore (R)*	X	100.0
7 John B. Breaux (D)*	X	100.0
8 Gillis W. Long (D)*	X	100.0

MAINE

Governor		
Joseph E. Brennan (D)	176,493	47.7
Linwood E. Palmer Jr. (R)	126,862	34.3
Herman C. Frankland (I)	65,889	17.8
Senator		
William D. Hathaway (D)*	127,327	33.9
William S. Cohen (R)	212,294	56.6
Hayes E. Gahagan (I)	27,824	7.4
John J. Jannace (I)	5,553	1.5
Plato Truman (I)	2,116	0.6
House		
1 John Quinn (D)	70,348	35.8
David F. Emery (R)*	120,791	61.5
J. David Madigan (I)	5,346	2.7
2 Markham L. Gartley (D)	70,691	40.8
Olympia J. Snowe (R)	87,939	50.8
Robert H. Burmeister (I)	1,653	1.0
Margaret E. Cousins (I)	1,573	0.9
Robert L. Cousins (I)	1,223	0.7
Eddie R. Shurtleff (I)	1,923	1.1
Frederick W. Whittaker (I)	8,035	4.6

MARYLAND

Governor		
Harry R. Hughes (D)	718,328	71.0
J. Glenn Beall Jr. (R)	293,635	29.0
House		
1 Joseph D. Quinn (D)	46,093	36.5
Robert E. Bauman (R)*	80,202	63.5
2 Clarence D. Long (D)*	98,601	66.4
Malcolm M. McKnight (R)	49,886	33.6
3 Barbara A. Mikulski (D)*	X	100.0
4 Sue F. Ward (D)	43,663	38.0
Marjorie S. Holt (R)*	71,374	62.0
5 Gladys Noon Spellman (D)*	64,868	77.2
Saul J. Harris (R)	19,160	22.8
6 Beverly Byron (D)	126,196	89.7
Melvin Perkins (R)	14,545	10.3
7 Parren J. Mitchell (D)*	51,996	88.7
Debra Hanania Freeman (I)	6,626	11.3
8 Michael D. Barnes (D)	81,851	51.3
Newton I. Steers Jr. (R)*	77,807	48.7

MASSACHUSETTS

Governor

Edward J. King (D)	1,030,294	52.5
Francis W. Hatch Jr. (R)	926,072	47.2

Senator

Paul E. Tsongas (D)	1,093,283	55.1
Edward W. Brooke (R)*	890,584	44.8

House

1	Silvio O. Conte (R)*	X	99.9
2	Edward P. Boland (D)*	101,570	72.8
	Thomas P. Swank (R)	37,881	27.2
3	Joseph D. Early (D)*	119,337	75.2
	Charles Kevin MacLeod (R)	39,259	24.7
4	Robert F. Drinan (D)*	X	99.9
5	James M. Shannon (D)	90,156	52.2
	John J. Buckley (R)	48,685	28.2
	James J. Gaffney III (I)	33,835	19.6
6	Nicholas Mavroules (D)	97,099	53.8
	William E. Bronson (R)	83,511	46.2
7	Edward J. Markey (D)*	145,615	84.8
	James J. Murphy (I)	26,017	15.2
8	Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D)*	102,160	74.6
	William A. Barnstead (R)	28,566	20.9
	Laura Ross (COM)	6,193	4.5
9	Joe Moakley (D)*	106,805	91.8
	Brenda Lee Franklin (SOC WORK)	6,794	5.8
	David Freund (WORK)	2,709	2.3
10	John J. Marino (D)	64,868	38.9
	Margaret M. Heckler (R)*	102,080	61.1
11	Brian J. Donnelly (D)	133,644	91.7
	H. Graham Lowry (USLP)	12,044	8.3
12	Gerry E. Studds (D)*	X	99.9

MICHIGAN

Governor

William B. Fitzgerald (D)	1,237,256	43.2
William G. Milliken (R)*	1,628,485	56.8

Senator

Carl Levin (D)	1,484,193	52.1
Robert P. Griffin (R)*	1,362,165	47.9

House

1	John Conyers Jr. (D)*	89,646	92.9
	Robert S. Arnold (R)	6,878	7.1
2	Earl Greene (D)	45,631	31.6
	Carl D. Pursell (R)*	97,503	67.6
	Henry W. Kroes Jr. (AM I)	1,191	0.8
3	Howard Wolpe (D)	83,932	51.3
	Garry Brown (R)*	79,572	48.7
4	Morgan L. Hager Jr. (D)	38,204	28.3
	Dave Stockman (R)*	95,440	70.6
	Jimmie Dale Burke (AM I)	1,460	1.1
5	Dale R. Sprik (D)	80,622	48.7
	Harold S. Sawyer (R)*	81,794	49.4
	Dwight W. Johnson (AM I)	3,028	1.8
6	Bob Carr (D)*	97,971	56.7
	Mike Conlin (R)	74,718	43.3
7	Dale E. Kildee (D)*	105,402	76.6
	Gale M. Cronk (R)	29,958	21.8
	Jimmy L. Sabin (AM I)	2,179	1.6
8	Bob Traxler (D)*	103,346	66.6
	Norman R. Hughes (R)	51,900	33.4
9	Howard M. Leroux (D)	53,450	30.4
	Guy Vander Jagt (R)*	122,363	69.6
10	Donald J. Albosta (D)	94,913	51.5
	Elford A. Cederberg (R)*	89,451	48.5
11	Keith McLeod (D)	79,081	45.1
	Robert W. Davis (R)	96,351	54.9
12	David E. Bonior (D)*	82,892	54.9
	Kirby Holmes (R)	68,063	45.1
13	Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D)*	44,771	79.2
	Dovie T. Pickett (R)	11,749	20.8
14	Lucien N. Nedzi (D)*	84,032	67.4
	John Edward Getz (R)	40,716	32.6
15	William D. Ford (D)*	95,137	79.6
	Edgar Nieten (R)	23,177	19.4
	Aldi C. Fuhrmann (AM I)	1,230	1.0
16	John D. Dingell (D)*	93,387	76.5
	Melvin E. Hever (R)	26,827	22.0
	Harry C. Hengy (AM I)	1,889	1.5
17	William M. Brodhead (D)*	106,303	95.2
	Hector M. McGregor (AM I)	5,341	4.8
18	James J. Blanchard (D)*	113,037	74.5
	Robert J. Salloum (R)	36,913	24.3
	David Drexler (AM I)	1,848	1.2
19	Betty F. Collier (D)	47,165	28.7
	William S. Broomfield (R)*	117,122	71.3

MINNESOTA

Governor

Rudy Perpich (DFL)*	718,244	45.3
Albert H. Quie (I-R)	830,019	52.3
Richard Pedersen (AM)	21,058	1.3
Tom McDonald (HG)	4,254	0.3
Robin E. Miller (LIBERT)	3,689	0.2
Edwin C. Pommerening (SA)	2,043	0.1
Jill Lakowske (SOC WORK)	6,287	0.4

Senator (six-year term)

Wendell R. Anderson (DFL)*	638,375	40.4
Rudy Boschwitz (I-R)	894,092	56.6
Sal Carlone (AM)	23,261	1.5
Leonard Richards (LIBERT)	2,992	0.2
Bill Peterson (SOC WORK)	9,856	0.6
Jean T. Brust (WORK)	3,891	0.2
Brian J. Coyle (I)	8,083	0.5

Senator (four-year term)

Robert E. Short (DFL)	538,675	34.6
David Durenberger (I-R)	957,908	61.5
Paul Helm (AM)	45,402	2.9
Fred G. Hewitt (LIBERT)	4,116	0.3
Christine Frank (SOC WORK)	11,397	0.7

House

1	Gerry Sikorski (DFL)	83,271	42.5
	Arlen Erdahl (I-R)	110,090	56.2
	Lloyd H. Duwe (AM)	2,540	1.3
2	John F. Considine (DFL)	61,173	29.6
	Tom Hagedorn (I-R)*	145,415	70.4
3	Michael O. Freeman (DFL)	67,120	34.3
	Bill Frenzel (I-R)*	128,759	65.7
4	Bruce F. Vento (DFL)*	95,989	58.0
	John R. Berg (I-R)	69,396	42.0
5	Martin Olav Sabo (DFL)	91,673	62.3
	Michael Till (I-R)	55,412	37.7
6	Richard Nolan (DFL)*	115,880	55.3
	Russ Bjorhus (I-R)	93,742	44.7
7	Gene R. Wenstrom (DFL)	93,055	45.1
	Arlan Stangeland (I-R)*	106,573	51.7
	Ronald M. Holmquist (AM)	6,555	3.2
8	James L. Oberstar (DFL)*	171,125	87.2
	John W. Hull (AM)	25,015	12.7

MISSISSIPPI

Senator

Maurice Dantin (D)	185,454	31.8
Thad Cochran (R)	263,089	45.1
Charles Evers (I)	133,646	22.9
Henry J. Kirksey (I)	1,747	0.3

House

1	Jamie L. Whitten (D)*	57,358	66.6
	T. K. Moffett (R)	26,734	31.0
	Horace E. Hutcheson (I)	2,059	2.4
2	David R. Bowen (D)*	57,678	61.7
	Roland Byrd (R)	35,730	38.3
3	G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D)*	101,685	92.4
	Dorothy Cleveland (R)	8,408	7.6
4	John Hampton Stennis (D)	34,837	26.4
	Jon C. Hinson (R)	68,225	51.6
	Perry Dillard (I)	2,500	1.9
	Evan Doss (I)	25,134	19.0
	Mary M. Maxey (I)	1,436	1.1
5	Trent Lott (R)*	X	100.0

MISSOURI

House

1	William (Bill) Clay (D)*	65,950	66.6
	William E. White (R)	30,995	31.3
	Mary Pritchard (SOC WORK)	1,353	1.4
	Gerald Pechenuk (USLP)	712	0.7
2	Robert A. Young (D)*	102,911	56.4
	Robert C. Chase (R)	79,495	43.6
3	Richard A. Gephardt (D)*	121,565	81.9
	Lee Buchschacher (R)	26,881	18.1
4	Ike Skelton (D)*	120,748	72.8
	William D. Baker (R)	45,116	27.2
5	Richard Bolling (D)*	82,140	72.0
	Steven L. Walter (R)	30,360	26.6
	Jim Levitt (SOC WORK)	1,631	1.4
6	Phil Snowden (D)	76,061	44.1
	E. Thomas Coleman (R)*	96,574	55.9
7	Jim Thomas (D)	66,351	38.8
	Gene Taylor (R)*	104,566	61.2
8	Richard H. Ichord (D)*	96,509	60.5
	Donald D. Meyer (R)	63,109	39.5
9	Harold L. Volkmer (D)*	135,170	74.7
	Jerry A. Dent (R)	45,795	25.3
10	Bill D. Burlison (D)*	99,148	65.3
	James A. Weir (R)	52,687	34.7

MONTANA

Senator

Max Baucus (D)	160,353	55.7
Larry Williams (R)	127,589	44.3

House

1	Pat Williams (D)	86,016	57.3
	Jim Waltermire (R)	64,093	42.7
2	Thomas G. Monahan (D)	57,480	43.1
	Ron Marlenee (R)*	75,766	56.9

NEBRASKA

Governor

Gerald T. Whelan (D)	216,754	44.0
Charles Thone (R)	275,473	56.0

Senator

J. J. Exon (D)	334,096	67.7
Donald E. Shasteen (R)	159,706	32.3

House

1	Hess Dyas (D)	71,311	41.9
	Douglas K. Bereuter (R)	99,013	58.1
2	John J. Cavanaugh (D)*	77,135	52.3
	Harold J. Daub Jr. (R)	70,309	47.7
3	Marilyn Fowler (D)	35,371	20.0
	Virginia Smith (R)*	141,597	80.0

NEVADA

Governor

Robert E. Rose (D)	76,361	39.7
Robert F. List (R)	108,097	56.2
Thomas F. Jefferson (IA)	3,282	1.7
John W. Grayson Jr. (LIBERT)	1,487	0.8
None of the above	3,218	1.7

House

AL	Jim Santini (D)*	132,513	69.5
	Bill O'Mara (R)	44,425	23.3
	Linda Eileen West (LIBERT)	6,029	3.2
	None of the above	7,676	4.0

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Governor

Hugh Gallen (D)	133,133	49.4
Meldrim Thomson Jr. (R)*	122,464	45.4
Mabel G. Everett (LIBERT)	1,217	0.5

Ralph Brewster (I)	424	0.2
Wesley Powell (I)	12,349	4.6
Senator		
Thomas J. McIntyre (D)*	127,945	48.5
Gordon Humphrey (R)	133,745	50.7
Craig Franklin (LIBERT)	2,070	0.8
House		
1 Norman E. D'Amours (D)*	82,697	61.7
Daniel M. Hughes (R)	49,012	36.5
James E. Pinard (LIBERT)	2,407	1.8
2 Edgar J. Helms (D)	39,546	31.9
James C. Cleveland (R)*	84,535	68.1

NEW JERSEY

Senator		
Bill Bradley (D)	1,082,960	55.3
Jeffrey Bell (R)	844,200	43.1
Robert Bowen (LAB)	3,656	0.2
Jack Moyers (LIBERT)	3,809	0.2
Paul Ferguson (SOC LAB)	2,604	0.1
Alice Conner (SOC WORK)	2,384	0.1
Bill Gahres (I)	3,817	0.2
Jasper C. Gould (I)	2,955	0.2
J. M. Carter Jr. (I)	3,618	0.2
Herbert H. Shaw (I)	4,736	0.2
William R. Thorn (I)	2,776	0.1
House		
1 James J. Florio (D)*	106,096	79.4
Robert M. Deitch (R)	26,853	20.1
Julius Levin (SOC LAB)	671	0.5
2 William J. Hughes (D)*	112,768	66.4
James H. Biggs (R)	56,997	33.6
3 James J. Howard (D)*	83,349	56.0
Bruce G. Coe (R)	64,730	43.5
Stevenson M. Enterline (LIBERT)	876	0.6
4 Frank Thompson Jr. (D)*	69,259	61.1
Christopher H. Smith (R)	41,833	36.9
John V. Mahalchik (BRP)	1,145	1.0
Judson Carter Sr. (I)	318	0.3
Paul B. Rizzo (I)	827	0.7
5 James T. Fahy (D)	38,108	27.4
Millicent Fenwick (R)*	100,739	72.6
6 W. Thomas McGann (D)	56,874	38.4
Edwin B. Forsythe (R)*	89,446	60.4
Charles M. Pike JR. (LIBERT)	643	0.4
Hazel McGlory (BRP)	484	0.3
Bernardo S. Doganiero (SOC LAB)	737	0.5
7 Andrew Maguire (D)*	78,358	52.5
Margaret S. Roukema (R)	69,543	46.6
Robert Shapiro (LIBERT)	974	0.7
Elliot I. Greenspan (LAB)	243	0.2
8 Robert A. Roe (D)*	69,496	74.5
Thomas Melani (R)	23,842	25.5
9 Nicholas S. Mastorelli (D)	56,888	37.9
Harold C. Hollenbeck (R)*	73,478	48.9
Bruce E. Todd (LAB)	663	0.4
Henry Helstoski (I)	19,126	12.7
10 Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D)*	55,074	86.4
John L. Pelt (R)	8,066	12.6
Gordon A. Douglas (LAB)	290	0.5
Tony Austin (SOC WORK)	347	0.5
11 Joseph G. Minish (D)*	88,294	70.5
Julius George Feld (R)	35,642	28.5
Richard S. Roth (LIBERT)	1,238	1.0
12 Richard McCormack (D)	34,423	26.6
Matthew J. Rinaldo (R)*	94,850	73.4
13 Helen Meyner (D)*	71,808	48.2
James A. Courter (R)	77,301	51.8
14 Frank J. Guarini (D)	67,008	63.6
Henry J. Hill (R)	21,355	20.3
John E. Walton (I)	1,962	1.9
Thomas E. McDonough (I)	15,015	14.3
15 Edward J. Patten (D)*	55,944	48.3
Charles W. Wiley (R)	53,108	45.8
Michael Fieschko (LIBERT)	1,438	1.2
Ann Bastian (I)	5,396	4.7

NEW MEXICO

Governor		
Bruce King (D)	174,631	50.5
Joe Skeen (R)	170,848	49.5
Senator		
Toney Anaya (D)	160,045	46.6
Pete V. Domenici (R)*	183,442	53.4
House		
1 Robert Hawk (D)	70,761	37.5
Manuel Lujan Jr. (R)*	118,075	62.5
2 Harold Runnels (D)*	X	100.0

NEW YORK

Governor		
Hugh L. Carey (D, L)*	2,429,272	50.9
Perry B. Duryea (R, C)	2,156,404	45.2
Jarvis Tyner (COM)	11,400	0.2
Gary Greenberg (F LIBERT)	18,990	0.4
Mary Jane Tobin (RTL)	130,193	2.7
Dianne M. Feeley (SOC WORK)	12,987	0.3
Paul Gallagher (LAB)	9,073	0.2
House		
1 John F. Randolph (D)	67,180	41.9
William Carney (R, C)	90,115	56.3
Dorothy A. Samek (L)	2,909	1.8
2 Thomas J. Downey (D)*	64,807	54.9
Harold J. Withers Jr. (R, C)	53,322	45.1
3 Jerome A. Ambro (D)*	70,526	50.9
Gregory W. Carman (R, C)	66,458	47.9
William Clark (L)	1,686	1.2
4 Everett A. Rosenblum (D)	46,508	32.5
Norman F. Lent (R, C)*	94,711	66.1
Aaron M. Schein (L)	2,083	1.5
5 John W. Matthews (D, L)	60,519	41.6
John W. Wydler (R, C)*	84,864	58.4
6 Lester L. Wolff (D, L)*	80,799	60.0
Stuart L. Ain (R)	44,304	32.9
Howard Horowitz (C)	9,503	7.1
7 Joseph P. Addabbo (D, R, L)*	73,066	94.9
Mark Elliott Scott (C)	3,935	5.1
8 Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D, L)*	74,872	78.6
Albert Lemishow (R)	15,165	15.9
Paul C. Ruebenacker (C)	5,165	5.4
9 Geraldine A. Ferraro (D)	51,350	54.2
Alfred A. DelliBovi (R, C)	42,108	44.4
Theodore E. Garrison (L)	1,329	1.4
10 Mario Biaggi (D, R, L)*	77,979	95.0
Carmen Ricciardi (C)	4,082	5.0
11 James H. Scheuer (D, L)*	58,997	78.5
Kenneth Huhn (R, C)	16,206	21.5
12 Shirley Chisholm (D, L)*	25,697	87.8
Charles Gibbs (R)	3,580	12.2
13 Stephen J. Solarz (D, L)*	68,837	81.1
Max Carasso (R, C)	16,002	18.9
14 Frederick Richmond (D, L)*	31,339	76.9
Arthur Bramwell (R)	7,516	18.4
Ralph J. Carrano (C)	1,330	3.3
Sharon D. Grant (SOC WORK)	560	1.4
15 Leo C. Zeferetti (D, C)*	49,272	68.1
Robert P. Whelan (R)	20,508	28.4
Ronald Seminara (L)	2,551	3.5
16 Elizabeth Holtzman (D, L)*	59,703	81.9
Larry Penner (R, UT)	9,405	12.9
John H. Fox (C)	3,782	5.2
17 John M. Murphy (D)*	54,228	54.2
John Michael Peters (R, C)	33,071	33.1
Thomas H. Stokes (L)	12,662	12.7
18 Carter Burden (D, L)	53,434	46.7
S. William Green (R)*	60,867	53.3
19 Charles B. Rangel (D, R, L)*	59,731	96.4
E. Freeman Yearling (C)	1,648	2.7
Kenneth B. Miliner (SOC WORK)	612	1.0
20 Ted Weiss (D, L)*	64,275	84.6
Harry Torczyner (R)	11,661	15.4
21 Robert Garcia (D, R, L)*	23,950	98.0
Lawrence W. Lindsley Sr. (C)	499	2.0
22 Jonathan B. Bingham (D, L)*	58,727	84.1
Anthony J. Geidel Jr. (R, C)	11,110	15.9
23 Peter A. Peyser (D)	66,354	51.6
Angelo R. Martinelli (R, C)	59,455	46.2
John P. Hagan (L)	2,763	2.1
24 Richard L. Ottinger (D)*	75,397	56.1
Michael R. Edelman (R, C)	57,451	42.7
Richard O. Reyes (L)	1,423	1.1
Michael O. Billington (LAB)	192	0.1
25 Gunars M. Ozols (D)	31,213	21.3
Hamilton Fish Jr. (R)*	114,641	78.2
Frank Fletcher (SOC LAB)	679	0.5
26 Charles E. Holbrook (D, L)	41,870	30.0
Benjamin A. Gilman (R)*	87,059	62.3
William R. Schaeffer Jr. (C)	10,708	7.7
27 Matthew F. McHugh (D)*	83,413	55.8
Neil Tyler Wallace (R, C)	66,177	44.2
28 Samuel S. Stratton (D)*	139,575	76.3
Paul H. Tocker (R, C)	36,017	19.7
Richard A. Hind (L)	7,353	4.0
29 Edward W. Pattison (D, L)*	84,705	46.0
Gerald B. Solomon (R, C)	99,518	54.0
30 Norma A. Bartle (D, L)	55,785	39.5
Robert C. McEwen (R, C)*	85,478	60.5
31 Donald J. Mitchell (R, C)*	X	100.0
32 James M. Hanley (D)*	76,251	52.4
Peter J. Del Giorno (R, C)	67,071	46.1
Lillian E. Reiner (L)	2,149	1.5
33 Roy A. Bernardi (D)	58,286	39.5
Gary A. Lee (R)	82,501	56.0
Robert J. Byrne (C)	4,972	3.4
Lynne Budzinski (L)	1,695	1.1
34 Frank Horton (R, D)*	122,785	87.1
Leo J. Kesselring (C)	18,127	12.9
35 Francis C. Repicci (D)	36,428	26.3
Barber B. Conable Jr. (R)*	96,119	69.4
Karen A. Hammel (C)	6,046	4.4
36 John J. LaFalce (D, L)*	99,497	74.1
Francina J. Cartonia (R)	31,527	23.5
Francis P. Mundy (C)	3,233	2.4
37 Henry J. Nowak (D, L)*	70,911	78.6
Charles Poth III (R)	17,585	19.5
Khushro Ghandhi (LAB)	274	0.3
Dunston L. Haettenschwiller (C)	1,501	1.7
38 Jack F. Kemp (R, C)*	113,928	94.8
James A. Peck (L)	6,204	5.2
39 Stanley N. Lundine (D)*	79,385	58.5
Crispin M. Maguire (R, C)	56,431	41.5

NORTH CAROLINA

Senator		
John R. Ingram (D)	516,663	45.5
Jesse Helms (R)*	619,151	54.5
House		
1 Walter B. Jones (D)*	67,716	80.1
James Newcomb (R)	16,814	19.9
2 L. H. Fountain (D)*	61,851	78.2
Barry L. Gardner (R)	15,988	20.2
Leslie L. Koehler (LIBERT)	1,214	1.5
3 Charlie Whitley (D)*	54,452	71.1
Willard J. Blanchard (R)	22,150	28.9
4 Ike F. Andrews (D)*	74,249	94.4
Naudeen Beek (LIBERT)	4,436	5.6
5 Stephen L. Neal (D)*	68,778	54.2
Hamilton C. Horton Jr. (R)	58,161	45.8
6 Richardson Preyer (D)*	58,193	68.4
George Bemus (R)	26,882	31.6
7 Charlie Rose (D)*	53,696	69.9
Raymond C. Schrump (R)	23,146	30.1
8 W. G. (Bill) Hefner (D)*	63,168	59.0
Roger Austin (R)	43,942	41.0
9 Charles Maxwell (D)	29,761	30.7
James G. Martin (R)*	66,157	68.3
F. W. (Rick) Pasotto (LIBERT)	906	0.9
10 James T. Broyhill (R)*	X	100.0
11 Lamar Gudger (D)*	75,460	53.4
R. Curtis Ratcliff (R)	65,832	46.6

NORTH DAKOTA

House

AL Bruce Hagen (D)	68,016	30.9
Mark Andrews (R)*	147,746	67.1
Don Klingensmith (NAT S)	1,389	0.6
Harley J. McLain (I)	3,197	1.5

OHIO

Governor

Richard F. Celeste (D)	1,354,631	47.6
James A. Rhodes (R)*	1,402,167	49.3
Allan Friedman (I)	21,951	0.8
John O'Neill (I)	29,413	1.0
Patricia H. Wright (I)	35,164	1.2

House

1 Timothy M. Burke (D)	38,669	33.9
Bill Gradison (R)*	73,593	64.5
Joseph E. May (I)	1,907	1.7
2 Thomas A. Luken (D)*	64,522	52.4
Stanley J. Aronoff (R)	58,716	47.6
3 Tony P. Hall (D)	62,849	53.8
Dudley P. Kircher (R)	51,833	44.4
Alfred R. Deptula (I)	2,122	1.8
4 John W. Griffin (D)	39,360	31.5
Tennyson Guyer (R)*	85,575	68.5
5 James R. Sherck (D)	51,071	37.4
Delbert L. Latta (R)*	85,547	62.6
6 Ted Strickland (D)	46,318	35.1
William H. Harsha (R)*	85,592	64.9
7 Clarence J. Brown (R)*	X	100.0
8 Lou Schroeder (D)	32,493	28.6
Thomas N. Kindness (R)*	81,156	71.4
9 Thomas L. Ashley (D)*	71,709	63.4
John C. Hoyt (R)	34,326	30.3
Edward Silvio Emery (I)	2,563	2.3
Michael J. Lewinski (I)	4,530	4.0
10 James A. Plummer (D)	35,039	26.1
Clarence E. Miller (R)*	99,329	73.9
11 Patrick J. Donlin (D)	37,131	28.3
J. William Stanton (R)*	89,327	68.[illegible]
Robert D. Penny (I)	4,723	3.6
12 James L. Baumann (D)	61,698	43.1
Samuel L. Devine (R)*	81,573	56.9
13 Don J. Pease (D)*	80,875	65.1
Mark W. Whitfield (R)	43,269	34.9
14 John F. Seiberling (D)*	82,356	72.5
Walter J. Vogel (R)	31,311	27.5
15 Henry W. Eckhart (D)	37,000	28.9
Chalmers P. Wylie (R)*	91,023	71.1
16 Owen S. Hand Jr. (D)	29,640	22.0
Ralph S. Regula (R)*	105,152	78.0
17 Kenneth R. Grier (D)	42,117	32.6
John M. Ashbrook (R)*	87,010	67.4
18 Douglas Applegate (D)*	71,894	59.5
Bill Ress (R)	48,931	40.5
19 Charles J. Carney (D)*	69,977	49.3
Lyle Williams (R)	71,890	50.7
20 Mary Rose Oakar (D)*	X	100.0
21 Louis Stokes (D)*	58,934	86.1
Bill Mack (R)	9,533	13.9
22 Charles A. Vanik (D)*	87,551	66.0
Richard W. Sander (R)	30,935	23.3
Robert E. Lehman (I)	6,960	5.2
James F. Sexton (I)	7,126	5.4
23 Ronald M. Mottl (D)*	99,975	74.8
Homer S. Taft (R)	33,732	25.2

OKLAHOMA

Governor

George Nigh (D)	402,240	51.7
Ron Shotts (R)	367,055	47.2
Billy Joe Clegg (I)	3,887	0.5
Jim McCuiston (I)	1,837	0.2
Floyd Shealy (I)	2,395	0.3

Senator

David L. Boren (D)	493,953	65.5
Robert B. Kamm (R)	247,857	32.9
Richard K. Carter (I)	2,209	0.3
Riley Donica (I)	3,355	0.4
Glenn E. Hager (I)	3,875	0.5
Paul E. Trent (I)	3,015	0.4

House

1 James R. Jones (D)*	73,886	59.9
Paula Unruh (R)	49,404	40.1
2 Mike Synar (D)	72,583	54.8
Gary L. Richardson (R)	59,853	45.2
3 Wes Watkins (D)*	[illegible]	100.0
4 Tom Steed (D)*	62,993	60.3
Scotty Robb (R)	41,421	39.7
5 Jesse Dennis Knipp (D)	17,978	20.1
Mickey Edwards (R)*	71,451	79.9
6 Glenn English (D)*	103,512	74.2
Harold Hunter (R)	36,031	25.8

OREGON

Governor

Robert Straub (D)*	409,411	44.9
Victor Atiyeh (R)	498,452	54.7

Senator

Vernon Cook (D)	341,616	38.3
Mark O. Hatfield (R)*	550,165	61.6

House

1 Les AuCoin (D)*	158,706	62.9
Nick Bunick (R)	93,640	37.1
2 Al Ullman (D)*	152,099	69.1
Terry L. Hicks (R)	67,547	30.7
3 Robert Duncan (D)*	151,895	84.6
Martin Simon (USLP)	27,120	15.1
4 James Weaver (D)*	124,745	56.3
Jerry L. Lausmann (R)	96,953	43.7

PENNSYLVANIA

Governor

Pete Flaherty (D)	1,737,888	46.4
Richard L. Thornburgh (R)	1,966,042	52.5
Lee Frissell (CONSU)	17,593	0.5
Mark Zola (SOC WORK)	20,062	0.5

House

1 Michael (Ozzie) Myers (D)*	104,412	71.9
Samuel N. Fanelli (R)	37,913	26.1
Jeffrey D. Smith (LIBERT)	2,837	2.0
2 William H. Gray III (D)	132,594	82.0
Roland J. Atkins (R)	25,785	15.9
Anton Chaitkin (LAB)	1,059	0.7
Benjamin A. Bailey (SOC WORK)	2,321	1.4
3 Raymond F. Lederer (D)*	86,015	71.8
Raymond S. Kauffman (R)	33,750	28.2
4 Joshua Eilberg (D)*	87,555	44.2
Charles F. Dougherty (R)	110,445	55.8
5 Murray P. Zealor (D)	36,704	24.9
Richard T. Schulze (R)*	110,565	75.1
6 Gus Yatron (D)*	106,431	73.8
Stephen Mazur (R)	37,746	26.2
7 Robert W. Edgar (D)*	79,771	50.3
Eugene D. Kane (R)	78,403	49.4
Anthony Esposito (LAB)	540	0.3
8 Peter H. Kostmayer (D)*	89,276	61.1
G. Roger Bowers (R)	56,776	38.9
9 Blaine L. Havice Jr. (D)	33,882	25.1
Bud Shuster (R)*	101,151	74.9
10 Gene Basalyga (D)	35,721	23.5
Joseph M. McDade (R)*	116,003	76.5
11 Daniel J. Flood (D)*	61,433	57.5
Robert P. Hudock (R)	45,335	42.5
12 John P. Murtha (D)*	104,216	68.7
Luther V. Elkins (R)	47,442	31.3
13 Alan B. Rubenstein (D)	47,151	29.5
Lawrence Coughlin (R)*	112,711	70.5
14 William S. Moorhead (D)*	68,004	57.0
Stan Thomas (R)	49,992	41.9
Stanley James Kuziel (AM)	1,206	1.0
15 Fred B. Rooney (D)*	58,077	46.8
Donald L. Ritter (R)	65,986	53.2
16 Charles W. Boohar (D)	27,386	23.0
Robert S. Walker (R)*	91,910	77.0
17 Allen E. Ertel (D)*	79,234	59.6
Thomas R. Rippon (R)	53,613	40.4
18 Doug Walgren (D)*	88,299	57.1
Ted Jacob (R)	65,088	42.1
James Gelvin (LAB)	1,284	0.8
19 Rajeshwar Kumar (D)	28,577	21.3
Bill Goodling (R)*	105,424	78.7
20 Joseph M. Gaydos (D)*	97,745	72.1
Kathleen M. Meyer (R)	37,745	27.9
21 Don Bailey (D)	73,712	52.9
Robert H. Miller (R)	65,622	47.1
22 Austin J. Murphy (D)*	99,559	71.6
Marilyn C. Ecoff (R)	39,518	28.4
23 Joseph S. Ammerman (D)*	61,657	45.7
William F. Clinger Jr. (R)	73,194	54.3
24 Joseph P. Vigorito (D)	48,894	36.0
Marc L. Marks (R)*	87,041	64.0
25 Eugene V. Atkinson (D)	68,293	46.5
Tim Shaffer (R)	62,160	42.3
John W. Cook (I)	5,907	4.0
Robert Morris (I)	10,588	7.2

RHODE ISLAND

Governor

J. Joseph Garrahy (D)*	197,386	62.8
Lincoln C. Almond (R)	96,596	30.7
Joseph A. Doorley Jr. (I)	20,381	6.5

Senator

Claiborne Pell (D)*	229,557	75.1
James G. Reynolds (R)	76,061	24.9

House

1 Fernand J. St Germain (D)*	86,768	61.2
John J. Slocum Jr. (R)	54,912	38.8
2 Edward P. Beard (D)*	87,397	52.6
Claudine Schneider (R)	78,725	47.4

SOUTH CAROLINA

Governor

Richard W. Riley (D)	385,016	61.4
Edward L. Young (R)	236,946	37.8
Judy Reynolds (IP)	5,338	0.9

Senator

Charles D. (Pug) Ravenel (D)	281,119	44.4
Strom Thurmond (R)*	351,733	55.6

House

1 Mendel J. Davis (D)*	65,832	60.6
C. C. Wannamaker (R)	42,811	39.4
2 Jack Bass (D)	53,021	42.7
Floyd Spence (R)*	71,208	57.3
3 Butler Derrick (D)*	81,638	82.0
Anthony Panuccio (R)	17,973	18.0
4 Max M. Heller (D)	45,484	46.2
Carroll A. Campbell Jr. (R)	51,377	52.1
Don Sprouse (I)	1,693	1.7
5 Ken Holland (D)*	63,538	82.7
Harold Hough (I)	13,251	17.3
6 John W. Jenrette Jr. (D)*	X	100.0

SOUTH DAKOTA

Governor

Roger D. McKellips (D)	112,679	43.4
William J. Janklow (R)	147,116	56.6

Senator

Don Barnett (D)	84,767	33.2
Larry Pressler (R)	170,832	66.8

House

1 Thomas A. Daschle (D)	64,683	50.1
Leo K. Thorsness (R)	64,544	49.9

2 Bob Samuelson (D)	55,516	44.0
James Abdnor (R)*	70,780	56.0

TENNESSEE

Governor

Jake Butcher (D)	523,495	44.0
Lamar Alexander (R)	661,959	55.6
Jessie D. McDonald (I)	1,988	0.2
Claude E. Montgomery (I)	921	0.1
William Bryan Thompson (I)	1,230	0.1

Senator

Jane Eskind (D)	466,228	40.3
Howard H. Baker Jr. (R)*	642,644	55.5
Thomas J. Anderson (I)	45,908	4.0
Fern L. Keasler (I)	2,243	0.2

House

1 Gordon Ball (D)	50,694	35.5
James H. (Jimmy) Quillen (R)*	92,143	64.5
2 Margaret Francis (D)	27,745	18.2
John J. Duncan (R)*	125,082	81.8
3 Marilyn Lloyd (D)*	108,282	88.9
Dan East (I)	13,535	11.1
4 Albert Gore Jr. (D)*	X	100.0
5 Bill Boner (D)	68,608	51.4
Bill Goodwin (R)	47,288	35.4
Henry Haile (I)	17,674	13.2
6 Ron Arline (D)	38,954	25.4
Robin L. Beard Jr. (R)*	114,630	74.6
7 Ed Jones (D)*	96,863	72.9
Ross Cook (R)	36,003	27.1
8 Harold E. Ford (D)*	80,776	69.7
Duncan Ragsdale (R)	33,679	29.1
Dick Whitmore (I)	1,460	1.3

TEXAS

Governor

John L. Hill (D)	1,166,979	49.2
Bill Clements (R)	1,183,839	50.0
Mario C. Compean (LRU)	14,207	0.6
Sara Jean Johnston (SOC WORK)	4,627	0.2

Senator

Robert (Bob) Krueger (D)	1,139,149	49.3
John G. Tower (R)*	1,151,376	49.8
Luis A. Diaz DeLeon (LRU)	17,869	0.8
Miguel Pendas (SOC WORK)	4,018	0.2

House

1 Sam B. Hall Jr. (D)*	73,708	78.1
Fred Hudson (R)	20,700	21.9
2 Charles Wilson (D)*	66,986	70.1
Jim (Matt) Dillon (R)	28,584	29.9
3 James M. Collins (R)*	X	100.0
4 Ray Roberts (D)*	58,336	61.5
Frank S. Glenn (R)	36,582	38.5
5 Jim Mattox (D)*	35,524	50.3
Tom Pauken (R)	34,672	49.1
James Michael White (SOC WORK)	397	0.6
6 Phil Gramm (D)	66,025	65.1
Wesley H. Mowrey (R)	35,393	34.9
7 Robert L. Hutchings (D)	22,415	14.9
Bill Archer (R)*	128,214	85.1
8 Bob Eckhardt (D)*	39,429	61.5
Nick Gearhart (R)	24,673	38.5
9 Jack Brooks (D)*	50,792	63.3
Randy Evans (R)	29,473	36.7
10 J. J. Pickle (D)*	94,529	76.3
Emmett L. Hudspeth (R)	29,328	23.7
11 J. Marvin Leath (D)	53,354	51.6
Jack Burgess (R)	49,965	48.4
12 Jim Wright (D)*	46,456	68.5
Claude K. Brown (R)	21,364	31.5
13 Jack Hightower (D)*	75,271	74.9
Clifford A. Jones (R)	25,275	25.1
14 Joe Wyatt (D)	63,953	72.4
Joy Yates (R)	24,325	27.6
15 E. (Kika) de la Garza (D)*	54,560	66.2
Robert L. McDonald (R)	27,853	33.8
16 Richard C. White (D)*	53,090	70.0
Michael Giere (R)	22,743	30.0
17 Charles W. Stenholm (D)	69,030	68.1
Billy Lee Fisher (R)	32,302	31.9
18 Mickey Leland (D)	36,783	96.8
Deborah Vernier (SOC WORK)	1,235	3.2
19 Kent Hance (D)	54,729	53.2
George W. Bush (R)	48,070	46.8
20 Henry B. Gonzalez (D)*	X	100.0
21 Nelson W. Wolff (D)	63,501	43.0
Tom Loeffler (R)	84,336	57.0
22 Bob Gammage (D)*	53,443	49.4
Ron Paul (R)	54,643	50.6
23 Abraham Kazen Jr. (D)*	62,649	89.7
Augustin Mata (LRU)	7,185	10.3
24 Martin Frost (D)	39,201	54.1
Leo Berman (R)	33,314	45.9

UTAH

House

1 Gunn McKay (D)*	93,892	51.0
Jed J. Richardson (R)	85,028	46.2
Robert T. Owens (AM)	4,180	2.3
Dennis A. DeBoer (I)	894	0.5
2 Edwin B. Firmage (D)	68,899	35.3
Dan Marriott (R)*	121,492	62.3
Lawrence Rey Topham (AM)	1,940	1.0
William C. Hoyle (I)	1,323	0.7
Bruce Bangerter (I)	1,512	0.8

VERMONT

Governor

Edwin C. Granai (D)	42,482	34.1
Richard A. Snelling (R)*	78,181	62.8
Earl S. Gardner (LU)	3,629	2.9

House

AL S. Marie Dietz (D)	23,228	19.3
James M. Jeffords (R)*	90,688	75.3
Peter Diamondstone (LU)	6,505	5.4

VIRGINIA

Senator

Andrew P. Miller (D)	608,511	49.8
John W. Warner (R)	613,232	50.2

House

1 Lew Puller (D)	34,578	27.9
Paul S. Trible Jr. (R)*	89,158	72.1
2 G. William Whitehurst (R)*	X	100.0
3 David E. Satterfield III (D)*	104,550	87.7
Alan R. Ogden (I)	14,453	12.1
4 Robert W. Daniel Jr. (R)*	X	99.9
5 Dan Daniel (D)*	X	99.9
6 M. Caldwell Butler (R)*	X	99.8
7 Lewis Fickett (D)	46,950	35.7
J. Kenneth Robinson (R)*	84,517	64.3
8 Herbert E. Harris II (D)*	56,137	50.5
John F. Herrity (R)	52,396	47.1
Charles E. Coe (I)	2,632	2.4
9 Champ Clark (D)	47,367	38.1
William C. Wampler (R)*	76,877	61.9
10 Joseph L. Fisher (D)*	70,892	53.3
Frank Wolf (R)	61,981	46.6

WASHINGTON

House

1 Janice Niemi (D)	52,706	33.7
Joel Pritchard (R)*	99,942	64.0
John Addison (LIBERT)	3,545	2.3
2 Al Swift (D)	70,620	51.4
John Nance Garner (R)	66,793	48.6
3 Don Bonker (D)*	82,616	58.6
Rick Bennett (R)	58,270	41.4
4 Mike McCormack (D)*	85,602	61.1
Susan Roylance (R)	54,389	38.9
5 Thomas S. Foley (D)*	77,201	48.0
Duane Alton (R)	68,761	42.7
Mel Tonasket (I)	14,887	9.3
6 Norman D. Dicks (D)*	71,057	60.9
James E. Beaver (R)	43,640	37.4
Mary K. Smith (SOC WORK)	2,043	1.8
7 Mike Lowry (D)	67,450	53.3
John E. Cunningham (R)*	59,052	46.7

WEST VIRGINIA

Senator

Jennings Randolph (D)*	249,034	50.5
Arch A. Moore Jr. (R)	244,317	49.5

House

1 Robert H. Mollohan (D)*	76,372	63.4
Gene A. Haynes (R)	44,062	36.6
2 Harley O. Staggers (D)*	69,683	55.3
Cleveland K. Benedict (R)	56,272	44.7
3 John M. Slack (D)*	74,837	59.2
David M. Staton (R)	51,584	40.8
4 Nick J. Rahall (D)*	X	100.0

WISCONSIN

Governor

Martin J. Schreiber (D)*	673,813	44.9
Lee Sherman Dreyfus (R)	816,056	54.4
Eugene R. Zimmerman (C)	6,355	0.4
John C. Doherty (I)	2,183	0.1
Adrienne Kaplan (I)	1,548	0.1
Henry A. Ochsner (I)	849	0.1

House

1 Les Aspin (D)*	77,146	54.5
William W. Petrie (R)	64,437	45.5
2 Robert W. Kastenmeier (D)*	99,631	57.7
James A. Wright (R)	71,412	41.3
Dick G. Fields (I)	1,697	1.0
3 Alvin Baldus (D)*	96,326	62.8
Michael S. Ellis (R)	57,060	37.2
4 Clement J. Zablocki (D)*	101,575	66.1
Elroy G. Honadel (R)	52,125	33.9
5 Henry S. Reuss (D)*	85,067	73.1
James R. Medina (R)	30,185	25.9
Paul Greenberg (I)	779	0.7
John A. Sokoly (I)	386	0.3
6 Robert J. Steffes (D)	48,785	29.6
William A. Steiger (R)*	114,742	69.6
Gordon Ponschock (C)	1,287	0.8
7 David R. Obey (D)*	110,874	62.2
Vinton A. Vesta (R)	65,750	36.9
George Olishkewych (C)	1,678	0.9
8 Robert J. Cornell (D)*	73,925	42.1
Tobias A. Roth (R)	101,856	57.9
9 Matthew J. Flynn (D)	75,207	38.8
F. James Sensenbrenner Jr. (R)	118,386	61.1

WYOMING

Governor

Ed Herschler (D)*	69,972	50.9
John C. Ostlund (R)	67,595	49.1

Senator

Raymond B. Whitaker (D)	50,456	37.8
Alan K. Simpson (R)	82,908	62.2

House

AL Bill Bagley (D)	53,522	41.4
Richard Cheney (R)	75,855	58.6

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CQ

The Year in Review:

Energy, Foreign Policy Issues Dominate Key Votes for 1979

Energy and foreign poicy issues dominated key House and Senate votes during 1979.

The key votes selected by Congressional Quarterly are a reflection of the session's preoccupation with these issues, particularly energy.

A quarter of the 1979 key votes came on energy legislation. The central matter was a windfall tax to channel to the government some of the new profits that oil companies would make as price controls on oil were phased out and eventually lifted completely. Members also considered creation of a special board to cut red tape for priority energy projects, a multibillion-dollar investment in synthetic fuels and a moratorium on nuclear plant construction.

Congress also showed considerable interest in international affairs and higher defense spending.

During the first six months of the session, much of the time was spent on foreign policy issues. One of the most hotly debated was President Carter's effort to redirect American relations away from Taiwan and toward Communist China. Members of both chambers opposed to this switch fought a losing battle, but produced some anxious moments for the administration when the roll was called.

House Key Votes

1. WINDFALL PROFITS TAX. When President Carter announced in April his plan to end gradually oil price controls, he asked Congress to tax the additional profits the government's move would bring to oil companies.

The president argued that decontrol would give the oil industry an undeserved windfall. Oil selling for $6 a barrel would suddenly triple in price, and other prices would also rise to match the world price. Carter wanted the tax revenues to be used for development of synthetic fuels, fuel assistance for the poor and aid to mass transit.

After some tinkering, the House Ways and Means Committee basically endorsed Carter's proposal. Included in its bill (HR 3919) was the tax considered most onerous by the oil industry: a permanent tax on new oil discoveries.

Getting rid of that permanent tax was the principal goal of two oil-state members of the Ways and Means Committee — James R. Jones, D-Okla., and W. Henson Moore, R-La. They drafted a proposal that would end the tax on newly discovered and hard-to-get oil in 1990 and lower the tax rate on other types of oil from the committee-approved rate of 70 percent to 60 percent. Carter had proposed a 50 percent rate.

The Jones-Moore proposal was designed to appeal to House moderates who wanted a tax similar to the administration's, but also wanted to encourage additional oil production. It also drew support from Republicans and Democrats from oil-producing states, who saw the substitute as their best chance to weaken the committee proposal. On June 28, the House adopted their substitute, 236-183: R 146-10; D 90-173 (ND 28-152; SD 62-21).

2. OIL PRICE CONTROLS. Congress had last squarely faced the question of domestic price controls on oil in 1975. At that time Democrats resisted a move by President Ford to end the controls. But the debate generated a compromise that set a future schedule for gradually lifting the controls, with complete decontrol scheduled for October 1981.

After that timetable was set, liberal Democrats in Congress had scrambled to block moves by Republicans and others to move up the decontrol date. It was clear the decontrol advocates were getting stronger every year.

In April 1979, President Carter announced that he would start ending price controls gradually, in anticipation of the 1981 decontrol date. He argued that controls were only encouraging energy consumption by keeping the price low and were thwarting efforts to push conservation.

But Carter's action led to an outburst from liberal Democrats, who said decontrol would feed the already fat oil industry at the expense of poor and middle income Americans.

Although they realized they were short of votes, supporters of oil price controls wanted House members on the record on the question. During Oct. 11 action on the Energy Department authorization bill (HR 3000), Toby Moffett, D-Conn., proposed an amendment to keep the agency from lifting controls. But he lost, 135-257: R 7-137; D 128-120 (ND 119-53; SD 9-67).

3. ENERGY MOBILIZATION BOARD. The House generally agreed with President Carter's proposal to create a special board to cut red tape for priority energy projects, such as pipelines, refineries and synthetic fuels plants. But it faced a debate over just how much power that board should have.

The Commerce Committee had sparked opposition when it wrote a bill giving the board the authority to recommend to the president a waiver of substantive laws, such as

How Votes Were Selected

Congressional Quarterly each year selects a series of key votes on major issues.

Selection of Issues. An issue is judged by the extent it represents one or more of the following:

- A matter of major controversy.
- A test of presidential or political power.
- A decision of potentially great impact on the nation and lives of Americans.

Selection of Votes. For each group of related votes on an issue, only one key vote is usually chosen. This is the vote, in the opinion of Congressional Quarterly editors, that was important in determining the outcome.

In the description of the key votes, the designation ND denotes Northern Democrats and SD denotes Southern Democrats.

clean air rules. A board with more modest powers had been recommended by the Interior Committee.

When the bill (HR 4985) reached the floor, the Interior proposal for a board with more limited powers failed by a narrow margin, 192-215. Then Bob Eckhardt, D-Texas, offered an amendment to strike the provision in the Commerce bill giving the board authority over substantive federal law.

Noting that the president also opposed the substantive waiver provision, Eckhardt argued that it would threaten laws worked out by Congress over many years. Joining him in opposition was conservative Robert E. Bauman, R-Md. In response to arguments that a strong board could improve energy security, Bauman replied: "Some of us feel that if we destroy the Constitution, we have lost the greatest assurance of security we have."

Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, spoke for the opposition, saying the Eckhardt amendment would "make a shambles of any opportunity Congress might have to expedite an energy project under this legislation." The author of the waiver provision, John D. Dingell, D-Mich., also attacked the amendment.

On Nov. 1, the House opted for a more powerful board and rejected the Eckhardt proposal, 153-250: R 27-121; D 126-129 (ND 112-63; SD 14-66).

4. NUCLEAR PLANT MORATORIUM. The March accident at the Three Mile Island reactor in Pennsylvania prompted nuclear critics in Congress to seek a six-month halt in construction of new reactors.

Rep. Edward J. Markey, D-Mass., and others argued that a six-month pause would allow the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to incorporate into its safety rules any lessons learned from the accident. Because the proposed reactors would not be operating for several years, they said, the moratorium would not reduce energy supplies. Markey had support from the House Interior Committee, but not from the other panel with jurisdiction, the Commerce Committee.

Opponents of a moratorium contended it was intended only as a symbolic attack against the nuclear industry. They noted the moratorium would have little practical effect since the NRC itself had said no new construction permits would be issued for several months, until after reforms prompted by Three Mile Island had been carried out. And they pointed to the situation in Iran, where Americans were being held hostage in the U.S. Embassy, as a reminder of unstable oil supplies, which they said nuclear power could replace.

On Nov. 29, when Markey offered the moratorium plan as an amendment to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission authorization bill (HR 2608), the House overwhelmingly rejected the proposal, 135-254: R 23-121; D 112-133 (ND 105-60; SD 7-73).

5. HOSPITAL COST CONTAINMENT. President Carter suffered a critical loss in his three-year campaign to clamp down on rising hospital costs when the House Nov. 15 emphatically rejected a compromise version of his hospital cost containment legislation (HR 2626).

The vote came on an amendment by a respected younger Democrat, Richard A. Gephardt, Mo., to drop mandatory hospital revenue controls from the bill and authorize only a new national commission to study the problem of hospital costs. The House subsequently passed the commission proposal, which White House press secretary Jody Powell termed "a joke."

Gephardt's substitute was adopted 234-166, with 99 Democrats joining an almost solid bloc of Republicans to defeat the president's proposal: R 135-8; D 99-158 (ND 43-137; SD 56-21).

Conservative members of both parties voted against the president, and so did a significant number of younger Democrats like Gephardt with reputations for loyalty to the president. Gephardt's proposal had originally been proposed by Republicans in House committees.

The American Medical Association, hospital organizations and big business had run a sophisticated, sustained lobbying campaign against the president's bill, overwhelming supporters from groups representing the elderly and organized labor.

Carter tried hard to paint his proposal as a key anti-inflation measure. Administration officials had also substantially compromised their original 1977 bill, bidding for support by providing for exemptions or special treatment for more than half the nation's hospitals.

But opponents argued that the bill would add another costly burden of regulation for hospitals, and that curbing hospital revenues would freeze medical technology and foreclose future life-saving discoveries.

6. RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. The same day (March 8) that the Senate defeated an attempt to virtually retain the mutual defense treaty with Taiwan, the House turned down a conservative move to restore relations between the United States and the Republic of China on Taiwan. The tandem votes assured congressional acceptance of President Carter's plan to conduct relations with Taiwan on an "unofficial" basis, a key part of the administration's new China policy.

The downgrading of U.S. ties with Taiwan, including the termination of a mutual defense treaty with that nation, had cleared the way for Carter to establish relations with the People's Republic of China on the mainland. Both houses of Congress accepted Carter's new policy toward China in spite of widespread friendship on Capitol Hill for the Taiwan government. Congress did, however, insist on a resolution of support for Taiwan's independence.

The key vote on the House side came on an amendment by Dan Quayle, R-Ind., to the Taiwan relations act (HR 2479) establishing a quasi-government corporation to handle future relations with the Taiwan people on an unofficial basis. Quayle's amendment would have raised the level of the U.S. presence in Taiwan to a "government liaison office," similar to the office the United States had maintained in Peking from 1974 until March 1979. Administration officials said such an office would re-establish formal ties with Taiwan, in violation of Carter's agreement with Peking.

The Quayle amendment was narrowly defeated 172-181: R 113-13; D 59-168 (ND 27-131; SD 32-37). The vote showed that conservatives did not have sufficient support to overturn Carter's China policy.

7. RELATIONS WITH PANAMA. After watching the Senate struggle with the controversial Panama Canal treaties in 1978, the House got its chance in 1979 to take a stand on turning the canal over to Panama. President Carter sent Congress legislation that was needed to carry out the treaties.

Although an overwhelming majority of House members clearly opposed the treaties, the House rejected most attempts by conservatives to tack restrictions on the imple-

menting legislation. Carter said some of the conservative's proposed restrictions violated the treaties, thus legally giving Panama the right to take over the canal immediately if they were enacted. The treaties require the United States and Panama to run the canal jointly until the year 2000, when Panama would assume full control of the waterway.

The major attempt by conservatives to overturn the treaties was on an amendment by George Hansen, R-Idaho, to the implementing bill (HR 111). Hansen's amendment would have required Panama to reimburse the United States for most of its costs in implementing the treaties. The administration said that violated the treaties, which obligated the United States to pay such expenses.

Hansen charged that Carter deliberately lied to the American people in 1978 when he said the treaties would not cost the taxpayers anything. Hansen estimated that moving military bases and other expenses would total $2 billion to $4 billion. The Carter administration initially put the treaty cost at $385 million, but eventually admitted the cost could run as high as $1 billion.

When Hansen offered his amendment on the House floor, John M. Murphy, D-N.Y., introduced a substitute that required some of the U.S. treaty costs to be paid by the users of the canal rather than by the United States or Panama. The administration supported Murphy's substitute as the best alternative to Hansen's amendment.

The House accepted the Murphy substitute by a vote of 220-200: R 25-132; D 196-68 (ND 155-26; SD 40-42). The vote indicated that the administration barely had enough support in the House to defeat conservative attempts to derail the treaties.

Although the House later adopted other provisions that Carter claimed violated the treaties, the Senate approved a bill much closer to the administration position. A compromise finally adopted in September generally resembled the House version, but did not include the Hansen-type provisions that Carter most feared.

8. DRAFT REGISTRATION. In what was widely interpreted as a vote against resuming the military draft, the House Sept. 12 rejected, 259-155, a proposal to initiate registration of 18-year-old males for a future draft should an international emergency occur. The vote came on an amendment by Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., to delete the proposal from the fiscal 1980 defense procurement authorization bill (HR 4040). The registration provision, which was opposed by President Carter, had been added to the bill by the House Armed Services Committee.

House members still disillusioned by the Vietnam experience were joined in opposition to registration by some conservatives who traditionally take a hard line on defense issues, but also oppose governmental intrusions into Americans' private lives. Majorities of both parties backed the Schroeder amendment: R 83-69; D 176-87 (ND 154-30; SD 22-57).

There was no connection theoretically between the registration proposal and the future of the all volunteer army. Registration supporters argued that the decision to move from conscription to an all-volunteer force in the early 1970s was based, in part, on the assumption that registration would continue so that in the event of a war the draft could be resumed quickly. Under the current skeleton Selective Service structure, it would take months to gear up the system and process the first recruits for the armed services.

Opponents of the committee's provision charged it would be a foot in the door for eventual resumption of peacetime conscription, and that if the Pentagon had easy access to a large manpower pool, presidents would be more likely to consider military interventions around the globe.

Some registration supporters also used the proposal to debate the all-volunteer army. Since early 1977 defense hard-liners had been citing a wide range of Army manpower problems as evidence that U.S. defense needs could not be met by the all-volunteer system. They cited the Army's recurrent shortage of recruits, especially those scoring high on aptitude tests.

But supporters of the all-volunteer system maintained that the shortages could be corrected by offering special bonuses and fringe benefits to attract the kind of recruits wanted by the Army.

9. BUDGET DISCIPLINE. Senate Budget Committee Chairman Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, lost his fight to test Congress' fiscal discipline when the House Nov. 8 approved a second fiscal 1980 budget resolution (S Con Res 36) that excluded Senate-passed provisions requiring certain committees to make $3.6 billion in spending cuts. The vote was 205-190: R 0-145; D 205-45 (ND 146-26; SD 59-19).

The House vote doomed the use of "reconciliation" instructions to ensure that committees met the spending limits set in the budget resolution.

The Senate had approved the budget-cutting technique under prodding by Muskie. But House Budget Chairman Robert N. Giaimo, D-Conn., maintained the House would not accept a budget containing such orders.

After the House rejected the enforcement provision, Muskie and his panel worked to create a substitute that would encourage committees to spend within their limits.

Their alternative — language banning a third budget resolution to bail out committees that had overspent — was ultimately approved by both chambers. But many lawmakers questioned whether the "sense of Congress commitment" would prevent Capitol Hill from hiking the fiscal 1980 budget if the economy turned sharply down, as most experts predicted.

10. FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION POWERS. The controversy over whether Congress should be allowed to veto the Federal Trade Commission's actions continued in 1979. The dispute had forced the agency to receive funds outside the normal authorization-appropriation process since fiscal 1977, with the House demanding a congressional veto while the Senate opposed it.

The House again approved an authorization bill (HR 2313) with provisions to rein in the agency by subjecting all regulatory actions to a congressional veto and banning some activities outright. The veto seemed to have its best chance of passage in 1979 because of the anti-regulatory climate.

FTC rules carry the weight of law for businesses, and critics said the agency was exceeding its mandate to protect consumers and business against fraud and deception. Government should be controlled by elected officials, they said.

Business lobbied heavily for the veto provision. Consumer groups supported the FTC as a protector of their interests in the marketplace.

Opponents, including President Carter, argued that the one-chamber veto was unconstitutional because it encroached on the authority of the executive branch.

The bill allowed congressional veto of any FTC rule and permitted one chamber to veto if the other did not adopt a resolution of disapproval within 30 days. The bill also barred the FTC from regulating the funeral home in-

dustry and investigating or prosecuting antitrust cases against agricultural cooperatives. The vote Nov. 27 to pass the bill was 321-63: R 138-2; D 183-61 (ND 110-56; SD 73-5).

11. WELFARE REFORM. House approval of President Carter's scaled-down welfare reform bill (HR 4904) on Nov. 7 showed that a step-by-step approach to changing the welfare system had a much better chance of succeeding in Congress than an effort to make a wholesale restructuring of the system all at once.

The 222-184 victory for the president's plan was in marked contrast to the failure of the administration's comprehensive reform proposal to even reach the House floor in the 95th Congress.

However, the regional and party breakdown of the vote, which showed Northern Democrats sharply split from the conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats — R 29-118; D 193-66 (ND 165-15; SD 28-51) — illustrated the continuing deep division over what reform of the welfare system — a goal sought by all — really meant.

To supporters of the bill, the provisions establishing a national minimum benefit for welfare recipients and allowing unemployed two-parent families in all states to get benefits were modest but essential steps toward helping the very poorest of the poor.

But to opponents, the provisions were another step on the road to a national guaranteed income and total federal control of welfare. They argued that control should be returned to the states and that welfare recipients should be placed under tougher work requirements.

12. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. Heavy lobbying by educators, led by the powerful National Education Association (NEA), overcame widespread concerns about creation of a new federal bureaucracy when the House July 11 passed a bill establishing a separate Department of Education.

The narrow 210-206 vote for passage of the bill (HR 2444) was a critical victory in the NEA's longtime fight for the department. President Carter, who won the organization's first presidential endorsement in 1976, worked personally for the bill, and was endorsed for re-election the day after it cleared Congress.

The breakdown of the vote, R 35-117; D 175-89 (ND 108-70; SD 67-19), reflected the contrasting criticisms of the new department that came from the coalition of conservatives and liberals who opposed the bill.

Conservative Republicans said establishment of a separate department would lead to more federal control over education and threaten the traditional independence of local schools. Many liberal Northern Democrats, on the other hand, voted against the bill because of their opposition to a series of conservatively oriented amendments, added by the House, on controversial social topics such as abortion, busing and school prayer. They also feared that education programs would suffer if they were split off from health and welfare programs traditionally supported together by education, labor and social welfare interests.

13. ALASKA LANDS. Throughout 1978 and 1979, Congress had been trying to agree on legislation (HR 39) that would establish millions of acres of new national parks, wildlife refuges, forests and wild and scenic rivers in Alaska. The administration, seeking to preserve the land for future generations, had dubbed the bill its top environmental priority.

But the legislation represented a classic conflict between conservationists and developers. The developers argued that by creating national park land in some areas, Congress would preclude mining, logging and oil and gas drilling and cut off access to much-needed natural resources. Alaska's congressional delegation came down on the side of the developers.

Environmentalists had won in the House in 1978. But in 1979 both the Merchant Marine and Interior committees had reported bills considered pro-development, despite the opposition of Interior Chairman Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz.

Udall and John B. Anderson, R-Ill., with the backing of a coalition of conservation groups, then drafted a more pro-conservation bill, which they took to the full House. The measure set aside 125.4 million acres, 67 million of those as wilderness, the most restrictive classification.

When the measure finally came to a vote May 15, environmentalists thought they had the edge, but the outcome was not clear until the final vote. Udall made a motion to substitute the Udall-Anderson version of the bill. It passed 268-157: R 66-90; D-202-67 (ND 154-32; SD 48-35).

But the Senate did not pick up the ball. A version of the bill reported Oct. 30 by the Senate Energy Committee never reached the floor.

14. DIGGS CENSURE. The House voted overwhelmingly in 1979 to censure Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., for misuse of his clerk-hire funds.

The July 31 vote to censure Diggs was 414-0. Four members, including Diggs himself, voted present.

Following the reading of the censure resolution by House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., Diggs told reporters he intended to serve out the remainder of his term and seek re-election in 1980.

Diggs became only the second member of the House to be censured in this century, and the first to be censured since 1921, when Thomas L. Blanton, D-Texas (1917-37) was disciplined for having objectionable language printed in the *Congressional Record.*

Diggs was censured after he admitted in a letter to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct that he had padded his office payroll and accepted kickbacks from five of his congressional office employees. In the letter, he apologized to his colleagues for any "discredit" his actions might have brought to the House and promised to repay the U.S. Treasury $40,031.66 plus interest, which he said represented his personal gain from the kickbacks. In return for agreeing to be censured, he asked that the committee end its investigation into his financial affairs.

Diggs had been charged by the Standards Committee with 18 violations of House rules. The charges were filed after Diggs was convicted in October 1978 on 29 felony counts similar to the House charges against him. Diggs appealed the conviction, which at year's end was pending before the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

The day before the House was to vote on the censure resolution, a group of Republicans attempted to force a vote on a resolution to expel Diggs from the House. Their attempt failed when the House voted 205-197 to table — and thus kill — the expulsion resolution. Twelve Republicans joined 193 Democrats in voting to table; 134 Republicans and 63 Democrats voted against tabling.

Under the Constitution, a two-thirds majority of the House is required to expel a member. O'Neill later issued a statement critical of the Republicans for injecting partisan politics into what he said had been formerly a non-partisan deliberation.

15. ANTI-BUSING AMENDMENT. The House July 24 decisively turned back a proposed constitutional amendment to ban busing for purposes of school desegregation. The proposal not only fell far short of the two-thirds vote needed for passage, but failed to get even a simple majority. It was rejected by a vote of 209-216: R 114-40; D 95-176 (ND 48-138; SD 47-38).

The overwhelming defeat was attributed to an intensive lobbying campaign against the proposal by House liberals and their civil rights allies, and to widespread reluctance, even among many busing foes, to alter the Constitution to accommodate a relatively narrow political issue.

The amendment (H J Res 74) would have barred school systems or the courts from compelling any student to attend a public school other than the one nearest his or her home to achieve racial desegregation. It also would have given Congress the power to pass legislation to enforce the amendment.

The amendment was brought to the floor under the rarely used discharge petition procedure. On June 27, busing foe Ronald M. Mottl, D-Ohio, had lined up a majority of House members (218) to sign a petition discharging the Judiciary Committee from consideration of the amendment and bringing it directly to the floor. The committee had never reported any of the numerous anti-busing amendments referred to it in recent years.

Before the key vote on passage, the House voted 227-183 to formally take the amendment away from the committee.

16. CHRYSLER AID. The House's resounding 271-136 vote Dec. 18 to provide $3.4 billion in aid to the Chrysler Corp., was won with the help of a varied contingent of lobbyists with a stake in the auto firm, lawmakers said.

The administration wanted help for the company to preserve hundreds of thousands of jobs that might be lost if it folded — a goal shared by the United Auto Workers union.

Thousands of dealers and suppliers also pleaded for aid to Chrysler so they could stay in business.

And representatives of the nation's major mayor-governor groups fought for assistance because a Chrysler collapse would double unemployment in Detroit and many other cities.

"It was a crazy combination of votes," commented one Michigan lawmaker after the bill (HR 5860) was approved.

The House-passed version of the legislation authorized $1.5 billion in loan guarantees to Chrysler if the company could raise another $1.9 billion in concessions from parties that would be hardest hit if it failed. ▮

Senate Key Votes

1. FILIBUSTER LIMITATION. The Senate tightened its rules at the beginning of the 96th Congress in an effort to control the use of the post-cloture filibuster tactic by a minority of the Senate's members.

Senate rule 22 already had limited senators to one hour of debate apiece on a bill after the Senate voted to invoke cloture on that bill and thus cut off debate. But Sen. James B. Allen, D-Ala. (1969-78), began in 1976 to use repeated quorum calls, roll-call votes and other parliamentary techniques to delay Senate action even after the Senate had voted to invoke cloture, in order to kill a bill or to demand concessions from the bill's supporters. Allen's techniques soon were picked up by other senators.

Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W. Va., proposed a package of proposals at the beginning of 1979 to restrict both pre- and post-cloture filibuster delaying tactics. When strong Republican opposition developed to some of Byrd's proposals, however, he decided to go ahead with only one of them.

The proposal that was adopted required the Senate to hold a final vote on a bill within 100 hours of debate after the Senate had voted to invoke cloture. All time spent on quorum calls, roll-call votes and other parliamentary procedures were to be counted in computing the 100-hour debate ceiling. The proposal was approved by the Senate 78-16.

2. OUTSIDE INCOME LIMIT. Acting with little notice and after only a few minutes of debate, the Senate voted in early 1979 to delay for four years one of the most controversial provisions of its two-year-old ethics code. There were only about six senators on the floor at the time. Because none of them requested a recorded vote, none was taken.

The effect of the vote was to put off until 1983 a strict limitation on the amount of money senators could earn in addition to their congressional salaries. The ceiling on earned income was 15 percent of a senator's pay, or $8,625 a year at the annual salary level of $57,500 then in effect.

Government reform groups branded the vote a setback in their battle to maintain rigid standards of conduct for members of Congress and strongly criticized the senators' unwillingness to be recorded on the issue.

A few weeks later, senators agreed to a request by Sen. Gary Hart, D-Colo., to reconsider their earlier voice vote to delay the earned income limit. Senators then voted 44-54 not to reimpose the limitation. Although the second vote did not alter the end result, it quieted criticisms of the Senate's earlier action.

3. TALMADGE DISCIPLINARY ACTION. Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., was "denounced" by the Senate for financial misconduct in 1979 after a lengthy Select Ethics Committee investigation and hearings.

The proceeding against Talmadge was the first to come to a vote on the Senate floor since 1967, when Thomas J. Dodd, D-Conn. (House 1953-57; Senate 1959-71), was censured for financial misconduct.

The Senate Ethics panel began a formal investigation of Talmadge's financial affairs in December 1978 following press reports of irregularities in the senator's campaign finances and office expense account. The committee held hearings in the spring and summer of 1979 on five charges of misconduct against Talmadge.

Throughout the investigation and hearings, Talmadge denied he knowingly violated Senate rules and blamed the irregularities in his finances on accounting errors committed by his staff.

Although the Ethics Committee did not recommend Talmadge's "censure," it concluded he "knew or should have known" of the improper acts he was accused of committing, and should be "denounced." The committee said his conduct was "reprehensible" and constituted "gross neglect of duty" which "tends to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute."

The vote to denounce Talmadge was 81-15. Talmadge maintained the Senate action was a "personal victory" because there had been no finding that he intentionally violated Senate rules.

4. NEW CHINA POLICY. The Senate turned back an effort in March by congressional supporters of Taiwan that virtually would have restored the 1955 mutual defense treaty between the United States and the Republic of China on Taiwan.

The downgrading of U.S. ties with Taiwan — including the termination of the mutual defense treaty — had cleared the way for President Carter to establish relations with the People's Republic of China. Both houses of Congress went along with Carter's new policy toward Peking, in spite of widespread friendship on Capitol Hill toward the Taiwan government. Congress did, however, insist on a resolution of support for Taiwan's independence from the mainland.

The key Senate vote on the issue came on an amendment by Charles H. Percy, R-Ill, to the bill (S 245) providing for informal relations between the United States and Taiwan once the U.S. Embassy in Taipei was closed.

As reported by the Foreign Relations Committee, the bill pledged the United States to continue supplying Taiwan with defensive arms, and said any hostile action against Taiwan would be viewed with "grave concern" by the United States.

Percy proposed, instead, a declaration that any attack on Taiwan would be a threat to the "security interests" of the United States. Percy said such a statement would warn mainland China to keep its hands off Taiwan. But administration supporters said that amendment would have had the effect of restoring the defense treaty and cause a break in U.S. relations with Peking.

The Senate rejected Percy's amendment by a surprisingly close vote of 42-50: R 35-5; D 7-45 (ND 3-33; SD 4-12).

5. INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BANKS. Every year since 1977 the House has voted to prohibit the World Bank and other international development banks from using U.S. contributions to aid Vietnam, Cuba and other communist countries. And each year the Senate eliminated those prohibitions.

The same thing happened in 1979, but the Senate came closer than ever before to adopting the House-passed restrictions. A motion to delete a ban on all aid to Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, the Central African Empire, Cambodia and Laos passed by only three votes, 49-46: R 19-21; D 30-25 (ND 25-12; SD 5-13).

The closeness of the vote seemed to indicate that a growing number of senators were becoming less willing to undo House-passed restrictions on the World Bank.

Conservatives in both chambers argued that American taxpayers did not want their money going to Vietnam and other communist countries. The only way to stop such aid, they said, was to prohibit the international development banks from using U.S. money for those loans.

But the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations all agreed that the United States could not and should not place restrictions on the "indirect" money it contributes to those banks. No other nation places restrictions on its contributions, administration officials maintained. By restricting its contributions, the United States would be setting a precedent that could eventually kill the banks, they argued.

6. SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA. Ever since Rhodesia illegally declared independence from Great Britain in 1965, Congress has debated whether to use economic sanctions as a lever to force Rhodesia's white minority government to hand power over to the black majority. From 1965 to 1971 the United States complied with sanctions imposed by the United Nations. Congress lifted a ban on importation of Rhodesian chrome in 1971, but reimposed economic sanctions in 1977 at the request of President Carter.

Congressional conservatives, who have always opposed the sanctions, renewed pressure to lift them in 1978 when Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith agreed to give limited power to Rhodesian blacks. In April 1979 Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa was elected Rhodesia's first black prime minister.

Immediately after the election, conservatives renewed their call to lift sanctions. President Carter said the sanctions should remain in effect because the white minority continued to control the key government departments of defense, justice and internal security.

But the Senate on May 15, two weeks after the new government was installed, overwhelmingly passed a resolution urging Carter to lift sanctions. Sponsored by Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., the resolution was incorporated in the 1980 State Department authorization bill (HR 3363) by a vote of 75-19: R 38-2; D 37-17 (ND 20-17; SD 17-0).

Although the Senate action could not have forced Carter to lift sanctions, the overwhelming vote showed that most senators felt Rhodesia had done enough to satisfy international demands for black rule. The vote also showed a considerable switch in congressional sentiment: 20 senators who voted in 1978 to retain sanctions supported the Schweiker resolution.

The Senate vote also forced Carter to accept a later compromise that required him to lift sanctions by Nov. 15. Carter finally lifted sanctions Dec. 16, after a British governor assumed temporary authority in Rhodesia in preparation for new national elections.

7. DEFENSE SPENDING. Consideration of the SALT II arms control treaty with the Soviet Union focused the Senate's attention on national defense. A number of senators, both Republicans and Democrats, began insisting on substantial increases in military spending before they could even consider supporting the treaty.

During debate on the second fiscal 1980 budget resolution (S Con Res 36) Sept. 18, the pro-defense senators easily defeated the Senate Budget Committee and pushed an amendment to increase defense spending 3 percent above inflation in fiscal 1980. Then, in a significant — though largely symbolic — vote, they successfully pushed an amendment setting a goal of 5 percent annual real growth in the military budgets for fiscal 1981 and 1982. The vote was 55-42: R 31-7; D 24-35 (ND 9-31; SD 15-4).

8. M-X MISSILE. By an 11-77 vote: R 2-36; D 9-41 (ND 9-26; SD 0-15), the Senate Nov. 9 rejected an amendment by Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., that would have eliminated $670 million sought by the administration to begin building prototypes of a mobile, intercontinental missile, called the M-X, to replace the increasingly vulnerable Minuteman missile. The amendment was offered to the fiscal 1980 defense appropriations bill (HR 5359).

The vote reflected a widespread consensus within the Senate that the United States should develop a land-based intercontinental missile powerful enough to destroy Soviet missiles in their underground launchers. Defense experts predicted that by 1982 Soviet missiles would be sufficiently accurate to pose a severe threat to the Minuteman.

For years liberals opposed any improvements in U.S. nuclear weaponry that could pose a direct threat to Soviet weapons. If the Soviet Union thought its missile capability

was endangered, it would be more likely to use its nuclear arsenal to avert its possible destruction by the West, these members argued.

Several liberals, who in the past supported this argument, voted against the Hatfield amendment, apparently in hopes of winning conservative support for the SALT II strategic arms control treaty. But several sources doubted that there were enough such votes to kill M-X even if the SALT treaty were rejected.

Nevertheless, uncertainty remained over how to base and protect the M-X. There was strong skepticism in the Senate toward the so-called "racetrack" launching plan for M-X favored by President Carter. This was due primarily to the estimated $30 billion price tag, the complexity of the design and the tremendous human and physical impact the racetrack system would have in Nevada and Utah where it was proposed to be built. Immediately after rejecting the Hatfield amendment, the Senate adopted, 89-0, an amendment by Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, stipulating that none of the funds spent on M-X could be used to commit the missile system to any one launching system.

9. FUEL AID TO THE POOR. An example of the regional differences that frequently divide members of Congress came Nov. 14 when the Senate voted on a formula for distributing federal aid to help poor people heat their homes. Senators from Northern states were almost unanimously opposed to those from Southern states over whether the fuel aid should be "tilted" toward the cold or warm regions.

The vote came on a bill (S 1724) establishing a two-year program, for fiscal years 1981 and 1982, that was designed to respond to the rapidly rising prices of home heating fuels. The bill later was made part of the windfall profits tax measure (HR 3919).

The original version of S 1724, as reported by the Finance and Labor and Human Resources committees, used a formula that was relatively generous to Southern states. This angered Rudy Boschwitz, R-Minn., and Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, who responded with an amendment that would have steered much of the fuel aid back to the Northern states.

The regional differences were clearly shown when Muskie moved to table a Robert Dole, R-Kan., amendment that was a modified version of the committees' distribution formula. Muskie's motion to table was rejected 41-50: R 20-19; D 21-31 (ND 21-15; SD 0-16).

The issue was resolved, at least temporarily, when the opposing factions came up with a compromise that was more favorable to the North than the committee bill, but less so than the Boschwitz-Muskie amendment. However, senators from both the North and South made clear that they thought the arrangement was unfairly favorable to the other region.

The House displayed a similar regional split when it voted on the formula for heating aid distribution for the winter of 1979-80.

10. ELECTORAL COLLEGE. A diverse Senate coalition that crossed party and ideological lines combined July 10 to defeat the proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the Electoral College and to elect the president by direct popular vote.

Some Northern liberals aligned with a majority of Republicans and Southern Democrats to thwart passage of the direct election amendment (S J Res 28). With no action on the amendment in the House, the Senate vote terminated consideration of the proposal during the 96th Congress.

For more than a decade, the amendment's major sponsor, Democratic Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, had promoted the direct vote measure. When it was last brought to the Senate floor in 1970, the amendment fell victim to a late session filibuster.

Bayh and his allies argued that the Electoral College system may have been adequate for electing a president in the nation's early years but was an anachronism in the 20th century. Proponents contended that it constantly ran the risk of a misfire, sending a popular vote loser to the White House because he had obtained an electoral vote majority. Such an event, they warned, could bring a constitutional crisis.

Opponents countered that the system had not misfired since 1888 and that a constitutional change in the method of electing the president could unhinge the whole federal system with its checks and balances, concurrent majorities and separation of powers.

The amendment ran ahead by a vote of 51-48: R 12-28; D 39-20 (ND 31-9; SD 8-11) but fell 15 votes short of the required two-thirds majority of those present and voting needed to approve a constitutional amendment.

11. TELLICO DAM/ENDANGERED SPECIES. The floodgates of Tennessee's Tellico Dam were closed Nov. 30 and 16,000 acres of adjacent land were slowly innundated as environmentalists lost their fight to kill the controversial $130 million project.

In 1978, the Supreme Court had halted construction of the dam, agreeing with the argument of conservationists that it would destroy the habitat of a tiny endangered fish, the snail darter. The federal Endangered Species Act barred federal public works projects that threatened an endangered species or its habitat.

But proponents of the dam and others successfully amended the law later in the year by creating a commission that would have the power to grant projects an exemption from the act. The panel took up the Tellico question in January, but it refused to allow construction to proceed.

So dam proponents went back to Congress. In June, Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., tried to get the Senate to exempt Tellico, but members refused to go along, 43-52.

Dam proponents were more successful in the House, however, and slipped a Tellico exemption into the energy and water development appropriations bill (HR 4388). Nevertheless, when that bill got to the Senate, members again refused to give Tellico the go-ahead.

But on Sept. 10, with it became clear that the House intended to stand by its position, the Senate gave up the struggle and agreed to let the project proceed. The vote was 48-44: R 28-10; D 20-34 (ND 7-29; SD 13-5).

12. SYNTHETIC FUELS. Two Senate committees considered President Carter's proposal for a multibillion-dollar national investment in synthetic fuels, which are liquids and gases made from coal, shale and other unconventional energy sources. The program was designed to reduce U.S. dependence on imported oil.

The Energy Committee, enthusiastic about the program, agreed to spend $20 billion on synfuels development and to establish a government corporation that could, if necessary, actually own a synthetic fuels plant.

But the Banking Committee was skeptical. The panel approved only a $3 billion proposal and emphasized aid

that would boost private industry development. They opposed any government ownership of plants and refused to set up the special corporation. Their proposal was supported by an odd coalition that included the Sierra Club, which worried about environmental damage from synfuels, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which opposed heavy government involvement.

When the question was put to a floor vote, senators endorsed the more ambitous Energy Committee version (S 932), which was the measure on the floor. A move to substitute the Banking version failed, 37-57: R 24-15; D 13-42 (ND 11-25; SD 2-17).

13. ENERGY MOBILIZATION BOARD. Congress was already interested in putting priority energy projects on a "fast track" through the bureaucracy when President Carter asked in July for an energy mobilization board to cut through red tape.

The Senate Energy Committee approved a board (S 1308) that could streamline procedures, such as hearings, and could even waive a procedural requirement in federal, state or local law.

But some senators argued that the board, with the president's consent, should be able to waive substantive laws, such as clean air rules, if they stood in the way of construction of an oil pipeline or other important national energy project.

Sen. Walter (Dee) Huddleston, D-Ky., offered an amendment to give the board that substantive waiver authority. It was opposed by senators who said such broad powers could be used to unravel environmental and other laws written by Congress over the past decade.

On Oct. 3, the Senate rejected the amendment, 37-56: R 16-21; D 21-35 (ND 8-29; SD 13-6).

14. NUCLEAR PLANT MORATORIUM. The March accident at the Three Mile Island reactor in Pennsylvania prompted nuclear critics in Congress to seek a six-month halt in construction of new reactors.

Sen. Gary Hart, D-Colo., and others argued that a six-month pause would allow the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to incorporate into its safety rules any lessons learned from the accident. Because the proposed reactors would not be operating for several years, they said the moratorium would not reduce energy supplies.

But opponents of a moratorium contended it was intended only as a symbolic attack against the nuclear industry. They were willing to force improvements in safety, such as requiring that states have evacuation plans in case of emergencies. But they didn't want to add to the nuclear industry's already shaky standing in the financial community or the public opinion polls. They also wanted to wait until after a presidential commission had made its report on the accident.

On July 17, Hart attempted to attach the moratorium proposal as an amendment to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission authorization bill (S 562). The move failed, 35-57: R 8-31; D 27-26 (ND 25-12; SD 2-14).

15. WINDFALL PROFITS TAX. Although the House had approved an oil windfall profits tax that would bring in $277 billion in revenues by 1990, the Senate Finance Committee had drafted a bill with a tax bite less than half that size — $138 billion.

When the bill (HR 3919) got to the Senate floor, many senators wanted to stiffen the tax. They argued that the Carter administration's decision to lift controls on oil prices combined with rising world prices generally would give the oil industry more income than it needed for additional production and exploration. Some of the extra money, they said, should go to alternative energy development, to help low-income families pay their heating bills and to improve mass transit. President Carter had urged similar uses for the funds when he first proposed the tax.

But Republicans and oil-state Democrats argued that if the tax were too stiff the oil industry would cut back on exploration and development. Congress should encourage new production, not discourage it with a heavy tax, they said. They particularly opposed any tax on new discoveries and on oil that was expensive to recover, two categories that had been exempted from the tax by the Finance Committee.

But Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., Bill Bradley, D-N.J., Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., and others wanted to add a tax on new discoveries. And they proposed a "minimum tax" of 20 percent, which would increase revenues by about $23 billion by 1990.

On Dec. 12, Finance Chairman Russell B. Long, D-La., tried to kill the Ribicoff amendment by tabling it. But, with Treasury Secretary G. William Miller and Energy Secretary Charles W. Duncan watching from the gallery, the Senate refused, 44-53: R 34-6; D 10-47 (ND 4-36; SD 6-11).

The action prompted a filibuster by amendment opponents, led by Robert Dole, R-Kan. Later, a compromise was reached that reduced the rate on newly discovered oil to 10 percent. On Dec. 14, the compromise was adopted, 78-13.

The vote on Long's tabling motion was a turning point in Senate action on the tax because it clearly showed that those wanting a tougher tax were in the majority in the Senate.

16. CHRYSLER AID. Senate passage by a 53-44 vote Dec. 19 of legislation (HR 5860) to provide $3.6 billion in aid to the ailing Chrysler Corp. ended five months of lobbying by the giant corporation for federal backing.

The company made its initial plea for help in August, arguing that record losses would push it over the brink by early 1980 unless the government helped it out with loan guarantees.

President Carter refused Chrysler's initial advances, however. He demanded more information about the company's finances, and said he would need assurances that parties with a stake in its survival — workers, dealers, creditors — also would be willing to help out.

The company, the nation's third largest auto maker, finally clocked in late in October with its financial plan, and the White House sent a $3 billion aid bill to Capitol Hill Nov. 1.

Administration officials argued that bankruptcy by the huge company would throw hundreds of thousands of workers off the job and hurt the economy.

They designed a plan that required the company to raise $1.5 billion on its own in exchange for $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees.

The administration's decision triggered a series of frantic hearings and markups, which concluded when the Banking Committee approved a $4 billion assistance plan requiring workers to take a three-year wage freeze.

That was modified on the floor to require $525 million in concessions from union workers and $150 million from non-union workers — for a total of $3.6 billion. Congress ultimately approved a $3.5 billion compromise plan. ▮

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
Stevens	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-
Goldwater	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Hayakawa	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Armstrong	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	-
Weicker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N
Roth	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	N	P	N	N	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	?	N	P	?	N	Y	Y	?
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	N	N	X	Y	?	Y	N
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
IDAHO								
Church	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
McClure	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
Culver	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Jepsen	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	+	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Huddleston	Y	N	P	N	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	?
Long	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Mathias	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N
Cochran	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Danforth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	?
Melcher	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	#	N	Y	Y	-
Laxalt	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Humphrey	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Williams	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Schmitt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Javits	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	Y	+	N	Y	Y	N
Helms	X	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Young	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	#	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Packwood	?	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Chafee	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Thurmond	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	N	P	N	Y	N	N	Y
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	?
Baker	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Tower	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
Garn	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hatch	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	N
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Warner	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Wallop	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

1. S Res 61. Senate Filibuster Rule. Adoption of the resolution to amend Senate Rule 22 to require the Senate to take a final vote on a measure on which cloture has been invoked once 100 hours of post-cloture debate have been consumed and to provide that senators who have not used time during the 100 hours of debate may speak on the measure for 10 minutes, notwithstanding the 100-hour limit. Adopted 78-16: R 23-15; D 55-1 (ND 39-0; SD 16-1), Feb. 22, 1979.

2. S Res 115. Senate Income Limitation. Adoption of the resolution to reinstate a Senate ethics code provision prohibiting a senator, beginning Jan. 1, 1979, from earning outside income of more than 15 percent of his or her Senate salary, or $8,625 at the 1979 salary level then in effect. Rejected 44-54: R 12-28; D 32-26 (ND 22-18; SD 10-8), March 28, 1979.

3. S Res 249. Sen. Herman E. Talmadge Investigation. Adoption of the resolution to "denounce" Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., for "reprehensible" conduct and "gross neglect of his duty" to supervise his office and employees. Adopted 81-15: R 34-7; D 47-8 (ND 35-4; SD 12-4), Oct. 11, 1979.

4. S 245. Taiwan Relations. Percy, R-Ill., amendment to declare that hostile action against Taiwan would be a threat to the "security interests of the United States." Rejected 42-50: R 35-5; D 7-45 (ND 3-33; SD 4-12), March 8, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

5. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the committee amendment to delete a House-passed prohibition on direct (bilateral) and indirect (multilateral) U.S. aid to Vietnam. Adopted 49-46: R 19-21; D 30-25 (ND 25-12; SD 5-13), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

6. S 586. State Department Authorization. Schweiker, R-Pa., amendment to express the sense of Congress that Rhodesia had met the U.S. conditions for lifting the economic sanctions and to urge the president to lift sanctions 10 days after a black majority government was installed. Adopted 75-19: R 38-2; D 37-17 (ND 20-17; SD 17-0), May 15, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's opinion.

7. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Part two of the Hollings, D-S.C., amendment to increase the 1981 defense spending target to $159.8 billion in budget authority and $145.6 billion in outlays (an increase of $12.5 billion and $7.3 billion respectively over the Budget Committee recommendation) and to increase the 1982 defense spending target to $180.4 billion in budget authority and $163.3 billion in outlays ($21.4 billion and $15.4 billion over the Budget Committee recommendation). Adopted 55-42: R 31-7; D 24-35 (ND 9-31; SD 15-4), Sept. 18, 1979.

8. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Hatfield, R-Ore., amendment to eliminate $670 million for development of the M-X mobile missile and include instead $20 million for conversion of existing Minuteman missiles to be carried by submarines. Rejected 11-77: R 2-36; D 9-41 (ND 9-26; SD 0-15), Nov. 9, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

(Senate votes continued on p. 16-C)

1. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Jones, D-Okla., substitute amendment to provide a tax rate of 60 percent, discontinuation of the windfall tax at the end of 1990 and other changes. Adopted 236-183: R 146-10; D 90-173 (ND 28-152; SD 62-21), June 28, 1979.

2. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Moffett, D-Conn., amendment to prohibit use of funds appropriated by the bill for expenditures related to lifting price controls on certain types of domestic crude oil. Rejected 135-257: R 7-137; D 128-120 (ND 119-53; SD 9-67), Oct. 11, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

3. HR 4985. Energy Mobilization Board. Eckhardt, D-Texas, amendment to eliminate the authority of the Energy Mobilization Board to waive substantive laws. Rejected 153-250: R 27-121; D 126-129 (ND 112-63; SD 14-66), Nov., 1, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

4. HR 2608. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Markey, D-Mass., amendment to put a moratorium on NRC issuance of new nuclear plant construction permits through April 1, 1980 (the first six months of fiscal 1980). Rejected 135-254: R 23-121; D 112-133 (ND 105-60; SD 7-73), Nov. 29, 1979.

5. HR 2626. Hospital Cost Control. Gephardt, D-Mo., substitute amendment, to the Commerce Committee substitute, to establish for three years a National Study Commission on Hospital Costs, and to authorize $10 million in fiscal 1980 and sums as needed for fiscal 1981-82 to state hospital cost control programs. Adopted 234-166: R 135-8; D 99-158 (ND 43-137; SD 56-21), Nov. 15, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Commerce Committee substitute, as amended by Gephardt, was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

6. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Quayle, R-Ind., amendment to conduct relations with Taiwan through a government "liaison office," rather than through the unofficial American Institute in Taiwan proposed by the Carter administration. Rejected 172-181: R 113-13; D 59-168 (ND 27-131; SD 32-37), March 8, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

7. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Murphy, D-N.Y., amendment, to the Hansen, R-Idaho, amendment, to restore the original language in the bill dealing with annual payments to Panama from canal revenues, property transfers to Panama and U.S. costs in implementing the 1978 canal treaties. Adopted 220-200: R 25-132; D 195-68 (ND 155-26; SD 40-42), June 20, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

8. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Schroeder, D-Colo., amendment to delete the provision in the bill as reported by the Armed Services Committee requiring mandatory draft registration and providing for a presidential study of the issue. Adopted 259-155: R 83-68; D 176-87 (ND 154-30; SD 22-57). Sept. 12, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 Nichols	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Bevill	N	?	N	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Flippo	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	N	?	N	?	#	N	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	?	N	?	N	Y	N
2 Udall	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	N	N	#	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Bethune***	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	N	X	Y	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	N	N	N	N	?	N	N
2 ***Clausen***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	N	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y	Y
9 Stark	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***[1]	Y	N	N	N	Y		N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y	?
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	#
29 Hawkins	?	Y	Y	#	N	N	Y	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	?	?	N	Y	X	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
36 Brown	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	?	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	N	?	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Johnson***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***McKinney***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	N	N
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	N	Y	X	N	Y
3 Bennett	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Young***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	N	N	N	?	?	?	Y	?
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 Mica	N	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	N
12 Stack	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	N	N	N	N	N	X	Y	#
15 Fascell	N	?	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brinkley	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	N	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Evans	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	N	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
3 Russo	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Fary	N	Y	N	N	X	N	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	N	N	#	Y	N	?
7 Collins	N	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	N	?	N	#	Y	N
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Mikva[2]	N					N	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	?	?	?	?	#	N	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	N	X	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	#	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	X	N	N	Y	#	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	N	Y
23 Price	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fithian	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N
6 Evans	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Winn***	Y	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	#	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	X	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	Y	N	?	?	?	?	Y	N
4 Leach	Y	X	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Huckaby	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	?
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	N	X	#	#	N	N
8 Long	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Snowe***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Long	N	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Spellman	?	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Early	N	Y	Y	Y	N	X	?	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	N	Y	Y	Y	X	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y
2 ***Pursell***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
3 Wolpe	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	Y	N	N	Y	X	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
10 Albosta	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	N	#	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	N	Y	?	Y	?	X	?	Y
14 Nedzi	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
15 Ford	N	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y
16 Dingell	N	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	N
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	X	N	Y	N	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	N	#	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	X	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Young	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Bolling	?	?	Y	N	N	?	?	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 Volkmer	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	N	Y	Y	N	X	N	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	?	#	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
7 Maguire	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Rodino	N	Y	#	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Minish	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	N	?	X	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 Downey	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Wydler***	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	N	#	N	N	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	Y	Y	X	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	#	N	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	N
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 Weiss	N	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y	Y
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Y 27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	#	N	N
32 Hanley	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	N	N	?	?	N	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	N	N	N	#	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	#	N	Y
36 LaFalce	N	Y	Y	N	N	X	Y	Y
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	?	?	N	?	?	N	X
2 Fountain	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Andrews	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	X
7 Rose	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	Y
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	N	N
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	N	N	N	#	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	N	N
18 Applegate	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	?
19 ***Williams***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	#	N	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	?	N	X	Y	Y
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Steed	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	N	?	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	N	Y	X	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	X	N	N	#	Y	N	N
10 ***McDade***	N	?	N	N	Y	#	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	X	?	?
12 Murtha	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	N	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?
20 Gaydos	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	C	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	#	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	N	N	?	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	?	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Holland	N	?	N	N	Y	?	Y	N
6 Jenrette	N	N	N	X	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	N	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
5 Boner	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	N	N
7 Jones	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Ford	N	?	Y	N	X	N	?	?
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	?	N	N	#	Y	N	N
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 Wright	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
15 de la Garza	Y	N	N	N	?	X	N	?
16 White	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	N	N
17 Stenholm	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
24 Frost	Y	X	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	?	?	N	?	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Harris	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	N	N	N	X	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	N	X	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	N	?	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***[3]	Y	N	N	Y	Y		N	Y
7 Obey	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N

1. Rep. Bill Royer, R-Calif., sworn in April 9, 1979.

2. Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., resigned Sept. 26, 1979.

3. Rep. Tom Petri, R-Wis., sworn in April 9, 1979.

Democrats ***Republicans***

9. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Giaimo, D Conn., motion to approve binding fiscal 1980 budget levels recommended by Senate-House conferees, but excluding Senate reconciliation instructions that directed various committees to achieve $3.6 billion in spending cuts (the conference version of the resolution set the following budget levels: budget authority, $638 billion, outlays, $547.6 billion, revenues, $517.8 billion, and deficit, $29.8 billion). Motion agreed to 205-190: R 0-145; D 205-45 (ND 146-26, SD 59-19), Nov. 8, 1979.

10. HR 2313. Federal Trade Commission Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize $75 million for Federal Trade Commission operations in fiscal 1980, $80 million in 1981 and $85 million in 1982, and to allow for a one-house veto of the commission's regulatory actions (provided the other house did not overturn the action within 30 days). Passed 321-63: R 138-2; D 183-61 (ND 110-56; SD 73-5), Nov. 27, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

11. HR 4904. Welfare Reform. Passage of the bill to establish a national minimum welfare benefit, require states to provide coverage to unemployed two parent families with children, reduce state costs, and make administrative changes designed to reduce benefits to some recipients. Passed 222-184: R 29-118; D 193-66 (ND 165-15, SD 28-51), Nov. 7, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

12. HR 2444. Education Department. Passage of the bill to establish a separate Department of Education. Passed 210-206: R 35-117; D 175-89 (ND 108-70, SD 67-19), July 11, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

13. HR 39. Alaska Lands. Udall, D-Ariz., substitute amendment (HR 3561) to create 125.4 million acres of national parks, wildlife refuges and forests in Alaska. Adopted 268-157: R 66-90; D 202-67 (ND 154-32, SD 48-35), May 26, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

14. H Res 378. Diggs Censure. Adoption of the resolution to censure Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., to order Diggs to repay the Treasury $40,031.60 and to require Diggs' employees to certify to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for the remainder of the 96th Congress that they are being paid by Diggs in full compliance with House rules. Adopted 414-0: R 153-0; D 261-0 (ND 178-0, SD 83-0), July 31, 1979.

15. H J Res 74. School Busing Amendment. Passage of the joint resolution to propose an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit compelling students to attend a school other than the one nearest their home to achieve racial desegregation. Rejected 209-216: R 114-40; D 95-176 (ND 48-138, SD 47-38), July 24, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (284 in this case) is required for passage of a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

16. HR 3860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Passage of the bill, as amended to authorize $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees, for the Chrysler Corp. to be matched by $1.93 billion from other sources, including $400 million in wage concessions by the company's unionized workers and $100 million by other employees. Passed 271-136: D 62-88; R 209-48 (ND 154-21, SD 55-27), Dec. 18, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N
2 *Dickinson*	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	?	Y	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
2 *Bethune*	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	X	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	#
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Dellums	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	N	N	#	Y	Y	Y	N	X
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
11 *Royer*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	N	?	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	N	Y	N	X	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	#	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	X	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	#	?	#	Y	Y	P	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	N	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Young*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ireland	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	#
2 Mathis	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	#
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	?	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	X
2 *Hansen*	N	?	X	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
10 Mikva[1]				#	Y	Y	N	
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	X	N	N	Y	Y	X
13 *McClory*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
15 *Corcoran*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	Y	?	Y	?	N	N
17 *O'Brien*	N	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	N	Y	X	N	N	Y	N	N
19 *Railsback*	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	Y
20 *Findley*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
21 *Madigan*	X	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	#
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Grassley*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	#	Y	Y	N	X	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	X	N	?	Y	?
4 Leach	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	?	Y
5 Huckaby	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	N	X	Y	Y	?	N
2 ***Snowe***	X	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Mikulski	#	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	X	Y	X	N	N	Y	Y	X
5 Spellman	#	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	#	N	Y	P	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	N	N	#	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Pursell***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
N 7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
N 8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
G 9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
N 10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
G 11 ***Davis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
N 12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
N 13 Diggs	Y	?	Y	Y	N	P	N	Y
N 14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
N 15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
N 16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
N 17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
N 18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
G 19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Young	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	#	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	?	Y	?	Y	?	?	Y
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Taylor***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Smith***	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	X	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?	Y
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	?	#	?	N	Y
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	X	Y	X	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	X	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	#
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	#	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	N	#	Y	N	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Solarz	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	#	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
18 ***Green***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	#	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	N	Y	P	N	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
39 Lundine	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	X	Y	N	?	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Hefner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	C
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	N
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
10 ***Miller***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
11 ***Stanton***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	X	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	C
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y	N	Y
4 Weaver	N	N	Y	#	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	#	?	?	X	N	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
17 Ertel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Walgren	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	+	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Boner	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Gramm	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
10 Pickle	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	?	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	#	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	X
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 McCormack	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N

1. Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., resigned Sept. 26, 1979.

Democrats ***Republicans***

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	#	N	Y	Y	N
Stevens	Y	N	Y	X	Y	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Goldwater	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	N	?	N	N	Y	N	N
Pryor	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Weicker	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
Roth	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Stone	N	N	N	N	N	N	X	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Talmadge	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
IDAHO								
Church	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
McClure	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Percy	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
IOWA								
Culver	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	+	N
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Kassebaum	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Huddleston	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Long	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Cohen	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	-	N	N	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Cochran	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	N	N	N	N	?	N	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y
Melcher	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Laxalt	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	N	N	X	N	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Williams	N	Y	N	#	N	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Schmitt	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	?	N	N	N	?	N	N	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	-	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Helms	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Young	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Packwood	?	+	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	N
Chafee	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	?
Thurmond	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Pressler	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Baker	N	Y	Y	?	N	?	Y	?

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Tower	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Hatch	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	#	N
Warner	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Randolph	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Wallop	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

9. S 1724. Home Energy Assistance. Muskie, D-Maine, motion to table (kill) the Dole, R-Kan., amendment, to the Boschwitz, R-Minn., amendment, to allocate heating assistance to the states according to a formula based half on heating degree days and half on residential energy expenditures, and establishing a minimum level for state allocations. Motion rejected 41-50: R 20-19; D 21-31 (ND 21-15; SD 0-16), Nov. 14, 1979.

10. S J Res 28. Direct Popular Elections. Adoption of the joint resolution to propose a constitutional amendment to abolish the electoral college and provide for direct popular election of the president and vice president. Rejected 51-48: R 12-28; D 39-20 (ND 31-9; SD 8-11), July 10, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (66 in this case) is required for passage of a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

11. HR 4388. Energy and Water Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Johnston, D-La., motion to recede from the Senate amendment to the conference report that would have removed from the bill a House-passed provision to allow completion of the Tellico Dam in Tennessee by exempting the project from the Endangered Species Act and other federal laws and instead to agree to the House position. Motion agreed to (thus clearing the bill for the president) 48-44: R 28-10; D 20-34 (ND 7-29; SD 13-5), Sept. 10, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

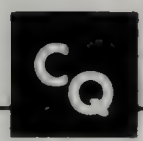
12. S 932. Defense Production Act/Synthetic Fuels. Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to substitute the Banking Committee version of Title I to provide $3 billion for synthetic fuels production, but which did not establish a special corporation to administer the funds and barred government-owned plants for the Energy Committee version of Title I of the bill. Rejected 37-57: R 24-15; D 13-42 (ND 11-25; SD 2-17), Nov. 7, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

13. S 1308. Energy Mobilization Board. Huddleston, D-Ky., amendment to authorize the president, on the board's recommendation, to waive any substantive federal law that impeded construction of a priority energy project. Rejected 37-56: R 16-21; D 21-35 (ND 8-29; SD 13-6), Oct. 3, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

14. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Hart, D-Colo., amendment to defer issuance of any new construction permits for nuclear power plants in the first six months of fiscal 1980. Rejected 35-57: R 8-31; D 27-26 (ND 25-12; SD 2-14), July 17, 1979.

15. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Long, D.-La., motion to table (kill) the Ribicoff, D-Conn., amendment to set a 20 percent tax on three types of oil: 1) newly discovered, 2) tertiary and 3) heavy oil. Motion rejected 44-53: R 34-6; D 10-47 (ND 4-36; SD 6-11), Dec. 12, 1979.

16. HR 5860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Passage of the bill to authorize $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees, to be matched by $2.1 billion from other sources, and to establish a $175 million employee stock ownership plan. Passed 53-44: R 12-27; D 41-17 (ND 30-10; SD 11-7), Dec. 19, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.



Presidential Support

Slight Drop from 1978:

Carter Voting Support Holds Steady in Congress Despite Plunge in Polls

Despite low voter approval throughout much of 1979, President Carter received substantial support for his legislative positions in congressional voting during the year.

The president won on about three of four House and Senate rolls calls on issues where he had taken a clear position, according to Congressional Quarterly's annual presidential support voting study.

The actual percentage of support dipped slightly from 1978, but far less than might have been expected for a president who had extremely low public approval ratings in national polls during many months Congress was in session.

Carter's support as measured in the Gallup Poll was below 50 percent almost all year, and dropped to a record low of 28 percent in early July. By December, his rating had climbed to 40 percent as citizens appeared to rally behind his efforts to free 50 American hostages held by Iranian militants in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

The Democratic-dominated Congress supported Carter on 76.8 percent of the votes on which he indicated a clear position. That was down from the 78.3 success rate in 1978 but still higher than his 1977 success rate of 75.4 percent. *(1977 presidential support study, 1977 Almanac p. 21-B; 1978 presidential support study, 1978 Almanac p. 22-C)*

Third Year Record

For the third year, Carter's performance in Congress fell in the middle range. Since 1953, the highest support score was 93 percent, received by President Johnson in 1965, the year after he won a landslide election victory and Democrats gained overwhelming control of both houses of Congress. The lowest was 50.6 percent for President Nixon in 1973, which many members at the time said was caused by Nixon's threat to dismantle social programs.

For 1979, CQ conducted the study using the same method it has employed every year since 1953, when it started analyzing presidential support. *(Ground rules, box, 19-C)*

Past Presidents

Carter scored lower than his two Democratic predecessors during their third years in office but higher than his Republican predecessors.

President Kennedy had an 87.1 percent rating in 1963, while Johnson had a 79 percent rating in 1967, the third year of his full term in office.

Republican President Eisenhower scored 75 percent in his third year when there was a Democratic Congress. Nixon scored 75 percent with a Democratic Congress in 1971 and Ford scored only 53.8 percent in 1976.

The Carter support score was based on 161 votes in the Senate and 145 votes in the House. The Senate inflicted 30 defeats, leaving Carter a success rate of 81.4 percent. The House defeated the president's position 41 times, for a success rate of 71.7 percent.

Carter's Defeats, Victories

Although some legislators said Carter had better relations with the Hill in 1979 than in the two previous years, his credibility in Congress was hurt by his low standing in the polls. Members had little incentive to support controversial plans of a president who seemed to be in deep political trouble.

Many Carter losses were on foreign policy issues. He lost a House vote on a bill (HR 111) to implement the 1978 Panama Canal treaties but he ultimately won on this issue. He also lost on votes on Taiwan, mutual aid treaties, and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. However, none of these defeats forced any major changes in the administration's foreign policy. Moreover, he won an important victory on his new China policy to improve relations with the People's Republic of China and an end to formal relations with Taiwan and flexibility on lifting economic sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

On energy issues, Carter's original position was rejected during some voting on the oil windfall profits tax. But as the year ended, conferees had agreed to draft a final bill acceptable to Carter.

The House handed Carter defeats when it approved a one-chamber veto of Federal Trade Commission regulations and decisively rejected his repeated pleas for hospital cost control legislation.

Success Rates

Following are the annual percentages of presidential victories since 1953 on congressional votes where the Presidents took clear-cut positions:

Eisenhower		1968	75.0
1953	89.0%		
1954	82.8	**Nixon**	
1955	75.0	1969	74.0%
1956	70.0	1970	77.0
1957	68.0	1971	75.0
1958	76.0	1972	66.0
1959	52.0	1973	50.6
1960	65.0	1974	50.6
Kennedy		**Ford**	
1961	81.0%	1974	58.2%
1962	85.4	1975	61.0
1963	87.1	1976	53.8
Johnson		**Carter**	
1964	88.0%	1977	75.4%
1965	93.0	1978	78.3
1966	79.0	1979	76.8
1967	79.0		

Carter also won important victories when Congress approved aid to financially troubled Chyrsler Corp., created a new Education Department and passed major trade legislation.

Party Differences

As is normal, the president received more support from his own party than from Republicans.

In the Senate, the average Democrat voted with the president 68 percent of the time and opposed him only 23 percent of the time. The average Republican supported the president 47 percent of the time and voted against him 46 percent of the time.

The average House Democrat supported Carter on 64 percent of the votes and went against him on 28 percent of them. The Republicans supported Carter 34 percent of the time and opposed him on 58 percent of the votes.

Regional Differences

Carter's strongest opposition and weakest support came from the South. Higher support came from the East and Midwest.

The average Eastern Democrat in the Senate supported the president 76 percent of the time; Midwestern senator, 72 percent; Western senator, 68 percent; and Southern senator, 60 percent. The pattern remained the same for Republicans, with a success rating of 58 percent from the East; 51 percent from the Midwest; and 39 percent from the West and South.

The geographical pattern was slightly different in the House. His greatest support came from Midwestern Democrats with a rating of 70 percent; 68 percent from the East and West; and 54 percent from the South. The pattern was similar for the Republicans.

The president fared poorly in the West in the 1976 election and became even less popular after taking office when he proposed important federal changes in federal water policies that Westerners felt would hurt their arid region. Western support for Carter was weak in both parties, although not quite as bad as in the South.

But despite his lower success rating in the South and West, support in those regions did grow from the previous year, while opposition generally decreased.

In the House, Southern Democrats opposed him on 39 percent of the votes while Midwesterners voted against him on 22 percent of them. Southern Republicans went against him 65 percent of the time.

On the Senate side, the average Southern Democrat deserted Carter 31 percent of the time, while Eastern members opposed him 14 percent of the time. Southern and Western Republicans opposed him on the average 53 percent and 51 percent respectively. While his strongest Republican support came from Eastern members who voted with the Democratic president 58 percent of the time, they went against him 34 percent. Midwestern Republicans voted against him 43 percent of the time, and for him 51 percent.

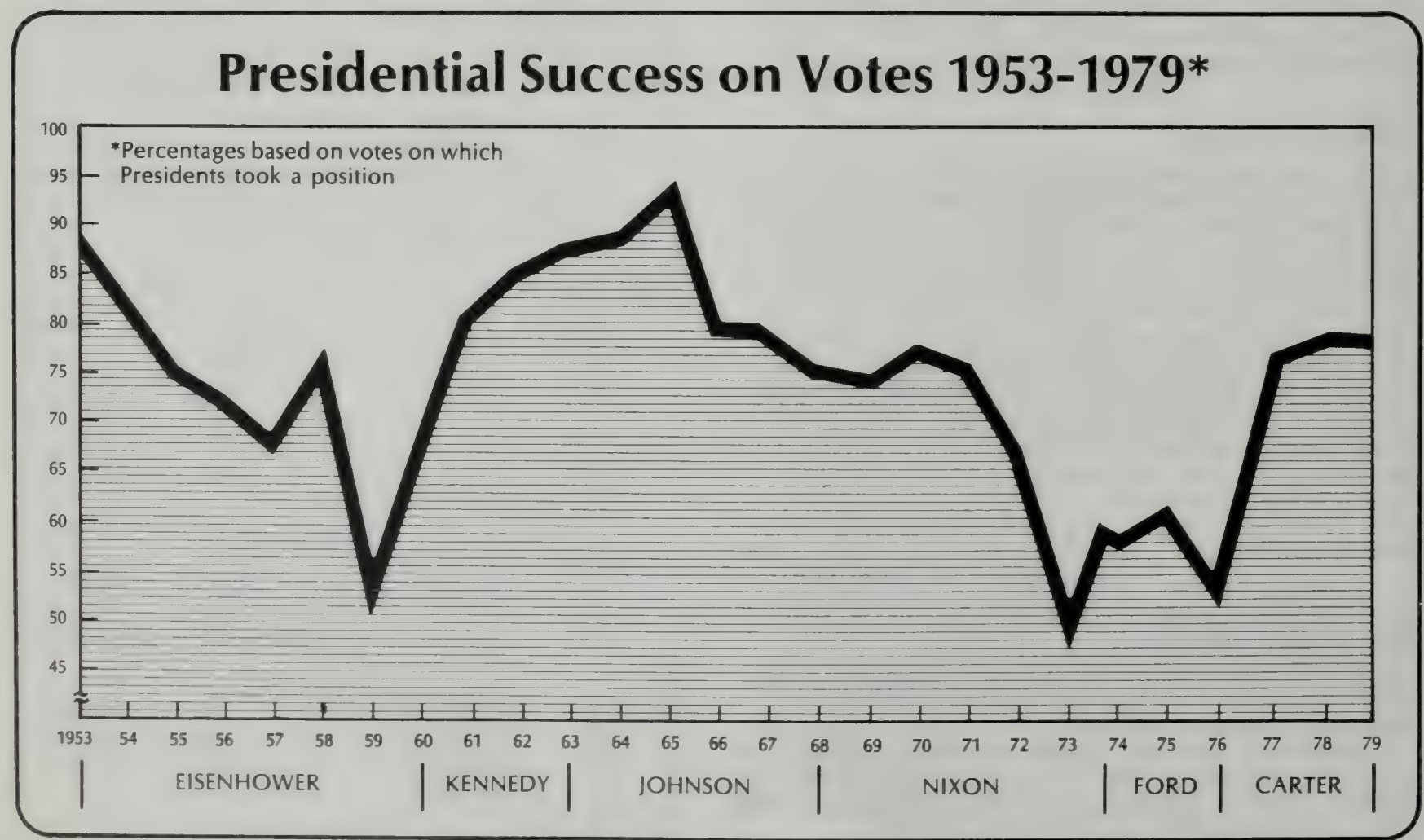
Individual Support Scores

The president's highest supporter among Senate Democrats was Carl Levin of Michigan, 91 percent.

Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, Carter's chief opponent for the presidential nomination, voted with him 73 percent of the time and opposed him only 7 percent.

Among Republicans, his highest supporter was Jacob K. Javits of New York, 82 percent.

In the House, Carter's principal Democratic voting allies were Bill D. Burlison of Missouri and Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, both 87 percent.



Ground Rules for CQ Presidential Support-Opposition

Presidential Issues — CQ tries to determine what the president personally, as distinct from other administration officials, does and does not want in the way of legislative action by analyzing his messages to Congress, press conference remarks and other public statements and documents.

Borderline Cases — By the time an issue reaches a vote, it may differ from the original form in which the president expressed himself. In such cases, CQ analyzes the measure to determine whether, on balance, the features favored by the president outweigh those he opposed or vice versa. Only then is the vote classified.

Some Votes Excluded — Occasionally, important measures are so extensively amended on the floor that it is impossible to characterize final passage as a victory or defeat for the president.

Procedural Votes — Votes on motions to recommit, to reconsider or to table often are key tests that govern the legislative outcome. Such votes are necessarily included in the presidential support tabulations.

Appropriations — Generally, votes on passage of appropriation bills are not included in the tabulations, since it is rarely possible to determine the president's position on the overall revisions Congress almost invariably makes in the sums allowed. Votes on amendments to cut or increase specific funds requested in the president's budget, however, are included.

Failures to Vote — In tabulating the support or opposition scores of members on the selected presidential-issue votes, CQ counts only "yea" and "nay" votes on the ground that only these affect the outcome. Most failures to vote reflect absences because of illness or official business. Failures to vote lower both support and opposition scores equally.

Weighting — All presidential-issue votes have equal statistical weight in the analysis.

Changed Positions — Presidential support is determined by the position of the president at the time of a vote, even though that position may be different from an earlier position, or may have been reversed after the vote was taken.

Chief Republican supporters scored in the 70 and 60 percentiles. They included Marc L. Marks of Pennsylvania, 76 percent, and Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey, 70 percent. Silvio O. Conte of Massachussetts who was the president's chief Republican supporter for two years dropped to third at 67 percent.

Individual Opposition Scores

On the Democratic side of the Senate, Carter received the most opposition from Independent Harry F. Byrd Jr. of Virginia, who caucuses with the Democrats. He opposed Carter 57 percent of the time.

Carter's leading opponents in the Senate were Republicans Jesse Helms of North Carolina, 75 percent, and Gordon J. Humphrey of New Hampshire, 71 percent.

Fellow Georgian Democrat Larry P. McDonald was Carter's chief opponent in the House, voting against the president 81 percent of the time.

State Rankings

Carter fared better in some individual states than in their regions. His highest support score in the House, for example, came from Washington, which stayed with him 75 percent of the time and opposed him 19 percent.

His lowest House score was in Idaho, which voted with him 14 percent of the time and against him 76 percent.

Generally, his highest support came from state delegations dominated by liberal members, whether Democratic or Republican. His most consistent opposition came from delegations dominated by conservative members.

By state, Carter's highest support in the Senate came from Michigan, 87 percent; New Jersey, 84 percent; Ohio, 82 percent; New York and Washington, 81 percent; Maryland, 79 percent; and Massachusetts, 78 percent.

Utah with two conservative Republican senators was the state that gave the president the most opposition, voting against him 68 percent of the time. Other top opponents were Wyoming, 61 percent; Virginia, 58 percent; New Mexico, 57 percent; North Carolina, 55 percent; and Kansas, 51 percent.

In the House, the states that gave the president the most support on the average had delegations dominated by Democrats. The top allies included Washington, 75 percent; Oregon, 72 percent; Massachusetts, 71 percent; and Connecticut, 70 percent.

The states that most consistently opposed the president were dominated by Republicans or conservatives, including a number that had only one representative. The top opponents included Idaho, 76 percent; Wyoming, 66 percent; North Dakota, 59 percent; and Virginia, Mississippi and Delaware, all 57 percent.

A number of the larger states showed middling support for the president because of the mix of members.

Indiana, for example, had Majority Whip John Brademas who voted with Carter 85 percent of the time, but also Republican John T. Myers, who supported Carter only 25 percent.

Average Scores

Following are composites of Democratic and Republican scores for 1979 and 1978:

	1979		1978	
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
	SUPPORT			
Senate	68%	47%	66%	41%
House	64	34	60	36
	OPPOSITION			
Senate	23	46	23	46
House	28	58	29	53

1979 Presidential Position Votes

Following is a list of all Senate and House recorded votes in 1979 on which President Carter took a position. The votes, listed by CQ vote number, appear in the vote charts in the 1979 *Weekly Reports*.

Senate Votes (161)

Presidential Victories (131) — 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 28, 30, 32, 35, 41, 42, 44, 70, 74, 75, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 103, 104, 106, 111, 132, 133, 134, 137, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146, 153, 154, 155, 161, 175, 206, 207, 208, 212, 213, 214, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 226, 236, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246, 263, 268, 269, 296, 297, 300, 301, 302, 305, 306, 307, 308, 324, 325, 326, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 337, 339, 340, 343, 345, 346, 358, 359, 363, 375, 380, 381, 385, 386, 388, 391, 392, 394, 395, 410, 414, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 438, 444, 445, 448, 449, 450, 451, 454, 455, 456, 471, 484, 490, 491, 494, 495, 497.

Presidential Defeats (30) — 12, 14, 19, 34, 39, 73, 76, 83, 87, 92, 121, 126, 135, 156, 158, 181, 182, 215, 243, 264, 312, 336, 338, 344, 389, 413, 420, 421, 422, 423.

House Votes (145)

Presidential Victories (104) — 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 43, 53, 56, 64, 65, 72, 73, 75, 76, 81, 85, 87, 90, 139, 140, 144, 158, 159, 160, 165, 168, 176, 187, 196, 200, 202, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 256, 281, 282, 283, 286, 289, 290, 291, 303, 321, 323, 329, 332, 341, 343, 346, 349, 353, 356, 369, 370, 383, 390, 398, 407, 412, 420, 421, 425, 463, 468, 495, 496, 508, 511, 527, 532, 540, 542, 543, 553, 554, 556, 558, 567, 580, 613, 631, 661, 663, 672.

Presidential Defeats (41) — 18, 60, 69, 80, 86, 128, 157, 188, 212, 237, 252, 257, 306, 319, 320, 324, 325, 327, 328, 330, 339, 350, 355, 362, 373, 400, 423, 454, 469, 470, 477, 498, 529, 557, 578, 589, 593, 606, 611, 654, 657.

Regional Averages

SUPPORT

Regional presidential support scores for 1979; scores for 1978 are in parentheses:

	East		West		South		Midwest	
DEMOCRATS								
Senate	76%	(77)	68%	(66)	60%	(53)	72%	(70)
House	68	(66)	68	(62)	54	(47)	70	(68)
REPUBLICANS								
Senate	58	(64)	39	(29)	39	(28)	51	(44)
House	41	(45)	30	(29)	29	(28)	34	(37)

OPPOSITION

Regional presidential opposition scores for 1979; scores for 1978 are in parentheses:

	East		West		South		Midwest	
DEMOCRATS								
Senate	14%	(14)	21%	(22)	31%	(34)	22%	(17)
House	24	(24)	23	(24)	39	(40)	22	(23)
REPUBLICANS								
Senate	34	(26)	53	(59)	51	(56)	43	(43)
House	51	(45)	62	(55)	65	(63)	57	(51)

High Scorers — Support

Highest individual scorers in presidential support — those who voted for the president's position most often in 1979:

SENATE

Democrats		Republicans	
Levin (Mich.)	91%	Javits (N.Y.)	82%
Bradley (N.J.)	88	Chafee (R.I.)	78
Metzenbaum (Ohio)	88	Percy (Ill.)	77
Jackson (Wash.)	86	Danforth (Mo.)	76
Sarbanes (Md.)	85	Mathias (Md.)	73
Tsongas (Mass.)	83	Durenberger (Minn.)	68
Riegle (Mich.)	83	Packwood (Ore.)	68
Williams (N.J.)	81	Stafford (Vt.)	63

HOUSE

Democrats		Republicans	
Burlison (Mo.)	87%	Marks (Pa.)	76%
Reuss (Wis.)	87	Fenwick (N.J.)	70
Danielson (Calif.)	86	Conte (Mass.)	67
Matsui (Calif.)	86	Pritchard (Wash.)	65
Brademas (Ind.)	85	Green (N.Y.)	64
Studds (Mass.)	85	McKinney (Conn.)	63
Carr (Mich.)	85	Buchanan (Ala.)	61
Vento (Minn.)	84	McCloskey (Calif.)	58

High Scorers - Opposition

Highest individual scorers in Carter opposition—those who voted most often against the president's position in 1979:

SENATE

Democrats		Republicans	
Byrd (Va.)*	57%	Helms (N.C.)	75%
Proxmire (Wis.)	47	Humphrey (N.H.)	71
Zorinsky (Neb.)	47	Garn (Utah)	69
Boren (Okla.)	47	Hatch (Utah)	68
Heflin (Ala.)	40	McClure (Idaho)	64
Burdick (N.D.)	37	Laxalt (Nev.)	62
Hollings (S.C.)	37	Schmitt (N.M.)	61
		Simpson (Wyo.)	61

* *Elected as an independent, but caucuses with Democrats.*

HOUSE

Democrats		Republicans	
McDonald (Ga.)	81%	Collins (Texas)	81%
Satterfield (Va.)	77	Kelly (Fla.)	80
Stump (Ariz.)	73	Bauman (Md.)	79
Daniel (Va.)	69	Kramer (Colo.)	78
Leath (Texas)	68	Jeffries (Kan.)	78
Ichord (Mo.)	67	Miller (Ohio)	78
Stenholm (Texas)	66	Lungren (Calif.)	77
Watkins (Okla.)	66	Hansen (Idaho)	77

	1	2
ALABAMA		
Heflin	55	40
Stewart	66	30
ALASKA		
Gravel	53	23
Stevens	46	42
ARIZONA		
DeConcini	57	34
Goldwater	24†	51†
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers	67	24
Pryor	64	32
CALIFORNIA		
Cranston	77	16
Hayakawa	50	43
COLORADO		
Hart	79	17
Armstrong	32	60
CONNECTICUT		
Ribicoff	70	10
Weicker	59	29
DELAWARE		
Biden	66	12
Roth	46	47
FLORIDA		
Chiles	74	17
Stone	60	32
GEORGIA		
Nunn	66	25
Talmadge	50	30
HAWAII		
Inouye	63	11
Matsunaga	73	8
IDAHO		
Church	66	18
McClure	30	64
ILLINOIS		
Stevenson	75	9
Percy	77	21
INDIANA		
Bayh	61	20
Lugar	43	57

	1	2
IOWA		
Culver	76	12
Jepsen	29	60
KANSAS		
Dole	39	57
Kassebaum	51	45
KENTUCKY		
Ford	60	35
Huddleston	68	17
LOUISIANA		
Johnston	60	30
Long	60	30
MAINE		
Muskie	76	14
Cohen	55	37
MARYLAND		
Sarbanes	85	12
Mathias	73	16
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	73	7
Tsongas	83	10
MICHIGAN		
Levin	91	[illegible]
Riegle	83	15
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz	50	49
Durenberger	68	30
MISSISSIPPI		
Stennis	55	30
Cochran	48	47
MISSOURI		
Eagleton	73	12
Danforth	76	22
MONTANA		
Baucus	65	25
Melcher	57	35
NEBRASKA		
Exon	68	32
Zorinsky	53	47
NEVADA		
Cannon	60	28
Laxalt	28	62

	1	2
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Durkin	70	23
Humphrey	28	71
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley	88	10
Williams	81	9
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici	45	52
Schmitt	36	61
NEW YORK		
Moynihan	80	12
Javits	82	12
NORTH CAROLINA		
Morgan	58	35
Helms	23	75
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	62	37
Young	42	50
OHIO		
Glenn	77	16
Metzenbaum	88	11
OKLAHOMA		
Boren	47	47
Bellmon	53	39
OREGON		
Hatfield	57	27
Packwood	68	24
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz	59	30
Schweiker	39	56
RHODE ISLAND		
Pell	77	12
Chafee	78	17
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Hollings	57	37
Thurmond	35	58
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	70	18
Pressler	39	40
TENNESSEE		
Sasser	65	21
Baker	33	26

- KEY -

† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1979.

	1	2
TEXAS		
Bentsen	66	27
Tower	39	55
UTAH		
Garn	29	69
Hatch	27	68
VERMONT		
Leahy	76	18
Stafford	63	22
VIRGINIA		
Byrd	36	57
Warner	41	59
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	86	14
Magnuson	77	22
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	77	20
Randolph	63	31
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	72	19
Proxmire	53	47
WYOMING		
Simpson	37	61
Wallop	35	60

Democrats ***Republicans***

Sen. Byrd (Va.) elected as an independent.

Presidential Support and Opposition: Senate

1. **Carter Support Score, 1979.** Percentage of 161 Carter-issue roll calls in 1979 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the president's position. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

2. **Carter Opposition Score, 1979.** Percentage of 161 Carter-issue roll calls in 1979 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the president's position. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

Presidential Support and Opposition: House

1. **Carter Support Score, 1979.** Percentage of 145 Carter-issue recorded votes in 1979 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the president's position. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

2. **Carter Opposition Score, 1979.** Percentage of 145 Carter-issue recorded votes in 1979 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the president's position. Failures to votes lower both Support and Opposition scores.

[1] *Rep. William H. Royer, R-Calif., sworn in April 9, 1979, to succeed Leo J. Ryan, D, who died Nov. 18, 1978*

[2] *Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., resigned Sept. 26, 1979.*

[3] *Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., as Speaker, votes at his own discretion.*

[4] *Rep. Thomas E. Petri, R-Wis., sworn in April 9, 1979, to succeed William A. Steiger, R, who died Dec. 4, 1978.*

KEY

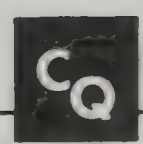
† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1979.

	1	2
ALABAMA		
1 ***Edwards***	40	55
2 ***Dickinson***	20	72
3 Nichols	36†	55†
4 Bevill	42	50
5 Flippo	53	43
6 ***Buchanan***	61	34
7 Shelby	36	63
ALASKA		
AL ***Young***	28	49
ARIZONA		
1 ***Rhodes***	39	46
2 Udall	75	17
3 Stump	19	73
4 ***Rudd***	17	74
ARKANSAS		
1 Alexander	58	19
2 ***Bethune***	28	70
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	26	71
4 Anthony	59	35
CALIFORNIA		
1 Johnson	59	29
2 ***Clausen***	31	59
3 Matsui	86	14
4 Fazio	81	17
5 Burton, J.	49	23
6 Burton, P.	74	17
7 Miller	76	17
8 Dellums	72	17
9 Stark	67	14
10 Edwards	76	17
11 ***Royer***	39†	55†
12 ***McCloskey***	58	23
13 Mineta	81	14
14 ***Shumway***	22	75
15 Coelho	72	22
16 Panetta	70	28
17 ***Pashayan***	34	54
18 ***Thomas***	26	72
19 ***Lagomarsino***	28	72
20 ***Goldwater***	23	63
21 Corman	77	14
22 ***Moorhead***	27	72
23 Beilenson	77	21
24 Waxman	68	19
25 Roybal	77	14
26 ***Rousselot***	21	68
27 ***Dornan***	30	59
28 Dixon	76	15
29 Hawkins	75	14
30 Danielson	86	12
31 Wilson, C.H.	34	29
32 Anderson	60	39
33 ***Grisham***	23	76
34 ***Lungren***	23	77
35 Lloyd	60	36
36 Brown	74	13
37 ***Lewis***	30	66
38 Patterson	72	17
39 ***Dannemeyer***	25	74
40 ***Badham***	21	66
41 ***Wilson, B.***	28	45
42 Van Deerlin	73	15
43 ***Burgener***	29	67
COLORADO		
1 Schroeder	61	34
2 Wirth	74	18
3 Kogovsek	79	17
4 ***Johnson***	52	39
5 ***Kramer***	21	78
CONNECTICUT		
1 Cotter	72	20
2 Dodd	65	17
3 Giaimo	66	13
4 ***McKinney***	63	23
5 Ratchford	83	15
6 Moffett	73	17
DELAWARE		
AL ***Evans***	38	57
FLORIDA		
1 Hutto	48	39
2 Fuqua	52	36
3 Bennett	57	43
4 Chappell	30	61
5 ***Kelly***	19	80
6 ***Young***	30	68
7 Gibbons	56	25
8 Ireland	46	44
9 Nelson	49	46
10 ***Bafalis***	26	74
11 Mica	57	41
12 Stack	75	22
13 Lehman	81	14
14 Pepper	57	11
15 Fascell	83	11
GEORGIA		
1 Ginn	60	37
2 Mathis	39	41
3 Brinkley	50	48
4 Levitas	59	39
5 Fowler	71	22
6 ***Gingrich***	33	65
7 McDonald	17	81
8 Evans	54	34
9 Jenkins	54	38
10 Barnard	46	49
HAWAII		
1 Heftel	68	23
2 Akaka	76	19
IDAHO		
1 ***Symms***	14	75
2 ***Hansen***	14	77
ILLINOIS		
1 Stewart	74	17
2 Murphy	66	17
3 Russo	63	30
4 ***Derwinski***	38	59
5 Fary	74	20
6 ***Hyde***	42	50
7 Collins	64	16
8 Rostenkowski	72	12
9 Yates	77	18
10 Mikva[2]	77†	9†
11 Annunzio	75	23
12 ***Crane, P.***	12	49
13 ***McClory***	33	56
14 ***Erlenborn***	50	46
15 ***Corcoran***	38	61
16 ***Anderson***	26	8
17 ***O'Brien***	36	48
18 ***Michel***	30	58
19 ***Railsback***	52	36
20 ***Findley***	57	37
21 ***Madigan***	50	43
22 ***Crane, D.***	18	72
23 Price	76	19
24 Simon	79	16
INDIANA		
1 Benjamin	66	34
2 Fithian	70	26
3 Brademas	85	12
4 ***Quayle***	30	63
5 ***Hillis***	39	51
6 Evans	51	48
7 ***Myers***	25	72
8 ***Deckard***	32	59
9 Hamilton	76	23
10 Sharp	80	19
11 Jacobs	59	40
IOWA		
1 ***Leach***	56	41
2 ***Tauke***	48	47
3 ***Grassley***	33	66
4 Smith	60	26
5 Harkin	66	28
6 Bedell	76	21

Democrats ***Republicans***

	1	2
KANSAS		
1 ***Sebelius***	28	57
2 ***Jeffries***	20	78
3 ***Winn***	29	48
4 Glickman	68	32
5 ***Whittaker***	33	66
KENTUCKY		
1 Hubbard	43	44
2 Natcher	60	40
3 Mazzoli	68	24
4 ***Snyder***	26	72
5 ***Carter***	32	51
6 ***Hopkins***	27	70
7 Perkins	61	39
LOUISIANA		
1 ***Livingston***	23	72
2 Boggs	64	22
3 ***Treen***	18	31
4 Leach	28	53
5 Huckaby	44	45
6 ***Moore***	28	70
7 Breaux	37	50
8 Long	59	26
MAINE		
1 ***Emery***	33	47
2 ***Snowe***	43	54
MARYLAND		
1 ***Bauman***	20	79
2 Long	64	32
3 Mikulski	70	25
4 ***Holt***	23	68
5 Spellman	66	17
6 Byron	40	55
7 Mitchell	78	17
8 Barnes	80	20
MASSACHUSETTS		
1 ***Conte***	67	33
2 Boland	72	22
3 Early	58	35
4 Drinan	83	15
5 Shannon	83	14
6 Mavroules	74	21
7 Markey	83	14
8 O'Neill [3]		
9 Moakley	72	21
10 ***Heckler***	50	42
11 Donnelly	54	44
12 Studds	85	14
MICHIGAN		
1 Conyers	34	10
2 ***Pursell***	50	37
3 Wolpe	81	18
4 ***Stockman***	38	47
5 ***Sawyer***	38	58
6 Carr	85	13
7 Kildee	82	18
8 Traxler	67	21
9 ***Vander Jagt***	28	55
10 Albosta	65	30
11 ***Davis***	35	62
12 Bonior	79	14
13 Diggs	48	10
14 Nedzi	82	16
15 Ford	70	17
16 Dingell	67	23
17 Brodhead	82	17
18 Blanchard	80	16
19 ***Broomfield***	45	51
MINNESOTA		
1 ***Erdahl***	41	54
2 ***Hagedorn***	29	64
3 ***Frenzel***	45	47
4 Vento	84	14
5 Sabo	81	18
6 Nolan	66	16
7 ***Stangeland***	31	66
8 Oberstar	83	16
MISSISSIPPI		
1 Whitten	44	52
2 Bowen	58	35
3 Montgomery	30	65
4 ***Hinson***	27	67
5 ***Lott***	26	68
MISSOURI		
1 Clay	70	17
2 Young	63	29
3 Gephardt	74	21
4 Skelton	54	37
5 Bolling	41	4
6 ***Coleman***	34	59
7 ***Taylor***	26	66
8 Ichord	30	67
9 Volkmer	68	30
10 Burlison	87	12
MONTANA		
1 Williams	56	40
2 ***Marlenee***	30	62
NEBRASKA		
1 ***Bereuter***	46	53
2 Cavanaugh	74	21
3 ***Smith***	30	68
NEVADA		
AL Santini	38	49
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
1 D'Amours	61	34
2 ***Cleveland***	27	60
NEW JERSEY		
1 Florio	75	19
2 Hughes	67	30
3 Howard	73	23
4 Thompson	70	11
5 ***Fenwick***	70	26
6 ***Forsythe***	22	28
7 Maguire	79	16
8 Roe	68	26
9 ***Hollenbeck***	57	34
10 Rodino	66	10
11 Minish	74	21
12 ***Rinaldo***	48	50
13 ***Courter***	38	61
14 Guarini	71	23
15 Patten	77	19
NEW MEXICO		
1 ***Lujan***	34	63
2 Runnels	23	54
NEW YORK		
1 ***Carney***	25	75
2 Downey	75	17
3 Ambro	50	39
4 ***Lent***	32	63
5 ***Wydler***	30	54
6 Wolff	65	22
7 Addabbo	66	22
8 Rosenthal	65	15
9 Ferraro	66	26
10 Biaggi	63	22
11 Scheuer	73	17
12 Chisholm	68	18
13 Solarz	77	17
14 Richmond	74	17
15 Zeferetti	52	31
16 Holtzman	69	19
17 Murphy	62	24
18 ***Green***	64	33
19 Rangel	76	18
20 Weiss	72	22
21 Garcia	66	14
22 Bingham	78	19
23 Peyser	75	21
24 Ottinger	75	19
25 ***Fish***	54	33
26 ***Gilman***	50	45
27 McHugh	82	16
28 Stratton	48	51
29 ***Solomon***	21	76
30 ***McEwen***	25	57
31 ***Mitchell***	37	57
32 Hanley	72	23
33 ***Lee***	23	64
34 ***Horton***	57	36
35 ***Conable***	43	45
36 LaFalce	68	18
37 Nowak	73	26
38 ***Kemp***	26	63
39 Lundine	74	16
NORTH CAROLINA		
1 Jones	45	35
2 Fountain	42	56
3 Whitley	63	34
4 Andrews	61	29
5 Neal	66	29
6 Preyer	76	19
7 Rose	64	23
8 Hefner	69	26
9 ***Martin***	26	67
10 ***Broyhill***	34	59
11 Gudger	63	37
NORTH DAKOTA		
AL ***Andrews***	33	59
OHIO		
1 ***Gradison***	40†	59†
2 Luken	59	30
3 Hall	81	16
4 ***Guyer***	28	68
5 ***Latta***	26	70
6 ***Harsha***	21	68
7 ***Brown***	27	57
8 ***Kindness***	23	72
9 Ashley	76	11
10 ***Miller***	22	78
11 ***Stanton***	46	52
12 ***Devine***	21	74
13 Pease	83	14
14 Seiberling	83	15
15 ***Wylie***	34	58
16 ***Regula***	35	64
17 ***Ashbrook***	19	75
18 Applegate	30	63
19 ***Williams***	39	39
20 Oakar	64	32
21 Stokes	78	14
22 Vanik	78	19
23 Mottl	34	58
OKLAHOMA		
1 Jones	59	35
2 Synar	66	30
3 Watkins	31	66
4 Steed	68	26
5 ***Edwards***	21	68
6 English	35	61
OREGON		
1 AuCoin	77	16
2 Ullman	77	11
3 Duncan	70	21
4 Weaver	64	26
PENNSYLVANIA		
1 Myers	64	30
2 Gray	79	14
3 Lederer	68	28
4 ***Dougherty***	50	44
5 ***Schulze***	29	63
6 Yatron	45	50
7 Edgar	79	14
8 Kostmayer	77	21
9 ***Shuster***	21	74
10 ***McDade***	46	48
11 Flood	6	3
12 Murtha	72	28
13 ***Coughlin***	46	46
14 Moorhead	77	12
15 ***Ritter***	31	66
16 ***Walker***	26	72
17 Ertel	70	26
18 Walgren	70	22
19 ***Goodling***	39	45
20 Gaydos	50	46
21 Bailey	52	48
22 Murphy	52	48
23 ***Clinger***	44†	56†
24 ***Marks***	76	17
25 Atkinson	50	46
RHODE ISLAND		
1 St Germain	75	20
2 Beard	54	42
SOUTH CAROLINA		
1 Davis	45	26
2 ***Spence***	32	68
3 Derrick	62	26
4 ***Campbell***	28	64
5 Holland	50	26
6 Jenrette	57	32
SOUTH DAKOTA		
1 Daschle	65	33
2 ***Abdnor***	29	69
TENNESSEE		
1 ***Quillen***	33	61
2 ***Duncan***	37	63
3 Bouquard	49	47
4 Gore	78	21
5 Boner	65	33
6 ***Beard***	37	50
7 Jones	61	36
8 Ford	75	14
TEXAS		
1 Hall	41	57
2 Wilson,C.	55	32
3 ***Collins***	19	81
4 Roberts	35	50
5 Mattox	61	34
6 Gramm	37	61
7 ***Archer***	23	74
8 Eckhardt	79	16
9 Brooks	66	25
10 Pickle	59	34
11 Leath	27	68
12 Wright	69	14
13 Hightower	47	48
14 Wyatt	39	57
15 de la Garza	39	46
16 White	36	62
17 Stenholm	33	66
18 Leland	81	16
19 Hance	37	61
20 Gonzalez	81	16
21 ***Loeffler***	22	74
22 ***Paul***	22†	76†
23 Kazen	50	48
24 Frost	70	23
UTAH		
1 McKay	51	36
2 ***Marriott***	28	60
VERMONT		
AL ***Jeffords***	50	39
VIRGINIA		
1 ***Trible***	34	64
2 ***Whitehurst***	37	59
3 Satterfield	21	77
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	25	74
5 Daniel, D.	30	69
6 ***Butler***	40	56
7 ***Robinson***	28	72
8 Harris	78	21
9 ***Wampler***	32	61
10 Fisher	82	15
WASHINGTON		
1 ***Pritchard***	65	28
2 Swift	81	17
3 Bonker	72	17
4 McCormack	71	19
5 Foley	80	16
6 Dicks	75	18
7 Lowry	79	19
WEST VIRGINIA		
1 Mollohan	63	29
2 Staggers	63	23
3 Slack	54	42
4 Rahall	59	34
WISCONSIN		
1 Aspin	77	20
2 Kastenmeier	79	20
3 Baldus	80	17
4 Zablocki	76	21
5 Reuss	87	11
6 ***Petri*** [4]	38†	58†
7 Obey	73	22
8 ***Roth***	26	68
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	28	72
WYOMING		
AL ***Cheney***	30	66

Democrats ***Republicans***



Voting Participation

Fewer Roll Calls Taken:

Attendance During Votes Increased During 1979

Attendance by members of Congress during Senate and House roll-call votes increased in 1979 as the number of votes taken decreased.

The 1979 attendance figure was 89 percent, two percentage points above the 1978 figure of 87 percent. The increase was primarily attributable to the fact that 1979 was not an election year and members did not have to campaign. In 1977, the last non-election year, attendance rose to 87 percent from its 1976 level of 86 percent.

Voting participation is the closest approach to an attendance record for Congress, but it is only an approximation. *(Definition, facing page)*

Republicans took part in voting slightly more often than Democrats. Four senators and three representatives had perfect scores for voting participation in 1979 and five representatives voted less than 50 percent of the time. The lowest Senate voting score was 62 percent.

Chamber, Party Figures

A total of 1,169 recorded votes was taken in the House and Senate in 1979, 181 fewer than the record 1,350 votes in 1978. There were 497 Senate votes in 1979, 19 fewer than in 1978 and 191 fewer than the record 688 in 1976. (The 1979 CQ study of individual senators' voting participation is based on 496 votes because one vote — taken in a secret session during which classified material on a bill to reinstitute registration procedures for the military draft was debated — was not made public by the end of 1979.)

The House took 672 votes in 1979, 162 fewer than the record 834 in that chamber last year. Twenty years ago the first session of the 86th Congress, in 1959, took 302 votes (215 in the Senate, 87 in the House).

For a second consecutive year, and only the second time since 1962, House members voted less than senators. The average score for senators in 1979 was 90 percent; for representatives, 89 percent. In 1978 the average score in each chamber was 87 percent.

House Republicans voted 90 percent of the time in 1979, Democrats 89. In 1978 House Republicans led Democrats 88 to 87.

In the Senate, Republicans scored 91 percent, Democrats 90. In 1978, Senate Democrats and Republicans each scored 87 percent. For the two chambers together, the 1979 scores were 90 percent for Republicans and 89 percent for Democrats.

In 1978, Republicans led Democrats 88 to 87. In the House, Southern Republicans led members from all regions, with a 92 percent participation score. In the Senate, Midwestern Republicans had the highest score — 93 percent.

High and Low Scores

Four senators — Democrats Henry M. Jackson of Washington and William Proxmire of Wisconsin and Republicans Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota and John W. Warner of Virginia — answered every one of the 496 public votes during the year. Proxmire extended his string of consecutive votes that began in 1966, when he last missed one, and reached a Senate record of 6,493 by the end of 1979.

Democratic Sen. Edward Zorinsky of Nebraska and Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia scored 99 percent, as did Republicans Richard G. Lugar of Indiana and Gordon J. Humphrey of New Hampshire. Eighteen other senators scored 95 to 98 percent.

There were three perfect scores in the House in 1979, recorded by Democrats Charles E. Bennett of Florida, Adam Benjamin Jr. of Indiana and William H. Natcher of Kentucky. Natcher has not missed a vote since coming to Congress in 1954, and in 1979 extended his record to 7,597 consecutive votes.

Five House members voted less than 50 percent of the time. No senators were in this category in 1979. Twelve representatives and two senators voted less than half the time in 1978. *(1978 scores, 1978 Almanac p. 17-C)*

Scoring lowest in the House was Rep. Daniel J. Flood, D-Pa., who was ill most of the year. Another low scorer was Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. D-Mich., who was embroiled much of the time in a battle over alleged misuse of government funds. Lowest scoring Republican was Rep. John B.

Absences

Failure to vote often is due to illness or conflicting duties. Members frequently have to be away from Washington on official business. Leaves of absence are granted members for these purposes.

Among those absent for a day or more in 1979 because they were sick or because of illness or death in their families were:

Senate Democrats: Bayh (Ind.), Biden (Del.), Culver (Iowa), Gravel (Alaska), Pell (R.I.), Pryor (Ark.), Sasser (Tenn.), Stennis (Miss.), Talmadge (Ga.).

Senate Republicans: Armstrong (Colo.), Hatfield (Ore.), Stafford (Vt.).

House Democrats: Ambro (N.Y.), Barnes (Md.), Bolling (Mo.), Bonior (Mich.), Brodhead (Mich.), Cavanaugh (Neb.), Chisholm (N.Y.), Collins (Ill.), Cotter (Conn.), de la Garza (Texas), Dellums (Calif.), Dixon (Calif.), Fary (Ill.), Garcia (N.Y.), Giaimo (Conn.), Ginn (Ga.), Holtzman (N.Y.), Jones (N.C.), Lehman (Fla.), Long (La.), Luken (Ohio), Mazzoli (Ky.), Miller (Calif.), Minish (N.J.), Murphy (Ill.), Nichols (Ala.), Obey (Wis.), Pepper (Fla.), Pickle (Texas), Rodino (N.J.), Spellman (Md.), Stewart (Ill.), Thompson (N.J.), Traxler (Mich.), Wolff (N.Y.), Zeferetti (N.Y.)

House Republicans: Burgener (Calif.), Deckard (Ind.), Dornan (Calif.), Edwards (Ala.), Emery (Maine), Gingrich (Ga.), McKinney (Conn.), Quillen (Tenn.), Roth (Wis.), Taylor (Mo.), Vander Jagt (Mich.), Young (Alaska).

Anderson, Ill., who was campaigning for his party's presidential nomination. Rep. Philip M. Crane, R-Ill., the other House member campaigning for the presidency, also was among the lowest scorers.

Lowest scoring senator was Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., another GOP presidential contender. Also scoring low, compared to other senators, was Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., a Democratic presidential candidate.

State Delegations

The Senate delegations having the highest voting participation scores in 1979 were West Virginia, 98 percent; Minnesota, Nebraska, Virginia and Washington, 97; Michigan, New Mexico, Ohio and Wisconsin, 96.

In the House, the highest scoring delegations with two or more members were Virginia, 96 percent; Nebraska, South Dakota and Wisconsin, 95; Indiana, Massachusetts and Tennessee, 94; Alabama and Iowa, 93.

Lowest scoring Senate delegations were Tennessee, 74 percent; Hawaii, 79; Alaska, 80; Connecticut, 81.

The House delegations that voted least often were Louisiana, 80 percent; New Mexico, 82; Connecticut and South Carolina, 83; Oregon and Utah, 84; Illinois and Michigan, 85.

Party Scores

Composites of Democratic and Republican voting participation scores for 1979 and 1978:

	1979		1978	
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
Senate	90%	91%	87%	87%
House	89	90	87	88

Regional Averages

Regional voting participation breakdowns for 1979 with 1978 scores in parentheses:

DEMOCRATS

	East	West	South	Midwest
Senate	90% (89)	89% (87)	89% (86)	91% (86)
House	89 (88)	87 (84)	90 (85)	89 (89)

REPUBLICANS

	East	West	South	Midwest
Senate	91% (89)	90% (87)	90% (84)	93% (87)
House	90 (91)	88 (84)	92 (90)	89 (88)

Highest Scorers

SENATE

Democrats		Republicans	
Jackson (Wash.)	100%	Warner (Va.)	100%
Proxmire (Wis.)	100	Boschwitz (Minn.)	100
Zorinsky (Neb.)	99	Lugar (Ind.)	99
Byrd (W.Va.)	99	Humphrey (N.H.)	99
Levin (Mich.)	98	Helms (N.C.)	98
Sarbanes (Md.)	97	Danforth (Mo.)	97
Metzenbaum (Ohio)	97	Schmitt (N.M.)	97

HOUSE

Democrats		Republicans	
Benjamin (Ind.)	100%	Lagomarsino (Calif.)	99%
Bennett (Fla.)	100	Robinson (Va.)	99
Natcher (Ky.)	100	Miller (Ohio)	99
Kildee (Mich.)	99	Regula (Ohio)	99
Bailey (Pa.)	99	Whittaker (Kan.)	99
Gore (Tenn.)	99	Spence (S.C.)	99
Kazen (Texas)	99	Conte (Mass.)	99
Studds (Mass.)	99	Daniel (Va.)	99
Murphy (Pa.)	99	Moore (La.)	99
Shelby (Ala.)	99	Sensenbrenner (Wis.)	99
Lowry (Wash.)	99	Carney (N.Y.)	99
Sharp (Ind.)	99	Grassley (Iowa)	98
Hamilton (Ind.)	98	Duncan (Tenn.)	98
Murtha (Pa.)	98	Collins (Texas)	98
Ratchford (Conn.)	98	Bereuter (Neb.)	98
Annunzio (Ill.)	98	Green (N.Y.)	98
Oberstar (Minn.)	98	Bauman (Md.)	98
Mica (Fla.)	98	Dannemeyer (Calif.)	98
Wolpe (Mich.)	98	Courter (N.J.)	98

Definition

Voting Participation. Percentage of recorded votes on which a member voted "yea" or "nay." Failures to vote "yea" or "nay" lower scores — even if the member votes "present," enters a live pair or announces his stand in the *Congressional Record*. Only votes of "yea" or "nay" directly affect the outcome of a vote. Voting participation is the closest approach to an attendance record, but it is only an approximation. A member may be present and nevertheless decline to vote "yea" or "nay" — usually because he has entered a live pair with an absent member.

Lowest Scorers

SENATE

Democrats		Republicans	
Inouye (Hawaii)	71%	Baker (Tenn.)	62%
Bayh (Ind.)	73		
Gravel (Alaska)	73		
Kennedy (Mass.)	74		
Talmadge (Ga.)	75		

HOUSE

Democrats		Republicans	
Flood (Pa.)	11%	Anderson (Ill.)	28%
Conyers (Mich.)	44	Treen (La.)	34
Diggs (Mich.)	45	Philip Crane (Ill.)	54
Bolling (Mo.)	51	Forsythe (N.J.)	56
Wilson (Calif.)	62	Winn (Kan.)	67
Rosenthal (N.Y.)	66	Wilson (Calif.)	69
Pepper (Fla.)	66		

Voting Participation Scores: House

Voting Participation, 1979. Percentage of 672 recorded votes in 1979 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay."

- KEY -

† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1979.

Member absent a day or more in 1979 due to illness or illness or death in family.

ALABAMA	
1 ***Edwards #***	94
2 ***Dickinson***	91
3 Nichols #	89†
4 Bevill	93†
5 Flippo	91
6 ***Buchanan***	93†
7 Shelby	99†
ALASKA	
AL ***Young #***	71
ARIZONA	
1 ***Rhodes***	86†
2 Udall	88
3 Stump	93
4 ***Rudd***	88
ARKANSAS	
1 Alexander	79
2 ***Bethune***	96
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	94
4 Anthony	90
CALIFORNIA	
1 Johnson	87
2 ***Clausen***	88
3 Matsui	97
4 Fazio	94†
5 Burton, J	67
6 Burton P	90
7 Miller#	88
8 Dellums#	85
9 Stark	77
10 Edwards	89†
11 ***Royer*** [1]	93†
12 ***McCloskey***	78
13 Mineta	93
14 ***Shumway***	97
15 Coelho	87
16 Panetta	97
17 ***Pashayan***	88
18 ***Thomas***	92†
19 ***Lagomarsino***	99
20 ***Goldwater***	79
21 Corman	86
22 ***Moorhead***	95
23 Beilenson	92
24 Waxman	79
25 Roybal	89
26 ***Rousselot***	79
27 ***Dornan#***	90
28 Dixon #	80†
29 Hawkins	84
30 Danielson	95
31 Wilson, C.H.	62
32 Anderson	96
33 ***Grisham***	97
34 ***Lungren***	96
35 Lloyd	92
36 Brown	85
37 ***Lewis***	94†
38 Patterson	81
39 ***Dannemeyer***	98†
40 ***Badham***	85
41 ***Wilson, B.***	69
42 Van Deerlin	86
43 ***Burgener #***	96
COLORADO	
1 Schroeder	92
2 Wirth	92
3 Kogovsek	93†
4 ***Johnson***	82
5 ***Kramer***	96†
CONNECTICUT	
1 Cotter#	83
2 Dodd	80
3 Giaimo #	69
4 ***McKinney#***	84†
5 Ratchford	98
6 Moffett	88
DELAWARE	
AL ***Evans***	93
FLORIDA	
1 Hutto	91
2 Fuqua	85
3 Bennett	100
4 Chappell	85
5 ***Kelly***	96
6 ***Young***	96
7 Gibbons	79
8 Ireland	82
9 Nelson	92
10 ***Bafalis***	97†
11 Mica	98
12 Stack	96
13 Lehman #	92†
14 Pepper #	66
15 Fascell	93
GEORGIA	
1 Ginn#	95
2 Mathis	74
3 Brinkley	95
4 Levitas	97
5 Fowler	90
6 ***Gingrich#***	94
7 McDonald	94
8 Evans	82
9 Jenkins	91
10 Barnard	91
HAWAII	
1 Heftel	87
2 Akaka	94
IDAHO	
1 ***Symms***	84
2 ***Hansen***	90
ILLINOIS	
1 Stewart#	89
2 Murphy#	71
3 Russo	88
4 ***Derwinski***	97
5 Fary#	91
6 ***Hyde***	94
7 Collins#	80
8 Rostenkowski	84
9 Yates	95
10 Mikva [2]	78†
11 Annunzio	98
12 ***Crane, P.***	54†
13 ***McClory***	89
14 ***Erlenborn***	92
15 ***Corcoran***	97
16 ***Anderson***	28
17 ***O'Brien***	85
18 ***Michel***	88
19 ***Railsback***	88
20 ***Findley***	93
21 ***Madigan***	92
22 ***Crane, D.***	88
23 Price	92
24 Simon	89
INDIANA	
1 Benjamin	100
2 Fithian	95
3 Brademas	96
4 ***Quayle***	84
5 ***Hillis***	88†
6 Evans	96
7 ***Myers***	95†
8 ***Deckard#***	90
9 Hamilton	98
10 Sharp	99
11 Jacobs	95
IOWA	
1 ***Leach***	95
2 ***Tauke***	97†
3 ***Grassley***	98
4 Smith	88
5 Harkin	92
6 Bedell	91

Democrats ***Republicans***

[1] *Rep. William H. Royer, R-Calif., sworn in April 9, 1979, succeeding Leo J. Ryan, D, who died Nov. 18, 1978.*
[2] *Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., resigned Sept. 26, 1979.*
[3] *Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., as Speaker, votes at his own discretion.*
[4] *Rep. Thomas E. Petri, R-Wis., sworn in April 9, 1979, succeeding William A. Steiger, R, who died Dec. 4, 1978.*

KANSAS
1 ***Sebelius*** 85
2 ***Jeffries*** 96
3 ***Winn*** 67†
4 Glickman 96†
5 ***Whittaker*** 99
KENTUCKY
1 Hubbard 85
2 Natcher 100
3 Mazzoli # 87
4 ***Snyder*** 97
5 ***Carter*** 80
6 ***Hopkins*** 97†
7 Perkins 95
LOUISIANA
1 ***Livingston*** 90
2 Boggs 86
3 ***Treen*** 34
4 Leach 80†
5 Huckaby 88
6 ***Moore*** 99
7 Breaux 80
8 Long # 84
MAINE
1 ***Emery*** # 84
2 ***Snowe*** 95†
MARYLAND
1 ***Bauman*** 98
2 Long 96
3 Mikulski 94
4 ***Holt*** 90
5 Spellman # 80
6 Byron 93
7 Mitchell 88†
8 Barnes # 97
MASSACHUSETTS
1 ***Conte*** 99
2 Boland 92
3 Early 90
4 Drinan 93
5 Shannon 96
6 Mavroules 91
7 Markey 97
8 O'Neill [1]
9 Moakley 93
10 ***Heckler*** 90
11 Donnelly 93
12 Studds 99
MICHIGAN
1 Conyers 44
2 ***Pursell*** 86†
3 Wolpe 98
4 ***Stockman*** 83
5 ***Sawyer*** 92
6 Carr 92
7 Kildee 99
8 Traxler # 86
9 ***Vander Jagt*** # 82
10 Albosta 91†
11 ***Davis*** 94†
12 Bonior # 90
13 Diggs 45
14 Nedzi 95
15 Ford 77
16 Dingell 82
17 Brodhead # 97
18 Blanchard 95
19 ***Broomfield*** 94
MINNESOTA
1 ***Erdahl*** 92
2 ***Hagedorn*** 89
3 ***Frenzel*** 88
4 Vento 97
5 Sabo 96†
6 Nolan 73
7 ***Stangeland*** 97
8 Oberstar 98
MISSISSIPPI
1 Whitten 95
2 Bowen 91
3 Montgomery 94
4 ***Hinson*** 88
5 ***Lott*** 93
MISSOURI
1 Clay 84
2 Young 87
3 Gephardt 91
4 Skelton 88
5 Bolling # 51
6 ***Coleman*** 94
7 ***Taylor*** # 91
8 Ichord 92
9 Volkmer 97
10 Burlison 96
MONTANA
1 Williams 93
2 ***Marlenee*** 89
NEBRASKA
1 ***Bereuter*** 98†
2 Cavanaugh # 90
3 ***Smith*** 97
NEVADA
AL Santini 79
NEW HAMPSHIRE
1 D'Amours 92
2 ***Cleveland*** 80
NEW JERSEY
1 Florio 92
2 Hughes 97
3 Howard 95
4 Thompson # 83
5 ***Fenwick*** 94
6 ***Forsythe*** 56
7 Maguire 92
8 Roe 93
9 ***Hollenbeck*** 86
10 Rodino # 68
11 Minish # 92
12 ***Rinaldo*** 97
13 ***Courter*** 98
14 Guarini 91
15 Patten 93
NEW MEXICO
1 ***Lujan*** 93
2 Runnels 72
NEW YORK
1 ***Carney*** 99
2 Downey 89
3 Ambro # 85
4 ***Lent*** 94
5 ***Wydler*** 78
6 Wolff # 88
7 Addabbo 84
8 Rosenthal 66
9 Ferraro 89
10 Biaggi 82
11 Scheuer 90†
12 Chisholm # 77
13 Solarz 93†
14 Richmond 80
15 Zeferetti # 82
16 Holtzman # 82
17 Murphy 79
18 ***Green*** 98†
19 Rangel 90
20 Weiss 92
21 Garcia # 76
22 Bingham 95
23 Peyser 95
24 Ottinger 94
25 ***Fish*** 85
26 ***Gilman*** 96
27 McHugh 95
28 Stratton 97
29 ***Solomon*** 97†
30 ***McEwen*** 76
31 ***Mitchell*** 95
32 Hanley 88†
33 ***Lee*** 87†
34 ***Horton*** 89
35 ***Conable*** 86
36 LaFalce 91
37 Nowak 97
38 ***Kemp*** 86
39 Lundine 85
NORTH CAROLINA
1 Jones # 81
2 Fountain 96
3 Whitley 97
4 Andrews 90
5 Neal 91
6 Preyer 96
7 Rose 78
8 Hefner 93
9 ***Martin*** 91
10 ***Broyhill*** 91
11 Gudger 97
NORTH DAKOTA
AL ***Andrews*** 88
OHIO
1 ***Gradison*** 97†
2 Luken # 90
3 Hall 93†
4 ***Guyer*** 91
5 ***Latta*** 94
6 ***Harsha*** 87
7 ***Brown*** 76†
8 ***Kindness*** 93
9 Ashley 77
10 ***Miller*** 99
11 ***Stanton*** 96
12 ***Devine*** 93
13 Pease 97
14 Seiberling 94
15 ***Wylie*** 89
16 ***Regula*** 99
17 ***Ashbrook*** 86
18 Applegate 89
19 ***Williams*** 71
20 Oakar 90
21 Stokes 90
22 Vanik 94
23 Mottl 92†
OKLAHOMA
1 Jones 90
2 Synar 94
3 Watkins 92
4 Steed 89
5 ***Edwards*** 90
6 English 97
OREGON
1 AuCoin 85
2 Ullman 81
3 Duncan 79
4 Weaver 92
PENNSYLVANIA
1 Myers 88
2 Gray 92
3 Lederer 94
4 ***Dougherty*** 85†
5 ***Schulze*** 90
6 Yatron 93
7 Edgar 88
8 Kostmayer 97
9 ***Shuster*** 94
10 ***McDade*** 93
11 Flood 11
12 Murtha 98
13 ***Coughlin*** 90
14 Moorhead 88
15 ***Ritter*** 95
16 ***Walker*** 94
17 Ertel 95
18 Walgren 90
19 ***Goodling*** 84
20 Gaydos 93†
21 Bailey 99
22 Murphy 99†
23 ***Clinger*** 97†
24 ***Marks*** 89†
25 Atkinson 94
RHODE ISLAND
1 St Germain 87
2 Beard 93
SOUTH CAROLINA
1 Davis 67
2 ***Spence*** 99
3 Derrick 88
4 ***Campbell*** 89†
5 Holland 72
6 Jenrette 84
SOUTH DAKOTA
1 Daschle 95
2 ***Abdnor*** 96
TENNESSEE
1 ***Quillen*** # 91†
2 ***Duncan*** 98
3 Bouquard 93
4 Gore 99
5 Boner 97†
6 ***Beard*** 87
7 Jones 95
8 Ford 89
TEXAS
1 Hall 95
2 Wilson, C. 82
3 ***Collins*** 98
4 Roberts 79
5 Mattox 93
6 Gramm 96
7 ***Archer*** 95
8 Eckhardt 89
9 Brooks 85
10 Pickle # 88
11 Leath 94
12 Wright 83
13 Hightower 93
14 Wyatt 94†
15 de la Garza # 81
16 White 97
17 Stenholm 96
18 Leland 93†
19 Hance 94†
20 Gonzalez 97
21 ***Loeffler*** 96
22 ***Paul*** 97†
23 Kazen 99
24 Frost 92
UTAH
1 McKay 84
2 ***Marriott*** 85
VERMONT
AL ***Jeffords*** 87
VIRGINIA
1 ***Trible*** 93
2 ***Whitehurst*** 93
3 Satterfield 97
4 ***Daniel, R.W.*** 99
5 Daniel, D. 97
6 ***Butler*** 92
7 ***Robinson*** 99
8 Harris 97
9 ***Wampler*** 90
10 Fisher 96
WASHINGTON
1 ***Pritchard*** 87†
2 Swift 96
3 Bonker 83
4 McCormack 87
5 Foley 91
6 Dicks 92
7 Lowry 99
WEST VIRGINIA
1 Mollohan 93
2 Staggers 87
3 Slack 94
4 Rahall 92
WISCONSIN
1 Aspin 93
2 Kastenmeier 96†
3 Baldus 92
4 Zablocki 97
5 Reuss 95
6 ***Petri*** [4] 96†
7 Obey # 94
8 ***Roth*** # 94†
9 ***Sensenbrenner*** 99†
WYOMING
AL ***Cheney*** 89

Democrats ***Republicans***

ALABAMA	
Heflin	92
Stewart	94
ALASKA	
Gravel #	73
Stevens	88
ARIZONA	
DeConcini	91
Goldwater	77†
ARKANSAS	
Bumpers	90
Pryor #	95
CALIFORNIA	
Cranston	95
Hayakawa	93
COLORADO	
Hart	96
Armstrong #	93
CONNECTICUT	
Ribicoff	76
Weicker	87
DELAWARE	
Biden #	81
Roth	95
FLORIDA	
Chiles	90
Stone	90
GEORGIA	
Nunn	94†
Talmadge #	75
HAWAII	
Inouye	71
Matsunaga	87
IDAHO	
Church	85
McClure	94
ILLINOIS	
Stevenson	84
Percy	90
INDIANA	
Bayh #	73
Lugar	99

IOWA	
Culver #	83
Jepsen	90
KANSAS	
Dole	93
Kassebaum	93
KENTUCKY	
Ford	92
Huddleston	84
LOUISIANA	
Johnston	92
Long	81
MAINE	
Muskie	89
Cohen	95
MARYLAND	
Sarbanes	97
Mathias	88
MASSACHUSETTS	
Kennedy	74
Tsongas	93
MICHIGAN	
Levin	98
Riegle	94
MINNESOTA	
Boschwitz	100
Durenberger	94
MISSISSIPPI	
Stennis #	84
Cochran	92
MISSOURI	
Eagleton	88
Danforth	97
MONTANA	
Baucus	92
Melcher	93
NEBRASKA	
Exon	94
Zorinsky	99
NEVADA	
Cannon	90
Laxalt	85

NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Durkin	89
Humphrey	99
NEW JERSEY	
Bradley	96
Williams	91
NEW MEXICO	
Domenici	96
Schmitt	97
NEW YORK	
Moynihan	90
Javits	94
NORTH CAROLINA	
Morgan	88
Helms	98
NORTH DAKOTA	
Burdick	95
Young	91
OHIO	
Glenn	96
Metzenbaum	97
OKLAHOMA	
Boren	94
Bellmon	90
OREGON	
Hatfield #	84
Packwood	88
PENNSYLVANIA	
Heinz	88
Schweiker	94
RHODE ISLAND	
Pell #	89
Chafee	91
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Hollings	92
Thurmond	92
SOUTH DAKOTA	
McGovern	88
Pressler	80
TENNESSEE	
Sasser #	85
Baker	62

- KEY -

† Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1979.

Member absent a day or more in 1979 due to illness or illness or death in family.

TEXAS	
Bentsen	93
Tower	93
UTAH	
Garn	96
Hatch	92
VERMONT	
Leahy	94
Stafford #	80
VIRGINIA	
Byrd[1]	95
Warner	100
WASHINGTON	
Jackson	100
Magnuson	94
WEST VIRGINIA	
Byrd	99
Randolph	96
WISCONSIN	
Nelson	91
Proxmire	100
WYOMING	
Simpson	93
Wallop	93

Democrats *Republicans*

[1] *Sen. Byrd (Va.) elected as an independent.*

Voting Participation Scores: Senate

Voting Participation, 1979. Percentage of 496 roll calls in 1979 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay." (Although 497 votes were taken during the session, one was held during a secret session and has not been released to the public.)

CQ Party Unity

Big House Jump:

Party Unity Voting Increases On Hill During First Session

Partisanship increased significantly over 1978 during the first session of the 96th Congress with a majority of Democrats voting against a majority of Republicans on 47 percent of the recorded votes. The figure for 1978 was 38 percent.

The increase was especially noticeable in the House where militant young Republicans attempted throughout the year to rally their party against Democratic proposals during floor votes.

This sizeable jump overall reflects both an increase in the number of partisan votes and a decrease in the total recorded votes taken.

The number of partisan votes increased only about 8 percent, from 510 in 1978 to 550 in 1979. The number of recorded votes taken dropped 13 percent, from 1,350 in 1978 to 1,169 in 1979.

The figures reflect a pattern typical for more than two decades in Congressional Quarterly voting studies: a higher level of partisan voting in the first session of a Congress than in the second, which is always an election year. *(1978 Almanac, p. 29-C)*

The most noticeable increase in partisan voting was in the House. Both the House and the Senate showed party splits on 47 percent of all recorded votes in 1979. But in 1978, the Senate showed a split record of 45 percent compared to 33 percent in the House.

The average Democrat voted with the party 69 percent of the time, while the typical Republican scored 72 percent.

In the House, the average Republican scored 73 percent, compared to 69 percent for the average House Democrat.

This was 4 percentage points higher than the 1978 figure of 69 for House Republicans and 6 points higher than the 1978 figure of 63 for Democrats.

The average Senate Republican scored 66 percent, up 7 points from 1978, while the typical Democrat voted with his party 68 percent of the time, up two points from 1978.

In both chambers, opposition-to-party scores dropped or remained the same in 1979 compared to 1978.

The largest decline was among Senate Republicans, who voted against their party's majority 25 percent of the time — five percentage points less than in 1978. Opposition among House Republicans went down slightly, from 21 percent in the two previous years to 19 percent.

House Democrats also decreased opposition by three percentage points, from 26 percent in 1978 to 23 percent in 1979. Senate Democrats remained at a rate of 22 percent.

Overall, Democrats in both chambers voted against their party more than did Republicans, 23 percent compared to 20 percent.

Democrats won more partisan victories in 1979 — 406, to the Republicans' 144. That included 226 Democratic wins in the House, with 92 Republican victories, and 180 Democratic wins in the Senate, with 52 for Republicans.

Definitions

Party Unity Votes. Recorded votes in the Senate and House that split the parties, a majority of voting Democrats opposing a majority of voting Republicans. Votes on which either party divides evenly are excluded.

Party Unity Scores. Percentage of party unity votes on which a member votes "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with a majority of his party. Failure to vote, even if a member announced his stand, lowers his score.

Opposition-to-Party Scores. Percentage of party unity votes on which a member votes "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with a majority of his party. A member's party unity and opposition-to-party scores add up to 100 percent only if he voted on all party unity votes.

Southern Republicans in the House voted with their party majority on 80 percent of the roll calls, while Southern Republicans in the Senate had a 73 percent score.

Northern Democrats stuck to their party's position on 74 percent of Senate votes and 75 percent of House votes.

The lowest party support came from Southern Democrats, who voted with the Democratic majority 55 percent of the time in the House and 56 percent in the Senate.

Northern Republicans in the House leaned more toward party unity — with a 71 percent support score — than did their Senate counterparts, who scored 64 percent.

Party Unity Scoreboard

The table below shows the proportion of party unity recorded votes in recent years:

	Total Recorded Votes	Party Unity Recorded Votes	Percentage of Total
1979			
Both Chambers	1,169	550	47
Senate	497	232	47
House	672	318	47
1978			
Both Chambers	1,350	510	38
Senate	516	233	45
House	834	277	33
1977			
Both Chambers	1,341	567	42
Senate	635	269	42
House	706	298	42
1976			
Both Chambers	1,349	493	37
Senate	688	256	37
House	661	237	36

1975			
Both Chambers	1,214	584	48
Senate	602	288	48
House	612	296	48
1974			
Both Chambers	1,081	399	37
Senate	544	241	44
House	537	158	29
1973			
Both Chambers	1,135	463	41
Senate	594	237	40
House	541	226	42

Victories, Defeats

	Senate	House	Total
Democrats won, Republicans lost	180	226	406
Republicans won, Democrats lost	52	92	144
Democrats voted unanimously	7	1	8
Republicans voted unanimously	9	5	14

Party Scores

Party unity and opposition-to-party scores below are composites of individual scores and show the percentage of time the average Democrat and Republican voted with his party majority in disagreement with the other party's majority. Failures to vote lower both party unity and opposition-to-party scores. Averages are closer to House figures because individual votes are counted and the House has more members.

	1979		1978	
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
Party Unity	69%	72%	64%	67%
Senate	68	66	66	59
House	69	73	63	69
Opposition to Party	23%	20%	25%	23%
Senate	22	25	22	30
House	23	19	26	21

Sectional Support, Opposition

SENATE	Support	Opposition
Northern Democrats	74%	17%
Southern Democrats	56	34
Northern Republicans	64	27
Southern Republicans	73	17

HOUSE	Support	Opposition
Northern Democrats	75%	16%
Southern Democrats	55	37
Northern Republicans	71	20
Southern Republicans	80	14

Individual Scores

Highest party unity scores — those who in 1979 most consistently voted with their party majority against the majority of the other party:

SENATE

Democrats		Republicans	
Jackson (Wash.)	90%	Humphrey (N.H.)	94%
Levin (Mich.)	88	Helms (N.C.)	93
Sarbanes (Md.)	88	Garn (Utah)	93
Bradley (N.J.)	87	Hatch (Utah)	90
Metzenbaum (Ohio)	86	Warner (Va.)	90
Williams (N.J.)	84	Lugar (Ind.)	90
Riegle (Mich.)	84	McClure (Idaho)	88

HOUSE

Democrats		Republicans	
Matsui (Calif.)	94%	Collins (Texas)	97%
Seiberling (Ohio)	94	Bauman (Md.)	96
Gray (Pa.)	94	Lungren (Calif.)	96
Reuss (Wis.)	93	Jeffries (Kan.)	96
Barnes (Md.)	93	Shumway (Calif.)	95
Brademas (Ind.)	93	Moorhead (Calif.)	95
		Bafalis (Fla.)	95

Highest opposition-to-party scores — those who in 1979 most consistently voted against their party majority:

SENATE

Democrats		Republicans	
Byrd (Va.)*	74%	Javits (N.Y.)	76%
Zorinsky (Neb.)	63	Mathias (Md.)	66
Boren (Okla.)	59	Chafee (R.I.)	53
Proxmire (Wis.)	49	Weicker (Conn.)	52
Heflin (Ala.)	47	Percy (Ill.)	51
		Stafford (Vt.)	51

** Elected as an independent, but caucuses with Democrats.*

HOUSE

Democrats		Republicans	
McDonald (Ga.)	94%	Conte (Mass.)	68%
Satterfield (Va.)	87	Marks (Pa.)	67
Stump (Ariz.)	85	McKinney (Conn.)	61
Ichord (Mo.)	82	Green (N.Y.)	60
Daniel (Va.)	82	Hollenbeck (N.J.)	58
Montgomery (Miss.)	75	Horton (N.Y.)	55
Leath (Texas)	74	Heckler (Mass.)	54
		Buchanan (Ala.)	54

Party Unity History

Composite party unity scores showing the percentage of time the average Democrat and Republican voted with his party majority in partisan votes in recent years:

Year	Democrats	Republicans
1979	69%	72%
1978	64	67
1977	67	70
1976	65	66
1975	69	70
1974	63	62
1973	68	68

	1	2
ALABAMA		
Heflin	48	47
Stewart	67	27
ALASKA		
Gravel	54	19
Stevens	60	28
ARIZONA		
DeConcini	56	36
Goldwater	69‡	7‡
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers	72	18
Pryor	63	33
CALIFORNIA		
Cranston	83	28
Hayakawa	75	19
COLORADO		
Hart	79	18
Armstrong	86	6
CONNECTICUT		
Ribicoff	70	7
Weicker	32	52
DELAWARE		
Biden	68	14
Roth	72	22
FLORIDA		
Chiles	76	15
Stone	50	39
GEORGIA		
Nunn	62‡	31‡
Talmadge	47	29
HAWAII		
Inouye	66	6
Matsunaga	81	6
IDAHO		
Church	63	24
McClure	88	7
ILLINOIS		
Stevenson	70	15
Percy	38	51
INDIANA		
Bayh	63	9
Lugar	90	10

	1	2
IOWA		
Culver	75	10
Jepsen	87	4
KANSAS		
Dole	78	16
Kassebaum	69	24
KENTUCKY		
Ford	56	37
Huddleston	67	17
LOUISIANA		
Johnston	55	38
Long	47	32
MAINE		
Muskie	78	10
Cohen	62	34
MARYLAND		
Sarbanes	88	10
Mathias	23	66
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	72	5
Tsongas	83	8
MICHIGAN		
Levin	88	10
Riegle	84	10
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz	73	27
Durenberger	50	43
MISSISSIPPI		
Stennis	52	34
Cochran	75	17
MISSOURI		
Eagleton	74	12
Danforth	54	44
MONTANA		
Baucus	78	13
Melcher	66	28
NEBRASKA		
Exon	59	34
Zorinsky	37	63
NEVADA		
Cannon	68	24
Laxalt	82	5

	1	2
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Durkin	70	17
Humphrey	94	4
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley	87	9
Williams	84	6
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici	78	18
Schmitt	78	19
NEW YORK		
Moynihan	79	13
Javits	19	76
NORTH CAROLINA		
Morgan	53	34
Helms	93	6
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	73	22
Young	65	28
OHIO		
Glenn	79	19
Metzenbaum	86	10
OKLAHOMA		
Boren	33	59
Bellmon	48	44
OREGON		
Hatfield	38	47
Packwood	42	47
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz	44	43
Schweiker	72	22
RHODE ISLAND		
Pell	77	12
Chafee	38	53
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Hollings	62	31
Thurmond	86	8
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	77	9
Pressler	52	27
TENNESSEE		
Sasser	66	19
Baker	43	19

- KEY -

‡ Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1979.

	1	2
TEXAS		
Bentsen	63	29
Tower	78	14
UTAH		
Garn	93	3
Hatch	90	3
VERMONT		
Leahy	80	15
Stafford	28	51
VIRGINIA		
Byrd [1]	22	74
Warner	90	10
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	90	10
Magnuson	78	17
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	79	20
Randolph	69	27
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	81	10
Proxmire	51	49
WYOMING		
Simpson	85	9
Wallop	80	9

Democrats ***Republicans***

[1] *Sen. Byrd (Va.) elected as an independent.*

Party Unity and Party Opposition: Senate

1. Party Unity, 1979. Percentage of 232 Senate Party Unity votes in 1979, on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with a majority of his party. (Party Unity roll calls are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans. Failures to vote lower both Party Unity and Party Opposition scores.)

2. Party Opposition, 1979. Percentage of 232 Senate Party Unity votes in 1979 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with a majority of his party.

Party Unity and Party Opposition: House

1. Party Unity, 1979. Percentage of 318 House Party Unity recorded votes in 1979 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with a majority of his party. (Party unity roll calls are those on which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans. Failures to vote lower both Party Unity and Party Opposition scores.)

2. Party Opposition, 1979. Percentage of 318 House Party Unity recorded votes in 1979 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with a majority of his party.

[1] *Rep. William H. Royer, R-Calif., sworn in April 9, 1979, succeeding Leo J. Ryan, D, who died Nov. 18, 1978.*
[2] *Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., resigned Sept. 26, 1979.*
[3] *Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., as Speaker, votes at his own discretion.*
[4] *Rep. Thomas E. Petri, R-Wis., sworn in April 9, 1979, succeeding William A. Steiger, R, who died Dec. 4, 1979.*

- KEY -

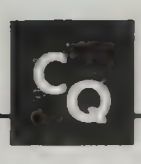
‡ Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1979.

	1	2
ALABAMA		
1 ***Edwards***	68	27
2 ***Dickinson***	82	11
3 Nichols		
4 Bevill	53‡	40‡
5 Flippo	53	39
6 ***Buchanan***	41‡	54‡
7 Shelby	35	64
ALASKA		
AL ***Young***	59	17
ARIZONA		
1 ***Rhodes***	69‡	19‡
2 Udall	81	10
3 Stump	8	85
4 ***Rudd***	87	6
ARKANSAS		
1 Alexander	70	11
2 ***Bethune***	82	14
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	83	13
4 Anthony	64	28
CALIFORNIA		
1 Johnson	80	12
2 ***Clausen***	73	20
3 Matsui	94	5
4 Fazio	92	5
5 Burton, J.	62	13
6 Burton, P.	92	3
7 Miller	80	10
8 Dellums	83	5
9 Stark	74	7
10 Edwards	83	5
11 ***Royer*** [1]	77‡	19‡
12 ***McCloskey***	31	52
13 Mineta	89	6
14 ***Shumway***	95	3
15 Coelho	77	13
16 Panetta	71	28
17 ***Pashayan***	77	13
18 ***Thomas***	87	7
19 ***Lagomarsino***	92	8
20 ***Goldwater***	76	8
21 Corman	88	2
22 ***Moorhead***	95	3
23 Beilenson	88	6
24 Waxman	78	5
25 Roybal	86	5
26 ***Rousselot***	81	3
27 ***Dornan***	78	10
28 Dixon	84	3
29 Hawkins	81	2
30 Danielson	92	3
31 Wilson, C.H.	42	22
32 Anderson	69	26
33 ***Grisham***	90	9
34 ***Lungren***	96	2
35 Lloyd	70	24
36 Brown	83	5
37 ***Lewis***	81	17
38 Patterson	77	5
39 ***Dannemeyer***	94	5
40 ***Badham***	82	5
41 ***Wilson, B.***	50	22
42 Van Deerlin	85	5
43 ***Burgener***	88	9
COLORADO		
1 Schroeder	60	34
2 Wirth	82	11
3 Kogovsek	84	10
4 ***Johnson***	47	38
5 ***Kramer***	93	6
CONNECTICUT		
1 Cotter	71	15
2 Dodd	72	9
3 Giaimo	64	10
4 ***McKinney***	21‡	61‡
5 Ratchford	88	10
6 Moffett	84	7
DELAWARE		
AL ***Evans***	66	27
FLORIDA		
1 Hutto	53	40
2 Fuqua	61	29
3 Bennett	47	53
4 Chappell	30	56
5 ***Kelly***	94	3
6 ***Young***	89	9
7 Gibbons	55	28
8 Ireland	42	46
9 Nelson	49	47
10 ***Bafalis***	95‡	4‡
11 Mica	63	34
12 Stack	88	9
13 Lehman	89‡	6‡
14 Pepper	67	3
15 Fascell	89	6
GEORGIA		
1 Ginn	64	32
2 Mathis	32	50
3 Brinkley	46	50
4 Levitas	53	44
5 Fowler	75	19
6 ***Gingrich***	83	12
7 McDonald	4	94
8 Evans	49	36
9 Jenkins	47	46
10 Barnard	42	53
HAWAII		
1 Heftel	68	19
2 Akaka	86	8
IDAHO		
1 ***Symms***	87	2
2 ***Hansen***	88	3
ILLINOIS		
1 Stewart	86	5
2 Murphy	66	7
3 Russo	62	25
4 ***Derwinski***	71	27
5 Fary	86	9
6 ***Hyde***	71	25
7 Collins	74	7
8 Rostenkowski	79	8
9 Yates	91	6
10 Mikva [2]	76‡	4‡
11 Annunzio	85	13
12 ***Crane, P.***	54‡	2‡
13 ***McClory***	75	20
14 ***Erlenborn***	65	30
15 ***Corcoran***	81	16
16 ***Anderson***	9	20
17 ***O'Brien***	63	21
18 ***Michel***	76	12
19 ***Railsback***	44	48
20 ***Findley***	57	39
21 ***Madigan***	59	31
22 ***Crane, D.***	86	3
23 Price	85	7
24 Simon	86	6
INDIANA		
1 Benjamin	73	27
2 Fithian	73	24
3 Brademas	93	4
4 ***Quayle***	79	9
5 ***Hillis***	69	22
6 Evans	43	53
7 ***Myers***	85	10
8 ***Deckard***	79	13
9 Hamilton	71	29
10 Sharp	72	27
11 Jacobs	44	54
IOWA		
1 ***Leach***	61	32
2 ***Tauke***	75	23
3 ***Grassley***	86	12
4 Smith	71	18
5 Harkin	71	20
6 Bedell	76	15

Democrats ***Republicans***

	1	2
KANSAS		
1 ***Sebelius***	78	11
2 ***Jeffries***	96	2
3 ***Winn***	55	16
4 Glickman	56	40
5 ***Whittaker***	86	13
KENTUCKY		
1 Hubbard	31	53
2 Natcher	67	33
3 Mazzoli	67	24
4 ***Snyder***	85	14
5 ***Carter***	47	35
6 ***Hopkins***	88	11
7 Perkins	74	23
LOUISIANA		
1 ***Livingston***	80	16
2 Boggs	73	18
3 ***Treen***	29	8
4 Leach	30	52
5 Huckaby	35	57
6 ***Moore***	86	14
7 Breaux	35	51
8 Long	62	18
MAINE		
1 ***Emery***	64	19
2 ***Snowe***	69‡	29‡
MARYLAND		
1 ***Bauman***	96	4
2 Long	69	28
3 Mikulski	86	11
4 ***Holt***	85	8
5 Spellman	76	7
6 Byron	40	58
7 Mitchell	89‡	5‡
8 Barnes	93	6
MASSACHUSETTS		
1 ***Conte***	32	68
2 Boland	81	13
3 Early	60	34
4 Drinan	87	7
5 Shannon	92	6
6 Mavroules	78	16
7 Markey	88	10
8 O'Neill		
9 Moakley	87	10
10 ***Heckler***	42	54
11 Donnelly	60	33
12 Studds	92	8
MICHIGAN		
1 Conyers	46	6
2 ***Pursell***	38	47
3 Wolpe	92	7
4 ***Stockman***	69	17
5 ***Sawyer***	74	22
6 Carr	86	9
7 Kildee	83	17
8 Traxler	75	13
9 ***Vander Jagt***	75	11
10 Albosta	66	26
11 ***Davis***	72‡	24‡
12 Bonior	87	7
13 Diggs	51	2
14 Nedzi	86	11
15 Ford	76	5
16 Dingell	72	14
17 Brodhead	91	7
18 Blanchard	92	5
19 ***Broomfield***	73	22
MINNESOTA		
1 ***Erdahl***	72	24
2 ***Hagedorn***	84	8
3 ***Frenzel***	65	23
4 Vento	91	8
5 Sabo	89	8
6 Nolan	74	5
7 ***Stangeland***	90	8
8 Oberstar	92	7
MISSISSIPPI		
1 Whitten	50	43
2 Bowen	47	44
3 Montgomery	19	75
4 ***Hinson***	85	8
5 ***Lott***	86	10
MISSOURI		
1 Clay	87	3
2 Young	68	21
3 Gephardt	74	20
4 Skelton	57	35
5 Bolling	56	2
6 ***Coleman***	82	12
7 ***Taylor***	86	7
8 Ichord	14	82
9 Volkmer	58	40
10 Burlison	81	12
MONTANA		
1 Williams	67	26
2 ***Marlenee***	75	18
NEBRASKA		
1 ***Bereuter***	75	25
2 Cavanaugh	67	26
3 ***Smith***	86	10
NEVADA		
AL Santini	36	51
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
1 D'Amours	65	27
2 ***Cleveland***	70	16
NEW JERSEY		
1 Florio	85	12
2 Hughes	66	32
3 Howard	90	6
4 Thompson	79	3
5 ***Fenwick***	46	50
6 ***Forsythe***	42	21
7 Maguire	85	11
8 Roe	81	16
9 ***Hollenbeck***	31	58
10 Rodino	71	4
11 Minish	79	17
12 ***Rinaldo***	51	48
13 ***Courter***	85	14
14 Guarini	78	14
15 Patten	83	10
NEW MEXICO		
1 ***Lujan***	79	18
2 Runnels	14	60
NEW YORK		
1 ***Carney***	89	10
2 Downey	86	7
3 Ambro	59	30
4 ***Lent***	72	24
5 ***Wydler***	63	18
6 Wolff	79	12
7 Addabbo	80	12
8 Rosenthal	68	4
9 Ferraro	78	14
10 Biaggi	69	16
11 Scheuer	88‡	5‡
12 Chisholm	77	5
13 Solarz	91‡	5‡
14 Richmond	83	4
15 Zeferetti	63	26
16 Holtzman	79	8
17 Murphy	69	14
18 ***Green***	38	60
19 Rangel	86	4
20 Weiss	83	8
21 Garcia	79	3
22 Bingham	92	5
23 Peyser	89	9
24 Ottinger	92	5
25 ***Fish***	42	46
26 ***Gilman***	44	53
27 McHugh	86	12
28 Stratton	56	43
29 ***Solomon***	91	6
30 ***McEwen***	62	17
31 ***Mitchell***	66	30
32 Hanley	71‡	16‡
33 ***Lee***	81	9
34 ***Horton***	37	55
35 ***Conable***	63	25
36 LaFalce	80	12
37 Nowak	87	12
38 ***Kemp***	78	11
39 Lundine	74	15
NORTH CAROLINA		
1 Jones	52	34
2 Fountain	36	61
3 Whitley	64	34
4 Andrews	66	27
5 Neal	59	36
6 Preyer	82	15
7 Rose	64	18
8 Hefner	68	28
9 ***Martin***	82	12
10 ***Broyhill***	69	25
11 Gudger	65	34
NORTH DAKOTA		
AL ***Andrews***	72	16
OHIO		
1 ***Gradison***	79‡	20‡
2 Luken	62	31
3 Hall	88	7
4 ***Guyer***	83	9
5 ***Latta***	90	6
6 ***Harsha***	76	14
7 ***Brown***	71‡	10‡
8 ***Kindness***	91	5
9 Ashley	77	8
10 ***Miller***	91	9
11 ***Stanton***	63	33
12 ***Devine***	88	7
13 Pease	89	10
14 Seiberling	94	4
15 ***Wylie***	73	20
16 ***Regula***	85	15
17 ***Ashbrook***	83	5
18 Applegate	34	60
19 ***Williams***	49	28
20 Oakar	75	18
21 Stokes	90	3
22 Vanik	86	8
23 Mottl	35‡	59‡
OKLAHOMA		
1 Jones	50	41
2 Synar	70	26
3 Watkins	31	63
4 Steed	67	24
5 ***Edwards***	86	9
6 English	33	66
OREGON		
1 AuCoin	69	20
2 Ullman	74	9
3 Duncan	65	16
4 Weaver	68	25
PENNSYLVANIA		
1 Myers	70	16
2 ***Gray***	94	2
3 Lederer	75	18
4 ***Dougherty***	38	51
5 ***Schulze***	86	8
6 Yatron	50	45
7 Edgar	85	9
8 Kostmayer	76	22
9 ***Shuster***	90	6
10 ***McDade***	53	41
11 Flood	11	2
12 Murtha	74	24
13 ***Coughlin***	61	30
14 Moorhead	85	7
15 ***Ritter***	85	14
16 ***Walker***	90	5
17 Ertel	72	23
18 Walgren	75	19
19 ***Goodling***	65	19
20 Gaydos	59	36
21 Bailey	69	31
22 Murphy	60	40
23 ***Clinger***	71‡	27‡
24 ***Marks***	22‡	67‡
25 Atkinson	44	49
RHODE ISLAND		
1 St Germain	78	12
2 Beard	64	31
SOUTH CAROLINA		
1 Davis	56	17
2 ***Spence***	88	11
3 Derrick	74	16
4 ***Campbell***	84	8
5 Holland	58	20
6 Jenrette	66	19
SOUTH DAKOTA		
1 Daschle	72	25
2 ***Abdnor***	85	11
TENNESSEE		
1 ***Quillen***	70	23
2 ***Duncan***	76	23
3 Bouquard	51	46
4 Gore	83	16
5 Boner	73	25
6 ***Beard***	74	14
7 Jones	59	34
8 Ford	87	3
TEXAS		
1 Hall	32	65
2 Wilson,C.	57	32
3 ***Collins***	97	3
4 Roberts	37	44
5 Mattox	63	30
6 Gramm	26	69
7 ***Archer***	94	3
8 Eckhardt	90	3
9 Brooks	69	20
10 Pickle	61	30
11 Leath	21	74
12 Wright	77	9
13 Hightower	44	51
14 Wyatt	42	54
15 de la Garza	31	53
16 White	37	61
17 Stenholm	25	70
18 Leland	91	4
19 Hance	32	63
20 Gonzalez	87	10
21 ***Loeffler***	94	4
22 ***Paul***	90	9
23 Kazen	53	47
24 Frost	75	19
UTAH		
1 McKay	50	36
2 ***Marriott***	75	13
VERMONT		
AL ***Jeffords***	43	44
VIRGINIA		
1 ***Trible***	81	14
2 ***Whitehurst***	80	16
3 Satterfield	12	87
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	93	6
5 Daniel, D.	15	82
6 ***Butler***	75	19
7 ***Robinson***	94	6
8 Harris	89	8
9 ***Wampler***	72	22
10 Fisher	87	9
WASHINGTON		
1 ***Pritchard***	39‡	50‡
2 Swift	91	7
3 Bonker	78	6
4 McCormack	74	12
5 Foley	83	12
6 Dicks	82	9
7 Lowry	92	7
WEST VIRGINIA		
1 Mollohan	73	21
2 Staggers	74	15
3 Slack	65	31
4 Rahall	77	18
WISCONSIN		
1 Aspin	81	14
2 Kastenmeier	88‡	9‡
3 Baldus	88	5
4 Zablocki	83	14
5 Reuss	93	3
6 ***Petri***[4]	74‡	24‡
7 Obey	87	7
8 ***Roth***	88	8
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	91	8
WYOMING		
AL ***Cheney***	86	8

Democrats ***Republicans***



Conservative Coalition

Conservative Alliance Voting Jumps in '79

The conservative coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans gained considerable strength in Congress in 1979.

Although the conservative voting alliance showed up in 1979 on about the same proportion of House and Senate recorded votes as it did in 1978, it emerged victorious a significantly larger percentage of the time.

The coalition won 70 percent of the votes on which it appeared in 1979, compared to only a 52 percent success rate in 1978.

Over the past five years, the average score for the coalition was less than 58.

The coalition showed particular strength in the House, where it prevailed 73 percent of the time — compared to 57 percent in 1978. In the Senate, the coalition was victorious 65 percent of the time, an increase of 19 percentage points over the year before. *(1978 conservative coalition votes, 1978 Almanac p. 34-C)*

As used by Congressional Quarterly in analyzing votes, the conservative coalition refers to a voting alliance of a majority of Republicans and Southern Democrats against a majority of Northern Democrats.

The coalition's strength has been analyzed by Congressional Quarterly annually since 1961.

Key Role in Energy Bills

The increase in the coalition's strength reflected a nationwide conservative trend which continued to pick up strength during 1979.

Many of the votes on which the coalition appeared concerned such bread-and-butter conservative issues as cutting federal spending, trimming government regulations and shifting spending priorities from foreign aid and domestic programs to national defense.

In a year dominated by energy issues, the coalition played an important role in shaping much energy legislation. In general, the conservative alliance favored measures to encourage energy development.

Energy was one of the few domestic issues on which the coalition voted to support increased federal spending and powers.

There were House votes to extend the life of a select committee with jurisdiction over oil drilling on the outer continental shelf, and to study the feasibility of a solar power satellite, and House and Senate votes to strengthen the powers of the proposed energy mobilization board, and to keep alive the Clinch River, Tenn., fast breeder reactor program.

The coalition also was successful on House and Senate votes to trim the bite and scope of the president's proposed windfall profits tax on oil, and to promote nuclear power.

Significant Senate Victories

Aside from energy, the coalition scored major victories in the Senate on votes:

- To permit voluntary prayer in public schools (which later was reversed).
- To pave the way for the lifting of economic sanctions against Rhodesia.
- To embarrass President Carter on his termination of a mutual defense treaty with Tawian (the Supreme Court later upheld Carter's right to terminate that treaty).
- To kill a proposed constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of the president and vice president.
- To weaken the landmark 1977 strip mining law.
- To protect the tax-exempt status of segregated private schools.

In the House, significant coalition victories included votes to restrict the powers of the Federal Trade Commission and to gut President Carter's hospital cost control legislation.

During 1979, the coalition also suffered some important setbacks, especially in the House. Among its losses in the House were votes to kill a constitutional amendment to bar school busing as a means to achieve school desegregation, to limit the amount of money a House candidate could accept from political action committees, and to reform the nation's welfare system.

In both houses, the conservative coalition picked up strength over 1978 from most individual members, from every region of the country and from both political parties.

Definitions

Conservative Coalition. As used in this study, the term "conservative coalition" means a voting alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats against the Northern Democrats in Congress. This meaning, rather than any philosophic definition of the "conservative" position, provides the basis for CQ's selection of coalition votes.

Conservative Coalition Vote. Any vote in the Senate or the House on which a majority of voting Southern Democrats and a majority of voting Republicans oppose the stand taken by a majority of voting Northern Democrats. Votes on which there is an even division within the ranks of voting Northern Democrats, Southern Democrats or Republicans are not included.

Southern States. The Southern states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The other 37 states are grouped as the North in the study.

Conservative Coalition Support Score. Percentage of conservative coalition votes on which a member votes "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote, even if a member announces a stand, lower the score.

Conservative Coalition Opposition Score. Percentage of conservative coalition votes on which a member votes "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the position of the conservative coalition.

For example, most of the liberal senators up for re-election in 1980 and targeted for defeat by conservative groups showed more support for the coalition in 1979 than they had in 1978.

Making the largest jump in this group was Frank Church, D-Idaho, who supported the coalition position 47 percent of the time in 1979, compared to 31 percent in 1978. Church ranked seventh in coalition support among Senate Democrats outside the South.

In contrast, George McGovern, D-S.D., maintained his 1978 level of support in 1979.

The senator supporting the coalition most frequently in 1979 was freshman John W. Warner, R-Va. A New Englander was tied for fourth place on the list of senators voting most often with the coalition in 1979: Gordon J. Humphrey, R-N.H. Voting most often against the coalition in the Senate was Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes, D-Md.

Voting most regularly with the coalition in the House in 1979 was Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, R-Va.

Tied for voting most often against the coalition in the House were three Democrats, Reps. Jonathan B. Bingham, N.Y., John F. Seiberling, Ohio, and Gerry E. Studds, Mass.

Rep. S. William Green, R-N.Y., was the House Republican who voted most consistently in opposition to the coalition's position.

Coalition Appearances, 1961-79

Following is the percentage of the recorded votes for both houses of Congress on which the coalition appeared:

1961	28%	1971	30%
1962	14	1972	27
1963	17	1973	23
1964	15	1974	24
1965	24	1975	28
1966	25	1976	24
1967	20	1977	26
1968	24	1978	21
1969	27	1979	20
1970	22		

Coalition Victories, 1961-79

	Total	Senate	House
1961	55%	48%	74%
1962	62	71	44
1963	50	44	67
1964	51	47	67
1965	33	39	25
1966	45	51	32
1967	63	54	73
1968	73	80	63
1969	68	67	71
1970	66	64	70
1971	83	86	79
1972	69	63	79
1973	61	54	67
1974	59	54	67
1975	50	48	52
1976	58	58	59
1977	68	74	60
1978	52	46	57
1979	70	65	73

Average Scores

Following are the composite conservative coalition support and opposition scores for 1979 (scores for 1978 are in parentheses):

	Southern Democrats	Republicans	Northern Democrats
Coalition Support			
Senate	67% (62)	67% (61)	26% (21)
House	64 (59)	78 (72)	26 (23)
Coalition Opposition			
Senate	22% (26)	24% (28)	64% (68)
House	28 (28)	14 (19)	66 (66)

Regional Scores

The parties' coalition support and opposition scores, by region, for 1979 (scores for 1978 are in parentheses):

SUPPORT

	East	West	South	Midwest
DEMOCRATS				
Senate	19% (17)	34% (29)	67% (62)	25% (18)
House	25 (22)	26 (23)	64 (59)	27 (24)
REPUBLICANS				
Senate	45% (33)	76% (72)	78% (75)	68% (63)
House	65 (59)	82 (74)	87 (84)	78 (77)

OPPOSITION

	East	West	South	Midwest
DEMOCRATS				
Senate	71% (74)	56% (59)	22% (26)	65% (69)
House	67 (68)	65 (63)	28 (28)	65 (67)
REPUBLICANS				
Senate	46% (57)	15% (17)	11% (11)	26% (25)
House	27 (34)	9 (13)	6 (7)	13 (18)

Individual Scores

SUPPORT

Highest Coalition Support Scores. Those who voted with the conservative coalition most consistently in 1979:

SENATE

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Byrd (Va.)*	88%	Warner (Va.)	96%
Johnston (La.)	85	McClure (Idaho)	93
Boren (Okla.)	81	Thurmond (S.C.)	93
Stennis (Miss.)	76	Helms (N.C.)	91
Hollings (S.C.)	75	Humphrey (N.H.)	91
Heflin (Ala.)	75	Hatch (Utah)	90
Nunn (Ga.)	72	Lugar (Ind.)	90

Northern Democrats

Zorinsky (Neb.)	70%
Cannon (Nev.)	62
DeConcini (Ariz.)	58
Byrd (W.Va.)	57
Randolph (W.Va.)	55
Exon (Neb.)	54
Church (Idaho)	47

** Elected as an independent, but caucuses with Democrats*

HOUSE

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Satterfield (Va.)	98%	Robinson (Va.)	100%
Shelby (Ala.)	97	Daniel (Va.)	99
Leath (Texas)	96	Moore (La.)	99
Stenholm (Texas)	95	Spence (S.C.)	98
Daniel (Va.)	94	Lungren (Calif.)	97
McDonald (Ga.)	93	Bauman (Md.)	97
Watkins (Okla.)	92	Snyder (Ky.)	97
Montgomery (Miss.)	92	Archer (Texas)	97
Hall (Texas)	92	Duncan (Tenn.)	97
White (Texas)	92	Loeffler (Texas)	97
Fountain (N.C.)	92		

Northern Democrats

Ichord (Mo.)	92%
Stump (Ariz.)	92
Byron (Md.)	85
Runnels (N.M.)	74
Stratton (N.Y.)	72
Skelton (Mo.)	72
Evans (Ind.)	71
Atkinson (Pa.)	70
Santini (Nev.)	69
Applegate (Ohio)	69
Slack (W.Va.)	68

OPPOSITION

Highest Coalition Opposition Scores. Those who voted against the conservative coalition most consistently in 1979:

SENATE

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Bumpers (Ark.)	43%	Javits (N.Y.)	76%
Chiles (Fla.)	37	Mathias (Md.)	71
Huddleston (Ky.)	37	Chafee (R.I.)	63
Sasser (Tenn.)	35	Durenberger (Minn.)	59
Stone (Fla.)	30	Weicker (Conn.)	56

Northern Democrats

Sarbanes (Md.)	91%
Levin (Mich.)	89
Kennedy (Mass.)	88
Tsongas (Mass.)	88
Bradley (N.J.)	85
Williams (N.J.)	84
Moynihan (N.Y.)	81
Cranston (Calif.)	81

1979 Coalition Votes

Following is a list of all 1979 Senate and House votes on which the conservative coalition appeared. The votes are listed by CQ vote number and may be found in the vote charts in the 1979 Weekly Reports.

SENATE VOTES (91)

Coalition Victories (59) — 7, 14, 34, 36, 37, 39, 46, 54, 57, 71, 80, 94, 104, 121, 126, 135, 156, 161, 169, 170, 181, 187, 190, 191, 195, 200, 202, 203, 204, 243, 251, 252, 254, 258, 264, 265, 266, 267, 274, 276, 278, 281, 283, 289, 312, 318, 328, 336, 356, 361, 383, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 439, 442, 497.

Coalition Defeats (32) — 41, 42, 44, 64, 79, 117, 123, 128, 133, 162, 165, 166, 167, 175, 188, 193, 194, 228, 253, 270, 272, 273, 280, 294, 332, 333, 334, 335, 337, 340, 343, 404.

HOUSE VOTES (144)

Coalition Victories (105) — 33, 41, 42, 45, 54, 58, 60, 62, 68, 69, 70, 74, 86, 94, 113, 124, 132, 133, 134, 162, 166, 169, 175, 188, 190, 195, 205, 209, 221, 222, 227, 232, 255, 261, 265, 271, 272, 273, 275, 279, 280, 287, 288, 295, 298, 319, 320, 324, 325, 327, 333, 339, 340, 350, 355, 373, 379, 381, 385, 393, 396, 397, 399, 400, 404, 407, 414, 416, 424, 428, 433, 436, 454, 469, 473, 487, 489, 492, 495, 496, 499, 500, 503, 556, 557, 585, 591, 593, 598, 604, 605, 611, 612, 615, 625, 629, 630, 633, 634, 637, 638, 639, 654, 656, 665.

Coalition Defeats (39) — 36, 75, 81, 85, 87, 93, 96, 101, 117, 131, 189, 244, 245, 248, 250, 251, 269, 294, 299, 321, 323, 341, 390, 398, 402, 405, 406, 415, 441, 442, 463, 491, 515, 516, 567, 610, 617, 635, 640.

HOUSE

Southern Democrats		Republicans	
Leland (Texas)	88%	Green (N.Y.)	78%
Eckhardt (Texas)	85	Conte (Mass.)	65
Harris (Va.)	82	Fenwick (N.J.)	60
Lehman (Fla.)	81	McKinney (Conn.)	60
Fisher (Va.)	79	Hollenbeck (N.J.)	59
Ford (Tenn.)	79	McCloskey (Calif.)	53
Gonzalez (Texas)	74	Jeffords (Vt.)	52
Stack (Fla.)	74		

Northern Democrats

Bingham (N.Y.)	97%
Seiberling (Ohio)	97
Studds (Mass.)	97
Ottinger (N.Y.)	94
Barnes (Md.)	93
Weiss (N.Y.)	93
Yates (Ill.)	92
Gray (Pa.)	92
Reuss (Wis.)	92
Shannon (Mass.)	92
Stokes (Ohio)	92
Kastenmeier (Wis.)	92

	1	2
ALABAMA		
Heflin	75	12
Stewart	63	25
ALASKA		
Gravel	26	51
Stevens	67	21
ARIZONA		
DeConcini	58	36
Goldwater	76‡	4‡
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers	45	43
Pryor	71	21
CALIFORNIA		
Cranston	15	81
Hayakawa	78	19
COLORADO		
Hart	23	71
Armstrong	79	8
CONNECTICUT		
Ribicoff	11	54
Weicker	31	56
DELAWARE		
Biden	14	68
Roth	67	23
FLORIDA		
Chiles	51	37
Stone	62	30
GEORGIA		
Nunn	72‡	22‡
Talmadge	62	11
HAWAII		
Inouye	18	51
Matsunaga	25	62
IDAHO		
Church	47	41
McClure	93	0
ILLINOIS		
Stevenson	15	73
Percy	45	48
INDIANA		
Bayh	16	58
Lugar	90	10

	1	2
IOWA		
Culver	8	73
Jepsen	87	1
KANSAS		
Dole	85	14
Kassebaum	75	20
KENTUCKY		
Ford	69	20
Huddleston	49	37
LOUISIANA		
Johnston	85	10
Long	66	10
MAINE		
Muskie	21	64
Cohen	55	38
MARYLAND		
Sarbanes	8	91
Mathias	22	71
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	2	88
Tsongas	2	88
MICHIGAN		
Levin	5	89
Riegle	10	79
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz	64	36
Durenberger	33	59
MISSISSIPPI		
Stennis	76	8
Cochran	75	8
MISSOURI		
Eagleton	30	54
Danforth	68	29
MONTANA		
Baucus	24	68
Melcher	41	55
NEBRASKA		
Exon	54	31
Zorinsky	70	30
NEVADA		
Cannon	62	33
Laxalt	80	3

	1	2
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Durkin	26	62
Humphrey	91	7
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley	11	85
Williams	4	84
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici	87	10
Schmitt	82	13
NEW YORK		
Moynihan	15	81
Javits	18	76
NORTH CAROLINA		
Morgan	59	26
Helms	91	3
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	36	55
Young	79	9
OHIO		
Glenn	34	65
Metzenbaum	13	80
OKLAHOMA		
Boren	81	10
Bellmon	58	30
OREGON		
Hatfield	38	52
Packwood	44	47
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz	36	51
Schweiker	70	21
RHODE ISLAND		
Pell	16	66
Chafee	26	63
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Hollings	75	20
Thurmond	93	4
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	11	78
Pressler	51	34
TENNESSEE		
Sasser	55	35
Baker	55	16

- KEY -

‡ Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1979.

	1	2
TEXAS		
Bentsen	63	26
Tower	76	10
UTAH		
Garn	89	4
Hatch	90	3
VERMONT		
Leahy	16	77
Stafford	29	54
VIRGINIA		
Byrd [1]	88	7
Warner	96	4
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	36	64
Magnuson	37	55
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	57	43
Randolph	55	42
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	9	80
Proxmire	37	63
WYOMING		
Simpson	77	12
Wallop	82	7

Democrats ***Republicans***

[1] *Byrd elected as an independent.*

Conservative Coalition Support and Opposition: Senate

1. Conservative Coalition Support, 1979. Percentage of 91 conservative coalition votes in 1979 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

2. Conservative Coalition Opposition, 1979. Percentage of 91 conservative coalition votes in 1979 on which senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

Conservative Coalition Support and Opposition: House

1. Conservative Coalition Support, 1979. Percentage of 144 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1979 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

2. Conservative Coalition Opposition, 1979. Percentage of 144 conservative coalition recorded votes in 1979 on which representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the position of the conservative coalition. Failures to vote lower both Support and Opposition scores.

1 Rep. William H. Royer, R-Calif., sworn in April 9, 1979, succeeding Leo J. Ryan, D, who died Nov. 18, 1978.
2 Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., resigned Sept. 26, 1979.
3 Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., as Speaker, votes at his own discretion.
4 Rep. Thomas E. Petri, R-Wis., sworn in April 9, 1979, succeeding William A. Steiger, R, who died Dec. 4, 1978.

KEY

‡ Not eligible for all recorded votes in 1979.

	1	2
ALABAMA		
1 ***Edwards***	85	10
2 ***Dickinson***	88	5
3 Nichols	90	6
4 Bevill	84	12
5 Flippo	83	8
6 ***Buchanan***	52	46
7 Shelby	97	3
ALASKA		
AL ***Young***	65	5
ARIZONA		
1 ***Rhodes***	77	10
2 Udall	22	68
3 Stump	92	1
4 ***Rudd***	90	3
ARKANSAS		
1 Alexander	34	46
2 ***Bethune***	86	7
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	88	6
4 Anthony	65	26
CALIFORNIA		
1 Johnson	31	59
2 ***Clausen***	85	8
3 Matsui	10	89
4 Fazio	20	77
5 Burton, J.	10	77
6 Burton, P.	3	90
7 Miller	8	79
8 Dellums	1	89
9 Stark	3	75
10 Edwards	2‡	90‡
11 ***Royer*** [1]	89‡	8‡
12 ***McCloskey***	36	53
13 Mineta	15	79
14 ***Shumway***	96	1
15 Coelho	38	55
16 Panetta	41	59
17 ***Pashayan***	82	8
18 ***Thomas***	91	2
19 ***Lagomarsino***	92	8
20 ***Goldwater***	83	3
21 Corman	11	81
22 ***Moorhead***	95	3
23 Beilenson	5	90
24 Waxman	5	85
25 Roybal	7	81
26 ***Rousselot***	82	1
27 ***Dornan***	82	9
28 Dixon	6	84
29 Hawkins	3	84
30 Danielson	15	81
31 Wilson, C.H.	35	28
32 Anderson	38	58
33 ***Grisham***	92	7
34 ***Lungren***	97	3
35 Lloyd	51	45
36 Brown	10	75
37 ***Lewis***	90	6
38 Patterson	15	65
39 ***Dannemeyer***	94	6
40 ***Badham***	83	4
41 ***Wilson, B.***	64	13
42 Van Deerlin	15	76
43 ***Burgener***	94	5
COLORADO		
1 Schroeder	33	62
2 Wirth	22	73
3 Kogovsek	26	72
4 ***Johnson***	50	34
5 ***Kramer***	94	3
CONNECTICUT		
1 Cotter	35	58
2 Dodd	9	74
3 Giaimo	21	56
4 ***McKinney***	28	60
5 Ratchford	13	86
6 Moffett	5	85
DELAWARE		
AL ***Evans***	72	23
FLORIDA		
1 Hutto	81	15
2 Fuqua	72	17
3 Bennett	79	21
4 Chappell	78	8
5 ***Kelly***	95	1
6 ***Young***	96	3
7 Gibbons	43	40
8 Ireland	76	12
9 Nelson	77	19
10 ***Bafalis***	96	0
11 Mica	65	35
12 Stack	24	74
13 Lehman	15‡	81‡
14 Pepper	15	57
15 Fascell	18	73
GEORGIA		
1 Ginn	80	19
2 Mathis	73	4
3 Brinkley	87	10
4 Levitas	72	27
5 Fowler	42	51
6 ***Gingrich***	85	8
7 McDonald	93	5
8 Evans	71	19
9 Jenkins	81	16
10 Barnard	87	8
HAWAII		
1 Heftel	45	45
2 Akaka	28	67
IDAHO		
1 ***Symms***	90	2
2 ***Hansen***	85	2
ILLINOIS		
1 Stewart	8	76
2 Murphy	14	57
3 Russo	42	46
4 ***Derwinski***	69	26
5 Fary	28	65
6 ***Hyde***	78	19
7 Collins	6	78
8 Rostenkowski	24	63
9 Yates	7	92
10 Mikva [2]	6‡	73‡
11 Annunzio	35	63
12 ***Crane, P.***	60	2
13 ***McClory***	74	17
14 ***Erlenborn***	67	26
15 ***Corcoran***	88	10
16 ***Anderson***	9	16
17 ***O'Brien***	72	15
18 ***Michel***	85	6
19 ***Railsback***	55	38
20 ***Findley***	55	40
21 ***Madigan***	72	21
22 ***Crane, D.***	86	3
23 Price	25	67
24 Simon	10	82
INDIANA		
1 Benjamin	53	47
2 Fithian	44	53
3 Brademas	8	90
4 ***Quayle***	77	7
5 ***Hillis***	79	10
6 Evans	71	28
7 ***Myers***	90	4
8 ***Deckard***	77	15
9 Hamilton	44	56
10 Sharp	47	53
11 Jacobs	56	40
IOWA		
1 ***Leach***	59	31
2 ***Tauke***	76	22
3 ***Grassley***	91	6
4 Smith	38	51
5 Harkin	27	65
6 Bedell	22	69

Democrats ***Republicans***

	1	2
KANSAS		
1 ***Sebelius***	81	8
2 ***Jeffries***	96	2
3 ***Winn***	60	10
4 Glickman	50	44
5 ***Whittaker***	95	5
KENTUCKY		
1 Hubbard	78	8
2 Natcher	69	31
3 Mazzoli	49	43
4 ***Snyder***	97	3
5 ***Carter***	56	21
6 ***Hopkins***	89	8
7 Perkins	51	44
LOUISIANA		
1 ***Livingston***	90	5
2 Boggs	42	49
3 ***Treen***	33	3
4 Leach	79	3
5 Huckaby	87	6
6 ***Moore***	99	1
7 Breaux	76	8
8 Long	43	41
MAINE		
1 ***Emery***	67	15
2 ***Snowe***	71‡	28‡
MARYLAND		
1 ***Bauman***	97	3
2 Long	38	61
3 Mikulski	17	81
4 ***Holt***	87	4
5 Spellman	15	61
6 Byron	85	10
7 Mitchell	3	90
8 Barnes	6	93
MASSACHUSETTS		
1 ***Conte***	35	65
2 Boland	27	68
3 Early	35	60
4 Drinan	5	89
5 Shannon	6	92
6 Mavroules	31	66
7 Markey	8	90
8 O'Neill [3]		
9 Moakley	17	81
10 ***Heckler***	46	51
11 Donnelly	44	53
12 Studds	3	97
MICHIGAN		
1 Conyers	2	40
2 ***Pursell***	48	42
3 Wolpe	12	88
4 ***Stockman***	65	19
5 ***Sawyer***	81	13
6 Carr	9	88
7 Kildee	9	91
8 Traxler	38	56
9 ***Vander Jagt***	78	9
10 Albosta	53	42
11 ***Davis***	82‡	15‡
12 Bonior	7	83
13 Diggs	3	47
14 Nedzi	19	81
15 Ford	15	71
16 Dingell	26	62
17 Brodhead	8	91
18 Blanchard	9	85
19 ***Broomfield***	78	17
MINNESOTA		
1 ***Erdahl***	71	23
2 ***Hagedorn***	88	4
3 ***Frenzel***	61	26
4 Vento	12	88
5 Sabo	11	88
6 Nolan	4	74
7 ***Stangeland***	94	5
8 Oberstar	13	85
MISSISSIPPI		
1 Whitten	78	19
2 Bowen	68	24
3 Montgomery	92	3
4 ***Hinson***	89	2
5 ***Lott***	95	0
MISSOURI		
1 Clay	3	88
2 Young	43	45
3 Gephardt	39	55
4 Skelton	72	21
5 Bolling	8	45
6 ***Coleman***	89	5
7 ***Taylor***	94	1
8 Ichord	92	3
9 Volkmer	65	35
10 Burlison	33	63
MONTANA		
1 Williams	36	63
2 ***Marlenee***	81	12
NEBRASKA		
1 ***Bereuter***	78	22
2 Cavanaugh	33	64
3 ***Smith***	90	7
NEVADA		
AL Santini	69	20
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
1 D'Amours	42	51
2 ***Cleveland***	81	10
NEW JERSEY		
1 Florio	19	75
2 Hughes	44	52
3 Howard	15	80
4 Thompson	6	70
5 ***Fenwick***	38	60
6 ***Forsythe***	38	19
7 Maguire	3	91
8 Roe	34	60
9 ***Hollenbeck***	29	59
10 Rodino	6	66
11 Minish	28	69
12 ***Rinaldo***	61	37
13 ***Courter***	89	10
14 Guarini	28	67
15 Patten	24	73
NEW MEXICO		
1 ***Lujan***	88	10
2 Runnels	74	4
NEW YORK		
1 ***Carney***	94	6
2 Downey	10	84
3 Ambro	40	49
4 ***Lent***	80	17
5 ***Wydler***	69	14
6 Wolff	22	67
7 Addabbo	18	72
8 Rosenthal	0	72
9 Ferraro	22	73
10 Biaggi	31	55
11 Scheuer	9‡	87‡
12 Chisholm	5	81
13 Solarz	3	91
14 Richmond	2	84
15 Zeferetti	48	40
16 Holtzman	3	88
17 Murphy	31	49
18 ***Green***	20	78
19 Rangel	3	87
20 Weiss	0	93
21 Garcia	2	85
22 Bingham	1	97
23 Peyser	15	80
24 Ottinger	2	94
25 ***Fish***	46	42
26 ***Gilman***	45	51
27 McHugh	16	83
28 Stratton	72	27
29 ***Solomon***	92	5
30 ***McEwen***	69	10
31 ***Mitchell***	78	20
32 Hanley	38‡	53‡
33 ***Lee***	89	3
34 ***Horton***	53	41
35 ***Conable***	56	31
36 LaFalce	22	74
37 Nowak	22	76
38 ***Kemp***	79	10
39 Lundine	22	69
NORTH CAROLINA		
1 Jones	76	10
2 Fountain	92	6
3 Whitley	81	19
4 Andrews	63	32
5 Neal	63	34
6 Preyer	43	54
7 Rose	49	37
8 Hefner	69	28
9 ***Martin***	87	6
10 ***Broyhill***	81	15
11 Gudger	78	19
NORTH DAKOTA		
AL ***Andrews***	83	8
OHIO		
1 ***Gradison***	76	23
2 Luken	56	38
3 Hall	13	83
4 ***Guyer***	90	3
5 ***Latta***	93	3
6 ***Harsha***	83	8
7 ***Brown***	78‡	6‡
8 ***Kindness***	92	3
9 Ashley	23	66
10 ***Miller***	94	6
11 ***Stanton***	75	24
12 ***Devine***	92	4
13 Pease	13	85
14 Seiberling	3	97
15 ***Wylie***	80	13
16 ***Regula***	89	11
17 ***Ashbrook***	88	4
18 Applegate	69	24
19 ***Williams***	69	13
20 Oakar	32	64
21 Stokes	3	92
22 Vanik	13	84
23 Mottl	63	32
OKLAHOMA		
1 Jones	67	23
2 Synar	54	44
3 Watkins	92	4
4 Steed	55	36
5 ***Edwards***	87	5
6 English	90	9
OREGON		
1 AuCoin	28	64
2 Ullman	28	56
3 Duncan	38	47
4 Weaver	24	63
PENNSYLVANIA		
1 Myers	34	55
2 Gray	2	92
3 Lederer	33	61
4 ***Dougherty***	58	35
5 ***Schulze***	87	6
6 Yatron	66	28
7 Edgar	8	85
8 Kostmayer	13	87
9 ***Shuster***	87	5
10 ***McDade***	69	26
11 Flood	2	7
12 Murtha	57	39
13 ***Coughlin***	66	26
14 Moorhead	18	72
15 ***Ritter***	87	10
16 ***Walker***	88	7
17 Ertel	44	51
18 Walgren	22	68
19 ***Goodling***	71	16
20 Gaydos	60	33
21 Bailey	55	45
22 Murphy	66	34
23 ***Clinger***	76‡	23‡
24 ***Marks***	39	50
25 Atkinson	70	28
RHODE ISLAND		
1 St Germain	19	73
2 Beard	50	42
SOUTH CAROLINA		
1 Davis	36	32
2 ***Spence***	98	2
3 Derrick	42	49
4 ***Campbell***	89	1
5 Holland	48	32
6 Jenrette	51	33
SOUTH DAKOTA		
1 Daschle	36	63
2 ***Abdnor***	95	4
TENNESSEE		
1 ***Quillen***	86	8
2 ***Duncan***	97	3
3 Bouquard	83	12
4 Gore	38	62
5 Boner	60	38
6 ***Beard***	82	3
7 Jones	74	19
8 Ford	10	79
TEXAS		
1 Hall	92	4
2 Wilson,C.	63	28
3 ***Collins***	95	4
4 Roberts	72	8
5 Mattox	44	47
6 Gramm	91	6
7 ***Archer***	97	0
8 Eckhardt	7	85
9 Brooks	49	40
10 Pickle	63	28
11 Leath	96	1
12 Wright	35	52
13 Hightower	89	8
14 Wyatt	91	4
15 de la Garza	77	9
16 White	92	7
17 Stenholm	95	2
18 Leland	10	88
19 Hance	91	5
20 Gonzalez	24	74
21 ***Loeffler***	97	0
22 ***Paul***	85	15
23 Kazen	83	16
24 Frost	46	44
UTAH		
1 McKay	62	24
2 ***Marriott***	79	3
VERMONT		
AL ***Jeffords***	40	52
VIRGINIA		
1 ***Trible***	96	3
2 ***Whitehurst***	95	3
3 Satterfield	98	1
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	99	1
5 Daniel, D.	94	4
6 ***Butler***	78	15
7 ***Robinson***	100	0
8 Harris	17	82
9 ***Wampler***	90	3
10 Fisher	18	79
WASHINGTON		
1 ***Pritchard***	35	46
2 Swift	18	79
3 Bonker	22	68
4 McCormack	38	50
5 Foley	36	56
6 Dicks	33	64
7 Lowry	15	84
WEST VIRGINIA		
1 Mollohan	49	49
2 Staggers	38	51
3 Slack	68	29
4 Rahall	38	60
WISCONSIN		
1 Aspin	26	68
2 Kastenmeier	6	92
3 Baldus	19	76
4 Zablocki	37	60
5 Reuss	7	92
6 ***Petri*** [4]	72‡	27‡
7 Obey	9	86
8 ***Roth***	92	6
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	88	11
WYOMING		
AL ***Cheney***	85	6

Democrats ***Republicans***

LOBBY REGISTRATIONS

CQ

Lobby Registrations, Nov. 1978-Nov. 1979

November 1978 Registrations

Citizens' Groups

CATHOLICS FOR A FREE CHOICE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 11/2/78. Legislative interest — "Opposition to constitutional amendment that would eliminate or restrict access to abortion. Also opposed to riders on bills which seek to restrict access. Will support bills for family planning monies, research and support for abortion rights and sex education.

CITIZENS FOR MANAGEMENT OF ALASKA LANDS, Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Edward D. Heffernan, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/15/78. Legislative interest — "HR 39 and S 1500 — generally opposed; S 1787, S 2465, S 2944 — support portions; oppose portions."

Corporations and Businesses

BELCO PETROLEUM CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Shea Gould Climenko & Casey, New York, N.Y. Filed 11/8/78. Legislative interest — "To extend the time within which a U.S. company could restructure tax arrangements with foreign countries so that payments to the foreign government would constitute creditable taxes for U.S. tax purposes."

BIXBY RANCH CO., Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/9/78. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to LNG facilities such as HR 11622 and HR 13311, both of which we are in favor."

GENERAL MOTORS CORP., Detroit, Mich. Filed for self 11/20/78. Legislative interest — ". . . Legislative interests of the employer. . . ." Lobbyist — Deborah A. Insley, Washington, D.C.

GOLDMAN-SACHS, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Smathers, Symington & Herlong, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/1/78. Legislative interest — ". . . All legislation dealing with tax treatment of brokerage firms and other financial institutions."

ST. GEORGE TANAQ CORP., Anchorage, Alaska Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/1/78. Legislative interest — "All matters affecting the St. George Tanaq Corp. . . ."

Energy and Environment

ALASKA COALITION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 11/6/78. Legislative interest — "Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act" and related legislation; HR 39 and S 1500 and all bills pertaining to Alaska lands; in support of HR 39 and S 1500." Lobbyist — Robert Roach, Daniel Tandy, Karin Tilberg, Robert Snowcroft, David Shiah, Washington, D.C.

NORTHWEST ENERGY OPTIONS, Seattle, Wash. Filed for self 11/4/78. Legislative interest — "Northwest energy legislation; Pacific Northwest Electric Power Planning and Conservation Act, S 3418, HR 13931; against the act as written." Lobbyist — Al Jones, Seattle, Wash.

SAFARI CLUB INTERNATIONAL, Tucson, Ariz. Lobbyist — Turner, Enochs, Foster & Burnley, Greensboro, N.C. Filed 11/10/78. Legislative interest — "All statutes and bills which bear on or affect wildlife conservation and sport hunting in the United States and abroad."

International Relations

AIRBUS INDUSTRIE, Blagnac, France. Lobbyist — DGA International Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 11/1/78. Legislative interest — "Legislation regarding foreign commercial aircraft; Airport and Aircraft Noise Reduction Act; HR 4539."

ELECTRONIC INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION OF JAPAN, Tokyo, Japan. Lobbyist — Tanaka Walders & Ritger, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/30/78. Legislative interest — ". . . Subcommittee on Science, Technology and Space of the Senate Commerce Science and Transportation Committee hearings."

SWAZILAND SUGAR ASSOCIATION, Mbabane, Swaziland. Lobbyist — Thevenot, Murray and Scheer, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/16/78. Legislative interest — ". . . Ratification by Senate of International Sugar Agreement and other legislation affecting increased importation of sugar."

Trade Associations

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ACTUARIES, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Stephen G. Kellison, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/28/78. Legislative interest — "All legislation having actuarial impact, especially in the areas of pensions, casualty, life and health insurance."

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, Park Ridge, Ill. Filed for self 11/3/78. Legislative interest — "Surplus disposal, market expansion, international trade, foreign aid." Lobbyist — W. Glenn Tussey, Washington, D.C.

THE AMERICAN WATERWAYS OPERATORS INC., Arlington, Va. Filed for self 11/2/78. Legislative interest — "All legislation of interest to the barge and towing industry." Lobbyist — James B. Potter Jr., Arlington, Va.

ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT MEDICAL EQUIPMENT SUPPLIERS, Doraville, Ga. Lobbyist — National Counsel Associates, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/28/78. Legislative interest — ". . . Price levels and other conditions placed on sale or rental of home care medical equipment; also any legislation involving home health care."

ASSOCIATION OF INSULAR MANUFACTURERS, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Smathers, Symington & Herlong, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/1/78. Legislative interest — ". . . Support HR 8222, a bill to expand Virgin Island tariff exemptions."

CAST IRON PIPE RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, Oak Brook, Ill. Lobbyist — Edward D. Heffernan, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/15/78. Legislative interest — "Unknown — no legislative activities."

INDEPENDENT HEALTH INSURANCE INSTITUTE INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 11/27/78. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to health insurance." Lobbyist — Dean E. Sharp, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRUCK STOP OPERATORS INC., Alexandria, Va. Filed for self 11/21/78. Legislative interest — ". . . All phases of congressional activity. . . ." Lobbyist — F. Lorraine Woehrle, Alexandria, Va.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR UNIFORMED SERVICES, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 11/15/78. Legislative interest

— ". . . S 623 and HR 3702 — improvements in the military Survivor Benefit Plan (for); S 309 and HR 723 — recomputation of military retired pay (for); HR 720 — to repeal the discriminatory portions of the Dual Compensation Law (for); HR 722 — to permit concurrent receipt of military retired pay and VA disability compensation (for); S 245 and HR 767 — to permit military service performed by an individual after 1956 to be credited under the civil service retirement program even though such individual is eligible for social security benefits, but requiring the civil service annuity to be offset by the amount of his social security benefit that is attributable to his military service (for)."

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 11/1/78. Legislative interest — "Legislation of interest to National Council of Farmer Cooperatives; equitable allocation of investment tax credit for agricultural cooperatives and their farmer members." Lobbyist — Edward L. Merrigan, Victoria R. Calvert, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL PAINT & COATINGS ASSOCIATION INC., Washington, D.C. Filed 11/13/78. Legislative interest — ". . .Any legislative proposal which affects the paint and coating industry. Encourage support of legislation to suspend import duty on certain nitrocellulose." Lobbyist — Steller I. Miller, Washington, D.C.

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN FLORISTS, Alexandria, Va. Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/1/78. Legislative interest — "All matters affecting the domestic floral industry — including growers, wholesalers and retailers."

SUGAR USERS GROUP, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Ragan & Mason, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/21/78. Legislative interest — "S 2990, International Sugar Agreement."

Miscellaneous

PAUL KELLERBLOCK, Las Vegas, Nev. Lobbyist — Duncan, Brown, Weinberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 11/29/78. Legislative interest — "Legislation regarding land exchanges with the Bureau of Land Management."

LEGAL SERVICES CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Cecilia D. Esquer, Phoenix, Ariz. Filed 11/1/78. Interest — ". . .Legislation directly affecting activities of the corporation."

WAYNE E. LEWIS, Alexandria, Va. Filed for self 11/1/78. Legislative interest — "All subject matter relating to trade association interests."

NELSON & HARDING, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 11/16/78. Legislative interest — "Agribusiness (i.e. HR 4773), national campgrounds, tax reform (i.e. Tax Revenue Act of 1978) and international trade." Lobbyist — Alison Heath, Thomas A. Hammer, Washington, D.C.

December 1978 Registrations

Citizens' Groups

AMERICANS FOR SALT INC., Washington, D.C. Filed 12/4/78. Legislative interest — Approve Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. Lobbyist — R.J. Asplund, M.J. Crew, P. Bennett, R.B.L. Creecy, S. Gottlieb, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMUNICATIONS LOBBY, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 12/18/79. Legislative interest — "Opposition to legislation restricting the ability of citizens to affect public interest policies and obtain responsive service from broadcast stations, i.e. S 22, HR 13015; support legislation. . . . i.e. S 270, HR 3361." Lobbyist — Townes Osborn, Washington, D.C.

Corporations and Businesses

ABBOTT LABORATORIES, North Chicago, Ill. Filed 12/19/78. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting health care industry." Lobbyist — R.L. Thompson, Washington, D.C.

BROWN & ROOT INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 12/15/78. Legislative interest — ". . .Those which directly or indirectly affect the engineering, construction, or oil field service industries." Lobbyist — Rebecca J. Berg, Washington, D.C.

JACQUES BOREI ENTERPRISES INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle, Washington, D.C. Filed 12/5/78. Legislative interest — "Section 119 of Internal Revenue Code, an amendment to exclude from taxable income meals furnished directly or indirectly to employees by employers for the convenience of employers off the business premises."

MERCK & CO. INC., Rahway, N.J. Lobbyist — Robert R. Hurt, Washington, D.C. Filed 12/11/78. Legislative interest — ". . .Proposals to revise or reform existing food and drug laws, health care programs, OSHA, TSCA, air and water control acts and . . . taxation and foreign economic policy [proposals]."

NORTHEAST UTILITIES SERVICE CO., Berlin, Conn. Filed 12/21/78. Legislative interest — "Bills concerning utility industry, i.e. taxes, nuclear energy, energy research and labor." Lobbyist — Eugene F. Sturgeon, F.L. Kinney, Newington, Conn.

O.P.M. LEASING SERVICES INC., New York, N.Y. Filed 12/20/78. Legislative interest — "Revenue Act of 1978, HR 13511." Lobbyist — Melrod, Redman & Gartlan, Washington, D.C.

RESEARCH-COTTRELL INC., Somerville, N.J. Filed for self 12/4/78. Interest — Research and development programs in the energy and environmental fields. Lobbyist — Tobias Anthony, Washington, D.C.; C. Welles Fendrich Jr., Somerville, N.J.

SEVEN-UP BOTTLING CO., Hazelwood, Mo. Filed for self 12/19/78. Legislative interest — "Soft-drink inter-brand competition bill, in favor of adoption." Lobbyist — John H. Stroh, St. Louis, Mo.; Wayne Millsap, Hazelwood, Mo.

WALGREENS, Deerfield, Ill. Filed for self 12/1/78. Legislative interest — "Social Security, Occupational Safety and Health, Employee Retirement Income Security, Fair Labor Standards, Magnuson-Moss, Consumer Product Safety, National Labor Relations, and Food, Drug and Cosmetic Acts and Internal Revenue Code." Lobbyist — Edward H. King, Deerfield, Ill.

WESTWAY TRADING CORP., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Lobbyist — S.D. Anderson, Wash., D.C. Filed 12/21/78. Interest — Sugar legislation, "S 2990, against; HR 13750, against."

YELLOWSTONE PARK CO., Yellowstone National Park, Wyo. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 12/19/78. Legislative interest — ". . .To purchase possessory interest of Concessioner in the Concessioner's improvements in Yellowstone National Park pursuant to . . . Section 601 of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978."

Trade Associations

AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 12/20/78. Legislative interest — ". . . .Trade and commerce between the U.S. and Greece, the U.S. and Cyprus and within the American Hellenic community." Lobbyist — Marilyn J. Prasinos, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN NURSES ASSOCIATION INC., Kansas City, Mo. Filed for self 12/14/78. Legislative interest — ". . . . Activities related to nurses, nursing and health, including labor legislation. . . ." Lobbyist — John A. Friel, Washington, D.C.

CONFERENCE OF STATE BANK SUPERVISORS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 12/7/78. Interest — "Legislation affecting state banking segment of dual banking system." Lobbyist — L.E. Kreider, A.W. Neale, Wash., D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 12/7/78. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting retired U.S. government civil employees ." Lobbyist — Michael C. Nave, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL PARKING ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 12/1/78. Legislative interest — "Unknown at this time." Lobbyist — Kevin R. Leary, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL POTATO COUNCIL, Washington, D.C. Filed 12/14/78. Legislative interest — "Anything concerning potato industry." Lobbyist — James H. Lake, Washington, D.C.

SOUTHWEST FLIGHT CREW ASSOCIATION, San Diego, Calif. Lobbyist — Winner/Wagner & Associates Inc., Sacramento, Calif. Filed 12/18/78. Legislative interest — "Air safety

legislation, Airport Development Aid Program funding and legislation pertaining to the Federal Aviation Administration."

Miscellaneous

SOLAR LOBBY, Washington, D.C. Filed 12/20/78. Legislative interest — "Renewable energy legislation." Lobbyist — Susannah Lawrence, Herb Epstein, Joan Shorey, Wash., D.C.

January 1979 Registrations

Citizens' Groups

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/5/79. Legislative interest — "Reform of the motor carrier industry; reform or repeal of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration; legislative issues generating sufficient public interest to warrant involvement by conservatives and expression of a conservative point of view." Lobbyist — Geri Colombaro, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE INC., Washington, D.C., Lobbyist — Maria Faller Gwaltney, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/25/79. Legislative interest — "All matters affecting trade and commerce between the United States and Greece; between the United States and Cyprus; and within the American Hellenic community."

COMMON CAUSE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Open government, campaign financing, consumer protection, freedom of information, ERA, energy policy, environmental protection, defense spending, tax reform, waste in government, voting rights, presidential nomination and confirmation process, administration of justice and reform of the criminal code, merit selection of federal judges and U.S. attorneys, intelligence policy, public participation in federal agency proceedings, civil service reform, regulatory reform, reapportionment, the congressional budget process and congressional reform." Lobbyist — Joann Klimschot, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "All bills covered by Convention-adopted program of organization." Lobbyist — Althea T. L. Simmons, Washington, D.C.

SEALASKA CORP. BOARD OF DIRECTORS, Juneau, Alaska. Lobbyist — Birch, Horton, Bittner & Monroe, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/5/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting Alaska natives and public lands in Alaska."

Corporations and Businesses

AETNA LIFE & CASUALTY, Hartford, Conn. Lobbyist — Groom and Nordberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislation affecting Title 26 of the U.S. Code."

BALLY MANUFACTURING CORP., Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/3/79. Legislative interest — "To amend 15 U.S.C. Section 1171, Gambling Devices Act of 1962 and the Federal Criminal Code Reform Act of 1977."

BAXTER TRAVENOL LABORATORIES INC., Deerfield, Ill. Lobbyist — Groom and Nordberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/5/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislation affecting Title 26 of the U.S.C."

THE BOEING CO., Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — Robert P. St. Louis, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/4/79. Legislative interest — "Government procurement-funding and policies; revenue issues; regulation of transportation: air, surface and water; industrial relations issues; international trade regulation; energy resources."

JACQUES BOREL ENTERPRISES INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Douglas P. Bennett, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/15/79. Legislative interest — "Tax legislation."

BULOVA WATCH CO., INC., Flushing, N.Y. Lobbyist — Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/5/79. Legislative interest — "Proposed legislation affecting guidelines for duty-free imports from U.S. Virgin Islands to prevent discrimination against U.S. watch manufacturers; amend H.R. 8222."

CALISTA CORP., Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Birch, Horton, Bittner & Monroe, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/5/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting Alaska natives and public lands in Alaska."

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND, AND PACIFIC RAILROAD CO., Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Rita del Lupo, Temple Hills, Md. Filed 1/8/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation pertaining to railroads."

CHRYSLER CORP., Detroit, Mich. Lobbyist — Groom and Nordberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislation affecting Title 26 of the U.S.C."

CONNECTICUT GENERAL INSURANCE CO., Hartford, Conn. Lobbyist — Groom and Nordberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting Title 26 of the U.S.C."

CONSOLIDATION COAL CO., Pittsburgh, Pa. Filed for self 1/8/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative action affecting coal mining interests." Lobbyist — Ronald L. Wooten, Washington, D.C.

FIDELITY UNION TRUST CO., Newark, N.J. Filed for self 1/8/79. Legislative interest — "Banking legislation." Lobbyist — Steve Elliott, Newark, N.J.

FISHERIES DEVELOPMENT CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman and Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/12/79. Legislative interest — "General educational functions in support of legislation to facilitate the development of an American fishing industry in certain underutilized species."

GULF OIL CORP., Pittsburgh, Pa. Lobbyist — Groom and Nordberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislation affecting Title 26 of the U.S.C.

IOWA BEEF PROCESSORS INC., Dakota City, Neb. Lobbyist — Doub, Purcell, Muntzing & Hansen, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Meat marketing legislation."

IRVING TRUST CO., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 1/12/79. Legislative interest —"Any legislation related to the operations of a major commercial bank." Lobbyist — L. Thomas Block, New York, N.Y.

LEAR SIEGLER INC., Arlington, Va. Filed for self 1/9/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative matters of interest to Lear Siegler Inc." Lobbyist — Richard L. Hellwege, Robert F. Pontzer, Arlington, Va.

ELI LILLY AND CO., Indianapolis, Ind. Lobbyist — Groom and Nordberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislation affecting Title 26 of the U.S.C."

MONTGOMERY WARD & CO. INC., Chicago, Ill. Filed for self 1/8/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Retail industry, including relations with federal agencies, manufacturers, suppliers, employees and customers." Lobbyist — Victor G. Morris, Washington, D.C.

NATOMAS CO., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Groom and Nordberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislation affecting Title 26 of the U.S.C."

OLDHAM LANDSCAPE CONTRACTOR, Cincinnati, Ohio. Filed for self 1/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Minority contractors and minority business legislation." Lobbyist — Robert Todd Oldham, Cincinnati, Ohio.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST GENERATING CO., Portland, Ore. Filed for self 1/5/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the Bonneville Power Administration and any Northwest regional power program." Lobbyist — David E. Piper, Portland, Ore.

THE PROCTER & GAMBLE MANUFACTURING CO., Cincinnati, Ohio. Lobbyist — Edwin L. Behrens, Jane Fawcett-Hoover, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/8/79. Legislative interest — "Matters generally of interest to employer."

THE PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE CO. OF AMERICA, Newark, N.J. Lobbyist — Groom and Nordberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislation affecting Title 26 of the U.S.C."

SOUTHERN PACIFIC TRANSPORTATION CO., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Daniel V. Flanagan, Jr., John V. Kenny, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/9/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the transportation industry such as railroad deregulation and railroad retirement system funding."

STANDARD OIL CO. OF INDIANA, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Thomas D. Campbell, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/15/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the oil industry: national energy policy, public lands, environmental, antitrust and monopoly."

THE STANDARD OIL CO., Cleveland, Ohio. Lobbyist — Joe A. Stamm, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/2/79. Legislative interest — "Matters pertaining to the interests of the company. . . ."

TENNECO INC., Houston, Texas. Filed for self 1/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All legislation which may directly or indirectly affect employer." Lobbyist — Jeffrey A. Fritzlen, James A. Gavin, David R. Griffin, Robert H. Miller, Michael S. Moe, James L. Thorne, and Michael A. Weiss, Washington, D.C.

THOMSON-CSF, Malakoff, France. Lobbyist — DGA International Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 1/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Military authorizations and appropriations of aircraft attack systems."

UNITED STATES STEEL CORP., Pittsburgh, Pa. Filed for self 1/8/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation affecting interests of United States Steel Corp." Lobbyist — James L. Hamilton III, Washington, D.C.

Energy and Environment

NATIONAL PARKS & CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Natural resource conservation, historic preservation and National Park System management and development."

SMALL PRODUCERS FOR ENERGY INDEPENDENCE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Gardner, Carton & Douglas, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/13/79. Legislative interest — "Energy legislation."

International Relations

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/17/79. Legislative interest — "International Security Assistance Act; The Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act." Lobbyist — Ira N. Forman, Washington, D.C.

Labor Unions

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/18/79. Legislative interest — 'Legislation dealing with electrical workers in particular and labor in general, such as: pay legislation, federal retirement, railroad retirement, social security, unemployment insurance, group health, hospitalization and surgical insurance, medical care for the aged, consumer legislation, and other liberal benefits for the working man." Lobbyists — Joseph E. Cavanaugh, Charles W. Walker, Washington, D.C.

JOINT MARITIME CONGRESS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Maritime transportation." Lobbyist — Marguerite E. Bryan, David A. Leff, Washington, D.C.

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/15/79. Legislative interest — "Promote legislation that in UMWA opinion benefits workers in the coal mining industry and conversely to oppose legislation believed to be detrimental to coal miners." Lobbyists — B. P. Lewallen, Patrick W. McElhoes, Washington, D.C.

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, Pittsburgh, Pa. Filed for self 1/16/79. Legislative interest — "Support all legislation favorable to the national peace, security, democracy, prosperity and general welfare. Oppose all legislation detrimental to those objectives." Lobbyist — John Michael Powderly, Washington, D.C.

Trade Associations

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/8/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All legislation relating to the practice of architecture, including housing, community development, historic preservation, federal procurement procedures for architectural services, energy conservation and others." Lobbyist — Elizabeth D. Whitley, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the petroleum industry." Lobbyist — Betsy Younkins, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN TEXTILE MANUFACTURERS INSTITUTE, Charlotte, N.C. Filed for self 1/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All legislation affecting the welfare of the textile industry — such as domestic and foreign trade policy, tax policy, labor policy, government controls, raw cotton and wool policy, consumer, environmental control, energy policy and lobbying legislation." Lobbyist — Douglas W. Bulcao, Washington, D.C.

APPAREL POLITICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 1/3/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the apparel industry. Bills to repeal Sections 806.30 and 807 of the Tariff Act (oppose); bills proposing Agency for Consumer Protection or other similar agency (oppose); National Labor Reform Act or similar bills (oppose); Tris Indemnification (support); bills to amend the Trade Act of 1974 to exempt textiles and apparel from tariff cuts (support); bills to amend the Buy American Act." Lobbyist — G. Stewart Boswell, Arlington, Va.

CALORIE CONTROL COUNCIL, Atlanta, Ga. Filed for self 1/15/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation and committee hearings relating to PL 95-203." Lobbyist — Larry C. Davenport, Frank Slover, Atlanta, Ga.

DEALER BANK ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Charls E. Walker Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 1/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Issues relating to corporate powers of dealer banks as they relate to state and local government financing."

NATIONAL APARTMENT ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Michael L. Solomon, Arlington, Va. Filed 1/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting multifamily rental housing.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FEDERAL CREDIT UNIONS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Any legislation that is in the interest of financial institutions and consumer credit, specifically credit unions." Lobbyist — Richard M. M. McConnell, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/15/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Regulatory matters focusing on corporate governance, natural resources issues." Lobbyists — Howard A. Vine, H. Richard Seibert Jr., Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRUCK STOP OPERATORS, Alexandria, Va. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs and Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All federal legislation affecting the operation of truck stops."

NATIONAL FOOD PROCESSORS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/12/79. Legislative interest — "Any and all legislation of interest to the canning industry, and directly affecting fruit, vegetable, seafood and meat canning for human consumption." Lobbyist — Claude D. Alexander, Claudia R. Fuquay, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL FOREST PRODUCTS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/8/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation directly or indirectly affecting the interests of the forest products industry." Lobbyist — T. J. Oden, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL LIMESTONE INSTITUTE INC., Fairfax, Va. Filed for self 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation which directly or indirectly affects the interest of limestone producers." Lobbyist — W. Randall Rawson, Fairfax, Va.

NATIONAL PEST CONTROL ASSOCIATION, Vienna, Va. Filed for self 1/8/79. Legislative interest — "Federal pesticide legislation; Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act." Lobbyist — Jack Grimes, Vienna, Va.

NATIONAL RESTAURANT ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/12/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation affecting the restaurant and foodservice industries . . . small business, labor laws, wages and hours, taxation, consumer protection, food marketing, and economic stabilization." Lobbyist — Sheila MacDonald Bamberger, Washington, D.C.

PESTICIDE PRODUCERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Doub, Purcell, Muntzing & Hansen, Washington, D.C. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting agricultural chemicals."

RECORDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — DeHart Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Copyright and other legislation of interest to the recording industry."

SHEET METAL AND AIR CONDITIONING CONTRACTORS' NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Vienna, Va. Filed for self 1/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Any and all issues directly or indirectly affecting the sheet metal and air conditioning trade in particular, and the construction industry in general." Lobbyist — Pamela Sederholm, Vienna, Va.

Miscellaneous

ALEUTIAN-PRIBILOF ISLAND ASSOCIATION INC., Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Birch, Horton, Bittner & Monroe, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/5/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting Alaska natives and public lands in Alaska."

COLLEGE PLACEMENT COUNCIL INC., Bethelehem, Pa. Filed for self 1/17/79. Legislative interest — "Tax reform legislation and matters affecting tax exempt organizations, legislation affecting career counseling and placement activities of colleges and universities including the Career Education Incentive Act (PL 95-207), support." Lobbyist — Lynne D. Battle, Washington, D.C.

DIVERSION COMMUNICATIONS INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Don Wallace Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 1/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals, specifically, relative to communications industry."

HEALTH RESEARCH GROUP, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/5/79. Legislative interest — "All health care legislation, and particularly that concerning medical devices." Lobbyist — Robert B. Leflar, Washington, D.C.

ROGER OWEN MOORE, Columbia, Md. Filed for self 1/4/79. Legislative interest — "Repeal of Subchapter III, chapter 73, Title 5, U.S. Code; Support HR 10 and S. 80."

GORDON E. NELSON, Bowie, Md. Filed for self 1/3/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to Reclamation Act of 1902."

ROBERT PLETT ASSOCIATES LTD., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation dealing with decontrol of petroleum prices, divestiture of oil companies, supply and distribution of petroleum products and other related energy issues."

PUBLIC POWER COUNCIL, Vancouver, Wash. Filed for self 1/3/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting Bonneville Power Administration and any Northwest region power programs." Lobbyist — Robert M. Greening Jr., Vancouver, Wash.

SPEISER, KRAUSE AND MADOLE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/9/79. Legislative interest — "A bill for the relief of the family of Roberto Clemente, deceased." Lobbyist — James E. Rooks Jr., Washington, D.C.

UNITED STATES STUDENT ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 1/10/79. Legislative interest — "Appropriations, student assistance issues, tuition tax credits, Department of Education, women's educational issues, civil rights and minority students, employment, election law reform, marijuana decriminalization, airline deregulation, federal criminal code reform." Lobbyist — Andre Burnett, Julie Brooks, Lew Hardy, Frank Jackalone, Joel Packer, David Patterson, Diane Piche, Frank Viggiano, Debra Chaplan, Washington, D.C.

February Registrations

Citizens' Groups

CITIZEN'S CHOICE INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 2/26/79. Legislative interest — "Matters of interest to members of Citizen's Choice on which Citizen's Choice may wish to make recommendations or comments." Lobbyist — Kathleen Casey, Washington, D.C.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR THE RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS, Bellevue, Wash. Filed for self 2/21/79. Legislative interest — "Conservation, recreation and firearms legislation." Lobbyists — John M. Snyder, Washington, D.C.; Kurt D. Witzel, Bellevue, Wash.

COALITION FOR SAFE DRINKING WATER, Indianapolis, Ind. Lobbyist — Baker & Daniels, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/1/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to Safe Drinking Water Act, 42 U.S.C., Subch. XII."

TENTH PRO-LIFE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ACTION COMMITTEE, Cape Coral, Fla. Filed for self 2/26/79. Legislative interest — "All proposed Human Life Amendments."

Corporations and Businesses

AGRI INTERNATIONAL INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting agricultural consulting."

ALASKAN PETROCHEMICAL CO., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation concerning national energy policy."

THE ALASKA RAILROAD, Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Solution of problem Alaska Railroad is having with selection of its lands by native corporation."

AMERICAN EXPRESS CO., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 2/28/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation regarding travel, miscellaneous financial services or otherwise of interest to the business of American Express. Lobbyist — Lewis M. Taffer, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN TELECOM OF MARYLAND INC., College Park, Md. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative proposals affecting communications systems."

AMROC INTERNATIONAL CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Burke & Burke, New York, N.Y. Filed 2/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Continuing relations with the people of Taiwan."

BANK OF AMERICA, San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Steptoe & Johnson, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/22/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to S 245, a bill to promote the foreign policy of the United States through the maintenance of commercial, cultural, and other relations with the people of Taiwan on an unofficial basis, and for other purposes, for bill with amendments."

BURLINGTON NORTHERN, St. Paul, Minn. Lobbyist — Smathers, Symington & Herlong, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/28/79. Legislative interest — ". . .To support legislation required to preserve and protect the railroad industry in the United States, specifically opposition to the 'coal slurry' bills, H.R. 1609, S. 707, and S. 3046."

CITY GAS CO. OF FLORIDA, Hialeah, Fla. Lobbyist — Smathers, Symington & Herlong, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/9/79. Legislative interest — "Amtrak appropriation bill; support increased appropriation for Amtrak."

DELEX INTERNATIONAL INC., Arlington, Va. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79.

Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting international marketing."

DELTA AIR LINES INC., Atlanta, Ga. Lobbyist — D. Scott Yohe, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/6/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation affecting air transportation directly or indirectly."

EXXON CORP., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 2/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation dealing with domestic and international nuclear energy policy; . . . domestic nuclear fuel cycle, domestic energy policy for advanced technologies, international export policy." Lobbyist — A. G. Randel III, Washington, D.C.

GATX CORP., Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Adams, Duque & Hazeltine, Los Angeles, Calif. Filed 2/14/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase investment credits; Revenue Act of 1978; HR 13511."

GEM MAILING, INC., Lanham, Md. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting bulk mailing."

GENERAL ATOMIC CO., San Diego, Calif. Lobbyist — Kathryne M. Bruner, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/26/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to the fusion industry."

GOLDSTON OIL CORP., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation concerning energy policy."

JET AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting private jet leasing."

P. MASTRIPPOLITO AND SONS INC., Coatesville, Pa. Lobbyist —Obermayer, Rebmann, Maxwell & Hippel, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/7/79. Legislative interest — "Issues concerning the importation of mushrooms, increased trade with the People's Republic of China, domestic aid to small businesses."

MINNESOTA MINING & MANUFACTURING CO., St. Paul, Minn. Lobbyist — Mary Jo Jacobi, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/1/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to the business affairs of the 3M Company and its affiliated companies."

MONTCO, Billings, Mont. Lobbyist — Nossaman, Krueger & Marsh. Los Angeles, Calif. and Washington, D.C. Filed 2/5/79. Legislative interest — "In favor of rectifying certain assertions in the RARE II EIS and altering certain recommendations by the Administration pertaining to RARE II."

MULLITE CO. OF AMERICA, Andersonville, Ga. Lobbyist — Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/16/79. Legislative interest — "Matters affecting its business operations, supporting certain amendments to section 404 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act."

NORD RESOURCES CORP., Dayton, Ohio. Lobbyist — Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Matters affecting its business operations supporting certain amendments to section 404 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act."

PETROLEUM HEAT AND POWER CO., Philadelphia, Pa. Lobbyist — Obermayer, Rebmann, Maxwell and Hippel, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/7/79. Legislative interest — "Energy matters, particularly those affecting small oil companies."

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM CO., Bartlesville, Okla. Filed for self 2/5/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting integrated oil, gas, chemicals and energy industries." Lobbyist — John M. Starke III, Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC SERVICE CO. OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, Manchester, N.H. Lobbyist — Donald E. Sinville, Manchester, N.H. Filed 2/1/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting electric utilities."

RCA GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Alston, Miller & Gaines, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/28/79. Legislative interest — ". . .International record telecommunications; specific legislative interests: the Communications Act of 1978, H.R. 13015 and related bills; partially in favor of the bill, partially opposed."

ROHR INDUSTRIES INC., Chula Vista, Calif. Lobbyist — Norman J. Snow, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/7/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation relating to . . . Rohr Industries."

SATRA CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — John A. Chambers, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/26/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation related to international trade."

SEVEN-UP BOTTLING CO. OF ST. LOUIS, St. Louis, Mo. Lobbyist — Wayne L. Millsap, St. Louis, Mo. Filed 2/26/79. Legislative interest — "To promote the passage of the Soft Drink Interbrand Competition Bill."

SOUTHWESTERN ELECTRIC POWER CO., Shreveport, La. Filed for self 2/15/79. Legislative interest — "Electric utility industry." Lobbyist — W. A. Mason, Shreveport, La.

THOMSON-CSF, Malakoff, France. Lobbyist — DGA International Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 2/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Military authorizations and appropriations on aircraft attack systems."

TITLE ASSOCIATES INC., Columbia, Tenn. Filed for self 2/12/79. Legislative interest — "Lawyers and the practice of law; title insurance; real estate; an economic system based upon the free enterprise system." Lobbyist — Donald T. Chunn, Columbia, Tenn.

TOSCO CORP., Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/28/79. Legislative interest — "Support for legislation clarifying the definition of "petroleum products" and "oil" in sections 48(a)(10) and 48(1)(3)(C) of the Internal Revenue Code."

UNION CAMP CORP., Washington, D. C. Filed for self 2/21/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Those of employer." Lobbyist — John C. Whitaker, Washington, D.C.

UNION CARBIDE CORP., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 2/12/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation of interest to Union Carbide Corp." Lobbyist — Joseph J. Martyak, Washington, D.C.

UNITED GAS PIPE LINE CO., Houston, Texas. Filed for self 2/14/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the natural gas industry." Lobbyist — Daniel T. Bross, Washington, D.C.

WEST TEXAS UTILITIES CO., Abilene, Texas. Filed for self 2/1/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting electric utilities." Lobbyist — W. P. Sayles, Abilene, Texas.

International Relations

CHINESE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE, Taipei, Taiwan. Lobbyist — Kilpatrick, Cody, Rogers, McClatchey & Regenstein, Atlanta, Ga. Filed 2/8/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Seeks legislation protecting and enhancing commercial relationships between the people of the United States and the people of Taiwan."

GOVERNMENT OF MOROCCO, Rabat, Morocco. Lobbyist — DGA International Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 2/21/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation regarding Morocco."

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Sister Janice McLaughlin, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/8/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation concerning southern Africa."

State and Local Government

STATE OF ALASKA, Juneau, Alaska. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/5/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative matters relating to Alaska lands-H.R. 39 and companion bills, etc."

STATE OF WASHINGTON, Olympia, Wash. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/5/79. Legislative interest — "Help promulgate and promote legislation dealing with Reserve Water Rights and legislation alleviating water problems in the Yakima Valley, Washington."

Trade Associations

THE ADHESIVE AND SEALANT COUNCIL INC., Arlington, Va. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting adhesive and sealant manufacturers."

AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 2/1/79. Legislative interest — ". . .For proper advancement of airline industry." Lobbyist — Elizabeth R. Monro, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN APPAREL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION INC., Arlington, Va. Filed for self 2/16/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the apparel industry; bill to repeal Sections 806.30 and 807 of the Tariff Act (oppose); bills proposing Agency for Consumer Protection and other similar bills (oppose); National Labor Reform Act or any similar bills (oppose); Tris indemnification (support); amend the Trade Act of 1974, exempting textiles and apparel from tariff cuts (support). Lobbyist — Michael L. Horn, Arlington, Va.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ADVERTISING AGENCIES, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 2/7/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Consumer and advertising legislation such as class action and consumer representation." Lobbyist — William R. Hesse, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF NURSE ANESTHETISTS, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting nurse anesthetists."

AMERICAN DENTAL ASSISTANTS ASSOCIATION, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting dental assistants."

AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 2/8/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the petroleum industry." Lobbyist — Richard B. Cobb, Atlanta, Ga.

THE ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Matters of federal legislation. . . ." Lobbyists — Valentin Riva, Jane Johnston, Washington, D.C.

AUTOMOBILE IMPORTERS OF AMERICA INC., Arlington, Va. Lobbyist — Busby, Rehm and Leonard, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/27/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting importation, distribution, and sale of foreign automobiles."

AUTOMOTIVE FILTER MANUFACTURERS COUNCIL, Teaneck, N.J. Lobbyist — Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/26/79. Legislative interest — ". . .A tax bill designed to preclude the retroactive assessment of tax on certain automotive filters and filter elements; support."

CITY & REGIONAL MAGAZINE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting magazine publishing, including postal ratemaking."

CORDAGE INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — The Keefe Company, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/14/79. Legislative interest — "Support for bills relating to trade, production liability, small business and taxation."

CREDIT UNION NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 2/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Laws affecting credit unions and banking. . . ." Lobbyist — James C. Barr, Karl T. Hoyle, Clifford R. Northup, Washington, D.C.

HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK STATE, Albany, N.Y. Filed for self 2/12/79. Legislative interest — "To be determined." Lobbyist — David G. Calkins, Albany, N.Y.

INTRAOCULAR LENS MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, Seal Beach, Calif. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting intraocular lens manufacturers."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CASUALTY AND SURETY AGENTS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 2/2/79. Legislative interest — "No-fault auto insurance, product liability insurance, medical malpractice insurance, antitrust immunity for insurance, workmen's compensation, bank holding company legislation." Lobbyist — Joan Hess Albert, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOME BUILDERS OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All legislation affecting that industry and its members." Lobbyists — Charles W. Hackney Jr., James H. Schuyler, Doris I. Thomas, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES, Atlanta, Ga. Lobbyist — Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/16/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting life insurance companies. . . ."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 2/24/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation or proposed legislation affecting regulatory matters particularly those dealing with regulatory reform, consumer affairs and government reorganization, including but not limited to S 2 and H.R. 2; international trade." Lobbyist — Karen L. Stevens, William F. Averyt Jr., Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 2/7/79. Legislative interest — "Any and all legislation affecting the real estate industry." Lobbyist — Thomas C. Franks, Thomas O. Kay, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL BEER WHOLESALERS' ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, Falls Church, Va. Filed for self 2/6/79. Legislative interest — "S 276, Beverage Reuse and Recycling Act; H.R. 1920, Franchise Termination Protection Act." Lobbyist — Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR MULTIEMPLOYER PLANS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Arnold & Porter, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/13/79. Legislative interest — "S 209."

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/5/79. Legislative interest — "Educational functions in support of legislation establishing a Department of Education."

NATIONAL GLASS DEALERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting glass dealers."

NATIONAL MACHINE TOOL BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION, McLean, Va. Filed for self 2/12/79. Legislative interest — "Tax, product liability, Eximbank, export control, and other legislation affecting the machine tool industry." Lobbyist — Ed Chandler, McLean, Va.

NATIONAL OUTDOOR COALITION, Fontana, Calif. Lobbyist — Theodore J. Garrish, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/7/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting the multiple use of public lands. . . ."

NATIONAL SOFT DRINK ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Williams & Jenson, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/8/79. Legislative interest — "Environmental and antitrust legislation affecting the Association and its members."

OHIO MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, Columbus, Ohio. Lobbyist — Vorys, Sater, Seymour & Pease, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/20/79. Legislative interest — "General representation of interests."

RAILWAY PROGRESS INSTITUTE TANK CAR SAFETY COMMITTEE, Alexandria, Va. Lobbyist — Carl Byoir & Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 2/26/79. Legislative interest — "General legislation relative to tank car safety and transportation of hazardous materials."

ROCKY MOUNTAIN OIL & GAS ASSOCIATION, Denver, Colo. Filed for self 2/2/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the petroleum industry." Lobbyist — Mary Lee Jackson, Washington, D.C.

SECURITY ASSOCIATES INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting security systems (industrial and private)."

SENIOR PILOTS ASSOCIATION, Miami, Fla. Filed for self 2/28/79. Legislative interest — "To promote amendment to '1978 Elimination of Mandatory Retirement Bill' to include right of airline pilots to continue their employment past the present mandatory retirement age of 60." Lobbyist — Joseph M. Leigh, North Miami, Fla.

THE SUGAR ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Jack McDonald Associates Inc., McLean, Va. Filed 2/6/79. Legislative interest — "Matters relating to sugar."

Miscellaneous

ASSURE COMPETITIVE TRANSPORTATION INC., Chicago, Ill. Filed for self 2/28/79. Legislative interest — "All proposals dealing with the regulation of interstate commerce." Lobbyist — Fred G. Favor, H. Barney Firestone, Daniel C. Sullivan, Chicago, Ill.

DEVELOPMENTAL HEALTHCARE AND WELLNESS INC., Oxon Hill, Md. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting medical services, healthcare and prevention."

FAMILY PRACTICE LIFE AND HEALTH ACTION RESEARCH INSTITUTE INC., Oxon Hill, Md. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting preventive medicine."

NATIONAL REALTY COMMITTEE INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Carl F. Arnold, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/1/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Laws affecting the interest of real estate owners and investors and particularly, their ability to provide, or assist in providing 'a decent home in a suitable living environment for every American family,...' the National Housing Act; the Housing Act of 1937; the Housing Act of 1949; the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968; the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; the Clean Air Act; and all amendments thereto."

NATIONAL RESISTERS TO THE SELLING OF AMERICA, Columbus, Ohio. Filed for self 2/13/79. Legislative interest — "Disclosure laws for foreign principals and agents; restrictions on acquisition of U.S. lands and companies by foreign nations and nationals and forced repayment of U.S. loans to foreign countries." Lobbyist — A. W. Mininni, Joseph Waterman, Columbus, Ohio.

SANTA ASSOCIATES, Bethesda, Md. Filed for self 2/26/79. Legislative interest — "Human development." Lobbyist — Taft Holland, Bethesda, Md.

UNITED GAMEFOWL BREEDERS ASSOCIATION, Muskogee, Okla. Lobbyist — Edward J. Russell, Baltimore, Md. Filed 2/22/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Matters pertaining to amendments and budgetary appropriations for the Animal Welfare Act as amended in 1976."

UNIVERSAL MEDICAL LABORATORY INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 2/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative proposals affecting medical diagnostic laboratories."

HENRY A. S. VAN DAALEN, Bethesda, Md. Filed for self 2/2/79. Legislative interest — "All new bills dealing with the regulation of interstate commerce."

March Registrations

Citizens' Groups

AD HOC LOW INCOME HOUSING COALITION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/22/79. Legislative interest — "Increased quality and scope of programs providing housing for low income Americans. Housing and Community Development Amendments of 1978; HR 12433 and S 3084, for (with amendments); HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations Bill for 1978; HR 12936, for (with amendments)." Lobbyist — Cushing N. Dolbeare, Washington, D.C.

AMERICANS FOR SALT INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/19/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Promote congressional approval of a new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, currently under negotiation by the governments of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Lobbyists — Holmes Brown, Washington, D.C.; Sandy Sedacca, Wheaton, Md.

CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/21/79. Legislative interest — "International Development Assistance Authorization and Appropriations (HR 12222); Adolescent Health, Service, and Pregnancy Prevention and Care Act of 1978 (S 2910); Title X of the Public Health Service Act (HR 12370). Lobbyist — Nancy Fifield McConnell, Washington, D.C.

CITIZENS FOR MANAGEMENT OF ALASKA LANDS, Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Douglas A. Riggs, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/16/79. Legislative interest — "Alaska Lands bill."

COMMITTEE TO BAR DISCRIMINATION IN CONSTRUCTION, Bethesda, Md. Filed for self 3/27/79. Legislative interest — "Common situs picketing legislation. Opposed."

HANDGUN CONTROL INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/27/79. Legislative interest — "To promote passage of legislation to control handguns, including but not limited to: Federal Firearms Act of 1975 and HR 11193." Lobbyist — Donald Fraher, Washington, D.C.

MULTIEMPLOYER PLANS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/23/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting employee benefit plans including labor legislation, tax legislation, bankruptcy legislation."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS INC., Columbus, Ohio. Filed for self 3/21/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Prohibit or limit forced busing to achieve racial balance in the public schools."

NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR MULTIEMPLOYER PLANS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/23/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting employee benefit plans including labor legislation, tax legislation, bankruptcy legislation."

POPULATION RESOURCE CENTER INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 3/27/79. Legislative interest — "Increased resources towards population and reproductive research; Labor-HEW Appropriations bill, Title X of the Public Health Service Act reauthorization for HR 11007, HR 12370, HR 6075, S 2522. Against S 2614." Lobbyist — Ann Harrison Clark, Washington, D.C.

Corporations and Businesses

ASHLAND OIL INC., Ashland, Ky. Filed for self 3/29/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation concerning the petroleum industry, including but not limited to bills relating to energy, taxes, coal mining, marine transportation, synthetic fuels, and environment." Lobbyist — Harry M. Zachem, Washington, D.C.

AVON PRODUCTS INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 3/15/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation related to employer's business including government regulation of manufacture and distribution of products, the environment and taxation." Lobbyist — Kevin M. Higgins, New York, N.Y.

BRISTOL-MYERS CO., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Calvin J. Collier, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/19/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Bills to amend the antitrust laws; S 300 and HR 2060; 15 U.S.C., Section 15 *et seq.*"

THE CLEVELAND ELECTRIC ILLUMINATING CO., Cleveland, Ohio. Filed for self 3/16/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting privately owned utilities." Lobbyist — Jack C. Donovan, Cleveland, Ohio.

EL PASO NATURAL GAS CO., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Frank W. Calhoun, Houston, Texas. Filed 3/21/79. Legislative interest — "National energy legislation including HR 51."

EMERSON ELECTRIC CO., St. Louis, Mo. Lobbyist — Jerry E. Reider, R. Douglas Wallin Jr., Arlington, Va. Filed 3/14/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation which may be introduced dealing with labor reform, tax and revenue measures, antitrust, Renegotiation Act reform, energy control and deregulation of natural gas, defense and security assistance."

HAMILTON BROS. OIL CO., Denver, Colo. Lobbyist — Surrey, Karasik and Morse, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/20/79. Legislative interest — "To encourage Senate advice and consent to ratification of the Tax Convention with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. . . ."

IRVING TRUST CO., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 3/19/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation related to the operations of a major commercial bank." Lobbyist — L. Thomas Block, New York, N.Y.

KENNECOTT COPPER CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Melissa A. Nielson, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/30/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the copper industry."

LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE RAILROAD, Louisville, Ky. Lobbyist — Duncan, Brown, Weinberg & Palmer, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/22/79. Legislative interest — "Deauthorization of Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway."

ROY O. MARTIN, JR., Alexandria, La. Lobbyist — Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/21/79. Legislative interest — "Repeal of carryover basis."

MICHIGAN KNIFE CO., Big Rapids, Mich. Lobbyist — Peabody, Rivlin, Lambert & Meyers, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/19/79. Legislative interest — "International trade, particularly promotion of HR 2535, a bill to suspend for a temporary period the duty on certain alloy tool steels used for making chipper knives."

NORTHROP CORP., Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg & Tunney, Los Angeles, Calif. Filed 3/13/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation authorizing and appropriating funds for the Department of Defense and legislation dealing with arms export controls."

PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC CO., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/14/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation pertaining to LNG safety (HR 51 and S 411 and related bills). In favor in part; seeking changes in part."

PENJERDEL CORP., Philadelphia, Penn. Lobbyist — Covington & Burling, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/15/79. Legislative interest — "Favoring award of Navy Service Life Extension Program (SLEP) to Philadelphia Navy Yard."

PFIZER INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Hughes Hubbard & Reed, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/26/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Issues regarding antitrust legislation. . . ."

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM CO., Bartlesville, Okla. Filed for self 3/19/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting integrated oil, gas, chemicals and energy industries." Lobbyist — Warren H. Carey, Washington, D.C.

REPUBLIC NATIONAL BANK, Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Latham, Watkins & Hills, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation with respect to the Federal Reserve Board, including HR 7, HR 2133, S 85, S 353."

ST. JOE PAPER CO., Jacksonville, Fla. Filed for self 3/17/79. Legislative interest — "S 300, the Antitrust Enforcement Act of 1979." Lobbyist — Richard N. Carrell, Jacksonville, Fla.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA GAS CO., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Williams & Jensen, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/22/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the importation of LNG and siting of LNG facilities, and related energy and other matters."

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, Albuquerque, N.M. Lobbyist — DeHart Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 3/15/79. Legislative interest — "Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972."

VOLKSWAGEN OF AMERICA INC., Warren, Mich. Filed for self 3/15/79. Legislative interest — ". . .To amend Title V of the Motor Vehicle Information and Cost Savings Act to permit the averaging of a manufacturer's imported and domestic fleets for the purpose of CAFE." Lobbyist — Kenneth R. Adams, Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON NATURAL GAS, Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/16/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation concerning Roadless Area Review Evaluation (RARE II), specifically Tongue River Breaks."

Energy and Environment

ALLIED-GENERAL NUCLEAR SERVICE, Barnwell, S.C. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation related to status of Barnwell Nuclear Fuel Plant."

COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE THE APPALACHIAN COAL MARKET, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Ralph D. Murphine, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/30/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation concerning Section 125 of the Clean Air Act."

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION WATER PROJECT, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/26/79. Legislative interest — "Rural water development, Consolidated Rural Development Act of 1972, Safe Drinking Water Act of 1974, Clean Water Act of 1977." Lobbyist — James E. Hawkins, Washington, D.C.

RADWASTE MANAGEMENT GROUP, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Gary R. Frink, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation in favor of solving the spent fuel storage problem, i.e., radioactive waste disposal."

SIERRA CLUB, San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Drew S. Diehl, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/27/79. Legislative interest — "Energy/environmental legislation, generally limited to issues of nuclear waste management."

International Relations

GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR, San Salvador, El Salvador. Lobbyist — Berry, Epstein, Sandstrom & Blatchford, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/22/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation which affects the interests of El Salvador."

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES. Lobbyist — Foley, Lardner, Hollabaugh & Jacobs, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/29/79. Legislative interest — "S 317 as now proposed would reverse or limit the Supreme Court's decision in *Pfizer, Inc. v. India,* . . . which upheld the standing of foreign governments to maintain suit pursuant to Section 4 of the Clayton Act, . . . opposes such legislation. . . ."

State and Local Governments

AMERICAN FALLS RESERVOIR DISTRICT, Twin Falls, Idaho. Lobbyist — Jim Casey, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/28/79. Legislative interest — "Appropriation bill for energy and water development."

CITY OF VIRGINIA BEACH, Virginia Beach, Va. Lobbyist — Jim Casey, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/28/79. Legislative interest — "Interior Department appropriations bill."

GARRISON DIVERSION CONSERVANCY DISTRICT, Carrington, N.D. Lobbyist — Jim Casey, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/28/79. Legislative interest — "Timely implementation of authorized federal water resource development program."

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, Sacramento, Calif. Lobbyist — David Vienna, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/26/79. Legislative interest — "To amend the Social Security Act to provide authority for access to Medicaid program provider records to state government auditing agencies, which are independent of state Medicaid program administrative agencies."

Trade Associations

AD HOC COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN DISTILLERS. Lobbyist — Frank L. Sundstrum, Chatham, N.J. Filed 3/19/79. Legislative interest — "Wine-gallon-proof gallon method of taxing imported liquor."

AMERICAN APPAREL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION INC., Arlington, Va. Filed for self 3/19/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the apparel industry; bills to repeal Sections 806.30 and 807 of the Tariff Act (oppose); bills proposing Agency for Consumer Protection or other similar agency (oppose); National Labor Reform Act or similar bills (oppose); Tris indemnification (support); bills to amend the Trade Act of 1974 to exempt textiles and apparel from tariff cuts (support); bills to amend the Buy American Act." Lobbyist — G. Stewart Boswell, Arlington, Va.

AMERICAN RETAIL FEDERATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Randall, Bangert & Thelen, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/19/79. Legislative interest — "S 300, Antitrust Enforcement Act of 1979. Against."

AMFAC INC., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Raymond K. Pope, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/22/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislative and regulatory activity affecting company's operations including but not limited to sugar legislation."

AUTOMOTIVE DISMANTLERS & RECYCLERS OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/15/79. Legisla-

tive interest — "Legislation relating to motor vehicle theft prevention."

BUSINESS ROUND TABLE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Mark E. Richardson, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/21/79. Legislative interest — "Proposed legislation to overturn Supreme Court decision in *Illinois Brick.*"

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/29/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Matters of interest to the business community as to which the Chamber may wish to make recommendations or comments." Lobbyists — M. Kendall Fleeharty, Mark Schultz, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON POWER FOR THE SOUTHWEST INC., Tulsa, Okla. Lobbyist — Jim Casey, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/28/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative acts having potential to affect wholesale power rates of the Southwest Power Administration."

DISTILLED SPIRITS COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — E. A. Jaenke & Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 3/26/79. Legislative interest — "Support for Multilateral Trade Negotiations Agreement."

DISTILLED SPIRITS COUNCIL OF THE U.S. INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/14/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the domestic distilling industry." Lobbyist — Susan E. Pridgen, Washington, D.C.

INTERNATIONAL FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/15/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Franchise legislation, . . .HR 5016, HR 9144, HR 11445 and S 2135. All four are franchise related bills . . . opposed to all four bills."

INTERSTATE NATURAL GAS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/23/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation pertaining to natural gas." Lobbyist — Jerome J. McGrath, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CREDIT MANAGEMENT, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — David Vienna, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/27/79. Legislative interest — "Bankruptcy Reform Act of 1978. For revision of Sections 303 (h), 543 and 1103 (b)."

NATIONAL MACHINE TOOL BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION, McLean, Va. Filed for self 3/19/79. Legislative interest — "Tax, product liability, Eximbank, export control, and other legislation affecting the machine tool industry." Lobbyist — Mark J. Nuzzaco, McLean, Va.

NATIONAL MOTORSPORTS COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyists — John H. Florer, Silver Spring, Md., Herbert S. Matthews, Mechanicsville, Md., Arthur Earle Teele Jr., Tallahassee, Fla. Filed 3/15/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting motorsports. . . ."

MAGAZINE PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 3/26/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All legislation having impact directly or indirectly on magazine publishing industry." Lobbyist — Kent Rhodes, New York, N.Y.

SMALL BUSINESS COUNCIL OF AMERICA INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist - Murdoch & Walsh, Wilmington, Del. Filed 3/28/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All legislative matters relating to small business, taxation, employee benefits, and government regulation. Particular interest in matters affecting the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, and the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974."

Miscellaneous

AMERICAN HEALTH PLANNING ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — David Vienna, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/26/79. Legislative interest — "National Health Planning and Resources Development Act, HR 3041. For the measure."

CENTER FOR RESEARCH LIBRARIES, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/15/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to research libraries."

COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U.S.A., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — E. A. Jaenke & Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 3/26/79. Legislative interest — "Appropriations for agricultural research extension."

HEALTH RESEARCH GROUP, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 3/15/79. Legislative interest — "All health care legislation, and particularly that concerning medical devices." Lobbyist — Robert B. Leflar, Washington, D.C.

LASKER, STONE & STERN, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Breed, Abbott & Morgan, Washington, D.C. Filed 3/20/79. Legislative interest — "Proposed amendments to the antitrust laws. . . ."

April Registrations

Citizens' Groups

AMERICANS FOR SALT INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/19/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Promote congressional approval of a new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. . . ." Lobbyist — David Clingman, Washington, D.C.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/30/79. Legislative interest — "Child health legislation, including Child Health Assurance Act (CHAP), National Health Insurance proposals, as well as other authorizing and appropriations legislation affecting child health programs." Lobbyist — Judith H. Weitz, Washington, D.C.

CITIZEN INFLATION FIGHTERS INC., Naples, Fla. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Combating inflationary legislation and regulations."

CITIZEN'S ACTION GROUP, Kodiak, Alaska. Lobbyist — Edward W. Furia, Seattle, Wash. Filed 4/24/79. Legislative interest — "Alaska native claims and D-2 legislation."

CITIZENS FOR MANAGEMENT OF ALASKA LANDS, Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Douglas A. Riggs, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/30/79. Legislative interest — "Alaska lands bill."

COMMITTEE FOR EQUALITY OF CITIZENS BEFORE THE COURTS, Chicago, Ill. Filed for self 4/25/79. Legislative interest — "S 295-Judicial Tenure Act, S 522-Judicial Council Amendments and Discipline Act; legislation concerned with advancing due process and equal treatment under the law. . . ."

COMMON CAUSE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Open government, campaign financing, consumer protection, freedom of information, ERA, energy policy, environmental protection, defense spending, tax reform, waste in government, voting rights, presidential nomination and confirmation process, administration of justice and reform of the criminal code, merit selection of federal judges and U.S. attorneys, intelligence policy, public participation in federal agency proceedings, civil service reform, regulatory reform, reapportionment, the congressional budget process, and congressional reform." Lobbyist — Sally McCormick, Washington, D.C.

FAMILIES ASSOCIATED FOR INALIENABLE RIGHTS INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/30/79. Legislative interest — "Repeal of 'carryover basis' provision of Tax Reform Act of 1976." Lobbyist — Webster & Chamberlain, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY CAMPAIGN, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/17/79. Legislative interest — "The National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution Act-1977, S 469; National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution Act-1977, HR 10192." Lobbyists — Milton C. Mapes Jr., William J. Spencer, Washington, D.C.

SIXTH PRO-LIFE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ACTION COMMITTEE, St. Petersburg, Fla. Filed for self 4/20/79. Legislative interest — "All proposed Human Life Amendments, HJ Res 121, HJ Res 405, HJ Res 132, SJ Res 178 and SJ Res 140."

Corporations and Businesses

AEROJET-GENERAL CORP., El Monte, Calif. Lobbyist — Snyder & Ball Associates Inc., Arlington, Va. Filed 4/6/79. Legislative interest — "Defense authorizations and appropriation bills."

AEROSPATIALE, Paris, France. Lobbyist — DGA International Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 4/4/79. Legislative interest —

"Supersonic transport legislation against restrictions and legislation affecting aircraft noise."

AIR FLORIDA, Miami, Fla. Lobbyist — Alcalde, Henderson, O'Bannon & Kline, Rosslyn, Va. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting airline industry and particularly HR 2458 and S 413."

ALTON BOX BOARD CO., Alton, Ill. Lobbyist — Thomas D. Byrne, Arlington, Va. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "Tax and business regulation."

AMERICAN CAN CO., Greenwich, Conn. Lobbyist — Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby, Palmer & Wood, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/4/79. Legislative interest — "Tax legislation. . . ."

AMERICAN ELECTRIC POWER SERVICE CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .electric power industry. . . ." Bruce A. Beam, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN MERCANTILE CO., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — William J. Kenney, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/30/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Fair international trade practices for U.S. farm producers."

ARLINGTON TRUST CO., Lawrence, Mass. Lobbyist — William J. Kenney, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/30/79. Legislative interest — "General banking matters."

J. ARON & CO., INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/10/79. Legislative interest — "In favor of S 658."

ASHLAND OIL INC., Ashland, Ky. Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "All matters affecting energy policy."

ATLANTIC RICHFIELD CO., Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — Edward D. Griffith, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Petroleum industry. . . ."

BANK OF LOUISVILLE, Louisville, Ky. Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Commercial banking industry, HR 7, S 85."

BECHTEL POWER CORP., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Paul W. Cane, Greenbrae, Calif. Filed 4/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .International engineering and construction enterprise."

BELL HELICOPTER TEXTRON, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/3/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative activities affecting the corporation."

BENAMY INTERNATIONAL INC., Atlanta, Ga. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .New tariff category for certain models of household furnishings, lamps, lighting fixtures and other household accessories, building parts, materials and millwork for miniature houses and displays. . . ."

BROWN & WILLIAMSON INDUSTRIES INC., Louisville, Ky. Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "All matters affecting international trade."

CANADA-FRANCE-HAWAII TELESCOPE CORP., Kamuela, Hawaii. Lobbyist — Weisman, Celler, Spett, Modlin & Wertheimer, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/9/79. Legislative interest — "HR 1319 and S 424, bills to extend the period for duty-free entry of a 3.60 meter telescope. . . ."

CARGILL LEASING CORP., Minnetonka, Minn. Lobbyist — Paul H. Delaney Jr., Washington, D.C. Filed 4/30/79. Legislative interest — "United States income tax considerations."

CARISBROOK INDUSTRIES INC., Iselin, N.J. Lobbyist — Ragan & Mason, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/19/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Renegotiation Board authorization and appropriations, HR 2002."

CITIES SERVICE CO., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/13/79. Legislative interest — ". . .petroleum minerals, petrochemicals, chemicals, plastics and metals fabrication." Lobbyist — Linda Kay Parson, Washington, D.C.

CLAYTON MANUFACTURING CO., El Monte, Calif. Lobbyist — Norman D. Shutler, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/23/79. Legislative interest — "Environmental and energy."

CORONADO EXPLORATION CO. INC., Lubbock, Texas. Lobbyists — Danny R. Robertson, Austin, Texas; Sheila C. Sherry, Blacksburg, Va. Filed 4/26/79. Legislative interest — "RARE II (opposed) and other legislation affecting Coronado Exploration Co."

DHL CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/9/79. Legislative interest — "All matters affecting air transportation of time-critical cargo. . . ."

EXXON CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — James D. McMillan, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/3/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting the employer. . . ."

FIRESTONE TIRE & RUBBER CO., Akron, Ohio. Filed for self 4/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Trade, tax policy, labor, consumer, environmental, health, welfare and other issues." Lobbyist — Gregory E. McGowan, Washington, D.C.

FISHER STOVES INTERNATIONAL INC., Eugene, Ore. Lobbyist — Hogan & Hartson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/10/79. Legislative interest — "HR 506, HR 1259, HR 2737, HR 3103, S 720 recommending tax credit for wood-burning stoves."

GCC BEVERAGES INC., Miami, Fla. Filed for self 4/5/79. Legislative interest — "Proposed soft drink competition act." Lobbyist — Evan L. Lawyer, Miami, Fla.

HANDICRAFT DESIGNS INC., Talford, Pa. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .New tariff category for certain models of household furnishings, lamps, lighting fixtures and other household accessories. . . ."

HARLEY-DAVIDSON MOTOR CO. INC., Milwaukee, Wis. Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/6/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Manufacture, sale or distribution of motorcycles or their use."

HEUBLEIN INC., Farmington, Conn. Filed for self 4/9/79. Legislative interest — "Trade agreements affecting distilled spirits."

HOLLY CORP., Dallas, Texas. Lobbyist — Sullivan, Beauregard, Clarkson, Moss, Brown & Johnson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/13/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Acquisition of the Ozol Terminal in California, as proposed in the Military Construction authorization and appropriation bills for 1980. . . ."

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER CO., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Trade, safety, environmental factors and taxes affecting the truck, agricultural/industrial equipment and construction equipment. . . ." Lobbyist — Donald M. Clarke, Washington, D.C.

JOHNS-MANVILLE CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Insulation, roofing and general building products, pipe and pipe systems. . . ." Lobbyists — Joanne Lamere, Elisabeth Hanlin, Washington, D.C.

ALLAN C. KING, Houston, Texas. Filed for self 4/16/79. Legislative interest — "Tax and other legislation directly affecting the business of exploring for and producing crude oil and natural gas." Lobbyist — John E. Chapoton, Houston, Texas.

KOCH INDUSTRIES, Wichita, Kan. Lobbyist — Venners & Co., Washington, D.C. Filed 4/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Energy legislation, specifically crude oil and petroleum products, energy transportation matters."

THE KROGER CO., Cincinnati, Ohio. Lobbyist — Arnold & Porter, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/13/79. Legislative interest — "HR 2060, S 300 and related measures."

LITTON INDUSTRIES, Beverly Hills, Calif. Lobbyist — Miller & Chevalier, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Allow a retirement savings deduction for persons covered by certain pension plans."

MAPCO, Tulsa, Okla. Lobbyists — Birch, Horton, Bittner and Monroe; Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/10/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting public lands regarding MAPCO's mineral interests in Alaska, petroleum pipelines and national energy policy, including vertical divestiture and HR 51. . . ."

MERCK & CO. INC., Rahway, N.J. Lobbyist — William W. Bailey, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation related to the business interests of employer: revise or reform existing food and drug laws, health care programs, OSHA, TSCA, air and water control acts and proposals in the area of taxation and foreign economic policy."

MONTCO, Billings, Mont. Lobbyist — Nossaman, Krueger & Marsh, Los Angeles, Calif. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "In favor of rectifying certain assertions in the RARE II EIS. . . ."

MARATHON OIL CO., Findlay, Ohio. Filed for self 4/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative matters that would affect the oil and gas industry: S 11, S 82, S 108, S 262, S 300, S 316, S 349, S 382, S 411, S 462, S 477, S 493, S 514, S 553, S 666, S 684, HR 8, HR 29, HR 36, HR 39, HR 51, HR 81, HR 85, HR 475, HR 769, HR 1004, HR 1048, HR 1414, HR 1979, HR 2156, HR 2344, HR 2790, HR 3129, HR 3159." Lobbyist — William F. Schwind Jr., Washington, D.C.

NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING AND DRYDOCK CO., Newport News, Va. Lobbyist — Burson-Marsteller, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/6/79. Legislative interest — "Establish media attention to assignment of Navy vessel rebuilding program."

NORTH AMERICAN CAR CORP., Chicago, Ill. Filed for self 4/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Any future legislation which affects the interests of North American Car Corp." Lobbyist — Berry, Epstein, Sandstrom & Blatchford, Washington, D.C.

NORTHWEST ALASKAN PIPELINE CO., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Hon. Teno Roncalio, Cheyenne, Wyo. Filed 4/9/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation relating to the ANGTS."

NORTHWEST INDUSTRIES INC., Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Charls E. Walker Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 4/26/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Issues relating to corporate mergers, consolidations or acquisitions."

NORTON CO., Worcester, Mass. Lobbyist — Dennis J. Baker, Westminster, Mass. Filed 4/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Alaska land restrictions, clean air amendments, employee benefits, energy, Export Administration Act, lobbying controls, federal budget, freedom of information policy, federal election campaign."

OHIO POWER CO., Canton, Ohio. Filed for self 4/20/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation which may be relevant to Ohio Power Co. or the American Electric Power System." Lobbyist — William J. Lhota, Canton, Ohio.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST GENERATING CO., Portland, Ore. Filed for self 4/6/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the Bonneville Power Administration and any Northwest regional power program." Lobbyist — David E. Piper, Portland, Ore.

PEPSICO INC., Purchase, N.Y. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/1/79. Legislative interest — "Seeking amendments to IRC to allow recomputation of foreign tax credit limitation where adjustments occur after the taxable year and allow industrial development bond financing for solid waste disposal facilities related to returnable containers."

REYNOLDS METALS CO., Richmond, Va. Filed for self 4/4/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the mining of bauxite, the production of aluminum, the price and availability of electric power, natural gas, crude oil, and other sources of energy, taxation and the aluminum industry." Lobbyist — Norvill Jones, Washington, D.C.

ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL, Downey, Calif. Lobbyist — Winner/Wagner & Associates Inc., Los Angeles, Calif. Filed 4/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .NASA supplemental budget. . . ."

ROHM & HAAS CO., Philadelphia, Pa. Lobbyist — Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Section 382 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954."

SCIENTIFIC GAMES INTERNATIONAL INC., Atlanta, Ga. Lobbyists — Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, Washington, D.C.; Stanley S. Fine, Baltimore, Md. Filed 4/30/79. Legislative interest — "In favor of HR 1301; to amend Title 18 of the U.S. Code to allow the transportation or mailing to a foreign country of lottery materials."

SEATRAIN LINES INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the business of the company or its subsidiaries."

TEXACO INC., White Plains, N.Y. Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "All matters affecting national energy policy."

TRANS-LUX CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Weisman, Celler, Spett, Modlin & Wertheimer, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3333, S 611 and similar bills to amend the Communications Act."

TURNER COMMUNICATIONS CORP., Atlanta, Ga. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin & Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Proposals affecting cablecasting and broadcasting, HR 3333, S 622 and S 611. . . ."

UNION CAMP CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/5/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative interests are those of employer." Lobbyist — Gerald W. Vaughan, Washington, D.C.

UNION CARBIDE CORP., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 4/6/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation of interest to Union Carbide Corp." Lobbyist — Joseph J. Martyak, Washington, D.C.

UNION OIL CO. OF CALIFORNIA, Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyists — Barbara Brendes, Richard F. Hall, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the petroleum industry."

UNITED STATES CRUISES INC., Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/16/79. Legislative interest — "General education functions with regard to legislation affecting the operation of cruise ships."

WASHINGTON NATURAL GAS, Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/26/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation concerning Roadless Area Review Evaluation (RARE II) specifically Tongue River Breaks."

Energy and Environment

CONSUMER ENERGY COUNCIL OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/6/79. Legislative interest — "All energy legislation affecting the public interest, especially legislation affecting the pricing and supply of energy and competition in the energy industry." Lobbyist — Stuart Dunwoody, Washington, D.C.

CRITICAL MASS ENERGY PROJECT, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "Nuclear energy, solar energy, energy conservation and oil pricing." Lobbyist — Richard P. Pollack, Washington, D.C.

KINGS RIVER WATER USERS COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Santarelli & Gimer, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation to amend the Reclamation Act of 1902 . . . in connection with acreage limitations and other restrictions. . . ."

MO-ARK BASINS FLOOD CONTROL AND CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION, Kansas City, Kan. Filed for self 4/16/79. Legislative interest — "Public works appropriations bill." Lobbyist — James A. McPherson, Kansas City, Kan.

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION WATER PROJECT, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/24/79. Legislative interest — "Rural water development. . . ." Lobbyist — James E. Hawkins, Washington, D.C.

International Relations

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Foley, Lardner, Hollabaugh & Jacobs, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Action by Congress on S 317 and similar or successor bills."

REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE, Kinshasa, Zaire. Lobbyist — Surrey, Karasik and Morse, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/6/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Bills affording economic and/or military assistance to the Republic of Zaire."

Labor Groups

MUNICIPAL LABOR COMMITTEE, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 4/10/79. Legislative interest — "General labor law, general cities issues, welfare reform." Lobbyist — Julie Domenick, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/26/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation pertaining to postal and federal employees." Lobbyist — Vincent R. Sombrotto, Mark Roth, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL TREASURY EMPLOYEES UNION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Employment conditions, compensation, retirement of federal employees." Lobbyist — Karetta B. Hubbard, Washington, D.C.

UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, Detroit, Mich. Filed for self 4/13/79. Legislative interest — "Support all legislation favorable to the nation's peace and security, add to the economic and social well-being of the UAW members, their families and the nation. . . ." Lobbyist — Betty S. Robinson, Washington, D.C.

State and Local Government

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, Philadelphia, Pa. Lobbyist — Butler, Binion, Rice, Cook & Knapp, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/6/79. Legislative interest — "HR 2575, S 429, FY '79 Supplemental Defense Authorization Act."

STATE OF ALASKA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Timmons and Company Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 4/3/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Use of land in the state of Alaska, such as HR 39/HR 2199; The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act."

Trade Associations

THE ADHERENCE GROUP, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 4/19/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation to amend Shipping Act of 1916. . . ." Lobbyist — Billig, Sher & Jones, Washington, D.C.

ALLIANCE OF AMERICAN INSURERS, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Thomas A. O'Day, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/9/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting property casualty insurance companies and/or their policyholders."

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RESPIRATORY THERAPY, Dallas, Texas. Lobbyist — Phillip Porte & Associates Inc., Arlington, Va. Filed 4/26/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Matters affecting health and welfare, health care legislation affecting respiratory therapy, S 505, S 590, S 350, S 351, HR 2626; Titles XVIII and XIX of the Social Scurity Act."

AMERICAN CONGRESS ON SURVEYING AND MAPPING, Falls Church, Va. Lobbyist — Leonard S. Homa, Potomac, Md. Filed 4/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Interests of surveyors, cartographers, geodesists and related fields."

AMERICAN CONSULTING ENGINEERS COUNCIL, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/1/79. Legislative interest — "Matters relating to public works, transportation, the environment, pollution control, housing, equal employment opportunity, public health and safety, economy and efficiency in government and energy legislation." Lobbyist — Russell C. Richardson Jr., Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, Park Ridge, Ill. Filed for self 4/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Natural resources, agricultural research and extension, pest control." Lobbyist — Michael Stientjes, Washington, D.C.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation relating to the practice of architecture, including housing, community development, historic preservation, federal procurement, procedures for architectural services, energy conservation and others." Lobbyist — Michael K. Blevins, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 4/6/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Accounting and auditing practices." Lobbyist — Nicholas John Nichols, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MERCHANT SHIPPING, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Maintenance of the American Merchant Marine. . . ." Lobbyist — W. M. Benkert, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN IRON AND STEEL INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Carl F. Arnold, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the steel industry particularly in the area of international trade."

AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/13/79. Legislative interest — "Measures affecting mining such as income taxation, social security, public lands, stockpiling, monetary policy, mine safety, environmental quality control." Lobbyist — Michael F. Duffy, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN MOTORCYCLIST ASSOCIATION, Westerville, Ohio. Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/6/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislative proposal dealing with the use of motorcycles for recreation or transportation."

AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed fo self 4/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the petroleum industry." Lobbyist — Gary L. Whittle, Raleigh, N.C.

AMERICAN VOCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 4/18/79. Legislative interest — "Federal appropriation for FY 79 and FY 80 for vocational education, authorizing legislation for vocational education amendments; Department of Education S 210 and HR 2444." Lobbyist — Gene Bottoms, Dean Griffin, Arlington, Va.

THE ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/16/79. Legislative interest — "Matters of federal legislation. . . ." Lobbyists — Brian Deery, Marie Gavigan, Barbra Owens, Arthur L. Schmuhl, Karl Shipley, Washington, D.C.

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN VETERINARY MEDICAL COLLEGES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "Bills supporting teaching and/or research at schools of veterinary medicine; funds for institutional support and student aid to veterinary education (HR 2439); funds for animal health and disease research." Lobbyists — Winston M. Decker, John W. Thomas, Washington, D.C.

THE BUSINESS ROUND TABLE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyists — Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering; Julia J. Norrell, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation involving antitrust, HR 2060, HR 2204, S 300; lobbying disclosure HR 81, HR 1979, HR 2497, HR 2302."

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/5/79. Legislative interest — "Antitrust and corporate governance; 'Illinois Brick' legislation, merger legislation." Lobbyist — John F. Byset, Washington, D.C.

COUNCIL OF CREATIVE ARTISTS, LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Weisman, Celler, Spett, Modlin & Wertheimer, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/9/79. Legislative interest — "HR 2498 and similar bills to amend the Internal Revenue Code to remove certain limitations in the case of charitable contributions of literary, musical or artistic compositions. . . ."

DEALER BANK ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Coan, Couture & Lyons, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/6/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting the public finance activities of member banks."

FOOD MARKETING INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Transportation legislation, diesel fuel and gasoline conservation. Lobbyists — George R. Green, P. Anne McGhee, James T. Rogers, Washington, D.C.

FOODSERVICE AND LODGING INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Specific impact on major multi-unit, multi-state, restaurant and hotel companies." Lobbyist — William G. Giery, Washington, D.C.

GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Doub, Purcell, Muntzing & Hansen, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/10/79. Legislative interest — "Appropriations hearings on food safety."

GROUP HEALTH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/13/79. Legislative interest — "All bills relating to prepayment of health care, comprehensive health care, group practice medicine and matters relating to consumer health care services." Lobbyist — Gary Hong, Candace Keller, George Strumpf, Washington, D.C.

HAND TOOLS INSTITUTE, White Plains, N.Y. Filed for self 4/30/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting hand tools such as fair international trade, taxation and capital formation, proliferation of government regulations."

INSTITUTE OF MAKERS OF EXPLOSIVES, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Rose, Schmidt, Dixon, Hasley, Whyte & Hardesty, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/4/79. Legislative interest — "Opposition to legislation requiring taggants in explosive materials, anti-terrorist legislation, HR 1834, HR 2441, S 333."

INSTITUTO BRASILEIRO DO CAFE, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Samuel E. Stavisky & Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 4/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .International Coffee Agreement of 1979, HR 3637."

KANSAS GRAIN & FEED DEALERS ASSOCIATION, Hutchison, Kan. Lobbyist — Martin Ryan Haley & Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "Opposition to railroad rate deregulation."

LANHAM ACT PRESERVATION ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Williams and Jensen, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/5/79. Legislative interest — "Trademark protection legislation of interest to the Association. . . ."

MAGAZINE PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 4/30/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation having impact directly or indirectly on magazine publishing industry." Lobbyist — Kent Rhodes, New York, N.Y.

MORTGAGE BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/13/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation affecting the mortgage banking industry." Lobbyist — Frank Max Salinger, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FEDERAL CREDIT UNIONS, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 4/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Financial institutions and consumer credit, specifically credit unions." Lobbyists — Ann L. Parenteau, E. Y. Holt Jr., Arlington, Va.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR HOSPITAL DEVELOPMENT, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — John T. Grupenhoff, Bethesda, Md. Filed 4/17/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation relating to hospital philanthropy and its protection."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/10/79.Legislative interest — "S 300, HR 1, HR 39, HR 420." Lobbyist — Rodney K. Spackman, Los Angeles, Calif.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PERSONNEL CONSULTANTS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Private placement industry, i.e., revision of the Wagner-Peyser Act." Lobbyist — David E. Strachan, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/25/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation that affects the real estate industry, including subsidized housing area and housing authorization legislation. Lobbyist — Jeffrey Hayman, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR UNIFORMED SERVICES, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 4/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Support measures which will uphold the security of the United States, sustain the morale and provide equitable consideration for all members of the uniformed services — active, reserve and retired." Lobbyist — John A. Keutmann.

NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/13/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting cable television, specifically S 611, S 622, HR 3333. . . ." Lobbyist — Thomas Patterson, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL CLAY PIPE INSTITUTE, Crystal Lake, Ill. Filed for self 4/5/79. Legislative interest — "Matters of direct interest to clay pipe industry." Lobbyist — E. J. Newbould, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF HEALTH CARE SERVICES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/5/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the SSA: HEW appropriations, Older Americans Act, Health Manpower & Training Act, S 505." Lobbyist — Donna R. Barnako, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "Proposed Community Mental Health Systems Act; Community Mental Health Act, PL 95-622." Lobbyist — David Sandler, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF HEALTH CARE SERVICES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/5/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the SSA, HEW appropriations Older Americans Act, Health Manpower & Training Act. . . ." Lobbyist — Jack A. MacDonald, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL EMPLOYEE BENEFITS INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Reinhart, Boerner, Van Deuren, Norris & Rieselbach, Milwaukee, Wis. Filed 4/30/79. Legislative interest — "Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974; Age Discrimination in Employment Act Amendments; National Health Insurance legislation; taxes affecting employee benefit plans, wage and price controls, deductibility of employee contribution to pension plans and cost of living increases for pension plans, employee voting rights.

NATIONAL MACARONI MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, Palatine, Ill. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/9/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative proposals affecting macaroni products."

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/16/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the rural electrification programs provided for under the REA Act of 1936. . . ." Lobbyists — Robert W. Cromartie. Richard W. Sternberg, Gary B. Randall, Kathi L. Schear, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/27/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting interests of professional engineers." Lobbyist — Joan E. Porte, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL SOFT DRINK ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — George Franklin, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/23/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation involving saccharin, HR 11."

NATIONAL TELEPHONE COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/13/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the rural telephone program provided for in the REA Act of 1936." Lobbyist — Barry A. Ross, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL TOOL, DIE & PRECISION MACHINING ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/13/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the tool, die and precision machining industry." Lobbyist — Bruce N. Hahn, Washington, D.C.

OHIO VALLEY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION INC., Cincinnati, Ohio. Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/5/79. Legislative interest — "All matters affecting waterborne transportation in the Ohio Valley."

PHARMACEUTICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Ethical drug industry. . . ." Lobbyist — Albert C. Saunders, Washington, D.C.

THE PROPRIETARY ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Nonprescription drug industry, S 2755, HR 11611. . ., legislation affecting the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act." Lobbyist — Allan R. Rexinger, Washington, D.C.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN OIL & GAS ASSOCIATION, Denver, Colo. Filed for self 4/2/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the petroleum industry." Lobbyist — Mary Lee Jackson, Washington, D.C.

SCIENTIFIC GAMES INTERNATIONAL INC., Atlanta, Ga. Lobbyist — Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/10/79. Legislative interest — "In favor of HR 1301."

SAMUEL E. STAVISKY & ASSOCIATES INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/18/79. Legislative interest — "International Coffee Agreement Act of 1979."

TIME-CRITICAL SHIPMENT COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Thevenot, Murray and Scheer, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/2/79. Legislative interest — "Support for an exclusion from the Private Express Statutes for time sensitive letters or legislation. . . ."

Miscellaneous

ACTION FOR CHILDREN'S TELEVISION, Newtonville, Mass. Lobbyist — Elizabeth Bell Stengel, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/23/79. Legislative interest — "Appropriations for the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and possible congressional ban on the FTC rulemaking on advertising on children's television. . ., reauthorization of FTC and Federal Communications Commission (FCC), efforts to improve children's television programming. . . ."

ADP PENSION SERVICES INC., Newport Beach, Calif. Lobbyist — Marshall, Bratter, Greene, Allison & Tucker, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/4/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 and related sections of the Internal Revenue Code facilitating participant-directed individual account ('earmarked') plans and trusts. . . ."

BURNS PUBLIC RELATIONS SERVICES INC., Cleveland, Ohio. Filed for self 4/30/79. Legislative interest — "HR 997 — to amend the copyright law. . . ."

CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR UNICEF, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Bjorg Opdahl Wilson, Bethesda, Md. Filed 4/13/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative matters affecting the United Nations Childrens Fund. . . ."

CITRICOS DE CHIRIQUI, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Ragan & Mason, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/19/79. Legislative interest — "HR 111, HR 1716 — Panama Canal Treaty implementing legislation."

COMMITTEE FOR FULL FUNDING OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/9/79. Legislative interest — "Educational funding. . . ." Lobbyist — Charles W. Lee, Washington, D.C.

COUNCIL TO SAVE THE POST CARD, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/3/79. Legislative interest — "Establish fair postage rates and mail classification for scenic post cards." Lobbyist — Harry J. Lambeth, Washington, D.C.

EPISCOPAL IMMIGRATION SERVICES, Marina del Rey, Calif. Filed for self 4/20/79. Legislative interest — "Immigration and naturalization law legislation." Lobbyist — Rev. John McD. Corn, Marina del Rey, Calif.

ESTATE OF MARY ADAMS, Savannah, Ga. Lobbyist — Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "An amendment is sought to section 702 (f) (2) of the Revenue Act of 1978 to remove its retroactive effect."

MARTIN G. HAMBERGER, Glen Rock, Pa. Filed for self 4/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Medical treatment of the human eye, HR 2020, S 505."

KAISER FOUNDATION HEALTH PLAN, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — John K. Iglehart, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/13/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Providing, delivering and paying for medical care and related subjects. . . ."

KLAMATH INDIAN TRIBE, Medford, Ore. Lobbyist — Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/7/79. Legislative interest — "Supporting legislation to reimburse Klamath and Modoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians for expenses of litigation seeking fair market value for lands taken by the United States for addition to the national forest system, HR 2361."

KURRUS, DYER & JACOBI, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "Energy related legislation."

DANIEL MINCHEW, Chevy Chase, Md. Filed for self 4/23/79. Legislative interest — "To promote an atmosphere in which legislation and governmental policy favorable to exports of U.S.-made goods and U.S.-source services to Japan are encouraged."

NATIONAL CLAY PIPE INSTITUTE, Crystal Lake, Ill. Lobbyist — E. J. Newbould, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/6/79. Legislative interest — "Matters of direct interest to clay pipe industry."

NATIONAL HEALTH LAW PROGRAM INC., Santa Monica, Calif. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "Health access issues relating to eligible Legal Services clients including poor persons and minorities." Lobbyist — David F. Chavkin, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Coan, Couture & Lyons, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/6/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting housing and community development."

NATIONAL TAXPAYERS LEGAL FUND, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Limit extensions of IRS power, curb regulatory constraints on free market enterprise." Lobbyists — David L. Gordon, Dan Lewolt, Washington, D.C.

PATSY PERRY, Roslyn Heights, N.Y. Lobbyist — Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/11/79. Legislative interest — "In favor of S 608."

PUBLIC CITIZEN'S TAX REFORM RESEARCH GROUP, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 4/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Internal Revenue Code and federal fiscal tax policy and state/local taxes." Lobbyist — Frank Domurad, Washington, D.C.

WOLF TRAP FOUNDATION, Vienna, Va. Lobbyist — Edward L. Merrigan, Washington, D.C. Filed 4/23/79. Legislative interest — "Congressional appropriations for the operation of Wolf Trap Farm National Park for the Performing Arts."

May Registrations

Citizens' Groups

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/8/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Advancement of women, individual rights, educational policy, community policy and foreign policy." Lobbyist — Ellen S. Griffee, Washington, D.C.

C.A.S.H. (CITIZENS AGAINST SUGAR HIKES), Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/3/79. Legislative interest — "Against HR 2172 and S 463, the International Sugar Stabilization Act of 1979 and all other legislation that would increase the price support level for sugar."

CITIZEN'S CHOICE INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/30/79. Legislative interest — "Matters of interest to members of Citizen's Choice. . . ." Lobbyist — Thomas J. Donohue, Washington, D.C.

CITIZENS FOR MANAGEMENT OF ALASKA LANDS, Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Jack McDonald Associates Inc., McLean, Va. Filed 5/23/79. Legislative interest — "Alaska lands legislation."

CONGRESS WATCH, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All energy and environment-related issues and legislative matters. Lobbyist — Harvey Rosenfield, Washington, D.C.

CONSUMER FEDERATION OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/3/79. Legislative interest — "Clinical Laboratory Improvement Act, National Health Insurance, natural gas, oil deregulation, conservation legislation . . . any legislation that would be to the benefit of the consumer." Lobbyist — Michael Podhorzer, Washington, D.C.

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF TEENAGERS INC., Fairfield, Conn. Filed for self 5/4/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All legislation affecting young people; creating a cabinet level department of education, youth work bills, tuition tax credit. . . ." Lobbyist — Michael S. Sher, Fairfield, Conn.

NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All aspects of the acquisition, possession, and use of firearms and ammunitions as well as legislation relating to hunting and wildlife conservation." Lobbyist — David H. Hardy, Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC CITIZEN, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/7/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to the Price-Anderson Act;

food, drug and cosmetic legislation, including legislation on nitrites, saccharin and food additive policy; appropriations for the District of Columbia, particularly concerning the Convention Center; legislation on regulation of liquefied natural gas." Lobbyist — William B. Schultz, Washington, D.C.

UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS, Cambridge, Mass. Filed for self 5/7/79. Legislative interest — "To promote congressional approval of safe energy legislation: Nuclear Reappraisal Act, HR 336; Nuclear Safety Review Act, S 926; Waste Management, S 594, HR 2762; DOE Authorization, HR 3000; NRC Authorization, HR 2608." Lobbyist — Lisa Shulock, Washington, D.C.

Corporations and Businesses

AMERICAN RETAIL FEDERATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Collier, Shannon, Rill, Edwards & Scott, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/23/79. Legislative interest — "Pending antitrust legislation, S 300, HR 2060, HR 2204."

AVCO CORP., Greenwich, Conn. Lobbyist — Smalley, Cogburn & Flynt, Griffin, Ga. Filed 5/9/79. Legislative interest — "...Matters of interest to the company."

BANK OF AMERICA, San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/25/79. Legislative interest — "Bills affecting the tax-exempt status of bonds used to finance housing, HR 3712."

BECHTEL POWER CORP., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Paul W. Cane, Greenbrae, Calif. Filed 5/18/79. Legislative interest — "...International engineering and construction enterprise."

BELL AEROSPACE TEXTRON, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/17/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative activities affecting the corporation."

BLYTH EASTMAN DILLON & CO., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/25/79. Legislative interest — "Bills affecting the tax-exempt status of bonds used to finance housing, HR 3712."

COMBINED INSURANCE CO. OF AMERICA, Chicago, Ill. Filed for self 5/7/79. Legislative interest — "Life and health insurance." Lobbyist — Larry A. Oday, Washington, D.C.

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "Matters pertaining to communications, the Communications Act of 1934 and the Communications Satellite Act of 1962...." Lobbyist — Ernest B. Kelly III, Washington, D.C.

CONOCO COAL DEVELOPMENT CO., Stamford, Conn. Lobbyist — Collier, Shannon, Rill, Edwards & Scott, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "Department of Energy authorization and appropriations bills, energy and environmental legislation."

ELECTRONIC DATA SYSTEMS CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/27/79. Legislative interest — "...Designing, installing and operating business information systems..., health care, National Health Insurance, banking, insurance, retailing and utilities." Lobbyist — Carl Edward Smith, Washington, D.C.

EVERETT TERMINAL CO., Everett, Wash. Lobbyist — Woods, Villalon, Hollengreen & Lindeman, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/2/79. Legislative interest — "Oppose legislation or governmental regulations that would impose ban or undue restrictions on the export of logs and other timber products...."

FALLEK-LANKRO CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Collier, Shannon, Rill, Edwards & Scott, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/23/79. Legislative interest — "Passage of HR 3122."

HILL AND KNOWLTON INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "...Matters relating to the business interests of the firm...." Lobbyist — Charles S. Crawford III, Anthony V. Dresden, Robert S. Hartmann, Craig R. Hume, Marianne McDermott, Helen Dubino Morrison, Elizabeth Shirley Weltner, Steven M. Worth, Washington, D.C.

THE KEEFE CO., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/1/79. Legislative interest — "Export Administration Act Revision, for; HR 1007, against." Lobbyist — Thomas G. Burke, Washington, D.C.

LOCKHEED CORP., Burbank, Calif. Lobbyist — Miller & Chevalier, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/8/79. Legislative interest — "...S 700...."

LOEB RHOADES, HORNBLOWER & CO., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/31/79. Legislative interest — "...Municipal bonds, HR 3712, amending Section 103 of the Internal Revenue Code relative to tax treatment of mortgage bonds.

LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE RAILROAD, Louisville, Ky. Lobbyist — Randall Grace, Columbus, Ohio. Filed 5/29/79. Legislative interest — "S 769...."

MARTIN-MARIETTA AEROSPACE, Bethesda, Md. Lobbyist — Herbert S. Matthews, Mechanicsville, Md. Filed 5/17/79. Legislative interest — "Defense authorization and appropriations bill."

NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO. INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/4/79. Legislative interest — "...Broadcasting, S 611, S 622 and HR 3333." Lobbyist — Sallie H. Forman, Robert D. Hynes Jr., Peter B. Kenney, Kenneth D. Schanzer, Washington, D.C.

PARAHOE DEVELOPMENT CORP., Grand Junction, Colo. Lobbyist — O'Neill, Forgotson & Roncalio, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/8/79. Legislative interest — "National energy policy."

PFIZER INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 5/5/79. Legislative interest — "...Opposition to S 300, HR 2060, Antitrust Enforcement Act of 1979." Lobbyist — Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler, New York, N.Y.

RCA ALASKA COMMUNICATIONS, Anchorage, Alaska. Filed for self 5/15/79. Legislative interest — "Communications Act Amendments of 1979 (S 611), Telecommunications Competition and Deregulation Act of 1979 (S 622)." Lobbyist — John E. McGill, Anchorage, Alaska.

DEAN WITTER REYNOLDS INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/8/79. Legislative interest — "Bills affecting the tax-exempt status of bonds used to finance housing."

ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL, Downey, Calif. Lobbyist — Theodore M. Littman, Placentia, Calif. Filed 5/7/79. Legislative interest — "...Civilian and military space policy, research, development, procurement and hardware..., Space Shuttle and Global Positioning (NAVSTAR) Systems...."

RYDER SYSTEMS INC., Miami, Fla. Lobbyist — Wickham & Craft, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/9/79. Legislative interest — "...Full investment tax credit for qualifying assets with lives of at least three but less than seven years."

ST. JOE MINERALS CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/14/79. Legislative interest — "...Creation of airborne lead."

SHIMANO AMERICAN CORP., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 5/30/79. Legislative interest — "...Duty suspension on certain bicycle parts, HR 3207." Lobbyist — Whitman & Ransom, Washington, D.C.

SMITH BARNEY, HARRIS UPHAM & CO., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Legislative interest — "Bills affecting the tax-exempt status of bonds used to finance housing, HR 3712."

SOUTHERN RAILWAY CO., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "...Legislation affecting the interest of Southern Railway Co." Lobbyist — Edward T. Breathitt, James L. Granum, John F. Corcoran, Washington, D.C.

TALLEY INDUSTRIES, Mesa, Ariz. Lobbyist — Steptoe & Johnson, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/14/79. Legislative interest — "International trade matters which might affect Talley Industries."

TOSCO CORP., Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — Marcus W. Sisk Jr., Washington, D.C. Filed 5/23/79. Legislative interest — "...Legislation to increase domestic energy supplies and to reduce U.S. dependence on imported energy, S 847, S 857, HR 1969, HR 3930, HR 3741."

WHEELABRATOR-FRYE INC., Hampton, N.H. Lobbyist — Collier, Shannon, Rill, Edwards & Scott, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "Department of Energy authorization and appropriations bills, energy and environmental legislation."

THE WILLIAMS COMPANIES, Tulsa, Okla. Filed for self 5/4/79. Legislative interest — "...Fertilizer, energy, metals or other matters of general interest to The Williams Companies." Lobbyist — Barry N. Roth, Washington, D.C.

Energy and Environment

ALASKA FUND INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/29/79. Legislative interest — "...All of the Alaska 'd(2)' land bills."

ALLIED GENERAL NUCLEAR SERVICES, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Collier, Shannon, Rill, Edwards & Scott, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/18/79. Legislative interest — "Department of Energy authorization and appropriations bills, energy and environmental legislation."

AMERICAN FISHERIES DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Alan D. Guimond, Bristol, R.I. Filed 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "Treaties and legislation affecting East Coast fishery interests."

THE ENERGY COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, Beaverton, Ore. Lobbyist — Lee H. Schmolke & Associates, Beaverton, Ore. Filed 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "...Nationalization of oil companies and research related to energy."

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FISH AND WILDLIFE AGENCIES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/3/79. Legislative interest — "Matters related to fish and wildlife conservation, HR 39, nongame bill, endangered species, appropriations for resource managing agencies." Lobbyist — John S. Gottschalk, Washington, D.C.

KINGS RIVER WATER USERS COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Santarelli & Gimer, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/1/79. Legislative interest — "...Amend the Reclamation Act of 1902...."

MO-ARK BASINS FLOOD CONTROL AND CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION, Kansas City, Kan. Filed for self 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "...River and harbor maintenance, soil conservation, water conservation and flood control." Lobbyist — James A. McPherson, Kansas City, Kan.

SIERRA CLUB, San Francisco, Calif. Filed for self 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "Energy, air pollution, water pollution, solid and hazardous waste, toxic substances control, occupational safety and health, and regulatory reform legislation." Lobbyist — A. Blakeman Early, Washington, D.C.

SOLAR LOBBY, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/14/79. Legislative interest — "...Renewable energy legislation, National Energy Act, photovoltaic RD&D Act, solar satellite bill." Lobbyist — Herb Epstein, Susannah Lawrence, Joan Shorey, Washington, D.C.

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/18/79. Legislative interest — "Boundary Waters Wilderness Act, HR 12250; Alaska National Lands Conservation Act, HR 39; Department of Natural Resources Reorganization; national forest wilderness, National Parks Concessions Policy Act." Lobbyist — William A. Turnage, Washington, D.C.

International Relations

COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO. Lobbyist — Jenkins, Nystrom & Sterlacci, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/16/79. Legislative interest — "...To provide representation of the Commonwealth in the United States Senate."

KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA. Lobbyist — J. Crawford Cook Inc., Columbia, S.C. Filed 5/30/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative activities and press relations."

SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. Lobbyist — Leggett, Lanier and Associates, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/17/79. Legislative interest — "Development of Somali Democratic Republic."

Labor Groups

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/30/79. Legislative interest — "All bills affecting the welfare of the country generally and specifically bills affecting the state, county and municipal workers." Lobbyist — Mary Aronson, Marguerite Bracy, Anthony P. Carneyale, Steven L. Pruitt, Michael Shorr, Andrea Strader, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL TREASURY EMPLOYEES UNION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/17/79. Legislative interest — "...Employment conditions, compensation, retirement of federal employees." Lobbyist — Karetta B. Hubbard, Washington, D.C.

RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/9/79. Legislative interest — "...Social legislation and all matters relating to the interests of labor organizations."

SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/29/79. Legislative interest — "Export administration act, Marad authorizations, Alaska lands." Lobbyist — John Iaccio, Washington, D.C.

Military and Veterans

SOCIETY OF MILITARY WIDOWS, San Diego, Calif. Lobbyist — Donald E. Channell, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/30/79. Legislative interest — "To provide retirement annuities for certain military widows, HR 817, S 91 and other legislation of similar purpose."

State and Local Government

ALASKA HOUSING FINANCE CORP., Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Ballard, Spahr, Andrew & Ingersoll, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/8/79. Legislative interest — "Housing finance, HR 3712."

"DELAWARE 5". Lobbyist — Duncan, Brown, Weinberg & Palmer, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/17/79. Legislative interest — "Amendment to Federal Power Act to revise procedures for changing of rates."

IDAHO HOUSING AGENCY, Boise, Idaho. Lobbyist — Ballard, Spahr, Andrews & Ingersoll, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/18/79. Legislative interest — "Housing finance."

JACKSONVILLE TRANSPORTATION AUTHORITY, Jacksonville, Fla. Lobbyist — Herbert S. Matthews, Mechanicsville, Md. Filed 5/17/79. Legislative interest — "Transportation legislation."

Trade Associations

AMERICAN CONSULTING ENGINEERS COUNCIL, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Peabody, Rivlin, Lambert & Meyers, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/16/79. Legislative interest — "...Losses resulting from liability with respect to allegedly faulty design by consulting engineers and other design professionals..., tax deductions with respect to contributions to trusts making provision for the satisfaction of such claims; HR 2341, HR 2693, S 634...."

AMERICAN GAS ASSOCIATION, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 5/31/79. Legislative interest — "...Department of Energy authorization, HR 3000; Department of Energy appropriations; Energy Impact Assistance Act, RARE II; coal slurry pipeline...." Lobbyist — Robert K. Boyd, Arlington, Va.

AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/25/79. Legislative interest — "Health, education, welfare, labor." Lobbyist — Dennis J. Barbour, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — North Dakota Petroleum Council, Bismarck, N.D. Filed 5/3/79. Legislative interest — "...Petroleum industry."

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CIVIL ENGINEERS, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 5/22/79. Legislative interest — "Water policy, energy, synthetic fuels, pension reform, Davis-Bacon re-

peal, water and sewer grants, appropriations. . . ." Lobbyist — Bruce Rickerson, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN SPEECH-LANGUAGE-HEARING ASSOCIATION, Rockville, Md. Filed for self 5/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Health, education and environmental matters, especially pertaining to the communicatively handicapped and the professional interests of speech-language pathologists and audiologists." Lobbyist — Roger P. Kingsley, Rockville, Md.

ASSOCIATION OF GENERAL MERCHANDISE CHAINS INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Discount and variety general merchandise retailers." Lobbyist — Morrison G. Cain, Washington, D.C.

ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF PREVENTIVE MEDICINE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/25/79. Legislative interest — "Health, education, welfare." Lobbyist — Dennis J. Barbour, Washington, D.C.

AUTOMOTIVE FILTER MANUFACTURERS COUNCIL, Teaneck, N.J. Lobbyist — Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin & Kahn, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/7/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Tax bill designed to preclude the retroactive assessment of tax on certain automotive filters and filter elements. . . ."

BUSINESS PRODUCTS COUNCIL ASSOCIATION, Oakland, Calif. Filed for self 5/25/79. Legislative interest — "Government contracting and GSA combined purchasing; accelerated depreciation; increase of limits for retained earnings in small business, federal tax legislation."

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Labor-management relations, Labor Law Reform Act S 2467/HR 8410. . . ." Lobbyist — Harold P. Coxson Jr., Washington, D.C.

COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIAL BOILER OWNERS, Fairfax Station, Va. Lobbyist — Gardner, Carton & Douglas, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/25/79. Legislative interest — "Energy legislation."

DISTILLED SPIRITS COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Charles Burke, Montgomery, Ala. Filed 5/24/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Beverage distilled spirits."

FOOD MARKETING INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Transportation legislation and diesel fuel and gasoline conservation legislation." Lobbyist — George R. Green, P. Anne McGhee, James T. Rogers, Washington, D.C.

GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA, INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Hogan & Hartson, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/30/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Voluntary wage and price guidelines. . . ."

MANUFACTURING CHEMISTS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/22/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Environmental legislation affecting the chemical manufacturing industry; toxic substances, air and water pollution control, solid waste matters, FIFRA." Lobbyist — Timothy F. Burns, Washington, D.C.

MEAT IMPORTERS COUNCIL OF AMERICA, INC., Arlington, Va. Filed for self 5/15/79. Legislative interest — "Meat legislation - HR 2727. . . ." Lobbyist — William C. Morrison, Arlington, Va.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FEDERAL CREDIT UNIONS, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 5/29/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Financial institutions and consumer credit. . . ." Lobbyist — William Donovan, Arlington, Va.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Independent colleges and universities, reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1965, tax, budget and appropriations legislation." Lobbyist — Peter Gossens, Howard Holcomb, John D. Phillips, Jim Sullivan, Christine Topping, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/4/79. Legislative interest — "S 209, HR 2626, S 570, S 505, HR 14, S 760." Lobbyist — Robert Z. Bohan, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS, Chicago, Ill. Filed for self 5/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Real estate generally and mortgage finance, bank holding companies legislation, tax-exempt bonds legislation, financial institutions." Lobbyist — Aldene E. Creech, Jeffrey Hayman, Betty-Grace Terpstra, Judith A. Young, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL AUDIO-VISUAL ASSOCIATION INC., Fairfax, Va. Filed for self 5/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Postal service and government procurement." Lobbyist — Richard G. Fuller, Fairfax, Va.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AUTOMOBILE CRASH PROTECTION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/21/79. Legislative interest — "Department of Transportation Federal Motor Vehicle Safety Standard 208." Lobbyist — Ralph W. Hoar Jr., Ronald N. Marcus, Washington, D.C., John E. Moss, Sacramento, Calif.

NATIONAL EMPLOYEE BENEFITS INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/29/79. Legislative interest — "Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, Age Discrimination in Employment Act Amendments, National Health Insurance legislation, taxes affecting employee benefit plans, wage and price controls, deductibility of employee contributions to pension plans and cost-of-living increases for pension plans, employee voting rights, TRASOP's." Lobbyist — Schanes Associates, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL MOTORSPORTS COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Herbert S. Matthews, Mechanicsville, Md. Filed 5/26/79. Legislative interest — "Energy authorization and appropriations bills."

NATIONAL REA TELEPHONE ASSOCIATION, Minneapolis, Minn. Lobbyist — John F. O'Neal, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/1/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting the REA telephone program. . . ."

NATIONAL RETAIL MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 5/30/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Laws relating to advertising, antitrust, conditions and terms of employment, consumer affairs, credit, corporate and individual taxes, crime prevention, energy conservation, environmental protection, foreign trade, health care, housing, land use, national economic recovery, pensions, postal rates and services, regulatory reform, small business, telecommunications and transportation." Lobbyist — Robin W. Lanier, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/31/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Rural electrification process provided for under the REA Act of 1936." Lobbyist — Richard W. Sternberg, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL TOOL, DIE & PRECISION MACHINING ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/3/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the tool, die and precision machining industry." Lobbyist — Bruce N. Hahn, Washington, D.C.

NEW ENGLAND TANK INDUSTRIES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, INC., Cambridge, Mass. Lobbyist — Choate, Hall & Stewart, Boston, Mass. Filed 5/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Authorization to acquire a petroleum storage facility of the client. . . ."

OUTDOOR ADVERTISING ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Wolf, Block, Schorr & Solis-Cohen, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/31/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Advertising, interstate commerce, trade regulation and highways."

RUBBER MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/14/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Energy, environment, economics, product liability, and industrial relations." Lobbyist — Rodney E. Haugh, Washington, D.C.

SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Covington & Burling, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Mergers and acquisitions, S 600 — The Small and Independent Business Protection Act of 1979, HR 3169."

SEMICONDUCTOR INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION, Cupertino, Calif. Lobbyist — Peabody, Rivlin, Lambert & Meyers, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/14/79. Legislative interest — "MTN and other legislation as it pertains to high technology manufacturers."

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN FLORISTS AND ORNAMENTAL HORTICULTURISTS, Alexandria, Va. Filed for self 5/14/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Floriculture, horticulture, agriculture. . ., those matters dealing with human resources, education, transportation, commerce, industry, labor." Lobbyist — Darryl D. McEwen, Alexandria, Va.

SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL BENEFIT ADMINISTRATORS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Schanes Associates, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/18/79. Legislative interest — "National health insurance legislation, revision of Medicare/Medicaid programs; ERISA Improvement Act of 1979, S 209. . . ."

SOCIETY OF REAL ESTATE APPRAISERS, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Perito, Duerk and Carlson, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .HR 2540, S 506."

STUDENT LOAN MARKETING ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Williams & Jensen, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/15/79. Legislative interest — "Education legislation of interest to the Association and its members."

Miscellaneous

AD-HOC COMMITTEE FOR COMPETITIVE TELECOMMUNICATIONS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/23/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting competition in telecommunications." Lobbyist — Selina Rissell, Washington, D.C.

ALLIANCE FOR FREE ENTERPRISE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 5/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Individual economic freedom. . ., United States and world economy." Lobbyist — William T. Kendall, Washington, D.C.

ASSOCIATION FOR RESPONSIBLE HOUSING POLICY, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Williams & Jensen, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/7/79. Legislative interest — "Tax matters of interest to the Association and its members."

CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 5/21/79. Legislative interest — ". . .1980 Labor-HEW appropriations include adequate funding for its continuing children's programming." Lobbyist — Chalmers H. Marquis, Falls Church, Va.

VERA C. CLEMENTE, Rio Piedras, P.R. Lobbyist — Speiser, Krause and Madole, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .For the relief of Vera Zabala Clemente, HR 2434."

CROWN ZELLERBACH, San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Arnold & Porter, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/22/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Forest product industry."

LASKER, STONE & STERN, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Breed, Abbott & Morgan, Washington, D.C. Filed 5/2/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Antitrust Enforcement Act of 1979; S 300. . . ."

MARY & CHARLES TEEPLE, Austin, Texas. Filed for self 5/7/79. Legislative interest — "Windfall profits taxation."

June Registrations

Citizens' Groups

AMERICAN CITIZENS' CRUSADE AND LOBBY INC., Clearwater Beach, Fla. Filed for self 6/18/79. Legislative interest — "Taxes, balanced budget, Social Security, nuclear power, gasoline rationing, SALT treaty, homosexual teachers, capital punishment, marijuana laws and cost of operation of federal government."

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE UNION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Labor issues, election reform, defense, foreign affairs." Lobbyist — Kim T. Tisdale, Washington, D.C.

CITIZENS FOR SENSIBLE MAINE POWER, East Boothbay, Maine. Lobbyist — Williams & Connolly, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/19/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Regulation of nuclear energy, S 562."

COMMITTEE FOR THE CANAL, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Implementing legislation for the Panama Canal treaties with specific emphasis on HR 111." Lobbyist — William Jay Slosberg, Washington, D.C.

CONGRESS WATCH, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/13/79. Legislative interest — "Issues related to food and drugs, including saccharin and nitrates." Lobbyist — Carolyn Brickey, Washington, D.C.

CONSUMER FEDERATION OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/8/79. Legislative interest — "Clinical Laboratory Improvement Act, national health insurance, natural gas, oil deregulation, conservation legislation. . . ." Lobbyist — Michael Podhorzer.

PUBLIC CITIZEN INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/1/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to the Price-Anderson Act, food, drug and cosmetic legislation, including legislation on nitrites, legislation on saccharin and food additive policy." Lobbyist — William B. Schultz, Washington, D.C.

Corporations and Businesses

AMERICAN HAWAIIAN CRUISING LINE INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyists — Conrad H. C. Everhard, New York, N.Y.; Hogan & Hartson, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/13/79. Legislative interest — "In support of legislation authorizing the documentation of the vessels *Independence* and *Constitution* with coastwide privileges."

AVON PRODUCTS INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Crowell & Moring, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/28/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation in connection with withholding federal income taxes and withholding and paying taxes under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act and the Federal Unemployment Tax Act."

BLYTH EASTMAN DILLON & CO., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/18/79. Legislative interest — "Generally, as their interests may appear."

CIBA-GEIGY CORP., Ardsley, N.Y. Lobbyist — William T. Lyons, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/21/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the chemical industry."

COLT INDUSTRIES INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Kominers, Fort, Schlefer & Boyer, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/30/79. Legislative interest — "Antitrust Enforcement Act of 1979, HR 2060, HR 2204, S 300."

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/11/79. Legislative interest — "Matters pertaining to communications, especially the Communications Act of 1934 and the Communications Satellite Act of 1962." Lobbyists — Ernest B. Kelly III; Crowell & Moring, Washington, D.C.

DIAL FINANCIAL CORP., Des Moines, Iowa. Lobbyist — Dawson, Riddell, Taylor, Davis & Holroyd, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/3/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Taxation of finance, leasing, banks and similar financial institutions."

ELECTROLERT INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyists — Wagner & Baroody; Powell A. Moore, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/7/79. Legislative interest — "S 611, S 622, HR 3333, Communications Act."

FAIRMONT FOODS CO., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Marshall, Bratter, Greene, Allison & Tucker, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/25/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, S 1076."

THE FIRST BOSTON CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/20/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Tax exempt mortgage bonds, specifically HR 3712."

FREE SPIRIT TRUCKING CO., Orlando, Fla. Lobbyist — Karl O. Murphy, Orlando, Fla. Filed 6/25/79. Legislative interest — "Motor carrier and trucking."

GENERAL TELEPHONE & ELECTRONICS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Charls E. Walker Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 6/8/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Internal Revenue Code as it relates to the activities of corporations."

GINO MORENA ENTERPRISES, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Leggett, Lanier and Associates, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/5/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting military base service contracts."

INA CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/21/79. Legislative interest — "Catastrophic insurance, national health insurance, including but not limited to S 350, S 351, S 395, S 570, S 748, S 760, HR 2626."

ITEL LEASING CORP., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Foley, Lardner, Hollabaugh & Jacobs, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/29/79. Legislative interest — ". . .HR 3046, S 1004 . . . to suspend the duty on freight cars. . . ."

KMS FUSION, Ann Arbor, Mich. Lobbyist — Stronberg & D'Addario, Alexandria, Va. Filed 6/8/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Research, development and demonstration of internal confinement fusion; civilian and military energy research, development and demonstration authorizations; HR 3000, HR 2603, S 688, S 673."

LASCO SHIPPING CO., Portland, Ore. Lobbyist — Fulbright & Jaworski, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/1/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Attribution of stock ownership."

McDONNELL DOUGLAS CORP., St. Louis, Mo. Lobbyist — James E. Wilson Jr., Washington, D.C. Filed 6/26/79. Legislative interest — "Authorization and appropriation laws, tax and revenue issues, regulation and control of transportation: air, land and water, international trade regulation and labor and management issues."

MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST CO. OF NEW YORK, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Hill, Christopher and Phillips, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/19/79. Legislative interest — "HR 7, conditional support and possible other financial institution-related legislation."

PITNEY BOWES, Stamford, Conn. Filed for self 6/15/79. Legislative interest — "Matters affecting postal service." Lobbyist — Adam D. Stolpen, Stamford, Conn.

THE PROCTER & GAMBLE MANUFACTURING CO., Cincinnati, Ohio. Lobbyist — Dorothy F. Gevinson, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/8/79. Legislative interest — "Matters generally of interest to employer."

PUBLICKER INDUSTRIES, Philadelphia, Pa. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/22/79. Legislative interest — "Proposed legislation to implement the trade agreements resolved pursuant to the Multilateral Trade Negotiations."

ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL, Downey, Calif. Filed for self 6/4/79. Legislative interest — "Civilian and military space policy, research, development, procurement and hardware, including without limitation the Space Shuttle and Global Positioning (NAVSTAR) Systems. . . ." Lobbyist — Theodore M. Littman, Placenta, Calif.

SCHERING-PLOUGH CORP., Kenilworth, N.J. Filed for self 6/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Manufacturing of drugs, cosmetics, home care products as well as operating radio stations." Lobbyist — Diane Davenny Darneille, Kenilworth, N.J.

SPERRY RAND CORP., St. Paul, Minn. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/15/79. Legislative interest — "Interests as directed by employer."

STANDARD OIL CO., Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Ronald Wolsey, Towson, Md. Filed 6/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the oil industry: National Energy Policy, public lands, environment."

TAIYO FISHERY CO. LTD., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — William J. Kenney, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/13/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Taiyo's fishing interests in U.S. waters."

TELEPHONE & DATA SYSTEMS INC., Chicago, Ill. Filed for self 6/11/79. Legislative interest — "S 611, S 622, HR 3333, all of which propose revision or replacement of the Communications Act of 1934 as amended. . . ."

THETFORD CORP., Ann Arbor, Mich. Lobbyist — Donald W. Whitehead, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Utilization of alternatives to public sewers and otherwise promoting clean waters."

THOMSON-CSF(AVS), Malakoff, France. Lobbyist — DGA International Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 6/27/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Military authorizations and appropriations on aircraft attack systems."

TRW INC., Cleveland, Ohio. Filed for self 6/21/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Equal opportunity, employment, urban policy." Lobbyist — Valery Hobbs, Joseph A. Overton III, Washington, D.C.

TWIN COASTS NEWSPAPERS, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Blum & Nash, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Amendments to Export Administration Act and the Freedom of Information Act."

UNITED STATES CRUISES INC., Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — John Colbrunn, Colorado Springs, Colo. Filed 6/1/79. Legislative interest — "Educational functions with regard to legislation affecting the operation of cruise ships."

THE UPJOHN CO., Kalamazoo, Mich. Filed for self 6/28/79. Legislative interest — "Pharmaceutical, agricultural, chemical and/or health care services; S 2075, Drug Regulation Reform Act, S 23, Plant Variety Protection Act." Lobbyist — Bruce C. Ladd Jr., Washington, D.C.

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Desautels Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 6/11/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3000, S 688, Authorizing Appropriations to the Department of Energy for Civilian Programs."

Energy and Environment

THE ADHERENCE GROUP, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Billig, Sher & Jones, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/22/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Amend Shipping Act of 1916, specifically 46 U.S.C. sections 817 and 821."

ALASKA COALITION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Ruth Fischer, College Park, Md., James F. Welsh, Bethesda, Md. Filed 6/28/79. Legislative interest — "Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, HR 39, S 222 and all bills pertaining to Alaska lands."

ALASKA FUND INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/26/79. Legislative interest — "All of the Alaska d(2) land bills."

CITIZEN/LABOR ENERGY COALITION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/25/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation dealing with energy." Lobbyist — Robert M. Brandon, Washington, D.C.

CRITICAL MASS ENERGY PROJECT, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/28/79. Legislative interest — "Nuclear energy-related legislation, 1980 NRC Authorizations."

THE ENERGY COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, Beaverton, Ore. Lobbyist — Lee Schmolke & Associates, Beaverton, Ore. Filed 6/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Nationalization of oil companies. . . ."

OCEAN ENERGY COUNCIL INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Nossaman, Krueger & Marsh, Los Angeles, Calif. Filed 6/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Investment tax credit for Ocean Thermal Energy Conversion and modifying the Merchant Marine Act."

PRESERVATION ACTION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/20/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Historic preservation and neighborhood conservation." Lobbyist — Nancy B. Rubini, David R. Spence, Washington, D.C.

WESTERN RESOURCES ALLIANCE, Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/27/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Land use and timber supply."

International Relations

CAYMAN TURTLE FARM LTD., Cayman Islands, British West Indies. Lobbyist — Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/22/79. Legislative interest — "To obtain authorization for trade in the United States in farmed green sea turtle products and the development of sea turtle farms in the United States. . . ."

COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO. Lobbyist — Jenkins, Nystrom & Sterlacci, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/19/79. Legislative interest — ". . .No existing legislation."

GUAM POWER AUTHORITY, Agana, Guam. Lobbyist — Hogan & Hartson, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/15/79. Legislative

interest — "Extension of PL 94-394, to guarantee certain obligations of the Guam Power Authority, to amend the Clean Air Act to permit the use of natural pollution dispersion in certain island environmemts."

KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA. Lobbyist — Milton F. Capps, Columbia, S.C. Filed 6/25/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative activities and press relations."

Labor Groups

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/11/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation concerning the working conditions of government employees." Lobbyist — John F. Markuns, D. Anne Scanley, Anne Sullivan, Alan J. Whitney, Washington, D.C.

UNITED PAPERWORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/4/79. Legislative interest — "All bills affecting the welfare of the country, and specifically bills affecting paperworkers." Lobbyist — George O'Bea Jr., Washington, D.C.

State and Local Government

BONNEVILLE ASSOCIATES INC., Salt Lake City, Utah. Lobbyist — Dennis J. Earhart, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/20/79. Legislative interest — "Oil company divestiture, HR 8, S 1246 — opposed."

CITY OF BALTIMORE, Baltimore, Md. Lobbyist — Lane & Edson, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/21/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation pertaining to the city of Baltimore."

CITY OF JUNEAU, Juneau, Alaska. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/27/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Municipal housing revenue bonds, HR 3712 and similar."

MICHIGAN STATE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY, Lansing, Mich. Lobbyist — Hill, Christopher and Phillips, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/19/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3712, conditional support."

STATE OF ALASKA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/22/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting d(2) lands, including HR 39."

STATE OF NEW MEXICO, Santa Fe, N.M. Lobbyist — Sutin, Thayer & Browne, Albuquerque, N.M. Filed 6/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation of interest to state government."

Trade Associations

AIRLINE PASSENGERS ASSOCIATION INC., Dallas, Texas. Lobbyist — Daniel J. Edelman Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 6/14/79. Legislative interest — "Aircraft legislation as it pertains to safety issues; Airport Development Aid Program, HR 3745."

ALARM INDUSTRY TELECOMMUNICATIONS COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Leighton, Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/25/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Alarm industry, particularly domestic common carrier provisions (HR 3333, S 611, S 622)."

AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN FRANCE, Paris, France. Lobbyist — Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/6/79. Legislative interest — ". . .U.S.-French income tax convention."

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURANCE INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Life insurance industry." Lobbyist — Stuart J. Brahs, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN GAS ASSOCIATION, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 6/7/79. Legislative interest — "Regulatory reform: HR 3263, S 262, S 755; pipeline safety and liquefied natural gas: HR 51, HR 1414, HR 2207, HR 3749, S 411; oil pollution liability legislation: HR 85, S 684, S 953; antitrust legislation: S 300, S 382, S 390, S 600, HR 2060, HR 2204; divestiture legislation: HR 3346, S 821, S 723." Lobbyist — Wallace T. Ward III, Arlington, Va.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/29/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation relating to the practice of architecture, including housing, community development, historic preservation, federal procurement, procedures for architectural services, energy conservation and others." Lobbyist — Davis J. Tomasin, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN LAND TITLE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Pierson, Semmes, Crolius and Finley, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/8/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation relating to Indian tribal claims to real estate, or to damages for trespasses committed on such lands. . . ."

AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/13/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the petroleum industry." Lobbyist — Missouri Oil Council, Jefferson City, Mo.; Minnesota Petroleum Council, St. Paul, Minn.

AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/18/79. Legislative interest — "All health legislation affecting psychiatry." Lobbyist — Roger C. Courtney, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN TEXTILE MANUFACTURERS INSTITUTE, Charlotte, N.C. Filed for self 6/7/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Welfare of the textile industry — such as domestic and foreign trade policy, tax policy, labor policy, government controls, raw cotton and wool policy, consumer, environmental control, energy and lobbying legislation." Lobbyist — James R. Costello Jr., Washington, D.C.

ASSOCIATED GAS DISTRIBUTORS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Crowell & Moring, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Natural gas distribution industry."

BLUE CROSS & BLUE SHIELD ASSOCIATIONS, Chicago, Ill. Filed for self 6/12/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation pertaining to health care." Lobbyist — Geza Kadar Jr., Washington, D.C.

COAL EXPORTERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Arnold & Porter, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/7/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation to protect the confidentiality of data collected under the Export Administration Act as set forth in HR 4034 and S 737."

THE CONSUMER BANKERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/8/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the consumer banking industry: Bank Holding Co. Act, S 380, HR 2747; Fair Access to Higher Education Act, HR 3769, HR 3554; Credit Control Act, S 35, S 389." Lobbyist — Barbara S. Leonard, Washington, D.C.

DISTILLED SPIRITS COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/11/79. Legislative interest — "Matters pertaining to beverage distilled spirits." Lobbyist J. Larry Williams, Tallahassee, Fla.

THE GROUP INC., Wilmington, Del. Filed for self 6/15/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Taxation of closely held businesses and their employees."

HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/21/79. Legislative interest — "International Sugar Stabilization Act of 1979, HR 2172, support for the Act with deletion of direct payment and ceiling provisions.

HOME HEALTH SERVICES ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/27/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting home health care services under the Social Security Act. . . . Lobbyist — Gail Fardue Corubb, Washington, D.C.

INDEPENDENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, Sauk Centre, Minn. Filed for self 6/28/79. Legislative interest — "Monetary Control Act of 1979, HR 7; Bank Holding Company Act Amendments, HR 2747; Consumer Checking Account Equity Act of 1979, HR 3864."

INDEPENDENT INSURANCE AGENTS OF AMERICA INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 6/14/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Local property casualty insurance agents, insurance legislation, legislation affecting not-for-profit associations." Lobbyist — Harold F. Eberle, Washington, D.C.

INSTITUTE OF ELECTRICAL AND ELECTRONICS ENGINEERS INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/11/79. Legislative interest — "Defense and civilian research and develop-

ment policies and funding. . . ." Lobbyist — William G. Herrold, Washington, D.C.

MAN-MADE FIBER PRODUCERS ASSOCIATION INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/25/79. Legislative interest — "General legislation affecting man-made fiber producers." Lobbyist — Larry K. Martin, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SELECTIVE DISTRIBUTORS, Canton, Mass. Filed for self 6/12/79. Legislative interest — "Postal service privacy legislation."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THEATER OWNERS, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Powell A. Moore, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/7/79. Legislative interest — "HR 117, HR 1970, S 102, minimum wage deferral."

NATIONAL SAVINGS & LOAN LEAGUE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/8/79. Legislative interest — "Support of bills to improve facilities of savings and loan associations for encouragement of thrift and home financing." Lobbyist — James H. Cousins, Washington, D.C.

OUTDOOR ADVERTISING ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Williams & Jensen, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/22/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislation relating to highway beautification."

RETAIL TAX COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/22/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Allow investment tax credit to retail structures and allow depreciation on buildings and equipment under the Internal Revenue Code."

TRUCK TRAILER MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/28/79. Legislative interest — "Transportation, energy and government regulation." Lobbyist — Frank Max Salinger, Washington, D.C.

WESTERN TRUCKERS ASSOCIATION, Medford, Ore. Lobbyist — Cleatis G. Mitchell, Ashland, Ore. Filed 6/25/79. Legislative interest — "Trucking."

Miscellaneous

AD-HOC COMMITTEE FOR COMPETITIVE TELECOMMUNICATIONS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/29/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting competition in telecommunications." Lobbyist — Selina Rissell, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN TAX REDUCTION MOVEMENT, Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — Powell A. Moore, Bruce D. Thevenot, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/12/79. Legislative interest — "Support of HR 1000, American Tax Reduction Act of 1979."

BETH ISRAEL MEDICAL CENTER, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/27/79. Legislative interest — "National Housing Act, HR 3875, relating to tax-exempt financing of hospital construction."

BROOKWOOD HEALTH SERVICES INC., Birmingham, Ala. Filed for self 6/25/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation directly or indirectly affecting health care." Lobbyist — L. Stanton Tuttle, Birmingham, Ala.

CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP, Falls Church, Va. Filed for self 6/20/79. Legislative interest — ". . .1980 Labor-HEW appropriations including adequate funding for its continuing children's programming." Lobbyist — Chalmers H. Marquis, Fall Church, Va.

COMMITTEE FOR EXPANDED TRADE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/22/79. Legislative interest — "Seek reform of the Jackson-Vanik amendment of the Trade Act of 1974. . . ."

COMMITTEE TO SAVE INDIAN HOUSING, Denver, Colo. Filed for self 6/26/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Housing and Community Development Amendments of 1979, . . .oversight hearings on Indian housing." Lobbyist — James F. Wagenlander, Denver, Colo.

FERROUS SCRAP CONSUMERS COALITION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Collier, Shannon, Rill, Edwards & Scott, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/25/79. Legislative interest — "Export Administration Act Amendments of 1979, S 727, HR 4034."

FOLEY, LARDNER, HOLLABAUGH & JACOBS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/29/79. Legislative interest — ". . .HR 3046 and S 1004 . . . to suspend the duty in freight cars. . . ." Lobbyist — Peter B. Edelman, Washington, D.C.

HOWARD MOBILE VILLAGE, Baltimore, Md. Lobbyist — Gardner, Carton & Douglas, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/14/79. Legislative interest — "Housing and community development legislation."

JOINT MARITIME CONGRESS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/4/79. Legislative interest — "Transportation and maritime related legislation." Lobbyist — Doris G. Hardesty, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICES CORP., Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/22/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Proposals affecting the treatment of subsidized housing projects."

NATIONAL LOW INCOME HOUSING COALITION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 6/6/79. Legislative interest — "Increased quality and scope of federal housing, neighborhood and community development programs for low income people. . . ." Lobbyist — Cushing N. Dolbeare, Washington, D.C.

OAKDALE CORP., Encino, Calif. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative proposals affecting the treatment of subsidized housing projects."

WILKIE FARR & GALLAGHER, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 6/6/79. Legislative interest — "Tax-exempt housing bonds, HR 3712."

WOLF TRAP FOUNDATION, Vienna, Va. Lobbyist — Edward L. Merrigan, Washington, D.C. Filed 6/1/79. Legislative interest — "Congressional appropriations for the operation of Wolf Trap Farm National Park for the Performing Arts."

July Registrations

Citizens' Groups

THE CHRISTIAN ACTION COUNCIL INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — William Douglas Badger, Oxon Hill, Md. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Bills relating to the intrinsic right to life. . . . Labor/HEW Appropriations, Defense Appropriations, Nurse Training Amendments of 1979. . . .

COMMITTEE TO BAR DISCRIMINATION IN CONSTRUCTION, Bethesda, Md. Filed for self 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "Common situs picketing legislation — opposed."

DOCTORS FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT, Dallas, Texas. Filed for self 7/17/79. Legislative interest — "E.R.A. to the U.S. Constitution, H J Res 630." Lobbyists — Vanessa Lea Chiapetta, Martha Hardee, Candace Sue Kasper, Ruth G. McGill, Dallas, Texas.

NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Acquisition/possession of firearms and ammunition as well as legislation relating to hunting and wildlife conservation." Lobbyist — Norman A. Jensvold, Washington, D.C.

Corporations and Businesses

AIR FLORIDA, Miami, Fla. Lobbyist — Alcalde, Henderson & O'Bannon, Rosslyn, Va. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting airline industry, particularly HR 2458 and S 413."

ALASKA INTERSTATE CO., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/27/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Energy tax matters. . . , Crude Oil Windfall Profits Tax Act, HR 3919."

ALASKA PETROCHEMICAL CO., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Refinery policy, energy facility siting, Alaska crude oil pricing, allocation and export policy."

AMERICAN FAMILY LIFE ASSURANCE CO., Columbus, Ga. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed

7/12/79. Legislative interest — "General legislative interests as directed by employer."

AMERICAN NUCLEAR INSURERS, Farmington, Conn. Lobbyist — Steptoe & Johnson, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/20/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to Price-Anderson Act."

ARMCO, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "Specialty steel import restrictions." Lobbyist — Dan Danner, Washington, D.C.

BANKAMERICA CORP., San Francisco, Calif. Filed for self 7/6/79. Legislative interest — "Bills related to financial matters." Lobbyists — Karen Dolmatch Shaw; O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C.

BLYTH EASTMAN DILLON & CO., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/17/79. Legislative interest — "Bills affecting the tax-exempt status of bonds used to finance housing, HR 3712 and possibly others."

THE BROOKLYN UNION GAS CO., Brooklyn, N.Y. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Bills which would impact national gas distribution companies." Lobbyist — James W. Dunlop, Brooklyn, N.Y.

BROWNING-FERRIS INDUSTRIES INC., Houston, Texas. Filed for self 7/27/79. Legislative interest — "Hazardous Waste Post Closure Liability Act, Hazardous Materials Control and Compensation Act of 1979, Hazardous Waste Disposal and Reclamation Act, Hazardous Waste Emergency Clean Up Act, Oil, Hazardous Substances, and Hazardous Waste Response, Liability and Compensation Act of 1979, HR 3797, HR 3798, S 1325, S 1341, S 1046, HR 4566 and S 1282." Lobbyist — William A. Speary Jr., Houston, Texas.

BURGER KING CORP., Miami, Fla. Lobbyist — Williams & Jensen, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/27/79. Legislative interest — "Tax, nutritional labeling, Federal Trade Commission and minimum wage legislation. . . ."

H.E. BUTT GROCERY CO., Corpus Christi, Texas. Lobbyist — Miller & Chevalier, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "Support for repeal of section 1023 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, relating to carryover basis."

CARGILL LEASING CORP., Minneapolis, Minn. Lobbyist — Paul H. DeLaney Jr., Washington, D.C. Filed 7/30/79. Legislative interest — "United States income tax considerations."

CHEVRON U.S.A. INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting Chevron U.S.A. Inc., its parent, Standard Oil Company of California, and other subsidiaries of Standard Oil Company of California."

CHRYSLER CORP., Detroit, Mich. Lobbyists — Patton, Boggs & Blow; Timmons and Company Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 7/3/79. Legislative interest — "All legislative activity relating to the motor vehicle industry."

COLONIAL LIFE & ACCIDENT INSURANCE CO., Columbia, S.C. Lobbyist — Henkel & Lamon, Atlanta, Ga. Filed 7/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Matters relating to Federal taxes and social security. Specific legislative interests will include HR 3245 (for); HR 333 (for part)."

COMPUTER & COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION, Arlington, Va. Lobbyist — Blum & Nash, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/9/79. Legislative interest — "Communications legislation, Antitrust legislation, Small Business legislation, Federal procurement legislation."

CONSUMERS POWER CO., Jackson, Mich. Filed for self 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting electric and gas utilities including energy, environment, and regulatory issues."

CONTROL DATA CORP., Greenwich, Conn. Lobbyist — Crowell & Moring, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/26/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Amendments to or replacement of the Communications Act of 1934, including congressional consideration of S 611, S 622, and HR 3333."

CUMMINS ENGINE COMPANY INC., Columbus, Ind. Filed for self 7/3/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation relating to or affecting the manufacture, marketing, or use of diesel engines, or any legislation relating to or affecting the Company's business generally or its employees, stockholders, or customers."

EXXON CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Donald E. Cornett, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting the employer. . . ."

FALLEK-LANKRO CORP., Tuscaloosa, Ala. Lobbyist — Richard Mizrack, New York, N.Y. Filed 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3122, a bill relating to the tariff treatment of certain articles; particularly Section 4 'Suspension of Duty on 2-Methyl, 4-Chlorophenol. . . .' "

FLORIDA EAST COAST RAILWAY CO., St. Augustine, Fla. Lobbyist — Smathers, Symington & Herlong, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Support legislation required to preserve and protect the railroad industry in the United States. . . ."

FLORIDA GAS CO., Winter Park, Fla. Lobbyist — Vinson & Elkins, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "General legislative interests regarding granting eminent domain to coal slurry pipelines (HR 4370)."

GENERAL ELECTRIC CO., Fairfield, Conn. Filed for self 7/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Aircraft noise, fuel efficiency, certification, domestic and foreign commerce, environmental pollution." Lobbyist — Robert H. Harris, Clifford C. LaPlante, Washington, D.C.

GENERAL MILLS INC., Minneapolis, Minn. Filed for self 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "None which comes within the scope of [the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act]. . . ." Lobbyist — Matthew D. O'Hara, Washington, D.C.

GEOTHERMAL RESOURCES INTERNATIONAL INC., Marina del Rey, Calif. Lobbyist — Karl S. Landstrom, Arlington, Va. Filed 7/23/79. Legislative interest — "S 1388 and S 1380 of the present Congress, dealing with streamlining of the Federal laws affecting development of geothermal resources; and also companion legislation in the House of Representatives."

GRAHAM-WHITE MANUFACTURING CO., Salem, Va. Lobbyist — John E. Rogers, Bethesda, Md. Filed 7/9/79. Legislative interest — "Recommendations proposing revision of 26 U.S.C. Sections 1371-1379."

GUARANTEE FUELS INC., Independence, Kan. Lobbyist — Shea, Gould, Climenko & Casey, New York, N.Y. Filed 7/26/79. Legislative interest — "In favor of the Alternative Energy Source Pilot Project Act of 1979, S 1054."

HARRIS CORP., Melbourne, Fla. Lobbyist — Pepper, Hamilton & Scheetz, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Communications 're-write', HR 3333, S 611 and S 622."

HEIZER CORP., Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Gardner, Carton & Douglas, Chicago, Ill. Filed 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to Heizer Corporation and other business development companies."

HERCULES INC., Wilmington, Del. Filed for self 7/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting business in general and the chemical industry in particular. . . .Criminal Code Reform, HR 81, HR 2060, S 300, S 420, S 600 and S 755." Lobbyist — Donald R. Kirtley, Samuel A. Mabry, Washington, D.C.

HILTON INTERNATIONAL INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Bregman, Abell, Solter & Kay, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "All legislative matters of interest to the client."

HYDRO-ENERGY ASSOCIATES INC., Pennsauken, N.J. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Interested in Department of Energy FY 1980 Authorization and Appropriations bills providing funds for further development of ocean current energy production."

IU INTERNATIONAL, Philadelphia, Pa. Lobbyist — G. Lee Swift, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative matters of interest to the company and its subsidiaries."

JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Blum & Nash, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/24/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting amendments to Export Administration Act and the Freedom of Information Act; Department of Commerce appropriations."

JWK INTERNATIONAL CORP., Annandale, Va. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/2/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation as their interest may appear."

KENNECOTT COPPER CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Douglas M. Webb, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/6/79. Legislative interest — " All legislation affecting the copper, abrasives and coated materials industries."

KIKKOMAN FOODS INC., Walworth, Wis. Lobbyist — Thomas G. Godfrey, Elkhorn, Wis. Filed 7/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Proposed legislation relating to food and requirements for food safety — Generally Recognized As Safe (GRAS) designation."

LACLEDE STEEL CO., St. Louis, Mo. Filed for self 7/9/79. Legislative interest — "The Antitrust Enforcement Act of 1978 (S 1874); The Clayton Act Amendments of 1978 (HR 11942); against both bills."

LEAR SIEGLER INC., Santa Monica, Calif. Lobbyist — Jack McDonald Associates Inc., McLean, Va. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "Military appropriations."

MAGNATEX INDUSTRIES INC., Midland, Texas, Lobbyist — Baker & McKenzie, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/17/79. Legislative interest — "Crude Oil Windfall Profit Tax Bill of 1979, HR 3919, for, with modifications."

MARATHON OIL CO., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Gardner, Carton & Douglas, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting Marathon Oil Company."

THE MEAD CORP., Dayton, Ohio. Filed for self 7/27/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Environment, labor, taxation, economics, pensions, trade, natural resources, transportation, consumerism and other legislation of interest to the Mead Corporation." Lobbyist — Julie P. McCahill, Washington, D.C.

MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Hill, Christopher and Phillips, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/27/79. Legislative interest — "HR 7; conditional support (and possibly other financial institution-related legislation)."

MOTOROLA INC., Schaumberg, Ill. Lobbyists — O'Neill, Forgotson & Roncalio; Peabody, Rivlin, Lambert & Meyers, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/19/79. Legislative interest — "Support of HR 3333, Communications Act of 1979, Sec. 331."

NATIONAL RAILWAY UTILIZATION CORP., Philadelphia, Pa. Lobbyist — Danzansky, Dickey, Tydings, Quint & Gordon, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/24/79. Legislative interest — "Federal railroad deregulation, S 796. . . ."

NEW DIRECTIONS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest —"The ratification of the SALT II Treaty (for)." Lobbyist — Sanford Gottlieb, Washington, D.C.

NORTHEAST UTILITIES SERVICE CO., Berlin, Conn. Filed for self 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "Bills concerning the utility industry, i.e., taxes, nuclear energy, energy research and labor."

OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORP., Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — Camp, Carmouche, Palmer, Barsh & Hunter, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/20/79. Legislative interest — "Supporting legislation relative to shale oil production."

PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Alcalde, Henderson & O'Bannon, Rosslyn, Va. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the airline industry and particularly the hearings on airline deregulation."

PFIZER INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Steptoe & Johnson, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/17/79. Legislative interest — "Congressional follow-up to legislative directives set out in Public Law 94-429."

POTOMAC ELECTRIC POWER CO., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/9/79. Legislative interest — "All legislative matters directly or indirectly affecting public utilities." Lobbyist — Jesse B. Brown, Washington, D.C.

PPG INDUSTRIES INC., Pittsburgh, Pa. Lobbyist — Camp, Carmouche, Palmer, Barsh & Hunter, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/20/79. Legislative interest — "Monitoring and supporting tax legislation as the need may arise."

PRIDE REFINING INC., Abilene, Texas. Lobbyist — Venners and Company, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/26/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Energy legislation, specifically crude oil and petroleum products, energy transportation."

ROHM AND HAAS, Philadelphia, Pa. Lobbyist — Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Proposed Treasury regulations [to] section 4943 of the I.R.S. Code, the regulations proposed in 1973 under section 4943 of the Code, and other related tax matters."

SEABOARD COAST LINE INDUSTRIES INC., Jacksonville, Fla. Filed for self 7/11/79. Legislative interest - "Legislation affecting railroads, including S 712 — Amtrak Improvement Act of 1979, S 769 — Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Deauthorization Act of 1979, S 796 — Railroad Deregulation Act of 1979, HR 4370 — Coal Pipeline Act of 1979." Lobbyist — Woodruff M. Price, Washington, D.C.

SECURITY NEW YORK STATE CORP., Rochester, N.Y. Lobbyist — Brainard E. Prescott, East Aurora, N.Y. Filed 7/19/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation involving . . . banking."

SMITH BARNEY, HARRIS UPHAM & CO., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/17/79. Legislative interest — "Bills affecting the tax-exempt status of bonds used to finance housing. HR 3712 and possibly others."

SPERRY-RAND CORP., St. Paul, Minn. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "General legislative interests as directed by employer."

STEWART CAPITAL CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyists — Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby, Palmer & Wood; McDade and Lee, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "S 902; S 1308; HR 4373, and any other bills to amend particular sections of the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920. . . ."

SUN SHIP, Chester, Pa. Lobbyist — Pepper, Hamilton & Scheetz, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Merchant marine and occupational health and safety."

TEXAS ELECTRIC SERVICE CO., Fort Worth, Texas. Filed for self 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the electric utility industry, including energy, environment and regulatory issues." Lobbyist — John P. Knierim, Fort Worth, Texas.

TEXTRON INC., Providence, R.I. Filed for self 7/9/79. Legislative interest — "A wide variety of legislation of interest to the Corporation." Lobbyist — John B. Henderson, Washington, D.C.

THETFORD CORP., Ann Arbor, Mich. Lobbyist — Donald W. Whitehead, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the utilization of alternatives to public sewers and otherwise promoting clean waters."

TRAILWAYS, Dallas, Texas. Lobbyist — Stang and Svendson, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "Economic regulation."

THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE CO., Hartford, Conn. Lobbyist — Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation to exclude from the definition of a 'letter,' for purposes of the postal monopoly, bulk shipments, to company offices of in-house or commercially printed forms."

UNION CAMP CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "General business issues." Lobbyist — William H. Kolberg, Charles D. Wilson, Washington, D.C.

UNION OIL COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA, Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — William Whichard Jr., Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the petroleum industry."

UNITED BRANDS CO., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/26/79. Legislative interest — "Amendment of section 871(f) of the Internal Revenue Code relating to the tax treatment of pension payments to nonresident aliens."

WEINBERG INVESTMENTS INC., Elk Point, S.D. Lobbyist — Coan, Couture & Lyons, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/18/79. Legislative interest — "S 1064, HR 3875 and any other legislation concerning housing and community development for rural and urban areas."

WESTERN UNION CORP., Upper Saddle River, N.J. Lobbyist — Pepper, Hamilton & Scheetz, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Communications re-write."

Energy and Environment

BRISTOL BAY NATIVE CORP., Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Covington & Burling, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/18/79.

Legislative interest — "Federal tax legislation affecting Alaskan native corporations, including S 9, Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act."

CHARLES RIVER BREEDING LABORATORIES, Wilmington, Mass. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "The administration of the National Wilderness System and the use of exotic species in medical and scientific research."

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY CENTER, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "...To assure full insurance for workers and the public for personal injury and/or property damages associated with the nuclear fuel cycle." Lobbyists — Edward S. Grandis, Keiki Kehoe, John L. McCormick, Washington, D.C.

SEALASKA CORP. BOARD OF DIRECTORS, Juneau, Alaska. Lobbyist — Birch, Horton, Bittner & Monroe, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting Alaska natives and public funds."

WESTERN RESOURCE ALLIANCE, Eastsound, Wash. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/26/79. Legislative interest — "General educational functions in connection with land use and timber supply."

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/23/79. Legislative interest — "Alaska National Lands Conservation Act, HR 39, National Forest Wilderness, Bureau of Land Management Wilderness." Lobbyist — Charles M. Clusen, Washington, D.C.

International Relations

B.A.T. INDUSTRIES LTD., London, England Lobbyist — Cook & Henderson, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "...State taxation of foreign source income."

CAYMAN TURTLE FARM LTD., Cayman Islands, B.W.I. Lobbyist — Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/23/79. Legislative interest — "To obtain authorization for trade in the United States in farmed green sea turtle products and the development of sea turtle farms in the United States."

CSR LTD., Sydney, Australia. Lobbyist — Doub, Purcell, Muntzing & Hansen, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/18/79. Legislative interest — "Favoring an international sugar agreement."

GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, Monrovia, Liberia. Lobbyist — Carl A. Parker, Port Arthur, Texas. Filed 7/17/79. Legislative interest — "All statutes and bills affecting U.S. relations with Liberia."

GOVERNMENT OF MOROCCO, Rabat, Morocco. Lobbyist — DGA International Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation regarding Morocco."

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "In favor of HR 4360."

SOFREAVIA, Paris, France. Lobbyist — DGA International Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to aircraft noise, aviation safety and other matters relating to French aviation industry."

THOMSON-CSF, Malakoff, France. Lobbyist — Powell A. Moore, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "HR 4040, S 428, Department of Defense Authorization Act."

Labor Groups

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "All bills of interest to federal government employees and District of Columbia employees." Lobbyist — Jane Pierson McMichael, Scott K. Sullivan, Washington, D.C.

DEPARTMENT OF PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/19/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting labor organizations and their members, particularly those in the scientific, cultural and other professional fields." Lobbyist — Robert F. Guthrie, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation pertaining to postal and federal employees." Lobbyist — George B. Gould III, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL TREASURY EMPLOYEES UNION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/30/79. Legislative interest — "...Employment conditions, compensation, retirement of federal employees." Lobbyists — Susan M. McKenzie, Washington, D.C.; Paul Suplizio Associates, Alexandria, Va.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA NAVAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES COUNCIL, Alameda, Calif. Lobbyist — Leggett, Lanier and Associates, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/23/79. Legislative interest — "Civil Service legislation, national security interests relating to naval matters."

SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, AGLIW DISTRICT, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "Export Administration Act, Marad authorizations, Alaska lands, legislation affecting the interest of working people." Lobbyist — John Iaccio, Washington, D.C.

State and Local Government

CITY OF HOUSTON, Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation and hearings affecting the City of Houston, S 914, National Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1979; HR 1939, a bill to amend the Housing and Community Development Act of 1979; S 566, Intergovernmental Fiscal Assistance Amendments of 1979; S 200, a bill to amend Title II on the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1976; HR 3924/S 413, Aviation Safety and Noise Abatement Act of 1979."

COOK INLET REGION INC., Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Birch, Horton, Bittner & Monroe, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative proposals which affect Cook Inlet Region."

MICHIGAN STATE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY, Lansing, Mich. Lobbyist — Hill, Christopher and Phillips, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/27/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3712, conditional support."

MODESTO IRRIGATION DISTRICT, Modesto, Calif. Lobbyist — White, Fine & Verville, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/2/79. Legislative interest — "...To construct a hydro-electric project on the Tuolumne River specifically by opposing designation of said river under the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act."

NEW YORK STATE URBAN DEVELOPMENT CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Covington & Burling, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to federal income tax status of interests on bonds, and refunding of such bonds, HR 3712."

OREGON DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION, Salem, Ore. Lobbyist — Linton, Meilds, Reisler & Cottone, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/19/79. Legislative interest — "...All transportation matters, both authorization and appropriations, specifically legislation dealing with highways, mass transit, airlines and airports and environmental legislation..., HR 4440, S 344 and HR 3745."

SHEE ATIKA INC., Mt. Edgecumbe, Alaska. Lobbyist — Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/19/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to HR 39, S 9 and S 222, relating to Shee Atika's land selection rights under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act."

SKAN-KON, FORT YUKON, Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Birch, Horton, Bittner & Monroe, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative proposals which affect Skan-Kon."

TURLOCK IRRIGATION DISTRICT, Turlock, Calif. Lobbyist — White, Fine & Verville, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/2/79. Legislative interest — "...To construct a hydro-electric project on the Tuolumne River specifically by opposing designation of said river under the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act."

Trade Associations

ALASKA RAILROAD LEASEHOLDERS ASSOCIATION, Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Birch, Horton, Bittner & Monroe, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative proposals to adjust fees paid to the railroad."

AMERICAN BAKERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the baking industry including energy, agricultural and nutrition legislation." Lobbyist — J. Bruce Burkland, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN CONSULTING ENGINEERS COUNCIL, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/6/79. Legislative interest — "Matters relating to public works, transportation, the environment, pollution control, housing, equal employment opportunity, public health and safety, economy and efficiency in government and energy legislation." Lobbyist — Laurence D. Bory, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN FEED MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Matters affecting the U.S. feed manufacturing industry through trade regulation or otherwise. Rail deregulation legislation, S 796; farm bargaining legislation, HR 3535; agriculture appropriations legislation, HR 4387."

AMERICAN FISHING TACKLE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, Arlington Heights, Ill. Lobbyist — Alcalde, Henderson & O'Bannon, Rosslyn, Va. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting business activities and particularly HR 2459."

AMERICAN LOGISTICS ASSOCIATION, Falls Church, Va. Filed for self 7/2/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the military resale industry, . . . S 715 and proposals to amend the Randolph-Sheppard Act (PL 93-516)."

AMERICAN MARITIME ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/6/79. Legislative interest — "Supporting amendment to the Export Administration Act which would limit the exportation of Alaskan oil."

AMERICAN METAL DETECTORS MANUFACTURERS INC., Garland, Texas. Lobbyist — Theodore J. Garrish, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/25/79. Legislative interest — "The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979; . . . legislation affecting public lands."

AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/18/79. Legislative interest — "Measures affecting mining such as income taxation, social security, public lands, stockpiling, monetary policy, mine safety, environmental quality control." Lobbyist — Gary D. Knight, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN PAPER INSTITUTE INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 7/3/79. Legislative interest — "Those affecting the pulp, paper and paperboard industry, its operation, practices and properties." Lobbyist — Karen J. Bauer, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/20/79. Legislative interest — "All health legislation affecting psychiatry." Lobbyist — Roger C. Courtney, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Medical laboratory services and personnel such as health legislation, labor relations legislation, civil service legislation, armed services legislation." Lobbyist — N. McGrath Kauffman, M. Catherine Lawless, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN SUBCONTRACTORS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/25/79. Legislative interest — "Reform of the Miller Act and reform of the Federal Procurement Code.

AMERICAN WATERWAYS OPERATORS INC., Arlington, Va. Filed for self 7/30/79. Legislative interest — ". . .The barge and towing industry." Lobbyist — Dena L. Wilson, Arlington, Va.

ASSOCIATED BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "All activities in the U.S. Congress affecting labor-management relations including: labor law reform — oppose; repeal Davis-Bacon (HR 1900/HR 1931) — support repeal; criminal code reform — favor stronger job site language; minority set-asides — oppose; lobbying disclosure act — oppose; economic development act — favor; workers' compensation (S 420) — oppose; regulatory reform — favor." Lobbyist — Evan M. Migdail, Washington, D.C.

BOAT OWNERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES, Alexandria, Va. Filed for self 7/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All legislation pertinent to water pollution, recreational boating, and any other legislation which impacts on boating and boat owners, including but not limited to: appropriations for the Federal Safe Boating Act of 1971; Department of Transportation budget for FY '80; amendments to the Federal Safe Boating Act, HR 4310; National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration budget; favor increases for weather prediction services, standby gasoline rationing plan."

THE BUSINESS ROUND TABLE, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Antitrust procedural improvements, S 390."

CENTRAL STATION ELECTRICAL PROTECTION ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Communications Act and related matters."

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "Matters of interest to the business community . . . HR 1150, conditional support." Lobbyist — Jeffrey B. Conley, Steven B. Hellem, William H. Knapp, Jeffry L. Perlman, Washington, D.C.

CHEESE IMPORTERS ASSOCIATION, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Berry, Epstein, Sandstrom & Blatchford, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "To support HR 4537 and S 1376, bills implementing the Geneva Trade Agreement (MTN). Interest in seeing fair share for historical U.S. importers of cheese in new cheese quotas proposed in related agreements to MTN."

CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Energy and transportation legislation affecting the chemical manufacturing industry, such as: National Energy Plans I and II, energy conservation, synthetic fuel, coal conversion, fuel supply, transportation of hazardous materials, emergency response." Lobbyist — W. Alan Woodford, Washington, D.C.

COLD FINISHED STEEL BAR INSTITUTE, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Pepper, Hamilton & Scheetz, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/26/79. Legislative interest — "International trade, HR 4309."

COMMITTEE OF RAILROAD SHIPPERS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/26/79. Legislative interest — "Railroad regulatory reform legislation affecting those companies shipping via railroads, S 796, Railroad Deregulation Act and House and Senate appropriations bills relating to transportation via railroads."

COMMUTER AIRLINE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Crowell & Moring, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/5/79. Legislative interest — "Federal regulation of air transportation, Aircraft Loan Guarantee Act. . . ."

COMPUTER & COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION, Arlington, Va. Lobbyist — Blum & Nash, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/9/79. Legislative interest —"Communications, antitrust, small business, federal procurement legislation."

COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIAL BOILER OWNERS, Fairfax Station, Va. Filed for self 7/31/79. Legislative interest — "Proposed modifications of the Powerplant and Industrial Fuel Use Act of 1978, PL 95-620 and other legislation affecting the acquisition and use of steam generating equipment."

DISTILLED SPIRITS COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Matters pertaining to beverage distilled spirits." Lobbyist — Terry G. Schlemeier, Jefferson City, Mo.

GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting the production or processing of grocery and related products, including S 1020." Lobbyist — Frank J. Kulhanek, Washington, D.C.

INFORMATION INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/25/79. Legislative interest — "GPO micropublishing, information database legislation, Title 44 revi-

sion, national library legislation, national information policy." Lobbyist — Robert S. Willard, Washington, D.C.

THE INSTITUTE OF ELECTRICAL AND ELECTRONICS ENGINEERS INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Marshall, Bratter, Greene, Allison & Tucker, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/3/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting private pension plans, legislation of interest to the engineering profession, to the electrical and electronics engineering profession, authorizations and appropriations for the National Science Foundation and other agencies dealing with national science and engineering policies, legislation affecting metric conversion, tax reform and patent reform legislation of interest to engineers, labor standards affecting professionals."

MUTUAL SAVINGS BANKS ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON, Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — Thomas J. Owens, Seattle, Wash. Filed 7/25/79. Legislative interest — "Congressional authorization of transaction accounts for thrift institutions; for HR 7, a bill to facilitate the implementation of monetary policy and to promote competitive equality among depositor institutions; for HR 4305, to authorize federally chartered savings and loan associations to estate remote service units."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/13/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Communications Act of 1934, Copyright Law of 1909, Communications Satellite Act of 1962, regulation of advertising, taxation, appropriations, public broadcasting, newsmen's privilege and consumer protection. Lobbyist — Richard E. Wyckoff, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FURNITURE MANUFACTURERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/30/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Household furniture manufacturing industry." Lobbyist — Frederick L. Williford, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "General energy legislation, including but not limited to oil decontrol, synthetic fuels, energy taxes, coal conversion, energy conservation and commercialization, energy technologies." Lobbyist — Mark O. Decker, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/19/79. Legislative interest — "Tax legislation of any nature." Lobbyist — John Ams, Judith A. Young, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSOCIATION INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting cable television: specifically S 611, S 622, HR 3333." Lobbyist — Reesa Motley, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL CLUB ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/2/79. Legislative interest — "Technical Corrections Act, support." Lobbyist — Gerard F. Hurley, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL CONCRETE MASONRY ASSOCIATION, Herndon, Va. Lobbyist — Arnold P. Caputo, McLean, Va. Filed 7/18/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation which affects the masonry industry, such as section 318 of HR 3875, Housing and Community Development amendments of 1979."

NATIONAL FOOD PROCESSORS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting fruit, vegetable, seafood and meat processing for human consumption including but not limited to food surveillance, food labeling, fish inspection and development and Clean Water Act." Lobbyists — M. Kathryn Nordstrom, Mary Sophos, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL LIMESTONE INSTITUTE INC., Fairfax, Va. Filed for self 7/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Interests of limestone producers." Lobbyist — Michael P. Neumann, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL MANUFACTURED HOUSING FINANCE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Witkowski, Weiner, McCaffrey & Brodsky, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "Truth-in-Lending Act Amendments of 1979, S 108, HR 1289."

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/13/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Newspaper business, ranging from First Amendment considerations to the business issues." Lobbyist — Arthur B. Sackler, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL PAINT AND COATINGS ASSOCIATION INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Paint and coatings industry." Lobbyist — Beryl Hall, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL SAVINGS AND LOAN LEAGUE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/27/79. Legislative interest — "Support of bills to improve facilities of savings and loan associations for encouragement of thrift and home financing." Lobbyist — Mary Elizabeth Neese, Washington, D.C.

PAPERBOARD PACKAGING COUNCIL, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/27/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Domestic trade and commerce policy, labor policy, government controls, consumer and environmental legislation."

SCIENTIFIC APPARATUS MAKERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "Trade, federal procurement, product liability, taxation." Lobbyists — Eben S. Tisdale, Drew A. Upton, Washington, D.C.

SHIPBUILDERS COUNCIL OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Wilcox & Sharood, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Shipbuilding . . . authorization and appropriation bills dealing with Maritime Administration."

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN FLORISTS AND ORNAMENTAL HORTICULTURISTS, Alexandria, Va. Filed for self 7/23/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation of interest to floriculture, horticulture and agriculture, including those matters dealing with human resources, education, transportation, commerce, industry, labor." Lobbyist — Michael K. Blevins, Washington, D.C.

WOOD ENERGY INSTITUTE, Camden, Maine. Lobbyist — Hogan & Hartson, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/23/79. Legislative interest — "HR 506, HR 1259, HR 2737, HR 3103 and S 720 recommending tax credit for wood-burning stoves."

Miscellaneous

ABT ASSOCIATES INC., Cambridge, Mass. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/2/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation as their interests may appear."

ALCALDE, HENDERSON & O'BANNON, Rosslyn, Va. Lobbyist — Pepper, Hamilton & Scheetz, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/13/79. Legislative interest — "Communications 'rewrite', HR 3333, S 611 and S 622."

AMERICAN NUCLEAR INSURERS, Farmington, Conn. Lobbyist — Steptoe & Johnson, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/20/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to Price-Anderson Act."

BAILARD, BIEHL & KAISER INC., Menlo Park, Calif. Lobbyist — George W. Beatty, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "IRC, section 851."

CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Doub, Purcell, Muntzing & Hansen, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/18/79. Legislative interest — "To support an extension of the Commodity Exchange Act."

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND OF THE WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/18/79. Legislative interest — "Head Start appropriations, adoption and foster care legislation, welfare reform legislation, Title XX legislation." Lobbyist — Helen K. Blank, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON CAPITAL FORMATION THROUGH DIVIDEND REINVESTMENT, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Morgan, Lewis & Bockius, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/23/79. Legislative interest — "Deferral of taxation on dividends reinvested for original issue stock in a manner identical or similar to HR 654."

COORDINATING COUNCIL ON MANUFACTURED HOUSING FINANCE SUCCESSOR TO AD HOC MOBILE HOME FINANCE GROUP, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Witkowski, Weiner, McCaffrey & Brodsky, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .The mobile home and manufactured housing industry, particularly relating to finance and land development; amendments to Title I of the National Housing Act and the Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act as they affect mobile homes and mobile home developments."

COWPER & MADSON, Fairbanks, Alaska. Filed for self 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "Matters connected with classifica-

tion and use of federal land in Alaska. . ., HR 39, S 9 or any similar bill." Lobbyist — Stephen C. Cowper, Fairbanks, Alaska.

FRED H. DALY, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Regulation of surface transportation."

WERNER FLEISCHMANN, Pompton Plains, N.J. Lobbyist — Arnold & Porter, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "Support for S 1217, a bill to restore eligibility for U.S. citizenship to aliens who received military exemptions but were nationals of foreign states with which the U.S. had a treaty exempting such nationals from U.S. military service."

HAWN BROTHERS, Corpus Christi, Texas. Lobbyist — Branscomb & Miller, Corpus Christi, Texas. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3919, seek more favorable economics for 'high water cut' crude oil production methods."

HEALTH RESEARCH GROUP, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/16/79. Legislative interest — "All health care delivery legislation, proposed amendments to Medicare, Medicaid, Public Health Service Act."

LYDALL INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Burson-Marsteller, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/24/79. Legislative interest — "Interior appropriations, use of nontoxic steel shot in hunting migratory water fowl."

MARTIN, WHITFIELD, SMITH & BABCHICK, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "Relief for private foundations by amending section 4943 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954." Lobbyist — David S. Smith, Washington, D.C.

MARYLAND SAVINGS-SHARE INSURANCE CORP., Baltimore, Md. Lobbyist — Coan, Couture & Lyons, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/18/79. Legislative interest — "Federal taxation of state insurance funds for thrift institutions."

NATIONAL PARKS AND CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Helen B. Byrd, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Historic preservation, conservation, and National Park System management and development."

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Rural electrification program provided for under the RE Act of 1936, as amended." Lobbyist — Charlotte M. Wilmer, Washington, D.C.

NEWSPAPER-BROADCASTER COMMITTEE, San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Alcalde, Henderson & O'Bannon, Rosslyn, Va. Filed 7/10/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting communications, especially, HR 3333, S 611 and S 622."

WILLIAM J. OLSON, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "Postal rate and classification matters, including HR 79, S 1098, private express statutes and postal costing methodology."

PHYSICIANS PLACEMENT GROUP INC., St. Louis, Mo. Lobbyist — Bruce D. Thevenot, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to the Internal Revenue Code affecting independent contractors."

RHODE ISLAND HOUSING AND MORTGAGE FINANCE CORP., Providence, R.I. Lobbyist — Williams & Connolly, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/19/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation involving tax exempt securities and bonds specifically HR 3712 and S Res 188."

SAVE LORING COMMITTEE, Limestone, Maine. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 7/11/79. Legislative interest — "Supporting language in the military construction authorization bill to prohibit the realignment of Loring Air Force Base."

WAKE UP AMERICA, Duluth, Minn. Filed for self 7/12/79. Legislative interest — "Energy legislation including opposing deregulation of oil prices, promoting national taxes for energy independence, and promoting legislation to assist low and fixed income families in meeting their energy needs."

August Registrations

Citizens' Groups

COMMON CAUSE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/30/79. Legislative interest — " . . .Open government, campaign financing, consumer protection, freedom of information, ERA, energy policy, environmental protection, defense spending, tax reform, waste in government, voting rights, presidential nomination and confirmation process, administration of justice and reform of the criminal code, merit selection of federal judges and U.S. attorneys, intelligence policy, public participation in federal agency proceedings, congressional budget process and congressional reform." Lobbyist — Nathaniel Williams, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION, Denver, Colo. Lobbyist — Morris Woodrow Wilson, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/13/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Bills relating to labor, health, medical care and welfare, taxation, revenue, tariffs, farm price supports, crop insurance, farm credit, REA, public power, natural resources, marketing and distribution of farm commodities, exportation and importation of agricultural products, foreign aid, defense, reclamation, education, marketing and consumer cooperatives, social security, reciprocal trade agreements, transportation and antitrust legislation."

PANAMA CANAL PILOTS ASSOCIATION, Balboa, Canal Zone. Lobbyist — Leggett, Lanier and Associates, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/30/79. Legislative interest — "Panama Canal implementing legislation, HR 111."

Corporations and Businesses

AMERICAN CAN CO., Greenwich, Conn. Lobbyist — Leslie Ellen Freed, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/20/79. Legislative interest — "Illinois Brick, S 300, HR 2060, HR 2204; beverage deposit, HR 2812, S 50; criminal code reform, S 1437; lobby law reform, HR 4395; plant relocation, HR 5040, S 1608; conglomerate merger, HR 3169, S 600; oil merger, S 1246; soft drink franchise, S 598; antitrust procedural reform, S 390."

AMERICAN NATURAL SERVICE CO., Detroit, Mich. Lobbyist — Timothy Lynch, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/1/79. Legislative interest — "Defense production act amendments, HR 3930."

AVON PRODUCTS INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 8/1/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation related to employer's business including government regulation of the manufacture and distribution of products, the environment and taxation." Lobbyist — Henry E. Poole, New York, N.Y.

BALLY MANUFACTURING CORP., Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Groom and Nordberg, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/16/79. Legislative interest — ". . .The Gambling Devices Act of 1962 and the Criminal Code Reform Act of 1978."

BOWERY SAVINGS BANK, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 8/10/79. Legislative interest — "Housing and Community Development Amendments of 1979, HR 1149 and S 785." Lobbyist — Bruce Johnson, New York, N.Y.

BROWNING-FERRIS INDUSTRIES INC., Houston, Texas. Filed for self 8/3/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Matters concerning solid, liquid and hazardous waste management issues."

CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Doub, Purcell, Muntzing & Hansen, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/10/79. Legislative interest — "Extension of the Commodity Exchange Act."

CITC INDUSTRIES INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Robert E. Ansheles, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/2/79. Legislative interest — "To approve and implement the Trade Agreements, S 1376."

THE CLEVELAND ELECTRIC ILLUMINATING CO., Cleveland, Ohio Filed for self 8/31/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting privately owned utilities."

CONTROL DATA CORP., Greenwich, Conn. Filed for self 8/1/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Amendments to or replacement of the Communications Act of 1934, S 611, S 622 and HR 3333." Lobbyist — Philip C. Onstad, Greenwich, Conn.

DETROIT EDGE TOOL CO., Detroit, Mich. Filed for self 8/20/79. Legislative interest — "Support HR 2535, a bill to suspend for a temporary period the duty on certain alloy tool steels used for making chipper knives."

FEDERAL CARTRIDGE CO., Minneapolis, Minn. Lobbyists — James K. Jackson, Norman A. Sugarman, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/8/79. Legislative interest — "Federal income tax legislation."

FIRST WISCONSIN MORTGAGE TRUST, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Sonnenschein, Carlin, Nath & Rosenthal, Chicago, Ill. Filed 8/10/79. Legislative interest — ". . .HR 4968."

FYRNETICS INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — The Keefe Co., Washington, D.C. Filed 8/27/79. Legislative interest — "Export Administration Act Revision, HR 1007."

THE GREAT WESTERN SUGAR CO., Denver, Colo. Lobbyist — Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/29/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation concerning the sugar industry including HR 2172 and S 463, the International Sugar Stabilization Act of 1979."

ICX AVIATION INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/15/79. Legislative interest — "Regulatory legislation relative to quality assurance in the manufacturing of aircraft; appropriations legislation relative to those manufacturers of aircraft and the air transportation system." Lobbyist — Mary M. Anderson, Washington, D.C.

THE KROGER CO., Cincinnati, Ohio. Filed for self 8/8/79. Legislative interest — "Antitrust legislation, S 1894, HR 11942." Lobbyist — Manly Molpus, Cincinnati, Ohio.

LOG HOMES COUNCIL, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — The Keefe Co., Washington, D.C. Filed 8/27/79. Legislative interest — "Thermal revisions in HUD-MPS."

MBPXL CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/6/79. Legislative interest — "HR 91, meat import legislation, international trade and the MTN, general meat and poultry inspection legislation."

NEW YORK COFFEE AND SUGAR EXCHANGE INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 8/16/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation regarding the commodity futures trading commission and sugar legislation." Lobbyist — Alan J. Goldenberg, New York, N.Y.

PITNEY BOWES, Stamford, Conn. Filed for self 8/20/79. Legislative interest — "Matters affecting postal service." Lobbyist — Adam D. Stolpen, Stamford, Conn.

RINGLING BROS. BARNUM AND BAILEY COMBINED SHOWS INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/2/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation affecting the export and/or import of wild animals, HR 4685.

SECURITY NEW YORK STATE CORP., Rochester, N.Y. Lobbyist — Brainard E. Presott, East Aurora, N.Y. Filed 8/8/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation involving all aspects of banking."

SOUTHLAND ROYALTY CO., Fort Worth, Texas. Lobbyist — Williams & Jensen, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/2/79. Legislative interest — "Energy legislation of interest to the company."

TENNESSEE GAS PIPELINE CO., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/20/79. Legislative interest — "General educational functions in connection with pending energy legislation - S 1308, S 1377, S 932, HR 3930, HR 4985, HR 4862."

TRI-SOUTH MORTGAGE INVESTORS, Atlanta, Ga. Lobbyist — King & Spalding, Atlanta, Ga. Filed 8/29/79. Legislative interest — "HR 4968, a bill to amend section 172 of the Internal Revenue Code."

TWIN COASTS NEWSPAPER, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Blum & Nash, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/8/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting amendments to Export Administration Act and the Freedom of Information Act."

UNITED EGG PRODUCERS, Decatur, Ga. Filed for self 8/30/79. Legislative interest — "Matters affecting the shell egg industry of the United States."

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyists — Donald L. Mooers, Potomac, Md.; O'Neill, Forgotson & Roncalio, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/20/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation on Clinch River breeder reactor, northern tier pipeline proposal, stimulation of low BTU coal gasification."

Energy and Environment

NATIONAL AUDUBON SOCIETY, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 8/8/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation dealing with natural resource protection and conservation. . . ." Lobbyist — Robert L. Roach, Takoma Park, Md., Elvis J. Stahr, Greenwich, Conn.

SIERRA CLUB, San Francisco, Calif. Filed for self 8/20/79. Legislative interest — "Alaska lands legislation, HR 39; energy legislation, S 1308; Jackson Hole Scenic Area, National Forest wilderness." Lobbyist — Bruce Hamilton, Lander, Wyo.

THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/23/79. Legislative interest — "National parks, wild and scenic rivers, wildlife legislation." Lobbyist — Ronald J. Tipton.

Labor Groups

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED PERSONS/NATIONAL RETIRED TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/10/79. Legislative interest — "Improved social security and Medicare/Medicaid laws, Older Americans Act Amendments, improved tax treatment of older Americans, improved nursing home standards, consumer protection legislation, employment of older workers, National Health Insurance, transportation for the elderly, no-fault insurance, housing for the elderly." Lobbyists — Ronald D. Hagen, Paul A. Kerschner, Betsy Wilson-Messer, Washington, D.C.

Trade Associations

ASSOCIATED BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/21/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Labor-management relations: labor law reform, repeal Davis-Bacon, HR 1900/HR 1931; criminal code reform, minority set-asides, Lobbying Disclosure Act, Economic Development Act, workers' compensation, S 420; regulatory reform." Lobbyist — Evan M. Migdail, Washington, D.C.

BOAT OWNERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES, Alexandria, Va. Filed for self 8/24/79. Legislative interest —". . .All legislation pertinent to water pollution, recreational boating, and any other legislation which impacts on boating and boat owners, including but not limited to: appropriations for the Federal Safe Boating Act of 1971; Department of Transportation budget for FY '80; amendments to the Federal Safe Boating Act, HR 4310; National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration budget; favor increases for weather prediction services, standby gasoline rationing plan."

CALIFORNIA CANNING PEACH ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/6/79. Legislative interest — "Agribusiness, HR 3542; international trade and nutrition."

CALIFORNIA OLIVE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/6/79. Legislative interest — "Multilateral trade negotiations, establishment of trade department, S 377, S 891; agricultural cooperatives."

CALIFORNIA RAISIN ADVISORY BOARD, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/6/79. Legislative interest — "Crop insurance, S 1125; multilateral trade negotiations; school lunch program, HR 27; Department of Education, HR 2444."

DISTILLED SPIRITS COUNCIL OF THE U.S. INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/13/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the domestic distilling industry." Lobbyist — Susan E. Smith, Washington, D.C.

ENERGY CONSUMERS & PRODUCERS ASSOCIATION, Seminole, Okla. Lobbyist — McCandless & Barrett, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/3/79. Legislative interest — "Equitable tax treatment for small independent producers of crude oil in connection with HR 3919, the Crude Oil Windfall Profit Tax Act of 1979."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOME BUILDERS OF THE UNITED STATES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/29/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting the industry and its members." Lobbyist — William P. Collins, Scott L. Slesinger, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL CAMPGROUND OWNERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/6/79. Legislative interest — "Public campgrounds,

highway beautification (S 344), energy, S Res 121, S Res 122, S Res 123."

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AUTOMOBILE CRASH PROTECTION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/15/79. Legislative interest — "Opposing any legislative attempts to overturn the Department of Transportation's passive restraint standard."

NATIONAL COTTON COUNCIL OF AMERICA, Memphis, Tenn. Filed for self 8/15/79. Legislative interest — "... Legislation affecting the raw cotton industry...." Lobbyist — LaVerne Still, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL UTILITY CONTRACTORS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/27/79. Legislative interest — "All matters pertaining to the interests of small business and to water and sewer contracting, particularly the Clean Water Act." Lobbyist — Ronald B. Buckhalt, Washington, D.C.

OKLAHOMA STATE NURSING HOME ASSOCIATION, Oklahoma City, Okla. Lobbyist — Bruce D. Thevenot, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/23/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to the Social Security Act, Public Health Service Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, National Labor Relations Act, National Health Insurance and welfare reform legislation."

PEPSI COLA BOTTLERS ASSOCIATION, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. Lobbyist — Hughes Hubbard & Reed, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/14/79. Legislative interest — "The Soft Drink Interbrand Competition Act, HR 3567, S 598...."

POTATO CHIP/SNACK FOOD ASSOCIATION, Arlington, Va. Filed for self 8/14/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting flexibly packaged, surface salted snack food industry including energy, agricultural and nutrition legislation." Lobbyists — Lawrence E. Burch, Susan Magaw, Arlington, Va.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN OIL & GAS ASSOCIATION, Denver, Colo. Lobbyist — Clarke R. Watson, Denver, Colo. Filed 8/16/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation affecting the energy industry with emphasis on measures affecting producers and others in the Rocky Mountain states."

SHIPBUILDERS COUNCIL OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/9/79. Legislative interest — "Maritime authorization, HR 2462; omnibus maritime legislation, HR 4769; U.S. passenger ship activation, HR 4886; develop U.S. dry bulk fleet, S 1457; exceptions to antitrust laws, S 1463." Lobbyist — Robert U. Foster, Washington, D.C.; J. Stephen Street, McLean, Va.

SLURRY TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION, Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Vinson & Elkins, Houston, Texas. Filed 8/2/79. Legislative interest — "In support of coal pipeline eminent domain, including HR 4370."

SUNMAID RAISIN GROWERS OF CALIFORNIA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/6/79. Legislative interest — "Crop insurance, S 1125; multilateral trade negotiations, school lunch program, Department of Education, HR 2444."

UNITED SOCIETIES OF PHYSIOTHERAPISTS INC., Garden City, N.Y. Lobbyist — Harris, Beach, Wilcox, Rubin and Levey, Rochester, N.Y. Filed 8/10/79. Legislative interest — "...HR 1060 ... certain provisions of the Medicare program."

U.S. CANE SUGAR REFINERS' ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Thomas G. Abernethy Sr., Jackson, Miss. Filed 8/6/79. Legislative interest — "Any and all legislation affecting sugar, S 1, S 17, S 463, HR 17, HR 413, HR 414, HR 741, HR 2067, HR 2329, HR 2336, HR 2394, HR 2408, HR 2845, HR 2172 and HR 4328."

Miscellaneous

AMERICAN NATIONAL STANDARDS INSTITUTE INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Barbara A. Ludden, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/10/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation concerning the FTC standards and certification trade regulation rule procedures."

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/1/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation with potential effect on medical laboratory services and personnel, health legislation, civil service legislation."

DR. HALLA BROWN, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/10/79. Legislative interest — "Private legislation."

ESTATE OF SIGMUND SOMMER, New York, N.Y. Lobbyists — Arnold & Porter, Washington, D.C.; Young, Kaplan, Edelstein, Ziegler & Zisselman, New York, N.Y. Filed 8/6/79. Legislative interest — "Technical Corrections Bill of 1979, HR 2797."

GINO MORENA ENTERPRISES, San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — Leggett, Lanier and Associates, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/30/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting military base service contracts."

CLIFFORD R. KIRBY JR., Daytown, Mo. Lobbyist — William J. Randall, Arlington, Va. Filed 8/2/79. Legislative interest — "HR 4788...."

L'ENFANT PLAZA PROPERTIES INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Jackson, Campbell and Parkinson, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/22/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3336, bill to amend D.C. Redevelopment Act of 1945."

LEGAL SERVICES CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 8/10/79. Legislative interest — "...Annual appropriations and any legislation directly affecting the activities of the Corporation." Lobbyist — Dan J. Bradley, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL HEALTH FOUNDATION, Monrovia, Calif. Lobbyist — Patricia Halpern, Bethesda, Md. Filed 8/6/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3574, working for freedom of choice in health issues."

STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIBE, Fort Yates, N.D. Lobbyist — Sonosky, Chambers & Sachse, Washington, D.C. Filed 8/1/79. Legislative interest — "...Legislation pertaining to inheritance of trust lands on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, HR 2102 and HR 2674."

September Registrations

Citizens' Groups

CITIZENS FOR GOVERNMENT FAIRNESS, El Centro, Calif. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/11/79. Legislative interest — "Reclamation Reform Act of 1979 and related legislation. S 14, HR 2996 and related bills.... For the pending bills."

COMMITTEE FOR EFFECTIVE TAX INCENTIVES, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Bregman, Abell, Solter & Kay, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/28/79. Legislative interest — "All legislative matters concerning changes in the tax code affecting capital formation."

COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE THE APPALACHIAN COAL MARKET, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Barbara Coleman Wallace, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/13/79. Legislative interest — "HR 2697, S 1222."

COMMITTEE TO SAVE INDIAN HOUSING, Denver, Colo. Filed for self 9/10/79. Legislative interest — "...Housing and Community Development Amendments of 1979; ... oversight hearings on Indian housing."

COMMON CAUSE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/5/79. Legislative interest — "...Open government, campaign financing reform, lobbying disclosure, congressional oversight of government programs and tax expenditures, regulatory reform, reapportionment, freedom of information, energy policy, environmental protection, defense spending, tax reform, waste in government, inflation, electoral college reform, presidential nomination and confirmation process, merit selection of federal judges and U.S. attorneys, intelligence policy, public participation in federal agency proceedings, civil service reform, federal pay comparability, the congressional budget process, congressional reform, government ethics and protection of media records...." Lobbyist — Theoran Brown, Washington, D.C.

Corporations and Businesses

AMERICAN FLORAL SERVICES INC., Oklahoma City, Okla. Lobbyist — William Edward Carmichael, Great Falls, Va.

Legislative interest — ". . .Those which affect the economic well-being or future members of the floral industry.

BRADFORD NATIONAL CORP., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/21/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to Medicare, catastrophic insurance and the use of polygraph tests in screening employees such as HR 3990, S 760, HR 3255 and S 854. In favor of HR 3990 and S 760 with amendment. Opposed to HR 3255 and S 854."

CINCINNATI MILACRON INC., Cincinnati, Ohio. Filed for self 9/19/79. Legislative interest — "General interests are in areas of taxation, foreign trade and product liability. Capital Recovery Act of 1979 (HR 4646) — proponent; Export Reform (HR 4034) — proponent; Product Liability Risk Retention Act of 1979 — proponent." Lobbyist — E. J. Krabacher, Cincinnati, Ohio.

COASTAL STATES GAS CORP., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Frank C. Damrell Jr., Los Angeles, Calif. Filed 9/13/79. Legislative interest — "Related legislation concerning U.S. energy policy including legislation affecting offshore oil and gas exploration, more specifically, reinstatement of lease of tracts 75 and 384 in Santa Barbara Channel."

CONTROL DATA CORP., Rockville, Md. Lobbyist — Crowell & Moring, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/2/79. Legislative interest — "Revisions to the Export Administration Act of 1969."

FIRST NATIONAL MONETARY CORP., Southfield, Mich. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/19/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Trading of Commodity Futures and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission."

GATX CORP., Chicago, Ill. Filed for self 9/4/79. Legislative interest — "Energy, environmental, transportation and tax legislation in general." Lobbyist — Dale E. Schell, Washington, D.C.

GRAIN PRODUCTS INTERNATIONAL INC., Forman, N.D. Lobbyist — Martin Ryan Haley & Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 9/10/79. Legislative interest — "Affairs of legislative interest."

GULF OIL CORP., Pittsburgh, Pa. Lobbyist — Kathleen M. Linehan, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/21/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative matters pertaining to the oil and gas industry."

HILL AND KNOWLTON, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 9/25/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Matters relating to the business interests of the firms employing Hill and Knowlton Inc. . . ." Lobbyist — H. Spofford Canfield, C. Ronald Williams, Washington, D.C.

HOLLINGSWORTH & VOSE CO., East Walpole, Mass. Filed for self 9/13/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting tax policy, environmental issues and capital cost recovery, PAC reform, general business issues, energy. Specific legislation: Capital Cost Recovery, HR 4646, for; PAC Limitation Bill, HR 4970, against; Asbestos Related Diseases, HR 2740, against."

HUMANA INC., Louisville, Ky. Lobbyist — Bruce D. Thevenot, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/26/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to Title XVIII of the Social Security Act, including S 505, HR 3990, HR 4000."

INTALCO ALUMINUM CORP., Ferndale, Wash. Filed for self 9/17/79. Legislative interest — "Pacific Northwest Regional Power bill, S 885. Presently supporting the legislation as it currently exists." Lobbyist — Deborah Marie Atwood, Ferndale, Wash.

THE KROGER CO., Cincinnati, Ohio. Filed for self 9/7/79. Legislative interest — "Antitrust legislation — S 1894 and HR 11942." Lobbyist — Manly Molpus, Cincinnati, Ohio.

LA JET INC., Abilene, Texas. Lobbyist — Hankla & Peters, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/26/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Energy Mobilization Board and the Domestic Refinery and Improvement Act of 1979. The company favors both proposals."

L'ENFANT PLAZA PROPERTIES INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/4/79. Legislative interest — "Bill to amend D.C. Redevelopment Act of '45, HR 3336 . . . Against." Lobbyist — E. R. Quesada, Washington, D.C.

THE LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE CO., Ft. Wayne, Ind. Lobbyist — Miller & Chevalier, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/25/79. Legislative interest — "Extension and modification of section 167(k) of Internal Revenue Code."

THE MOKOTA CO., Bismark, N.D. Lobbyist — Mayer, Brown & Platt, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/20/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Tax and other proposals affecting energy."

NEW ENGLAND ELECTRIC SYSTEM, Westborough, Mass. Lobbyist — Richard William Bliss, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/28/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the operation of electric utilities or energy in general including S 1308, S 932, HR 4985."

NEW YORK MERCANTILE EXCHANGE, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Holt Cicatiello Neiswanger Inc., Rahway, N.J. Filed 9/4/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting the commodity futures industry, S 770 . . . HR 4958 — to prohibit trading in potato futures on commodity exchanges."

NORTHERN STATES POWER CO., Minneapolis, Minn. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/19/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation to protect electric utility consumers from excessively high utility rates caused by excessive taxation on coal mined on federal and Indian lands."

NORTHERN TIER PIPELINE CO., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Preston, Thorgrimson, Ellis, Holman & Fletcher, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/25/79. Legislative interest —". . .Legislation to expedite construction of oil pipelines."

PENN CENTRAL CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/20/79. Legislative interest — "Amtrak authorization, HR 3996, S 712. . . . Opposed to Title II of HR 3996."

SCHWARTZ & CONNOLLY INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation providing increased tax incentives for use of solar energy sources, including, but not limited to S 1571 . . . and HR 5084. . . ." Lobbyist — Stephen J. Connolly, Jeffrey H. Schwartz, Washington, D.C.

SMITH BARNEY, HARRIS UPHAM & CO. INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Foley, Lardner, Hollabaugh & Jacobs, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .HR 5192 and S 1600 relating to student loan policy and similar or successor legislation."

THE STANDARD OIL CO., Cleveland, Ohio. Lobbyist — T. A. Schreiner, Cleveland, Ohio. Filed 9/21/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Petroleum production, refining and distribution, petrochemicals and coal."

SUNEDCO, Dallas, Texas. Lobbyist — Richard William Bliss, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/28/79. Legislative interest — "Omnibus Geothermal Energy Development Act of 1979, S 1330, S 1388 , HR 4471, HR 5187 and any other legislation dealing with geothermal energy."

TIME INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 9/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Postal affairs, broadcasting and cable television, forest products and related environmental matters, general business interests in taxation, antitrust and regulatory matters." Lobbyist — John L. Steele, Washington, D.C.

TRW INC., Cleveland, Ohio. Lobbyist — Milton F. Ashford, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/27/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Taxes, pension, health insurance, trade, patent, etc."

TWENTY-TWO 'E' STREET ASSOCIATES, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/5/79. Legislative interest — "Interested in amendments to S 614 involving tax credits for rehabilitation expenditures."

TWIN FALLS CANAL CO., Twin Falls, Idaho. Lobbyist — Jim Casey, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/21/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation to amend Federal Water Power Act."

U.S. INDUSTRIES INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/20/79. Legislative interest — . . .Treatment of gain from sale of foreign subsidiaries as foreign source income."

U.S.A. PETROCHEM, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/7/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation specifying funding for development of heavy oil conversion technology, specifically S 932, S 1371, S 1308, S 1377, HR 2640, HR 3000, HR 3930, HR 4474, HR 4499, HR 4514, HR 4573, HR 4588, HR 4839, HR 4862, HR 4930, HR 4985. Would be in favor of passage of these bills." Lobbyist — Jack Pearce, Washington, D.C.

UNITED VAN LINES INC., Fenton, Mo. Filed for self 9/4/79. Legislative interest — "S 1400 — against." Lobbyist — Edward M. Cummins, Fenton, Mo.

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/21/79. Legislative interest — "... Legislation with respect to nuclear power generation and energy transportation systems."

WHEELABRATOR-FRYE INC., Hampton, N.J. Filed for self 9/25/79. Legislative interest — "Energy and environmental legislation." Lobbyist — William J. Boardman, Washington, D.C.

International Relations

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/26/79. Legislative interest — "Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act for FY 1980, HR 4473." Lobbyist — Sara Ehrman, Washington, D.C.

INTERNATIONAL MARITIME ASSOCIATES INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/19/79. Legislative interest — "...Maritime matters — presently, Omnibus Bill, HR 4769."

Military and Veterans

VIETNAM VETERANS OF AMERICA INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/7/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting war veterans and their dependents." Lobbyist — John F. Terzano, Washington, D.C.

State and Local Government

ALASKA HOUSING FINANCING CORP., Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/20/79. Legislative interest — "Seeking amendment to HR 3712 to exempt State housing financing agencies."

BELLE FOURCHE IRRIGATION DISTRICT, Newell, S.D. Lobbyist — Jim Casey, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/21/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation to reauthorize Belle Fourche Reclamation Project."

CITY OF HOUSTON, Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Butler Binion Rice Cook & Knapp, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/28/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3745, S 1648, S 1649."

L-5 SOCIETY, Tucson, Ariz. Lobbyist — Dickstein, Shapiro & Morin, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/6/79. Legislative interest — "All treaties and legislation relating to space industrialization...."

PURGATOIRE RIVER WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICT, Trinidad, Colo. Lobbyist — Davis, Graham & Stubbs, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/17/79. Legislative interest — "General interest is in freeing the water district and its users from the 160-acre limitation in the 1902 Reclamation Act. Generally support most provisions of: HR 31, HR 160, HR 4148, S 654. Generally oppose some provisions of: S 14, HR 3393, S 718."

REGIONAL TRANSPORTATION AUTHORITY, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Robert P. Hanrahan, Lake Forest, Ill. Filed 9/4/79. Legislative interest — "Transportation bills, regulations and appropriations."

Trade Associations

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF FAMILY PHYSICIANS, Kansas City, Mo. Lobbyist — Pierson, Ball & Dowd, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/14/79. Legislative interest — "...Particular interest in Social Security Act, especially Titles XVIII and XIX, the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act and the Public Health Service Act...."

AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Richard William Bliss, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/28/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting energy, including S 1308, S 932, HR 4985; all legislation affecting mine health and safety; all legislation affecting mining and the environment."

AMERICAN PAPER INSTITUTE INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Blaine Fielding, C. Richard Titus, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/12/79. Legislative interest — "...Pulp, paper and paperboard industry, its operation, practices and properties."

GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Vorys, Sater, Seymour & Pease, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/19/79. Legislative interest — "...Any legislation dealing with the concept of legislative votes."

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL AVIATION ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/27/79. Legislative interest — "General legislative interest: all matters affecting agricultural aviation which may be considered by the Congress." Lobbyist — Harold M. Collins Jr., Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/19/79. Legislative interest — "Tax legislation of any nature." Lobbyist — Carolyn Kim McCarthy.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WHEAT GROWERS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Craig Hackler, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/26/79. Legislative interest — "Agricultural commodity issues."

NATIONAL COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/11/79. Legislative interest — "Issues affecting the poor: including, but not limited to, HR 4389, HR 4289, HR 4776, S 1308, HR 2508, HR 762, S 1270, S 936, HR 605, HR 2335, HR 4321, HR 4460, S 695, HR 4122." Lobbyist — William Ray, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/14/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting newspaper business, ranging from First Amendment considerations to the business issues." Lobbyist — Cynthia H. Braddon, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL RETIRED TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/17/79. Legislative interest — "Support of: Improved Social Security and Medicare/Medicaid laws, Older Americans Act Amendments, Improved Tax Treatment of Older Americans, Improved Nursing Home Standards, Consumer Protection legislation, Employment of Older Workers, National Health Insurance, Transportation for the Elderly, No-Fault Insurance, Housing for the Elderly." Lobbyist — Steven S. Zaleznick, Washington, D.C.

U.S. CANE SUGAR REFINERS' ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Pepper, Hamilton & Scheetz, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/28/79. Legislative interest — "Sugar subsidies, sugar bill, HR 2712."

WESTERN OIL AND GAS ASSOCIATION, Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — David W. Freer, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/13/79. Legislative interest — "Federal legislation affecting the petroleum industry in Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Alaska and Hawaii.... Against: HR 39 — Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act."

Miscellaneous

AMERICAN IVORY ASSOCIATION, Annandale, Va. Filed for self 9/14/79. Legislative interest — "Promote sound African elephant conservation practices and maintain trade in elephant ivory in conjunction with this objective. Elephant Protection Act of 1979, HR 4685." Lobbyist — John B. Hallagan, Annandale, Va.

AMERICAN PRODUCTIVITY CENTER INC., Houston, Texas. Filed for self 9/27/79. Legislative interest — "Hearings and any related legislation concerning productivity of the American economy ... S 262, S 755 and HR 3263." Lobbyist — Michael S. Lang, Houston, Texas.

AMERICAN PROTESTANT HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION, Schaumburg, Ill. Lobbyist — Bill Newbold and Associates, Arlington, Va. Filed 9/13/79. Legislative interest — "Cost containment, health planning, health delivery systems."

J. REYNOLDS BARNES, Portland, Ore. Lobbyist — Bushnell, Gage, Reizen & Byington, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/24/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to the Internal Revenue Code."

LEBOEUF, LAMB, LEIBY & MACRAE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/6/79. Legislative interest — "Matters affecting the business of insurance and re-insurance."

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTERS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 9/5/79. Legislative interest — "Community mental health legislation. Medicare amendments: HR 2369, HR 3990, S 458, S 1289 — support, CHAP legislation: HR 4952, S 1204 — support, Fair Housing Act — support." Lobbyist — Chris Koyanagi, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL LIVING CENTERS, Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Craig Hackler, Washington, D.C. Filed 9/26/79. Legislative interest — "Health care for the elderly, Medicare-Medicaid Amendments, HR 3990, HR 4000, S 505."

TEXAS CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL, Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Bill Newbold and Associates, Arlington, Va. Filed 9/13/79. Legislative interest — "Cost containment, health planning, health delivery systems."

TEXAS HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION, Austin, Texas. Lobbyist — Bill Newbold and Associates, Arlington, Va. Filed 9/13/79. Legislative interest — "Cost containment, health planning, health delivery systems."

UTE MOUNTAIN UTE TRIBE, Towaoc, Colo. Lobbyist — Wagner, D'Onofrio, Waller & Stouffer, Denver, Colo. Filed 9/4/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative matters affecting the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe . . . including funding and continuation of various government programs. . . ."

October Registrations

Citizens' Groups

CITIZENS' FOR PROGRESSIVE REDUCTION OF OIL IMPORT, Newport Beach, Calif. Filed for self 10/23/79. Legislative interest — "No specific existing legislation, favor introduction of legislation (and its enactment) reducing oil import." Lobbyist — Delmar Bunn, Newport Beach, Calif.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ACTION COMMITTEE, North East, Md. Filed for self 10/19/79. Legislative interest — "Pro Life legislation. . . ."

FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/3/79. Legislative interest — "Generally, immigration laws and policies, and related agencies and activities." Lobbyist — Patsy Dix, Barnaby Zall, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL CITIZENS' COALITION FOR THE WINDFALL PROFITS TAX, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "The fair distribution of revenues from increased oil prices between oil producers and energy-related expenditures in the public interest . . . (HR 3919) is generally supported."

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER COOPERATIVES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/17/79. Legislative interest — "Nothing to report." Lobbyist — R. Thomas Van Arsdall, Washington, D.C.

PILOTS RIGHTS ASSOCIATION, Redondo Beach, Calif. Filed for self 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation related to 14 C.F.R. section 121.383(c). . . ."

Corporations and Businesses

AERON MARINE SHIPPING CO., Lake Success, N.Y. Lobbyist — Kominers, Fort, Schlefer & Boyer, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Maritime Appropriation Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1980. HR 2462 and S 640."

AMERICAN FUR INDUSTRY, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Robert N. Pyle, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Federal land use legislation; Anti-trapping legislation; RARE II proposal."

ASHLAND OIL INC., Ashland, Ky. Filed for self 10/15/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation concerning the petroleum industry, including but not limited to bills relating to energy, taxes, coal mining, marine transportation, synthetic fuels, and environment." Lobbyist — David G. Todd, Washington, D.C.

ATLANTIC RICHFIELD CO., Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — John C. Roots, Edgar H. Twine, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .All federal legislation directly and indirectly affecting the petroleum industry. . . ."

BLYTH EASTMAN DILLON & CO., San Francisco, Calif. Lobbyist — O'Melveny & Myers, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/10/79. Legislative interest — "Bills affecting the tax-exempt status of bonds used to finance housing. HR 3712 and possibly others."

BROOKLYN UNION GAS CO., Brooklyn, N.Y. Lobbyist — Richard F. Vander Veen, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/15/79. Legislative interest — "General legislative interests are in tax credits for investment in cogeneration equipment, seeking application of tax credits for specially defined energy property."

BROWN & WILLIAMSON TOBACCO CORP., Louisville, Ky. Lobbyist — Armistead I. Selden, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "FTC authorizing legislation."

THE BUDD CO., Troy, Mich. Lobbyist — Helen Dubino Morrison, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3996, Amtrak Reorganization Act of 1979. . . ."

CINCINNATI STOCK EXCHANGE, Cincinnati, Ohio. Lobbyist — Taft, Stettinius & Hollister, Cincinnati, Ohio. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .oversight hearings on National Market System."

COMMODITY EXCHANGE INC., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 10/17/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting commodity futures markets, generally, with specific interest in matters relating to the metals markets. . . ." Lobbyist — William E. Seale, Washington, D.C.

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/19/79. Legislative interest — "General legislative interests. Matters pertaining to communications, especially the Communications Act of 1934 and the Communications Satellite Act of 1962. . . ." Lobbyist — Ernest B. Kelly III, Washington, D.C.

CONTINENTAL RESOURCES CO., Winter Park, Fla. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/17/79. Legislative interest — ". . .HR 4730 and S 1308."

CRYOGENIC VACUUM TECHNOLOGY CO., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/19/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Funding of research and development of cryogenic system." Lobbyist — Bruce Alan Landy, Washington, D.C.

DORCHESTER SEA 3 PRODUCTS INC., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Butler, Binion, Rice, Cook & Knapp, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/22/79. Legislative interest — "S 1470 — Mandatory Oil Import Control Act, S 1134 — Oil Imports Act of 1979, S 1205 — Oil Imports Act of 1979, S 1417 — Foreign Oil Entitlements Act of 1979."

FARMLAND INDUSTRIES, Kansas City, Mo. Lobbyist — E. A. Jaenke & Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "General agriculture, energy and transportation legislation."

FEDERAL CARTRIDGE CO., Minneapolis, Minn. Lobbyist — James K. Jackson, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Federal income tax legislation."

FIRST NATIONAL MONETARY CORP., Southfield, Mich. Lobbyist — Simon, Deitch, Roth, Siefman & Tucker, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Trading of commodity futures and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission."

GENERAL ELECTRIC CO., Fairfield, Conn. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Aircraft noise, fuel efficiency, certification, domestic and foreign commerce, environmental pollution, etc." Lobbyist — Robert H. Harris, Clifford C. LaPlante, Washington, D.C.

GENERAL TELEPHONE & ELECTRONICS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Charls E. Walker Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Proposals which alter, amend, or otherwise affect the International Revenue Code as it relates to the activities of corporations."

THE GREGG COMPANY LTD. Hackensack, N.J. Lobbyist — Rogers & Wells, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Tariff legislation."

GULF STATES UTILITIES CO., Beaumont, Texas. Lobbyist — Richard F. Vander Veen, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/15/79. Legislative interest — "...Tax credits for investment in cogeneration equipment, seeking application of tax credits for specially defined energy property."

HANNA-BARBERA'S MARINELAND, Rancho Palos Verdes, Calif. Lobbyist — Taft, Stettinius & Hollister, Cincinnati, Ohio. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "...Marine mammals, of particular interest is the Channel Islands National Park legislation."

HERCULES INC., Wilmington, Del. Lobbyist — McClure & Trotter, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Tax legislation of interest to the corporation, particularly Sec. 904 of the Internal Revenue Code."

HFC INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, Prospect Heights, Ill. Lobbyist — T. A. Bellissimo, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/5/79. Legislative interest — "Matters relating to merchandising, manufacturing, leasing and insurance."

HOLLINGSWORTH & VOSE CO., East Walpole, Mass. Lobbyist — Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "...Legislation affecting tax policy, environmental issues, capital cost recovery, PAC reform, general business issues, energy." Lobbyist — Ann R. Wise, East Walpole, Mass.

KNOXVILLE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY EXPOSITION, Knoxville, Tenn. Filed 10/19/79. Legislative interest — "...Appropriations, grants, authorizing legislation...." Lobbyist — The Keefe Co., Washington, D.C.

LAWYERS' TITLE GUARANTY FUND, Orlando, Fla. Lobbyist — Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/10/79. Legislative interest — "...Legislation to amend section 133 of the Revenue Act of 1978...."

L'ENFANT PLAZA PROPERTIES INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyists — Jackson, Campbell and Parkinson; E. R. Quesada, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/17/79. Legislative interest — "Bill to amend D.C. Redevelopment Act of '45, HR 3336."

THE LTV CORP., Dallas, Texas. Lobbyist — Williams & Connolly, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation allowing refundability of the investment tax credit."

MBPXL CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/3/79. Legislative interest — "HR 91, meat import legislation, international trade and the MTN (i.e., Trade Act of 1979), general meat and poultry legislation."

MCI COMMUNICATIONS CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/19/79. Legislative interest — "General in nature of legislative proposals affecting common carriers and other telecommunications matters."

MERRILL LYNCH & CO. INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — David A. Lefeve, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "...Any and all legislation affecting the financial services industry."

NEW ENGLAND FISH CO., Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — Edward W. Furia, Seattle, Wash. Filed 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "Export Administration Act of 1979; against Stewart and Buchanan amendments to EAA."

NEW MILWAUKEE LINES, Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — Edward A. Merlis, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/5/79. Legislative interest — "Generally, legislation affecting the ability of New Milwaukee Lines to participate in the reorganization and acquisition of part or all of the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad."

NORTHWEST BANCORPORATION, Minneapolis, Minn. Filed for self 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "All matters directly affecting bank holding companies, all matters directly affecting banks." Lobbyist — Donn L. Waage, Minneapolis, Minn.

OLIN CORP., East Alton, Ill. Lobbyist — Robert E. Losch, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/20/79. Legislative interest — "Department of Defense Appropriations Bill, 1980 (HR 5359)."

OWENS-ILLINOIS, Toledo, Ohio. Lobbyist — Schwartz & Connolly Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 10/22/79. Legislative interest — "To support enactment of legislation providing increased tax incentives for use of solar energy collectors, including, but not limited to S 1571 and HR 5084."

PACIFIC SOUTHWEST AIRLINES, San Diego, Calif. Lobbyist — Crowell & Moring, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Federal regulation of air transportation."

PAINE, WEBBER, JACKSON & CURTIS, Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — Lewis, Rice, Tucker, Allen & Chubb, St. Louis, Mo. Filed 10/22/79. Legislative interest — "Transition Rules to HR 3712, for amendment."

PENNZOIL CO., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — L. Andrew Zausner, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3919 and related matters; Energy Mobilization Board and related legislation; Energy Security Corporation and related legislation; S 300, HR 2060 and related legislation."

PFIZER INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Hansell, Post, Brandon & Dorsey, Atlanta, Ga. Filed 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "Questions relating to the Antitrust Enforcement Act of 1979 (S 300)."

THE PROCTER & GAMBLE MFG. CO., Cincinnati, Ohio. Lobbyist — Charles Leppert Jr., Washington, D.C. Filed 10/3/79. Legislative interest — "Matters generally of interest to employer."

PUBLICKER INDUSTRIES INC., Greenwich, Conn. Lobbyist — Joseph T. Elvove, Hilton Head Island, S.C. Filed 10/19/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting gasohol, its production, distribution, and availability of fermentation feedstocks for alcohol for gasohol."

R.J. REYNOLDS INDUSTRIES INC., Winston-Salem, N.C. Lobbyist — Paul C. Bergson, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "All congressional activities which may affect the tobacco business of companies affiliated with RJR Industries Inc."

SEATRAIN LINES INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Butler, Binion, Rice, Cook & Knapp, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/22/79. Legislative interest — "S 428 and HR 4040 — FY '80 Defense Authorization Act."

SEAVIEW PETROLEUM CO., Blue Bell, Pa. Lobbyist — Cladouhos & Brashares, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "...All legislation relating to the Department of Energy, issues concerning the importation of crude oil and finished products, crude oil decontrol, and domestic refining and marketing of petroleum products."

TRAILWAYS, Dallas, Texas. Lobbyist — Stang and Svendson, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3996, Amtrak Reorganization Act of 1979."

TRW INC., Cleveland, Ohio. Filed for self 10/5/79. Legislative interest — "...Equal opportunity, employment, urban policy, health, etc." Lobbyist — Valery Hobbs, Washington, D.C.

UNION CAMP CORP., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/15/79. Legislative interest — "Legislative interests are those of employer." Lobbyist — William H. Kolberg, Washington, D.C.

UNION CARBIDE CORP., New York, N.Y. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation of interest to Union Carbide Corporation." Lobbyist — James C. Rowland Jr., Washington, D.C.

UNION PACIFIC, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Stang and Svendson, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Railroad legislation."

U.S. FIBER CORP., Delphos, Ohio. Filed for self 10/23/79. Legislative interest — "...Federal Trade Commission oversight, with specific reference to FTC Trade Regulation Rule 'Labeling and Advertising of Home Insulation'...." Lobbyist — Joseph R. Tyler, Marion, Ind.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, Lawrence, Kan. Lobbyist — E. A. Jaenke & Associates, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "Educational matters. To remove restrictions on distribution of research funds for handicapped youth, HR 4389."

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS SYSTEM, Austin, Texas. Lobbyist — Vinson & Elkins, Houston, Texas. Filed 10/17/79. Legislative interest — "Crude oil windfall profits tax bill of 1979 (HR 3919)."

WALGREEN CO., Deerfield, Ill. Filed for self 10/9/79. Legslative interest — "Social Security Act, Occupational Safety &

Health Act, Food Drug & Cosmetic Act, Employee Retirement Income Security Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, Magnuson Moss Act, Consumer Product Safety Act, Internal Revenue Code." Lobbyist — David C. Butler, Deerfield, Ill.

WESTERN CRUDE OIL INC., Denver, Colo. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "General federal energy policy issues affecting first purchasers of crude oil, including particularly HR 3919, the windfall profits tax."

WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORP., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/1/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation to facilitate the construction of an oil pipeline from the West Coast to the Mid-Continent."

WEYERHAEUSER CO., Federal Way, Wash. Lobbyist — Edward W. Furia, Seattle, Wash. Filed 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "Export Administration Act of 1979; against Stewart and Buchanan Amendments to EAA."

ZAPATA CORP., Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Stang and Svendson, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "HR 4360, Underutilized Species Development Act of 1979."

Energy and Environment

COALITION ON AMERICAN RIVERS, Urbana, Ill. Filed for self 10/19/79. Legislative interest — "Conservation of rivers and floodplain, protection of farmland, transportation as it impacts the environment, . . . HR 4385 and HR 4675."

FRIENDS OF THE RIVER, Sacramento, Calif. Lobbyist — Patricia Schifferle, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/19/79. Legislative interest — "HR 4223, Stanislaus Wild and Scenic Rivers bill and the Tuolumne Wild and Scenic Rivers bill — urging protection for these rivers."

PUBLIC POWER COUNCIL, Vancouver, Wash. Filed for self 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "S 885, HR 3508, HR 5146, HR 4129 (All are bills affecting the Bonneville Power Administration and dealing with power supply planning and conservation issues in the Pacific Northwest)." Lobbyist — Bruce E. Mizer, Vancouver, Wash.

SIERRA CLUB, San Francisco, Calif. Filed for self 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Wilderness legislation, Alaska National Interest lands legislation and related legislation affecting public lands." Lobbyist — James Timothy Mahoney, Washington, D.C.

Labor Groups

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "All bills of interest to federal government employees and District of Columbia employees." Lobbyist — Mary E. Jacksteit, Washington, D.C.

GENERAL TEAMSTERS LOCAL 959, STATE OF ALASKA, Anchorage, Alaska. Lobbyist — Le Sourd, Patten, Fleming, Hartung & Emory, Seattle, Wash. Filed 10/22/79. Legislative interest — "Amendment to Internal Revenue Code regarding transportation excise tax."

NATIONAL TREASURY EMPLOYEES UNION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "General legislation dealing with employment conditions, compensation, retirement, and other matters affecting federal employees and annuitants." Lobbyist — Jerry D. Klepner, Washington, D.C.

OIL, CHEMICAL AND ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, Denver, Colo. Filed for self 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "Support all legislation favorable to the national peace, security, democracy, prosperity and general welfare. . . ."

State and Local Government

CITY OF HOUSTON, Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Butler, Binion, Rice, Cook & Knapp, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/5/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3745, S 1648, S 1649 — Airport and Airway Development Act. . . ."

THE HOUSING AUTHORITY OF THE CITY OF SEATTLE, Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — LeSourd, Patten, Fleming, Hartung & Emory, Seattle, Wash. Filed 10/20/79. Legislative interest — "Oppose the present form of HR 3712, the Mortgage Subsidy Bond Tax Act of 1979."

KINGS RIVER WATER USERS COMMITTEE, Fresno, Calif. Lobbyist — Frank C. Damrell Jr., Los Angeles, Calif. Filed 10/23/79. Legislative interest — "Reclamation reform legislation. . . ."

MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL OF SEATTLE, Seattle, Wash. Lobbyist — Wickwire, Lewis, Goldmark & Schorr, Seattle, Wash. Filed 10/19/79. Legislative interest — "Pacific Northwest Electric Power and Conservation Act and related regional energy legislation, if any. . . ."

Trade Associations

AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/19/79. Legislative interest — "General legislative interests for proper advancement of airline industry." Lobbyist — Linda Pinegar, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ACTUARIES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation having actuarial impact, especially in the areas of pensions, casualty, life, and health insurance." Lobbyist — William D. Hager, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF HOMES FOR THE AGING, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/5/79. Legislative interest — "Medicare/Medicaid long term care amendments, SSI Domiciliary Care Supplements, Housing for Elderly legislation, Older Americans Act and Social Service Programs. . . ." Lobbyist — David C. Crowley, Laurence F. Lane, Alan K. Parver, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION, Falls Church, Va. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation relating to American motorists and travel generally." Lobbyist — Susan L. Gustafson, Jane A. Lawlor, Falls Church, Va.

AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/4/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting or of interest to the banking business including HR 7 (Reuss — Monetary Improvements Act) and S 1347 (Cranston — Depository Institutions Deregulation Act)." Lobbyist — Samuel J. Baptista, Susan B. Flohr, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN CONSULTING ENGINEERS COUNCIL, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Energy legislation; public buildings; architect-engineer services; procurement; and other items of general interest." Lobbyist — Steven L. Biegel, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN HARDWARE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION, Palatine, Ill. Lobbyist — Michael R. Graul, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation which relates to tax policy, labor, consumer, product liability, environmental and other issues."

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "In general, all legislation relating to the practice of architecture, including housing, community development, historic preservation, federal procurement procedures for architectural services, energy conservation and others." Lobbyist — Stanley E. Kolbe Jr., Margaret C. McGrail, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN MEAT INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Nitrite legislation — HR 94, et al; Meat Marketing legislation — HR 91; Trucking Deregulation — S 710; Amendment of Delaney Clause — HR 12 et al; Imported Meat legislation — HR 2727; Food Labeling — S 1651, S 1652; State Meat Inspection — S 531; Amending Export Administration Act — S 737." Lobbyist — C. Manly Molpus, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "Measures affecting mining such as income taxation, social security, public lands, stockpiling, monetary policy, mine safety, environmental quality control, etc." Lobbyist — John J. Zimmerman, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN ORTHOTIC & PROSTHETIC ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/3/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation of interest to the fields of orthotics & prosthetics." Lobbyist — Robert J. Baughman, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN PLYWOOD ASSOCIATION, Tacoma, Wash. Filed for self 10/5/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation relative to — Federal timber management, transportation, land use, log exports from Federal timberlands, housing, occupational safety, other legislation involving the common business interest of the plywood industry." Lobbyist — W. D. Page, Tacoma, Wash.

THE AMERICAN PSYCHOANALYTIC ASSOCIATION, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Leighton Conklin and Lemov, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/17/79. Legislative interest — "General in the nature of health legislation and legislative proposals affecting psychiatry and psychoanalysis."

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/3/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation affecting foreign conventions or Section 274(h) of the Tax Code; HR 990, the 'Tax Reform Act for Nonprofit Organizations.'" Lobbyist — John C. Vickerman, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERS, New York, N.Y. Filed for self 10/17/79. Legislative interest — "Codes and Standards, consumer legislation, energy legislation, environmental legislation, metric conversion, occupational safety and health, transportation and mass transit and other areas that would affect the profession of mechanical engineering." Lobbyist — Mitchell H. Bradley, Washington, D.C.

ASSOCIATED BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS INC, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "All activities in U.S. Congress affecting labor-management relations. . . ."

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legal education and any legislation affecting it, including copyright, taxation and appropriations for higher education and related legislation of interest to higher education." Lobbyist — R. Paul Richard, Washington, D.C.

CALIFORNIA CANNING PEACH ASSOCIATION, Lafayette, Calif. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "Agribusiness (i.e. HR 3542), International Trade and Nutrition."

CALIFORNIA WESTSIDE FARMERS, Newport Beach, Calif. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "S 14 and related matters."

COMMITTEE OF RAILROAD SHIPPERS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Camp, Carmouche, Palmer, Barsh & Hunter, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "Interested in railroad regulatory reform legislation affecting those companies shipping via railroads, such as S 796, Railroad Deregulation Act, and House and Senate Appropriations bills relating to transportation via railroads."

DISTILLED SPIRITS COUNCIL, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Hill and Knowlton Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3916."

FEDERATION OF APPAREL MANUFACTURERS, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Arnold & Porter, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3245 and HR 5460."

FOOD MARKETING INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/12/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Consumer legislation; packaging and labeling legislation; amendments to Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, Wholesome Meat Act and Poultry Products Inspection Act." Lobbyist — Karen H. Brown, Washington, D.C.

GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/9/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislation affecting the production or processing of grocery and related products." Lobbyists — Jack Weber; Vorys, Sater, Seymour & Pease, Washington, D.C.

HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Williams & Jensen, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/3/79. Legislative interest — "Sugar legislation of interest to the association and its members."

INDEPENDENT INSURANCE AGENTS OF AMERICA INC., New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Lawrence R. Herman, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Any legislation which affects, directly or indirectly, local property-casualty insurance agents; insurance legislation, other legislation, e.g., legislation affecting not-for-profit associations."

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRADE EXCHANGES, Alexandria, Va. Lobbyist — Paul Suplizio Associates, Alexandria, Va. Filed 10/23/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Specific interests related to the Internal Revenue Code, Commercial Code, and to credit, currency, advertising, franchising, commercial regulation and small business legislation."

INVESTMENT COMPANY INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/10/79. Legislative interest — "HR 2255 — a bill to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 — favor; HR 2747 — 'Bank Holding Company Amendments of 1979' — favor; HR 2809 — a bill to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 — favor." Lobbyist — William M. Tartikoff, Washington, D.C.

MACHINERY DEALERS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Silver Spring, Md. Lobbyist — Randolph J. Stayin, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Legislative matters dealing with tax issues, of particular interest is the investment tax credit and depreciation reform."

MID-CONTINENT OIL AND GAS ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — John E. Chapoton, Houston, Texas. Filed 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "HR 3919."

MOTOR VEHICLE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S. INC., Detroit, Mich. Filed for self 10/3/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting the motor vehicle industry including HR 3919 (Crude Oil Windfall Profits Tax Act), S 1030 (Emergency Energy Conservation Act), HR 4499 (Program for Development of Energy Supplies), HR 1005 (Automobile Warranty Repair Act), S 423, HR 3719, HR 2863 (Dispute Resolution Acts)." Lobbyist — Michael J. Stanton, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF COAL CONSUMERS, Minneapolis, Minn. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation to protect electric utility consumers from excessively high utility rates caused by excessive taxation on coal mined on federal and Indian lands."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEALTH CAREERS SCHOOLS, Los Angeles, Calif. Lobbyist — O'Connor & Hannan, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Education legislation."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETAIL DRUGGISTS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Specific interests include national health insurance, drug regulation reform legislation, and small business legislation." Lobbyist — John B. Tucker Jr., Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting cable television: specifically S 611, S 622, HR 2222 (communications acts of 1979) in a desire to monitor and affect legislation favorable to the CATV industry." Lobbyist — Linda Ebner, Robert W. Moss, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/22/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting small business and the economic well-being of the country." Lobbyist — Gwenyth Pritchard, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL LIMESTONE INSTITUTE INC., Fairfax, Va. Filed for self 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation which directly or indirectly affects the interest of limestone producers." Lobbyist — Robert A. Grady, Fairfax, Va.

NATIONAL SCHOOL TRANSPORTATION ASSOCIATION, Fairfax, Va. Lobbyist — Surrey & Morse, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/5/79. Legislative interest — ". . .To amend certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. . . ."

PLUMBING MANUFACTURERS INSTITUTE, Glen Ellyn, Ill. Lobbyist — Robert H. Doyle, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation affecting plumbing manufacturing industry."

PUBLIC POWER COUNCIL, Vancouver, Wash. Lobbyist — Ken Billington, Seattle, Wash. Filed 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "Pacific Northwest Electric Power Planning and Conservation Act; (S 885, HR 5146, and like or companion bills)."

RAILWAY PROGRESS INSTITUTE, Alexandria, Va. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Interested in matters affecting the railroads, railway and mass transit supply industries, specifically HR 3046 to suspend the duty on freight cars. . . ." Lobbyist — Helen H. Edge, Alexandria, Va.

ROADSIDE BUSINESS ASSOCIATON, Springfield, Va. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "HR 8648, Highway bill; HR 6831, Energy Bill, lobbying act."

SHIPBUILDERS COUNCIL OF AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — J. Stephen Street, McLean, Va. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting U.S. shipbuilding and the marine industrial support base. . . ."

SLURRY TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Vinson & Elkins, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/10/79. Legislative interest — "General legislative interests in support of coal pipeline eminent domain, including HR 4370."

UNITED SOCIETIES OF PHYSIOTHERAPISTS INC., Garden City, N.Y. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Specific legislative interest is HR 1060 (to amend Title XVIII of the Social Security Act for the purpose of improving certain provisions of the Medicare program)."

UNITED STATES INDEPENDENT TELEPHONE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — David W. Bowers, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/4/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation of interest to the telephone industry — Communications Act amendments, HR 3333, S 611, S 622."

U.S. LEAGUE OF SAVINGS ASSOCIATIONS, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Camp, Carmouche, Palmer, Barsh & Hunter, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "Monitoring and supporting tax legislation as the need may arise."

WESTERN GROWERS ASSOCIATION, Newport Beach Calif. Lobbyist — Nelson and Harding, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "S 14 and related water legislation, agricultural labor issues."

WESTERN RAILROAD ASSOCIATION, Chicago, Ill. Lobbyist — Jon T. Brown, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/22/79. Legislative interest — "Fulfilling of Master Plan objections in PL 95-502."

Miscellaneous

ACTION FOR CHILDREN'S TELEVISION, Newtonville, Mass. Filed for self 10/15/79. Legislative interest — "Appropriations for the Federal Trade Commission and possible congressional ban on the FTC rulemaking on advertising on children's television. . . . Reauthorization of FTC and Federal Communications Commission, efforts to improve children's television programming, curtailment of televison advertising which we consider harmful to children." Lobbyist — Elizabeth Bell Stengel, Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN PROTESTANT HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION, Schaumburg, Ill. Lobbyist — Bill Newbold and Associates, Arlington, Va. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Cost containment, health planning, home delivery systems, etc."

ASSOCIATION OF STATE AND TERRITORIAL HEALTH OFFICIALS, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — George K. Degnon Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. Filed 10/22/79. Legislative interest — "All legislation affecting state health agencies."

BROOKWOOD HEALTH SERVICES INC., Birmingham, Ala. Lobbyists — Joel T. Barnett, Margaret S. Craig, Carolyn B. Nelson, Charles A. Speir, Birmingham, Ala. Filed 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation directly or indirectly affecting health care."

ELEANOR A. CLARK, Portland, Ore. Lobbyist — Burke & Burke, New York, N.Y. Filed 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "Amendments to the Internal Revenue Act."

COMMITTEE FOR EFFECTIVE CAPITAL RECOVERY, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "Tax legislation . . . in favor of HR 4646 and S 1435." Lobbyist — Steptoe & Johnson, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE FOR EFFECTIVE TAX INCENTIVES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "All legislative matters concerning changes in the tax code affecting capital formation." Lobbyist — Bregman, Abell, Solter & Kay, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE TO SAVE INDIAN HOUSING, Denver, Colo. Filed for self 10/2/79. Legislative interest — "House and Senate appropriations considerations — Housing and Community Development Amendments of 1979. . . . Oversight hearings on Indian housing."

CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF THE COLVILLE INDIAN RESERVATION, Nespelem, Wash. Lobbyist — Sonosky, Chambers & Sachse, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Northwest Pacific Power bill (S 885, HR 4159, HR 3508). . . ."

COUNCIL FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT, Boston, Mass. Filed for self 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Housing legislation — the HUD-Independent Agencies appropriations bill, HR 4394."

CREDIT UNION FINANCIAL SERVICES INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "Credit union and consumer financial legislation." Lobbyists — Larry H. Blanchard, Francis R. deBondt, C. Austin Montgomery, Lois M. Rodney, Washington, D.C.

JOHN FINLAYSON, Cos Cob, Conn. Lobbyist — Craig Hackler, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/11/79. Legislative interest — "Processed food labeling."

GREAT AMERICAN MANAGEMENT & INVESTMENT, Atlanta, Ga. Lobbyist — Phil M. Landrum, Jasper, Ga. Filed 10/23/79. Legislative interest — "HR 4968 — to amend Internal Revenue Code."

HEALTH RESEARCH GROUP, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/17/79. Legislative interest — "All health legislation including but not limited to: Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, 21 U.S.C. . . ." Lobbyists — Benjamin Gordon, Daniel W. Sigelman, Washington, D.C.

HIDE ACTION PROGRAM, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Hill and Knowlton, N.Y. Filed 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "S 737, amendment 353; HR 4034, Shannon Amendment."

HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS, Houlton, Maine. Lobbyist — Sonosky, Chambers & Sachse, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Legislation looking toward settlement of Maine Indian land claims."

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AUTOMOBILE CRASH PROTECTION, Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Van Ness, Feldman & Sutcliffe, Washington, D.C. Filed 1/11/79. Legislative interest — "Opposing any legislative attempts to overturn the Department of Transportation's passive restraint standard."

NATIONAL CONSUMER LAW CENTER INC., Boston, Mass. Filed for self 10/1/79. Legislative interest — "General interest is consumer protection for low-income consumers. . . ." Lobbyist — Robert J. Hobbs, Wendy W. Schiller, Boston, Mass.

NATIONAL LEGAL AID AND DEFENDER ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/18/79. Legislative interest — ". . .Civil Rights Act amendments, abolition of jurisdictional amount in controversy, standing, institutionalized persons, regulatory reform, etc. . . ." Lobbyist — Ellen Josephson, Washington, D.C.

NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER FOR CONSUMERS OF LEGAL SERVICES, Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/5/79. Legislative interest — "Preservation of Section 120 and 501-C-20 of Internal Revenue Code."

NAVAJO INDIAN NATION, Window Rock, Ariz. Lobbyist — Helen Dubino Morrison, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/12/79. Legislative interest — "HR 5262 — opposed."

NORMAN, LAWRENCE, PATTERSON & FARRELL, New York, N.Y. Lobbyist — Cramer and Lipsen, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/2/79. Legislative interest — "Matters of interest to the Fur Conservation Institute of America Inc., (trapping, export-import of furs and fur producers, etc.)."

SCHWARTZ & CONNOLLY INC., Washington, D.C. Filed for self 10/18/79. Legislative interest — "To support enactment of legislation providing increased tax incentives for use of solar energy collectors, including, but not limited to, S 1571 and HR 5084."

SMITH AND HOWARD ASSOCIATES INC., Washington, D.C. Lobbyist — Gary M. Grobman, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/22/79. Legislative interest — "Public transportation, ridesharing, and legislation which affects same. . . ."

TEXAS CHILDRENS' HOSPITAL, Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Bill Newbold and Associates, Arlington, Va. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Cost containment, health planning, health delivery systems, etc."

TEXAS HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION, Austin, Texas. Lobbyist — Bill Newbold and Associates, Arlington, Va. Filed 10/9/79. Legislative interest — "Cost containment, health planning, health delivery systems, etc."

TEXAS SCOTTISH RITE HOSPITAL FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN, Houston, Texas. Lobbyist — Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, Washington, D.C. Filed 10/10/79. Legislative interest — "In support of amendment to exempt oil royalties held by certain tax-exempt organizations from windfall profits tax." ∎

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PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES

CQ

Text of President Carter's Budget Message

Following is the text of President Carter's Jan. 22 budget message to Congress:

TO THE CONGRESS
OF THE UNITED STATES:

This budget for fiscal year 1980 is lean and austere. It recommends a spending level well below that suggested by the recent momentum of Federal spending. It will disappoint those who seek expanded Federal efforts across the board. It meets my commitment to a deficit of $30 billion or less.

This policy of restraint is not a casual one. It is an imperative if we are to overcome the threat of accelerating inflation.

If that threat is realized, it would severely disrupt our economy and the well-being of our society. Americans with low and fixed incomes would suffer the most. Restraint would eventually become an inescapable necessity. But the longer we wait, the more severe and costly the inevitable restraint will be. By contrast, this budget supports a balanced fiscal policy. It is sufficiently restrained to ease inflationary pressures, but it will permit continued economic growth.

The Federal Government cannot overcome inflation by itself. Success will require cooperation from business, from labor, from consumers, from State and local governments — in short, from everyone. I have called for that cooperation as part of my anti-inflation program. However, only through its leadership and its example can the Federal Government secure this cooperation. This budget provides that leadership. It restrains Government's demand on the economy. At the same time, it makes the Federal dollar work harder and better.

The key to effective Federal leadership against inflation, unemployment, and poverty lies in more effective allocation and management of available resources. We must reduce the growth of total Federal spending while protecting the security of our Nation and the well-being of the American people.

This budget provides the necessary discipline over Federal spending by:

—eliminating programs that are unworkable;

—improving programs to make them more effective;

—focusing assistance on the disadvantaged and the poor; and

—reorganizing and consolidating Federal activities to improve efficiency and avoid waste, abuse, or mismanagement.

I believe this discipline represents an opportunity to reassess and build strong foundations for future Government activity, an opportunity to change Government for the better. It is my firm intention to continue these policies in future years, to reduce the size of the deficit, and to achieve a balanced budget as soon as economic conditions permit.

My budget provides for total outlays in 1980 of $532 billion, an increase of $38 billion, or 7.7%, over 1979, and receipts of $503 billion. For 1981 and 1982, it provides for total outlays of $578 billion and $615 billion, respectively. Budget outlays will decrease as a share of the Nation's gross national product from 22.1% in 1978 to 21.2% in 1980 and 20.3% in 1982. This reduction in the share of our national product spent by the Federal Government is a fundamental goal of my policy, equally as important as reducing the deficit.

The expenditures I recommend are specifically focused on overcoming our Nation's crucial problems. Through rigorous zero-base analyses, priorities have been established to help us get the best Government possible for the resources we can afford. Careful attention to efficiency and productivity will enable Federal managers to achieve our most important priorities with less money and fewer people.

The spending restraint in this budget means that in some areas the Government will simply not be able to do as much as it has in the past. Inevitably, real sacrifices must be made if we are to overcome inflation. In formulating this budget, I have made every effort to spread that burden fairly and objectively. Restraint has not been applied arbitrarily.

However, there are areas where we cannot make major reductions. I have sought to reconcile the need for extraordinary restrictions on Government spending with the need to maintain a strong defense; to implement a national energy policy; to assist people in need; and to continue important public services and investments.

First, as President, it is my central responsibility to ensure that our defense forces are strong enough to deter aggression. This budget does that.

In May of 1977 I met with our NATO allies and urged that we work together to strengthen our common defense. They are meeting the goal that we agreed upon. We must and will do our share.

In total, the 1980 defense budget provides for growth in outlays in real terms of 3% above the current year's spending. Most of this increase will be for strengthening our NATO forces and maintaining the strategic balance. The budget continues my policy of steady modernization of our strategic forces, and improved combat readiness of our tactical forces. It also emphasizes research and development to meet future challenges to our security. At the same time, however, it restrains defense costs by introducing important economies in purchasing, supply management, and personnel costs and numbers.

Second, the 1980 budget recognizes the vital importance of energy to the Nation. Because of our dependence on foreign oil, we continue to be in danger of having supplies disrupted as they were 5 years ago. It is essential that we continue to move forward with an effective national energy program that will decrease our demand for foreign oil and protect against disruption of foreign oil supplies.

The 1980 budget provides for the continued buildup of the strategic petroleum reserve. It continues to assist in the development of technologies to tap our domestic energy resources more effectively. I have given special emphasis to developing advanced solar power technologies. The budget proposals give increased attention to more efficient use of uranium, to nuclear proliferation and environmental problems, and to effective measures to deal with nuclear waste.

Third, even when budget restraint is essential, we will continue as a compassionate society to meet our commitments to the disadvantaged. Therefore, I have ensured that my budget include adequate funds for programs that help those Americans most truly in need. To make these funds as effective as possible, the budget includes recommendation for adjustments in direct payment programs, better targeting of existing programs, and improved management so that funds are not wasted but go to the people for whom they were intended.

My administration is developing a national health plan. Consistent with the development of that plan, the budget emphasizes programs to address critical health needs. As early steps toward this plan, my proposals extend health services to 2 mil-

lion more low-income children and pregnant women who cannot afford health care that they need, and bring new health care resources to people who live in medically-underserved areas. The budget includes new and expanded programs to reduce activities that cause ill health, such as drug and alcohol abuse, as well as to protect individuals and communities from pollution and other toxic substances; increased funding for mental health research; and expanded health-related services such as nutrition programs for low-income mothers and children.

I am again proposing legislation to contain the exorbitant nationwide rise in hospital costs. The 320% rise in these costs in the past 10 years has been a major inflationary force and an unacceptable drain on family incomes. The Congress *must* act on this problem.

Curbs on hospital costs will benefit State and local budgets — and those of private citizens — as well as the Federal budget. They will strike directly at inflation in a sector where price increases have been chronically high.

The budget recommends a number of changes in the social security system to streamline it and eliminate unnecessary benefit payments. They will reduce the future costs of this largest of all Federal programs — and, ultimately, hold down the taxes imposed on workers and employers. I will consider future social security tax reductions in conjunction with these savings.

In the past 2 years, total employment in the U.S. has increased by 7.4 million jobs. This is an average rate of 4.1% per year, one of the most rapid expansions in our history. The proportion of our civilian population employed is higher, at almost 60%, than it has ever been before. But despite these gains, unemployment, particularly among the disadvantaged and minorities, remains too high.

Continued high structural unemployment in an inflationary economy requires a redirection of our efforts. Programs targeted to employ the truly disadvantaged are continued at their current high levels as established by this administration. More general employment programs, not directed specifically to those most in need, must be reduced to reflect improvements in the economy and our need to establish priorities. Our youth employment and CETA programs reflect my continued strong commitment to fight unemployment of the needy. The employment tax credit enacted last year is encouraging the private sector to provide increased employment opportunities for the disadvantaged, primarily youth. This incentive will be reinforced by a private sector employment initiative, for which I am requesting a $400 million supplemental appropriation for 1979.

This budget also provides strong support for economic development programs, and again proposes a National Development Bank to help fund these efforts. The budget provides for a 36% increase in assistance to minority business enterprises.

Finally, I believe that the Federal Government must lead the way in investing in the Nation's future. This budget, therefore, continues my policy of providing real growth in Federal support of basic research. This support amounts to a relatively small part of the total budget — $4.6 billion in 1980 — but it is vital to the future of our Nation. The knowledge created through basic research holds the potential for breakthroughs to the solution of problems we face or may face in such critical areas as agriculture, health, environment, energy, defense, and the overall productivity of our economy. Higher productivity gains in the future, moreover, will make an important contribution to reducing inflation.

Meeting the essential needs of the Nation, while restraining growth in overall spending, makes efficient management not just desirable, but essential.

In 1977 I proposed — and the Congress approved — a Cabinet-level Department of Energy, a streamlined Executive Office of the President, and a consolidation of our international information activities.

In 1978 I proposed — and the Congress approved — reorganizations of the Federal civil service system, emergency preparedness and disaster relief programs, civil rights enforcement, and the pension plan insurance system in order to make them more responsive and effective.

In 1979 I will resubmit my proposal to establish a Department of Education and propose further reorganization and consolidation in economic development assistance, natural resources management, and surface transportation.

For the second year, my budget reflects detailed, Government-wide, zero-base budgeting. Agency programs were explicitly ranked by priority, and programs were ranked across agencies, in a new interagency, zero-base budgeting process.

For the first time, the budget reflects the 3-year budget planning system I have instituted to gain better control of the longer-range effects and direction of Government policies.

In this budget I am proposing a new system to control the growth of Federal credit activities, particularly federally-guaranteed credit.

Other important steps will be taken to improve the way the Government operates and the way it affects the private sector. To increase the efficiency of the private sector, the administration will eliminate unnecessary regulation where possible, and will minimize the redtape involved in necessary environmental and safety regulation. Further efforts will be made to reduce excessive paper work. State and local governments, private institutions, and citizens will benefit from simplified conditions for receiving Federal assistance. In particular, a number of programs have been consolidated to simplify the grant system, and more will be proposed in the future. The Government's own management will be improved through more effective cash management, application of the Civil Service Reform Act, and use of new offices of Inspectors General to identify waste and search out fraud and corruption.

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Preparing this budget reminds me once more of the overwhelming demands upon the Federal budget and of the limits on our resources.

I believe that we must firmly limit what the Government taxes and spends. We must balance public and private needs. We must set priorities more carefully. We must change some old priorities and establish new ones. We must defer some of our demands if we are to meet adequately today's most critical needs.

These principles have guided my actions in shaping this budget and they will continue to do so in the future:

—the budget must be kept within the bounds of what is appropriate in today's economic circumstances;

—the Government has no resources of its own, its only resources are those it collects from the taxpayer;

—Government action must be limited to those areas where its intervention is more likely to solve problems than to compound them; and,

—We have an obligation to manage with excellence and to maintain proper priorities within the $532 billion proposed in this budget.

I know that the Congress shares these beliefs. You, as well as the executive branch, are sensitive to the American people's concerns about the scope of Government, the burdens of taxes, the needs of our citizens, and the efficiency of public management. Indeed, the Congress in the last few years has taken important steps — in particular, through the establishment of the congressional budget process — to improve its own means of establishing priorities. I have worked closely with the Congress, and will continue in this spirit of cooperation.

I look forward to working with the Congress and its leadership on this budget.

The decisions I have made are difficult ones. They involve, not figures on a balance sheet, but the lives and future of the American people. I have chosen restraint in Government spending because inflation must be controlled. I have tried to be equitable in ordering priorities. Yet I have continued to support those programs that represent our most pressing needs. To do so I have terminated, reduced, or deferred other programs.

It is difficult to maintain a sense of strong national purpose when we do not face a clear and immediate crisis. But it is equally important. These are times when responsible leadership means anticipating those day-to-day actions that enable us to avoid crises and to build toward the future. This has been the fundamental purpose behind the decisions considered here, and that is the intent of this budget.

JIMMY CARTER

January 22, 1979

State of the Union Message

Following is the White House text of President Carter's Jan. 23 State of the Union address to Congress:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the 96th Congress, my fellow citizens:

Tonight I want to examine in a broad sense the state of our American Union — how we are building a new foundation for a peaceful and prosperous world.

Our children born this year will come of age in the 21st Century. What kind of society, what kind of world are we building for them? Will we ourselves be at peace? Will our own children enjoy a better quality of life? Will a strong and united America still be a force for freedom and prosperity around the world?

Tonight, there is every sign that the state of our Union is sound. Our economy offers greater prosperity to more of our people than ever before. Real per capita income and real business profits have risen substantially. Farm exports are setting all-time records, and farm income last year was up more than 25 percent. Our liberties are secure. Our military defenses are strong and growing stronger. And more importantly tonight, America is at peace.

Our earliest national commitments modified and reshaped by succeeding generations have served us well. But the problems we face today are different in nature from those that confronted earlier generations of Americans. They are more subtle, more complex, more interrelated. At home, few of these problems can be solved by government alone. Abroad, few of them can be solved by the United States alone.

But Americans as a united people — working with our allies and friends — have never been afraid to face and to solve problems either here or abroad.

The challenge to us is to build a new and firmer foundation for the future — for a sound economy, for a more effective government, for political trust, and for a stable peace — so that the America our children inherit will be even stronger and better than our own. We cannot resort to simplistic or extreme solutions which substitute myths for common sense.

In our economy it is a myth that we must choose endlessly between inflation and recession. Together, we build the foundation for a strong economy with lower inflation without contriving either a recession with its high unemployment, or unworkable mandatory government controls.

In our government it is a myth that we must choose between compassion and competence. Together, we build the foundation for a government that works — and that works for people.

In our relations with our potential adversaries it is a myth that we must choose between confrontation and capitulation. Together, we build the foundation for a stable world of both diversity and peace.

Together, we have already begun to build the foundation for confidence in our economic system. During the last two years, in bringing our economy out of the deepest recession since the 1930's, we have created over 7,100,000 new jobs. The unemployment rate has gone down 25 percent. Now we must redouble our fight against the persistent inflation that has wracked our country for more than a decade.

Inflation is a burden for all Americans, but it is a disaster for the poor, the sick and the old. No American family should be forced to choose among food, warmth, health care or decent housing because the cost of any of these basic necessities has climbed out of reach.

Three months ago, I outlined a balanced anti-inflation program that couples responsible government restraint with responsible wage and price restraint. It is based upon my knowledge that there is a more powerful force than government compulsion — the force created by the cooperative efforts of millions of Americans working toward a common goal.

Business and labor have been increasingly supportive. It is imperative that we in government do our part. We must stop excessive government growth, and control government spending habits.

I have sent to this Congress a stringent, but fair, budget — one that, just since I ran for President in 1976, will have cut the federal deficit in half and as a percentage of our gross national product the deficit will have dropped by almost 75 percent.

The Congress had a good record last year, and I now ask this 96th Congress to continue our partnership in holding the line on excess federal spending. It will not be easy. We must be strong and persistent. This budget is a clear message that, with the help of you and the American people, I am determined to bring inflation under control.

The 1980 budget provides enough spending restraint to begin unwinding inflation, but enough support for our country to keep American workers productive and to encourage investment to provide new jobs. We will continue to mobilize our Nation's resources to reduce our trade deficit substantially this year and to maintain the strength of the American dollar.

We have demonstrated in this restrained budget that we can build on the gains of the past two years to provide additional support to educate disadvantaged children, to care for the elderly, to provide nutrition and legal services for the poor and to strengthen the economic base of our urban communities and also rural areas. This year we will take our first steps to develop a national health plan.

We must never accept a permanent group of unemployed Americans, with no hope and no stake in building our society. For those left out of our economy because of discrimination, lack of skills or poverty, we must maintain high levels of training, and we must provide jobs.

A responsible budget is not our only weapon to control inflation. We must act now to protect all Americans from health care costs that are rising $1 million an hour, 24 hours a day — doubling every five years. We must take control of the largest contributor to that inflation — skyrocketing hospital costs. There will be no clearer test of the commitment of this Congress to the anti-inflation fight than the legislation I will submit again this year to hold down inflation in hospital care.

Over the next five years my proposal will save Americans a total of $60 billion, of which $25 billion will be savings to the American taxpayer in the federal budget itself. The American people have waited long enough. This year we must act on hospital cost containment.

We must also fight inflation by improvements and better enforcement of antitrust laws, and by reducing government obstacles to competition in the private sector.

We must begin to scrutinize the overall effect of regulation in our economy. Through deregulation of the airline industry we have increased profits, cut prices for all Americans, and begun for one of the few times in the history of our nation to actually dismantle a major federal bureaucracy. This year we must begin the effort to reform our regulatory process for the railroad, bus and trucking industries.

America has the greatest economic system in the world. Let's reduce government interference and give it a chance to work.

And I call on Congress to take other anti-inflation action — to expand our exports and protect American jobs threatened by unfair trade; to conserve energy; increase production and speed development of solar power; and to reassess our Nation's technological superiority. American workers who enlist in the fight against inflation deserve not just our gratitude, but the protection of the real wage insurance proposal that I have already made to Congress.

To be successful, we must change our attitudes as well as our policies. We cannot afford to live beyond our means, we cannot afford to create programs we can neither manage nor finance, or to waste our natural resources; and we cannot tolerate mismanagement and fraud. Above all, we must meet the challenge of inflation as a united people.

With the support of the American people, government in recent decades has helped to dismantle racial barriers; has provided assistance for the jobless and retired; has fed the hungry; has protected the safety, health and bargaining rights of American workers; and has helped to preserve our natural heritage.

But it is not enough to have created a lot of government programs. Now we must make the good programs more effective, and improve or weed out those which are wasteful or unnecessary.

With the support of the Congress, we have begun to reorganize and get control of the bureaucracy. We are reforming the civil service system, so that we can recog-

nize and reward those who do a good job, and correct or remove those who do not.

This year we must extend major reorganization efforts to education, to economic development and to the management of our natural resources. We need to enact a sunset law so that when government programs have outlived their value they will automatically be terminated.

There is no such thing as effective and non-controversial reorganization and reform. But we know that honest and effective government is essential to restore public faith in our public action.

None of us can be satisfied when two-thirds of American citizens chose not to vote last year in the national election. Too many Americans feel powerless against the influence of private lobbying groups and the unbelievable flood of private campaign money which threatens our electoral process. This year, we must regain the public's faith by requiring limited public financing for Congressional election campaigns.

A strong economy and an effective government will restore confidence here in America. But the path to the future must be charted in peace. We must continue to build a new and firm foundation for a stable world community.

We are building that new foundation from a position of national strength — the strength of our own defenses, of our friendship with other nations, and of our oldest ideals. America's military power is a major force for security and stability in the world. We must maintain our strategic capability and continue the progress of the last two years with our NATO allies, with whom we have increased our readiness, modernized our equipment, and strengthened our defense forces in Europe. I urge you to support the strong Defense budget I have proposed.

But our national security in this complicated age requires more than military might. In less than a lifetime, world population has doubled; colonial empires have disappeared; and a hundred new nations have been born. Mass communications, literacy, and migration to the world's cities have all awakened new yearnings for economic justice and human rights among people everywhere. This demand for justice and human rights is the wave of the future.

In such a world, the choice is not which superpower will dominate the world. None can and none will. The choice instead is between a world of anarchy and destruction, or a world of cooperation and peace.

In such a world, we seek not to stifle inevitable change, but to influence its course in helpful and constructive ways that enhance our values, our national interests, and the cause of peace.

Towering over all this volatile changing world, like a thundercloud on a summer day, looms the awesome power of nuclear weapons.

We will continue to help shape the forces of change; to anticipate emerging problems of nuclear proliferation and of conventional arms sales; and to use our great strength and influence to settle international conflicts in other parts of the world before they erupt and spread.

We have no desire to be the world's policeman. America does want to be the world's peacemaker.

We are building the foundation for truly global cooperation — not only with Western and industrial nations, but with the developing countries as well. Our ties with Japan and our European allies are stronger than ever — and so are our friendly relations with the people of Latin America, Africa, and the Western Pacific and Asia.

We have won new respect in this hemisphere with the Panama Canal Treaties. We have gained new trust within the developing world through our opposition to racism, our commitment to human rights, and our support for majority rule in Africa.

The Multilateral Trade Negotiations are now reaching a successful conclusion, and Congressional approval is essential to the economic well-being of our country and of the world. This will be one of our top priorities in 1979.

We are entering a hopeful era in our relations with one-fourth of the world's people who live in China. The visit of Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping next week will help to inaugurate that new era. And with prompt Congressional action on authorizing legislation, we will continue our commitment to a prosperous, peaceful, and secure life for the people of Taiwan.

I am grateful that in the past year — as in the year before — no American had died in combat anywhere in the world. And in Iran, Nicaragua, Cyprus, Namibia, and Rhodesia, our country is working for peaceful solutions to dangerous conflicts.

In the Middle East — under most difficult circumstances — we have sought to help ancient enemies lay aside deep-seated differences that have produced four bitter wars in our lifetime.

Our firm commitment to Israel's survival and security is rooted in our deepest convictions and in our knowledge of the strategic importance to our own nation of a stable Middle East. To promote peace and reconciliation in the region, we must retain the trust and confidence both of Israel and of the Arab nations that are sincerely searching for peace.

I am determined to use the full beneficial influence of our Nation so that the precious opportunity for lasting peace between Israel and Egypt will not be lost.

The new foundation of international cooperation we seek excludes no nation. Cooperation with the Soviet Union serves the cause of peace, for in the nuclear age, world peace must include peace between the superpowers — and it must mean the control of nuclear arms.

Ten years ago, the United States and the Soviet Union made the historic decision to open the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, or SALT. The purpose of SALT, then as now, is not to gain a unilateral advantage for either nation, but to protect the security of both nations — to reverse the costly and dangerous momentum of the arms race — to preserve a stable balance of nuclear forces — and to demonstrate to a concerned world that we are determined to help preserve the peace.

The first SALT agreement was concluded in 1972. Since then, during six years of negotiation — by both Republican and Democratic leaders — nearly all issues of SALT II have been resolved. If the Soviet Union continues to negotiate in good faith, a responsible agreement will be reached.

It is important that the American people understand the nature of the SALT process.

SALT II is not based on sentiment. It is based on self-interest — of the United States and the Soviet Union. Both nations share a powerful common interest in reducing the threat of a nuclear war. I will sign no agreement which does not enhance our national security.

SALT II will not rely on trust. It will be verifiable. We have very sophisticated, proven means — including our satellites — to determine for ourselves whether the Soviet Union is meeting its treaty obligations. I will sign no agreement which cannot be verified.

The American nuclear deterrent will remain strong after SALT II. For example, just one of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines — less than two percent of our total nuclear force of submarines, aircraft, and land-based missiles — carries enough warheads to destory every large and medium-sized city in the Soviet Union. Our deterrent is overwhelming — and I will sign no agreement unless our deterrent force will remain overwhelming.

A SALT agreement cannot substitute for wise diplomacy or a strong defense, nor will it end the danger of nuclear war. But it will certainly reduce that danger. It will strengthen our efforts to ban nuclear tests and to stop the spread of atomic weapons to other nations. And it can begin the process of negotiating new agreements which will further limit nuclear arms.

The path of arms control backed by a strong defense — the path our Nation and every President has walked for 30 years — can lead to a world of law and of international negotiation and consultation in which all peoples might live in peace.

In this year, 1979, nothing is more important than that the Congress and the people of the United States resolve to continue with me on that path of nuclear arms control and peace. This is paramount.

I have outlined some of the changes that have transformed the world and which are continuing as we meet here tonight. But we need not fear change. The values on which our Nation was founded — individual liberty, self-determination, the potential for human fulfillment in freedom — all of these endure. We find these democratic principles praised even in books smuggled out of totalitarian nations, and on wall posters in lands we thought were closed to our influence.

Our country has regained its special place of leadership in the worldwide struggle for human rights.

And that is a commitment we must keep at home, as well as abroad. The Civil Rights revolution freed all Americans, black and white, but its full promise remains unrealized. I will continue to work with all my strength for equal opportunity for all Americans — and for affirmative action for those who carry the extra burden of past denial of equal opportunity. We remain committed to improving our labor laws to better protect the rights of all American workers. And our nation must make it clear that the legal rights of women as citizens are guaranteed under the laws of our land by ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment.

As long as I am President, at home and around the world, America's example and America's influence will be marshalled to advance the cause of human rights.

To establish those values, two centuries ago a bold generation of Americans risked their property, position, and life itself.

We are their heirs. And they are sending us a message across the centuries. The words they made so vivid are now growing faintly indistinct, because they are not heard often enough. They are words like justice, equality, unity, sacrifice, liberty, faith, and love.

These words remind us that the duty of our generation of Americans is to renew our Nation's faith — not focused just against foreign threats, but against selfishness, cynicism, and apathy.

The new foundation I have discussed tonight can help us build a nation and a world where every child is nurtured and can look to the future with hope — where the resources now wasted on war can be turned towards human needs — where all people have enough to eat, a decent home, and protection from disease.

It can help us build a nation and a world where all people are free to seek the truth and to add to human understanding, so that all of us may live our lives in peace.

Tonight, I ask you to join me in building that new foundation — a better foundation — for our country and our world. ∎

Economic Report

Following is a text of President Carter's Jan. 25 economic report to Congress:

TO THE CONGRESS
OF THE UNITED STATES:

Two years ago when I took office our economy was still struggling to recover from the deep recession of 1974-75. Unemployment was widespread, and a substantial part of our industrial capacity stood idle.

Today 7 million more Americans are at work, and factories across the country have regained high levels of output. Family incomes, after adjustment for inflation, have risen handsomely and so have business profits.

The task now confronting us is to manage an economy operating at close to its capacity — to sustain prosperity and extend its benefits more widely among our citizens.

Under the best circumstances, designing economic policies to carry out that task calls for restraint and careful choices. Developing such policies has been made more complex by the acceleration of inflation last year and the declining growth of productivity that was partly responsible for it.

My economic and budgetary program deals forthrightly with the economic realities we face today. It is based on four principles.

First, reducing inflation must be our top economic priority. Inflation endangers the gains in employment and income that we have made during the past 2 years. We must act forcefully and effectively to combat inflation, and we must persist until the battle is won.

Second, government must do its job better. Reducing inflation will require budgetary austerity and moderation of economic growth. With productivity growth at a low ebb, living standards will not rise as fast as they have in the past 2 years. In such a climate, waste, inefficiency, or misplaced priorities are particularly intolerable. It is now more essential than ever that our government, in both its budgetary and regulatory programs, make the best use of the resources at its disposal and seek better, less costly means to achieve our national objectives.

Third, we will not reduce inflation at the expense of the most vulnerable members of our society — the poor, the elderly, and those who have difficulty finding jobs even in a high-employment economy. Ours is a compassionate Nation, dedicated to a sense of fairness. We will not lose sight of those who most need our help.

Fourth, our policies must reflect the fact that the United States is a very important part of a closely related world economy. We will continue to pursue domestic policies and undertake other actions as necessary and appropriate to foster a strong and stable dollar, and we will join with other countries to promote an open and growing world economy.

In the months ahead, I will work closely with the Congress to ensure that the policies adopted by this government are consistent with these four precepts. The budget for 1980 must be very tight, and I intend to make sure that a fiscal policy of firm and measured restraint is maintained. But the budget must continue and strengthen our most essential programs, and I have supported such programs strongly. In order to further the fight against inflation, I will seek prompt adoption of my real wage insurance program and my proposals for hospital cost containment and regulatory reform.

I will continue to seek the cooperation and support of the American people in the fight against inflation. Last October, I proposed to the Nation a program of price and pay standards designed to brake the price-wage spiral that has beset our economy for more than a decade. This program has received substantial support from the American people, and I will make every effort to enlist the broadest possible cooperation with it in the year to come.

The pay and price standards ask every American to exercise restraint. Every American should therefore expect the government to ensure that its own actions will contribute to, not undermine, the voluntary effort to reduce inflation. Steadfast pursuit of fiscal and monetary discipline and limits on the inflationary impacts of other government actions are crucial to the success of the anti-inflation program. Together, the actions of government and the private sector can lay a new foundation for a durable prosperity.

Progress and Problems in 1978

Among my first actions in office were steps to stengthen economic growth and speed the return to a high-employment economy. Those actions paid generous dividends. In 1977 our rate of economic growth increased by nearly a full percentage point over the prior year, and in 1978 the Nation's output of goods and services advanced by a healthy 4.25 percent. Today our Nation is using its industrial capacity more fully than a year ago.

Last year 3 million new jobs were created. A larger proportion of our people is at work now than at any other time in our history. Gains in employment during the past 2 years have been especially strong among women and members of minority groups.

Unemployment declined to less than 6 percent of the labor force during 1978. Nearly 1.5 million fewer Americans were unemployed in December 1978 than 2 years earlier. Unemployment among minority groups has also begun to decline from the very high levels that persisted earlier in the recovery, but these groups still bear a disproportionate share of the burden of unemployment.

Gains in employment and output produced strongly rising incomes for most Americans during 1978. Disposable personal income, adjusted for inflation, rose by more than 3 percent over the 4 quarters of last year. The income of our country's farmers, which was severely depressed in 1976 and 1977, showed a marked recovery.

Business profits rose more than 10 percent in 1978, thereby promoting conditions for the continued growth in investment needed for productivity improvement and healthy economic expansion. Business

investment in new plant and equipment also strengthened in 1978, raising the proportion of our national output devoted to capital formation to the highest level in 4 years.

On most counts, the prosperity of our Nation rests on a solid base. Our economy at the end of last year was still growing strongly. The momentum of expansion will be sustained early this year by the reductions in taxes on individual incomes and corporate profits that were provided in the Revenue Act of 1978. Last year, as in the earlier years of the recovery, the process of economic expansion remained relatively well balanced. Business inventories are lean. Industrial firms and financial institutions are in good financial condition. Shortages and speculative buying generally are absent. But inflation does pose a serious threat to the Nation's continued economic health. If we make progress in reducing inflation, the prospects are good for a successful transition from a period of economic recovery to a period of moderate but sustained growth.

For more than 10 years, our country, like many other nations, has faced stubborn inflation. During the course of 1978 our inflation problem worsened. Consumer prices rose by about 9 percent, a large acceleration from the 6 percent rate of inflation in 1977. Increases in wages also were larger and, since productivity gains declined sharply, costs of production moved up much more strongly.

The anti-inflation effort was given top priority in 1978. In May, I recommended that the Congress reduce by $5 billion and delay 3 months the tax cut that had been proposed earlier. In October, I set forth a strong and comprehensive program to combat inflation. Shortly thereafter, in cooperation with other countries, the Nation undertook a series of measures to strengthen the dollar abroad and further contribute to a reduction of inflation at home.

Inflation in 1978

Rising inflation last year stemmed from several sources. Cold winter weather affected food supplies and prices. Depreciation of the dollar in foreign exchange markets added to prices of imports and to prices of goods produced by U.S. firms that compete with imported products. Costs of land and building materials were driven up by exuberant demands for new homes, and the rise of mortgage interest rates added to the costs of buying a home. At the same time, the cumulative effects of government legislation and regulation over recent years gave further impetus to cost pressures.

A large part of the worsening of inflation last year, however, stemmed from poor productivity. Over the past decade or more, the rate of growth in our productivity has been slowing. In late 1977 and throughout 1978, the slowdown in productivity growth reached serious proportions. Last year the productivity of our economy increased by less than 1 percent.

The reasons for the weakening of productivity growth in our country, especially its poor performance last year, are complex and are not fully understood. But the consequences are well known. With slower productivity growth, our living standards individually and as a Nation cannot rise as fast. Slower productivity growth means that the resources available for carrying out governmental programs become scarcer. It means that large increases in wages and other incomes put greater upward pressure on costs and prices. If we ignore the realities of slower productivity growth — if governments continue to press forward with unabated claims on resources, and private citizens continue to demand large gains in money incomes — our inflationary problem will worsen.

Dealing with Inflation

Inflation injures every person in our country. It means that paychecks do not go as far as they once did. It means that savings accumulated for retirement or for a child's education become inadequate. Many poor and elderly persons see prices they pay for food, shelter, and heat rise rapidly while their incomes rise slowly or not at all. These problems are so acute that they demand an all-out effort to reduce inflation. Yet rising prices and costs have additional and very serious effects on our economy as a whole.

Inflation drives up interest rates. It undermines the competitiveness of our industries and the value of our dollar abroad. Confidence of businesses in the future is reduced and investment plans are upset. Consumers' confidence in their own future is sapped. Sooner or later, these effects of inflation will undermine the basis for economic expansion and make sustained prosperity impossible.

Finally, the corrosive effects of inflation eat away at the ties that bind us together as a people. One of the major tasks of a democratic government is to maintain conditions in which its citizens have a sense of command over their own destiny. During an inflation individuals watch in frustration as the value of last week's pay increase or last month's larger social security check is steadily eroded over the remainder of the year by a process that is beyond their individual control. All of us have to plan for the future when we lend or borrow, save for a child's education, change a job, buy a home, or choose a career. The future is uncertain enough in any event, and the outcome of our plans is never fully within our own control. When the value of the measuring rod with which we do our planning — the purchasing power of the dollar — is subject to large and unpredictable shrinkage, one more element of command over our own future slips away. It is small wonder that trust in government and in social institutions is simultaneously eroded.

It is for all of these reasons that reducing inflation must now be the primary concern of economic policy.

Policies to Control Inflation

Firm, sustained and carefully applied fiscal and monetary restraint must be the first element in our effort to reduce inflation. We have entered a period in which the high rate of economic growth that we experienced when the margin of unused resources was larger no longer is appropriate. We will apply the needed restraint and stick with it.

We will *not* try to wring inflation out of our economic system by pursuing policies designed to bring about a recession. That course of action would be unfair. It would put the heaviest burden of fighting inflation on those who can least afford to bear it. It also would be ineffective. Twice in the past decade inflation has accelerated and a recession has followed, but each recession brought only limited relief from inflation. The underlying pressures behind rising prices and costs continued to be strong, and inflation eventually accelerated again when recovery began. Stop-and-go policies do not work. A successful anti-inflation program must be durable to deal with a long-run inflation problem. Our program meets that test.

When I announced my anti-inflation initiatives last October, I pledged to pursue a restrained budgetary policy in fiscal year 1980. I have kept that pledge. The central element of my fiscal program is tight control over Federal spending:

- Growth in Federal spending will be curtailed. As in 1979, Federal outlays in the next fiscal year will increase in real terms by significantly less than 1 percent.
- The share of the Nation's output accounted for by Federal spending will be reduced to about 21 percent in fiscal 1980, a full year ahead of the schedule that I had earlier announced.

Restricted growth in Federal spending, combined with the revenues yielded by a moderately growing economy, will reduce the budget deficit to $29 billion in fiscal 1980, less than half its size in the year before I took office. This course of fiscal policy will exert the measured restraint that is needed. Excessive demands upon the Nation's resources will be avoided. Growth in economic activity will slow to a little below the rise in the Nation's economic potential.

These measures of fiscal policy are being complemented by firm and careful monetary restraint on the part of the Federal Reserve Board. In this way, monetary and fiscal policy are supporting each other to combat inflationary pressures and foster a healthy and stable economy.

Other Governmental Actions

I am taking other steps to reduce the inflationary effects of government actions. I have directed the agencies of the executive branch to pay special attention to ensuring that the regulations they issue do not impose unnecessary burdens on the public, and I shall continue the efforts that got under way in 1978 to improve the regulatory process.

Last year the deregulation of the airline industry brought American consumers the benefits of substantially lower prices and better service. This year I intend to seek congressional approval of legislation to increase the role of competitive forces in the trucking and railroad industries. I will submit to the Congress legislation to reform the process by which regulations are developed by Federal agencies, and to increase the emphasis on a careful balancing of costs and benefits. And I am taking steps to reduce the burden of paperwork imposed by the government on the private sector.

Government must set a clear example in the fight against inflation. For that reason, I ordered last year that the rate of pay increase for Federal workers be held to 5.5 percent and that sharp limitations be imposed on new Federal hiring.

Although these actions by government will not, by themselves, bring inflation to an end, they are indispensable. They can create an environment that encourages voluntary cooperation with the pay and price standards. Without restraint by government, the pressures of an overheated economy easily could render meaningless the best efforts of businesses and workers to reduce price and wage increases. However, it will take broad cooperation from the private sector if the voluntary effort is to succeed in reducing inflation.

Voluntary Wage and Price Standards

The voluntary wage and price standards call for an average rate of pay increase of 7 percent or less this year. I also have asked businesses to hold their average rate of price increase to at least one-half percentage point below the average rate of increase in 1976-77. Where such price deceleration is not possible, the standards provide for limitations on profit margins.

To meet these standards, both workers and businesses must exercise restraint. But they are fair and flexible standards. If they are widely observed, as I believe they will be, we can reverse the momentum of the price-wage cycle and gradually bring down the rate of inflation.

I recognize that cooperation with this program entails uncertainties for workers who comply with the wage standards. They may lose if others do not comply, or if forces beyond anyone's control cause prices to rise unexpectedly. In order to provide them some assurance that those who cooperate will not suffer as a result, and thus to motivate wider observance of the standards, I have proposed to the Congress a program of real wage insurance. Under this program, if inflation increases by more than 7 percent this year, groups of workers that meet the 7 percent pay standard will receive a tax credit at a rate equal to the difference between the actual inflation rate and 7 percent. This credit will insure workers' real wages over a range of inflation as high as 10 percent this year, far higher than is expected to occur.

The elements of my anti-inflation program are mutually supportive and designed to mount a sustainable attack on our long-run inflation problem. Voluntary cooperation with the pay and price standards is essential to reversing the momentum of inflation. Government needs to take strong action to avoid contributing to inflationary pressures in order to ensure that the benefits of voluntary restraint are fully realized. Together, these policies offer our best opportunity to win the fight against inflation.

Outlook for 1979

My anti-inflation program will support the health of our economy in 1979 in two respects. First, the rate of inflation should slow this year — to about 7.5 percent over the year as a whole, and to somewhat below 7 percent by the end of the year. Second, moderation of inflation will help us avoid a recession and improve the prospects for sustained economic growth in 1980 and beyond.

Over the 4 quarters of 1979, the Nation's output should rise by about 2.25 percent, somewhat less than the economy's potential growth. This should create an economic climate in which the wage and price standards have good prospects for success. The labor force will continue to expand strongly and most new workers will find jobs.

Further progress in reducing inflation can be expected in 1980 as the effects of the anti-inflation program begin to cumulate. Moderate growth in the year ahead, combined with substantial progress against inflation, will lay the basis for an enduring prosperity.

In the years beyond 1980, as we are successful in containing the growth in Federal spending and bringing down the rate of inflation, we can look toward reductions in Federal taxes. Rising real income and inflation, even at a reduced pace, push taxpayers into higher tax brackets and thereby raise the average effective tax rate. Both to sustain economic growth and to relieve citizens from unwarranted tax burdens, tax reductions will, from time to time, be highly desirable.

It would be unwise — and, indeed, very dangerous — to commit ourselves now to any mechanical formula for future reductions. No such formula will pass the test of budgetary responsibility. Our knowledge of future economic conditions and developments affecting the rate of inflation is too limited to make such decisions at this time. There is simply no substitute for the difficult process of matching our overall budgetary policies year by year to the economic requirements of the Nation.

Policies to Meet the Nation's Needs

In a period when the overall growth of budgetary resources must be tightly restrained, budget decisions take on special importance. Some real growth in our defense budget is essential to meet our national security needs and keep our international commitments in the face of the growing military strength of our potential adversaries.

Within the domestic budget I have given special priority to the needs of the poor and the disadvantaged. I have recommended substantial funding for programs that address their needs for assistance in health care, education, employment and training, and basic subsistence. The 1980 budget directs the resources of those programs more carefully toward those most in need. Similarly I have sought to maintain and, in some cases, expand the assistance provided to our financially troubled cities and countries. I have paid particular attention to the need to move ahead with the development of alternative energy sources, including solar energy, and to spur basic research and development, which has been lagging in our country.

We cannot be satisfied with the condition of our economy while many of our disadvantaged citizens, especially among minorities, are unable to find work even in periods of prosperity. In 1978, the Congress enacted with my support the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act. That act restates and amplifies the responsibilities of economic policy that have faced our Nation in recent decades. The act challenges us to provide the fullest possible opportunities for useful employment, to rely on the private sector as the principal provider of jobs, and to create an environment of price stability that will make it possible to sustain prosperity. These are very ambitious goals that challenge us as a Nation to set our sights high. The act also establishes important new procedures for moving toward the realization of full employment and price stability.

Neither can we rest while large numbers of Americans still live in poverty. This Nation has made a concerted effort to provide for those in our society who are in need. We have assisted the poor to acquire the basic necessities of life. We have taken steps to assure adequate incomes and medical care for the elderly. And we have helped to assure better health care, nutrition, and education for the young. My budget for 1980 continues to respond to the challenge that poverty sets before our Nation.

Each of these challenges calls for action by the government. In a period of inflation, however, our ability to act is limited. We cannot do everything, but we must do what we can and do it well. That is the framework within which I have constructed my budgetary program for 1979 and 1980. This budget provides a carefully balanced spending plan which will ensure that the activities of the Federal Government are well administered and effective, and that we continue to respond to the important needs of the country.

My 1980 budget provides important building blocks for the future in many areas:

- *Health programs,* which I have expanded substantially during my first 2 years in office, will be maintained at those

levels and in some cases increased. In addition, consistent with the development of a National Health Plan, new resources have been provided for the Child Health Assessment Program, which will extend Medicaid benefits to over 2 million low-income children. Funds have also been provided for extending Medicaid coverage to 100,000 low-income pregnant women not now eligible.

• *Authority for new spending for education* is maintained at the level that I provided in my budget last year. This program will support spending nearly 20 percent greater, in real terms, than 2 years ago.

• *Publicly assisted housing* will be provided through subsidies for 325,000 new units for families with low or moderate incomes.

• *Job-related programs* will include funds that will support an average of 546,000 public service jobs, phasing down to 467,000 jobs by the end of 1980. These jobs have been targeted more tightly to serve the structurally unemployed. Another 424,000 training opportunities also will be provided for the structurally unemployed. Programs to provide employment and training opportunities for youths remain a high priority. More private sector job opportunities will be made available through the new private sector initiative and the targeted employment tax credit.

• *A welfare reform program,* to take effect in 1982, will expand aid to families with dependent children, increase the earned income tax credit for low-wage workers, substantially improve employment opportunities for the Nation's neediest citizens, and provide fiscal relief to State and local governments with severe welfare burdens. Important reforms in the administration of the program will make America's welfare system easier to operate.

• *Aid to our cities and counties* will continue to be provided through revenue sharing, community development block grants, urban mass transit assistance, and urban development action grants. My budget provides new resources for the National Development Bank and requests funding in fiscal 1979 and 1980 for a new program of special fiscal assistance to cities and counties with severe unemployment problems.

This spending program provides for our Nation's vital needs, while remaining within the constraints required by today's inflationary economy.

The International Economy

Developments last year reminded us once again of the interdependence of our economy and those of other nations around the world. Our trading partners are looking at our ability to deal with our economic problems at home as an indicator of the strength and leadership they can expect from the United States. We will not disappoint them.

Nineteen hundred and seventy-eight was a year of significant progress in the world economy. Real output began to pick up in industrial countries other than the United States. Important initiatives in the international arena occurred in trade policy, in balance of payments adjustment, and in financial markets — all influenced by the cooperation shown at the Bonn Summit.

Late 1978 and early 1979 will mark the culmination of the Tokyo round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. These historic negotiations — which began in 1975 and were intensified in 1977 — should lead to the first comprehensive overhaul of the rules of international trade since the 1960s.

The need for a revamping of the trading system is clear. Our large foreign trade deficit stems in part from a loss of American vitality in world markets. But it has also resulted from the tariff and nontariff barriers of our trading partners. Over the coming years, under a final multilateral trade agreement, barriers at home and abroad will be reciprocally dismantled.

During 1979 I will be working closely with the Congress to adopt the final multilateral trade agreement, along with implementing legislation, that will foster robust export growth and free and fair competition in world trade under rules that are both equitable and economically sensible. These measures will provide a framework for trade that will enhance our living standards in the decade to come.

In recent years, the United States has had a serious balance of payments deficit. Our imports surged as we grew rapidly and drew heavily on imported oil. Our exports lagged because of slow economic growth abroad. These factors contributed to a trade deficit rising from about $10 billion in 1976 to an annual rate of almost $45 billion in early 1978. As a result of the sharp increase in our external deficit and the acceleration of inflation in the United States, the value of the dollar in foreign exchange markets fell substantially last year.

We have taken important steps to correct the deficit:

• In late 1978, Congress enacted the National Energy Act, the first comprehensive legislation for dealing with our energy problems. The effect will be to reduce our oil imports in 1985 by 2.5 million barrels per day.

• In 1978, I announced the first phase of a National Export Policy. By setting up a framework to increase support for exports and reduce disincentives to export, we can begin to increase our share of world commerce. Fundamental improvement in our trade position is critical to a healthy dollar.

• A strong and effective anti-inflation program has been put into place. An integral part of that program consists of monetary and fiscal policies that will moderate the rate of economic expansion. These actions will help reduce our large foreign trade deficit.

These policies were beginning to bear fruit by the end of 1978. Exports today are growing more rapidly than the domestic economy. The merchandise trade deficit declined from a $38 billion annual rate in the first half of last year to about $32 billion in the latter half of the year. Narrowing of the deficit should continue and we foresee a marked improvement in the more comprehensive current account measure.

Nineteen hundred and seventy-eight was also a year of unusual instability in international financial markets. In the fall, movements in the exchange value of the dollar became very disorderly, and its decline became clearly excessive.

On November 1, I announced a series of steps to restore order to the foreign exchange markets and to correct the excessive decline of the dollar. Up to $30 billion in foreign exchange resources were assembled by the United States, to be used in coordination with other countries utilizing their own resources, to protect the dollar's value in currency markets. Domestic interest rates were raised significantly to help reduce inflation and strengthen the dollar in exchange markets. And the United States underlined its commitment to deal with its inflation problem and strengthen its underlying economic position.

These actions have improved the tone of the exchange markets and contributed to a rise in the value of the dollar. More importantly for the longer term, they are helping to create more stable conditions in the exchange markets, in which the value of the dollar can better reflect the fundamental strength of the U.S. economy.

Progress also was made in 1978 in achieving closer economic cooperation among the leading industrial nations. I met in Bonn with the leaders of the six major industrial countries to discuss major economic problems facing us. Out of this came a concerted action program to restore greater balance and confidence in the international economy and in world financial markets. Together, we took the necessary steps to achieve those ends — the United States committed itself to combat inflation and reduce oil imports, Germany and Japan to increase growth and reduce trade surpluses, others to take measures on trade or inflation. Only through continued economic cooperation and sound policies can we attain the goal of full employment and price stability that is our ultimate objective.

Building for the Future

During this coming year, we as a Nation have an opportunity to strengthen our economy and lay the basis for continuing prosperity. The gains of the last 2 years have been notable. We have made great progress at home in recovering from the recession, and we have strengthened the stature of the United States in the world economy. In the year ahead, we can secure and extend those gains by working together to moderate inflation. I am confident that we will rise to the challenge.

JIMMY CARTER

January 25, 1979

Education Department

Following are excerpts from President Carter's Feb. 13 message to Congress urging establishment of a Department of Education:

There is a compelling need for the increased national attention a separate Cabinet department will bring to education issues. Our Nation's pluralistic education system, considered the most competent and open in the world, faces many problems and challenges: a decline in public confidence in the quality of education; unacceptably high rates of high school dropouts and of young people who lack basic educational tools and specific skills for productive employment; and increasing demands for retraining and learning opportunities.

The primary responsibility for education in our Nation lies with State and local government. The Federal government has a limited, but critical responsibility to help public and private institutions meet these challenges: to ensure equal opportunities; to increase access to postsecondary education by low and middle income students; to generate research and provide information to help our educational systems meet special needs; prepare students for employment; and encourage improvements in the quality of our education. The achievement of each of these goals will be enhanced by a new Department of Education. . . .

Establishing a separate Department will create, for the first time, a Cabinet-level advocate for education with direct access to the President, the Congress, and the public.

Second, it will give Federal education programs the full-time, high-level leadership and management that they cannot receive in a structure so large and complex as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. . . .

Third, it will provide greater accountability. Submerged beneath HEW's dominant functions of health and welfare, Federal education programs lack full-time accountability at the Cabinet level. . . .

Fourth, it will provide simpler, more reliable, and more responsive support to states, localities public and private institutions, giving them a direct line of Cabinet-level contact with the Federal government.

Fifth, the new Department will allow better coordination of education programs with related Federal activities, such as employment programs and research. It will also allow high-level consideration of the impact of other Federal policies, such as tax and energy, on education institutions and students.

Under the proposal I am submitting today, the Department of Education will include more than 150 programs and 16,200 employees. With a budget of more than $13 billion, this Department will be larger than five other Departments including Energy, Commerce, Justice, Interior and State.

In addition to the 140 programs in the Education Division of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the new Department of Education will handle educational activities now carried out by several other departments. These include: the U.S. Department of Agriculture School, certain science education programs of the National Science Foundation, the overseas dependents' schools of the Department of Defense, the college housing loan program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Law Enforcement Education and the Law Enforcement Internship Program of the Department of Justice, and the Migrant Education programs of the Department of Labor.

The proposed legislation establishes within the Department of Education separate Offices for Civil Rights, Elementary and Secondary Education, Postsecondary Education and Educational Research and Improvement, each headed by an Assistant Secretary. It establishes an office to administer functions related to the education of overseas dependents of Department of Defense personnel, an Inspector General, and a 20-member Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education, appointed by the President, to promote better relations with the various levels of government and private institutions. ▮

Federal Civil Justice Reform

Following is President Carter's message to Congress Feb. 27 on his program to reform the federal civil justice system:

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Today I am announcing my program to reform the Federal civil justice system. My proposals are intended to increase the efficiency, cut the cost, and maintain the integrity of our Federal courts. I hope that the same spirit of cooperation which led to the 95th Congress' passage of historic civil service reform legislation, which had similar goals for the Executive Branch, will mark Congressional-Administration efforts in reforming the Judicial Branch.

The American system of justice — and the part our Federal courts play in it — has long been the envy of people throughout the world. An impartial and talented judiciary protects the rights of all Americans, ensuring due process guarantees and fair adjudication of disputes.

But the courts cannot perform their traditional and essential function if they are required to operate with inadequate resources, saddled with out-moded procedures, and burdened with more business than they can fairly dispose of within a reasonable time. Nor can our citizens avail themselves of their "day in court" if, as is too often true in these days of rising litigation expenses, the price of participation in litigation is beyond their means.

Delay and expense play a part in our civil justice system. We have long recognized that justice delayed is justice denied. For many injured parties, having to wait a year or two to obtain legal relief in the courts is extremely harmful.

The benefits of a legal victory are sometimes outweighed by the costs of achieving it. As litigation expenses and the size of court dockets increase, this seems to be happening with increasing frequency. Legal redress should not consume years of time and thousands of dollars.

These problems are not merely the special concern of a particular economic class or racial group, nor are they limited to certain geographic regions; they affect all segments of American society, in all areas of the country.

Improving Access

I am committed to improving access to justice by ensuring that every person involved in a legal controversy has a readily available forum in which that controversy can be resolved speedily, fairly, and at reasonable cost. To achieve this goal, we must do two things.

First, we must develop new means for handling disputes that do not necessarily require full court resolution. Second, we must provide the courts with sufficient resources and improved procedures so that they can function fairly and effectively in those cases that must be brought before them.

I know that the Congress shares my concerns and is equally committed to taking effective remedial action. Last year the Congress made an excellent beginning when it created 152 new Federal judgeships and carefully reviewed a number of other legislative proposals designed to improve the administration of justice. But unless we improve the system of justice itself, we may find that the additional judges have been swallowed up by outmoded procedures and by an ever-rising volume of cases. We must take prompt and effective steps to eliminate the remaining obstacles to efficiency in the justice system, and to increase access to Federal courts by those with Federal claims.

Five of the specific measures by which we hope to accomplish these ends have previously been proposed, in whole or part, by my Administration, in the 95th Congress, dealing with arbitration, United States magistrates, the diversity of citizenship jurisdiction of the Federal courts, the Supreme Court's obligatory jurisdiction, and minor dispute resolution. Both before and during the last legislative session, each of these proposals received a great deal of careful Congressional thought and attention. They are introduced again, some with modifications discussed in the last Congress. Each is now ripe for favorable action.

Plan Detailed

The arbitration proposal would provide an innovative means for resolving speedily, fairly, and at reduced cost certain types of civil cases in which the main dispute is over the amount of money that one person owes to another. This legislation is modeled on court-annexed arbitration plans that have proved successful in several States, including Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. It would allow Federal district courts to adopt a procedure requiring that tort and contract cases involving less than $100,000 be submitted to arbitration. This approach has been tested since early last year in three Federal courts and the experiences so far have been quite promising. Both litigants and the courts are benefiting from the procedure. Cases going to arbitration are being resolved faster than they otherwise could be and at significantly less expense to the parties. It is time that these benefits were extended to litigants in all Federal trial courts.

The second major element of our comprehensive civil justice program is a bill to enlarge the civil and criminal jurisdiction of Federal magistrates. These judicial officers, who are appointed by the district courts, constitute a potential resource of great value. If magistrates were given broader authority to decide civil cases and to handle less serious criminal matters, as we have proposed, the capacity of the Federal courts would be substantially increased. The result, especially in districts which currently have large case backlogs, would be speedier and less costly dispositions for the litigants.

The third measure that we regard as essential to improving the civil justice system would curtail the exercise of diversity of citizenship jurisdiction in the Federal courts. Too many cases now jamming the dockets in Federal courts involve solely issues of State law that would be more properly and more efficiently disposed of in State courts. The historical basis for permitting these claims to be heard in Federal court — presumed prejudice towards citizens of one State in the courts of another — no longer appears valid. Moving these State law cases to the State courts where they belong would not create an undue burden on any State, but would enable the Federal courts to concentrate on serving the needs of those whose disputes involve questions of Federal law. Under my proposal, diversity jurisdiction would be abolished totally and cases could be brought in Federal court only where Federal law is involved.

The next component of our judicial reform package is a bill that would permit the Supreme Court to exercise greater control over its own docket. By eliminating the Supreme Court's mandatory jurisdiction, except for appeals in three-judge cases, this proposal would do away with the artificial and out-dated distinction between discretionary review and review of right. The change would enable the Court to focus its limited resources on the cases and issues truly deserving of its attention. This, in turn, would permit speedier clarification of the law, to the benefit not only of litigants in the lower courts but also persons wishing to avoid legal controversies.

The last of the proposals carried over from the previous Congress is a bill to improve the means available to the people of the United States for resolving everyday disputes, such as complaints by neighbors, customers, tenants, and family members. Everyday problems, small or large, if left unsettled, can fester and grow. They can lead to breakdowns in otherwise harmonious neighborhood relationships. They can even lead to crime. This legislation, entitled the Dispute Resolution Act, would provide Federal assistance to the States to improve the institutions that deal with these programs. The programs established by this bill would promote improvements in small claims courts and more widespread use of Neighborhood Justice Centers, a new concept that the Department of Justice is presently testing in Los Angeles, Kansas City, and Atlanta. This legislation would enable the Federal and State governments to work in partnership to improve the delivery of justice to all the people of the United States. No additional funding is being sought; existing funds in the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration will be used to finance these programs.

Passage of these five bills would be a major step in eliminating excessive delays, red tape, and exorbitant costs within the civil justice system. These bills have been discussed in the 95th Congress, and I hope that after further careful examination these bills will be enacted during the 96th Congress. These measures are necessary if we are to derive maximum benefit from the newly authorized judgeships. We will work for their enactment.

Other Proposals

In addition to these bills, the Attorney General will transmit to Congress additional proposals to improve the courts which have been developed in consultation with Congressional leaders in this area. These new measures would solve a variety of problems relating to administration of the Federal judiciary, as well as practice and procedure in the courts in the following ways:

- Create a new intermediate Federal appellate court on the same tier as the existing courts of appeals. The new court, which would be known as the "United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit", would be formed by merging the Court of Claims and the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals into a single appellate tribunal with expanded, nationwide jurisdiction for appeals in patent and trademark cases as well as other matters. This new forum would induce economies from the combination of the two existing courts. Most important, however, it would expand the Federal judicial system's capacity for definitive adjudication of national law and thereby contribute to the uniformity and predictability of legal doctrine in these areas, which have long been marked by inconsistent appellate decisions, encourage industrial innovation, and in the long run reduce patent and trademark litigation. I further note that a similar need exists for uniformity and predictability of the law in the tax area, where conflicting appellate decisions encourage litigation and uncertainty. The Justice and Treasury Departments will work with Congress to develop an appropriate solution.
- Permit more effective means of rulemaking and administration within the Federal judiciary through the implementation of two proposals. One proposal requires each court of appeals to appoint an advisory committee composed of persons outside the court to make recommendations on the rules of practice and operating procedure within that court. These committees should do much to assist the courts in formulating sounder rules. The other proposal would restructure the membership of the circuit judicial councils, the governing administrative bodies in the eleven judicial circuits. The councils will be made smaller and more efficient and will include district judges in their membership for the first time. If enacted, these proposals will help assure that the Federal courts conduct their business so as to serve the public more effectively.
- Allowing equitable interest on claims and judgments. There is a serious backlog in civil litigation. Sometimes years pass between the time of an injury and the granting of a judgment. More years may pass while that judgment is appealed. Current Federal law is ambiguous about whether and under what circumstances interest may be paid for the period prior to judgment, and permits unrealistically low as well as conflicting rates of interest while the decision is under appeal. Yet such interest may be essential in order to truly compensate the plaintiff or to avoid the unjust enrichment of the defendant. For instance, a plaintiff who is unlawfully deprived of the use of $20,000 in 1976 and who does not receive a judgment until 1979, could have obtained $4,500 in those three years by investing the money at 7% compounded interest. If a judgment on appeal is entered at a rate well below the prime interest rate, the losing party may well profit from the appeal. The bill proposes that where a defendant knew of his potential liability, interest be awarded for the pre-judgment period where necessary to compensate the plaintiff for his losses or to avoid the unjust enrichment of the defendant. Post-judgment interest rates would no longer be left to inconsistent State laws, but along with the new pre-judgment interest standard, would be based on a nationally uniform rate. Litigants would be encouraged to settle cases, and not drag them out needlessly causing additional expense.
- Other measures relating to the sound administration of the Federal judiciary are proposals providing more reasonable terms for chief judges, enhanced integrity for appellate panels, and easier transfer for any

case inadvertently started in the wrong Federal court to the proper court without loss of litigants' rights and with savings of time and money.

Finally, I urge the Congress to give serious consideration to improving procedures for litigating class actions, especially for those cases where the alleged economic injury is widespread and large in the aggregate, yet small in its impact on each individual. The Justice Department will continue to have my support in working with Congress to devise class action procedures which will develop methods for courts to handle these complex cases more effectively and at less cost to the taxpayers and the parties involved.

The members of the Judiciary Committees of both houses have shown outstanding leadership in developing answers to the problems facing the justice system. It is now time for Congress as a whole to take action so that the American people will benefit from a more effective civil justice system.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
February 27, 1979. ∎

Gasoline Ration Plan

Following is a summary of President Carter's standby Gasoline Ration Plan No. 1, which was made public Feb. 27:

SUMMARY: The Economic Regulatory Administration (ERA) of the Department of Energy (DOE), pursuant to direction from the President of the United States, issues final rules with respect to standby gasoline rationing. This plan is designed for and would be used only in the event of a severe gasoline shortage. Under sections 201 and 203 of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act (Pub. L. 94-263) (EPCA), this plan is being submitted to Congress for approval as a standby plan pursuant to the procedures specified therein.

This plan provides that eligibility for ration allotments will be primarily on the basis of motor vehicle registrations. DOE will mail Government ration checks to the parties named (whether individuals or firms) in a national vehicle registration file to be maintained by DOE. Ration recipients may "cash" these checks for ration coupons at various designated coupon issuance points.

Retail outlets and other suppliers will be required to "redeem" the ration coupons received in exchange for gasoline sold. In order to be resupplied, retail outlets and other suppliers will be required to remit redeemed ration rights to their suppliers.

DOE will issue supplemental allotments to a limited number of priority activities, such as police and fire protection. In addition, firms with significant gasoline requirements for unregistered, off-highway vehicles and equipment (e.g., construction equipment operators and fishermen) will receive equitable allotments for such vehicles and equipment. Off-high vehicles and equipment used by farmers in the production of food and fiber will be provided allotments sufficient to meet fully the national food and fiber production goals approved by the President.

A ration banking system will be established with two separate and distinct types of ration accounts: (1) Retail outlets and other suppliers will open "redemption accounts" for the deposit of redeemed ration rights; (2) Individuals or firms may open ration rights accounts, which will operate in much the same manner as monetary checking accounts, *i.e.*, account holders may deposit ration coupons and ration checks in their accounts and may write ration checks against their accounts.

A "white market" will be permitted for the sale or transfer of ration rights. A percentage of the total ration rights to be issued will be reserved for distribution to the States as a State Ration Reserve, to be used by the States primarily for the relief of hardship. A National Ration Reserve will also be established, to be used by the DOE for national emergency needs, and for such other purposes as DOE finds necessary. DOE may auction, or may authorize the States to auction, to the public some ration rights from the National or State Ration Reserves.

DATES: Comments by May 1, 1979, 4:30 p.m. . . . ∎

Anti-recession Aid

Following is President Carter's message to Congress March 6 on the Intergovernmental Fiscal Assistance Amendments of 1979:

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Three years ago, at the lowest point of our Nation's deepest recession since the 1930s, many urban and rural communities were experiencing severe fiscal distress. The recession had weakened their revenue bases at the same time that their unemployment and service costs rose sharply.

In 1976, Congress enacted the Anti-recession Fiscal Assistance program to provide emergency fiscal assistance to these distressed States and localities. When I came into office, I strengthened this program as part of my Economic Stimulus Package. Since 1976, approximately $3 billion has been spent under this program, which was effective in avoiding excessive layoffs of essential employees, service reductions and counterproductive tax increases in many areas.

Fortunately, nearly four years of national economic recovery have produced great progress in restoring the fiscal health of most of these communities. However, a number of communities still are experiencing severe fiscal problems and need more time to recover. The unexpected and abrupt termination of this program last fall has threatened many of these localities with painful reductions in vital services and with costly layoffs.

To assist these communities in regaining their financial stability and to protect State and local governments against unexpected future downturns in the economy, I am hereby transmitting to Congress the Intergovernmental Fiscal Assistance Amendments of 1979. These amendments outline a two-tier program, which meets the fiscal needs of our Nation's communities and which is consistent with the overall austerity of my budget.

The targeted fiscal assistance portion of this legislation (Title I) is designed only for those local governments with significant fiscal need — those urban and rural communities with unemployment rates of 6.5 percent or more. I am requesting that $250 million be spent in FY 1979 and $150 million in FY 1980 for this program. These funds would be distributed only to those local governments that face the most serious economic and fiscal problems — 1,231 local governments in FY 1979. No community will receive less than $20,000 annually or will be eligible if its per capita income exceeds 150 percent of the national average.

The legislation also provides a standby program of Federal fiscal assistance (Title II), to State and local governments through 1980. This assistance would be provided if national economic conditions deteriorate sharply, as evidenced by a national unemployment rate of 6.5 percent or higher in any quarter. In that event, governments with quarterly unemployment rates of 5 percent or more would receive aid. This program should not involve any budget outlays in the next two years. The Administration does not expect the national unemployment rate to rise above 6.5 percent. But, I urge the Congress to authorize this standby economic insurance program for State and local governments as a hedge against economic adversity and as an insurance policy in the event of an unexpectedly large downturn in the economy.

Our ability to act quickly to prevent the problems resulting from an economic downturn can reduce both the severity and duration of any downturn. Help that is delayed too long often takes effect after the crisis, and contributes to inflationary pressures during the economic recovery.

Together, this two-tier program addresses both immediate and prospective needs: a carefully targeted program for a limited number of fiscally strained communities and a more comprehensive standby program for State and local governments to protect them against an unexpectedly severe economic downturn. This proposal meets a pressing and immediate need and allows our Nation's communities to plan sensibly for the future. I urge Congress to enact this important legislation.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
March 6, 1979. ∎

Hospital Cost Containment

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress March 6 on hospital cost containment legislation:

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

Inflation is America's most serious domestic problem. It affects every individual and every institution in the country, and it damages the health not only of our economy but of our society. The American people are demanding prompt action against inflation from their elected representatives — action that is strong, prompt, and effective.

One of the most important components of inflation is the soaring cost of hospital care, which continues to outpace inflation in the rest of the economy. A decade ago, the average cost of a hospital stay was $533. In just the past two years, the average cost of a hospital stay has increased by $317 to $1,634 a stay — an increase of almost 24 percent.

Hospital cost inflation is uniquely se vere. It is also uniquely controllable. It offers us one of our best opportunities to bring down the rate of overall inflation. This year, once again, I ask the Congress to join me in grasping that opportunity by enacting a tough program of hospital cost containment.

The Senate passed a Hospital Cost Containment bill last year, but the House did not complete action on it. The legislation I am transmitting to the Congress today is similar to the bill that passed the Senate last year. It responds to Congressional concerns that were raised during consideration of last year's bill, and it is strong enough to do the job.

Clear Test

The Hospital Cost Containment Act of 1979 will be one of the clearest tests of Congress' seriousness in dealing with the problem of inflation. Through this one piece of legislation, we can, at a stroke, reduce inflation, cut the Federal budget, and save billions of dollars of unnecessary public and private spending.

The legislation I am transmitting today will save $3.7 billion in fiscal year 1980. It will save $1.4 billion in the Federal budget, over $420 million in state and local budgets, and almost $1.9 billion in private health insurance and payments by individuals. Altogether, the potential savings that could result from this measure amount to some $53 billion over the next five years.

Because most hospital bills are paid by public or private insurance programs, the impact of hospital inflation is sometimes disguised. But that impact is painfully real for every American.

When hospital costs rise, so do health insurance premiums. This means that workers take home smaller paychecks. It means that businesses are forced to charge higher prices. For example, over $140 of the cost of every automobile manufactured in this country goes to pay for health insurance premiums.

Budget Impact

When hospital costs rise, so do health budgets of Federal, state and local governments. From 1969 to 1979, Federal government expenditures for hospital care rose by 330 percent. State and local government expenditures for hospital care rose by 140 percent. Sooner or later every taxpayer pays more to finance these increases.

When hospital costs rise, the elderly — who need more hospital services — are particularly hard hit. The Medicare hospital deductible paid by the elderly has almost quadrupled — from $44 in 1969 to $160 in 1979. If hospital cost inflation is not restrained, the deductible will reach $260 in 1984.

The inflationary rise in hospital costs is not inevitable. While there have been dramatic and desirable improvements in the quality of hospital services, much of the increase in hospital expenses has been unnecessary. No one's health is improved by the existence of thousands of unfilled hospital beds, by hospital stays that are unnecessarily long, by surgery and X-ray tests that are unneeded and sometimes harmful, by wasteful supply purchasing practices, by inefficient energy use, or by pointless duplication of expensive facilities and equipment. But these wasteful practices cost billions.

In the past, hospitals have had little incentive to be efficient. The hospital sector is fundamentally different from any other sector in our economy. Normal buyer-seller relationships and normal market forces do not exist. The consumer of services — the patient — rarely pays the bill directly. Nor does the patient decide what services he or she will receive in the hospital. The person who makes those decisions — the physician — does not pay the bill either, and therefore has little or no incentive to see that services are provided in an efficient manner. Often, doctors do not even know the costs of the tests and X-rays they order.

State Programs

There is a growing determination throughout the country to make hospitals efficient. Nine states — Colorado, Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin — have enacted mandatory cost containment programs. Hospitals in these states, which include many of the most renowned medical institutions in the world, have reduced cost increases substantially while continuing to provide care of high quality.

The legislation I am transmitting today would ensure that every hospital in this country has the incentive to be efficient. It establishes a reasonable goal for hospital cost inflation. It sets mandatory limits only for those hospitals which have been unable to meet this goal. Specifically, the Hospital Cost Containment Act of 1979 will:

- Establish an annual goal for the rate of hospital cost increases. This goal would reflect actual increases in the price of goods and services hospitals use, changes in population, and improvements in hospital services. In the event that the hospital industry does not, as a whole, meet the national goal, mandatory reimbursement limits on individual hospitals, also based in part upon the actual costs of goods and services, would go into effect on January 1, 1980.
- Exempt hospitals which individually meet the voluntary goal, have fewer than 4,000 admissions annually, are less than 3 years old, or have 75 percent of their patients enrolled in federally qualified health maintenance organizations.
- Exempt all hospitals in a state if the state on average met the voluntary goal or had an approved mandatory cost containment program.
- Provide for a system of bonuses and penalties to hospitals, depending on their efficiency relative to other hospitals of similar type and location.
- Include an adjustment for wage increases provided to nonsupervisory personnel in hospitals.

National Goal

The Hospital Cost Containment Act of 1979 is reasonable and realistic. It permits a period of time for voluntary action, with mandatory limits only if voluntary action fails to meet the reasonable goals established in the bill. Under current assumptions the national goal will be 9.7 percent in 1979; it will be adjusted to reflect the actual increases in the price of goods and services hospitals use. In 1977, one-third of the Nation's hospitals — from all regions and of all types — had cost increases of 9.7 percent or less.

Even if triggered, the stand-by mandatory program holds regulation to a minimum. It does not interfere with the day-to-day management decisions of hospital administrators and physicians. Rather, the program establishes an overall limit on the rate of increase in reimbursements, permitting doctors and hospital administrators to allocate their own resources efficiently, responding to local needs and patient care concerns. The program changes the incentives under which hospitals have functioned, from a system in which hospitals receive guaranteed reimbursement for their services, whether efficiently provided or not, to one in which hospitals are rewarded or penalized for their actual efficiency and productivity.

Congress has debated hospital cost containment for almost two years. There is now no reason for delay. I call upon the Congress to demonstrate its commitment to the fight against inflation by promptly enacting the Hospital Cost Containment Act of 1979.

JIMMY CARTER

Rail Deregulation

Following is President Carter's message to Congress March 23 on his proposals to deregulate the nation's freight rail industry:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

Today I am submitting my proposals to deregulate the nation's freight rail industry. This legislation is part of a continuing effort to promote more competition in America's transportation system, and to reduce the burden of federal regulation on the nation's economy. It follows last year's successful laws deregulating air freight and passenger service. Later this spring I will submit proposals addressing motor carriers and intercity passenger buses.

The private freight railroads are the backbone of our industrial and agricultural production. But today the private freight railroad industry faces a crisis, which could have grave consequences for our nation's economy.

Though the railroads still carry more than a third of the nation's freight and most of its bulk commodities such as coal, grain, and chemicals, the industry is in a deep and dangerous decline. Year by year, the percentage of freight carried by the railroads has shrunk, while profits have fallen and costs have soared.

Many factors contribute to these problems:

- Government regulation of virtually every aspect of rail operations has restrained innovative management and efficient pricing.
- Increasing competition from unregulated trucks and barges has eroded rail markets.
- The industry has been slow to adapt to changing freight patterns and unable to rationalize its system.
- Improvements in labor productivity have not kept pace with the rest of the economy.

A recent study by the Department of Transportation develops the grim consequences of these trends. The study, *A Prospectus for Change in the Freight Railroad Industry* shows that without major changes in structure and operation, the railroads will be unable to generate the funds needed to sustain themselves. Within a few years, this shortfall of funds could become so severe that it will paralyze the private railroad system and jeopardize its existence.

The facts pointing to these sobering conclusions are overwhelming. Railroad revenues have not met railroad costs, and to survive in a tightly regulated environment railroads have been forced to consume their assets. Deferred maintenance on branch and main lines now totals $5.4 billion, while total industry profits for the year ending September 30, 1978, were only $50.2 million.

A sixth of all track in the nation can only be served at restricted speeds, yet even with these restrictions accidents due to track defects have quadrupled in the past ten years. The DOT *Prospectus* estimates that the capital needed to sustain the freight rail system between now and 1985 will total $42.5 billion; it estimates that the industry itself is capable of generating or borrowing less than $30 billion.

These figures do not include the federally-aided Conrail system in the Northeast which is losing $300-400 million per year. All railroads are caught in the squeeze between tight regulation on the one hand, and increased competition on the other. If the situation is not changed, even some healthy railroads of the South and West will face grave difficulties within a few years.

The solution to the railroads' difficulties is not massive government subsidies or new government intervention. Simply to maintain the current rail system would require $2.5 billion of federal funds each year between now and 1985 with the totals likely to grow larger after that. Investing such large sums of tax dollars to preserve an outmoded system would be highly inflationary and ultimately fruitless.

Viable Option

Deregulation presents the only viable option to either massive increases in federal subsidies to the railroads or increased government intervention in their operation — both of which are highly undesirable. Instead of relying on huge federal subsidies we must seek to create an environment in which the railroads themselves can regain their economic health by aggressively improving their operations and profitability.

We must eliminate the outmoded rules that have prevented railroads from managing their operation efficiently, responding to competitive opportunities and utilizing equipment profitably. We must allow the industry the flexibility to set rates at levels that generate a fair return on the investment and that attract traffic lost to unregulated modes. Where continued regulation of market abuse is still necessary, we must insure that ICC [Interstate Commerce Commission] decisions are rendered promptly, fairly and consistently.

The legislation that we are proposing results from a full examination of the existing regulatory system for railroads. The legislation would create a far more limited regulatory scheme — one that reflects the railroads' current competitive and financial status, and one that provides incentives for the railroads to cut costs, improve service and productivity, and price services competitively.

Specifically these proposals would:

- Allow railroads to set prices for their services without interference from the government. To prevent sudden dislocations, this rate freedom would be phased in gradually over five years with real rate ceilings allowed to increase by 7 percent per year. At the same time, inflationary general rate increases should be gradually phased out in favor of company-by-company pricing of services.
- Transfer jurisdiction over rail mergers from the ICC to the Justice Department under standard anti-trust laws. There is no reason why railroads that do not compete with each other should be treated differently from other businesses seeking to merge.
- Set new guidelines for ICC approval of rail abandonments. These tests would insure that railroads are not forced to continue to serve money losing lines, but would allow shippers, states or communities to provide subsidies to maintain service.
- Clarify provisions preventing discrimination among shipping communities, ports or connecting carriers. The new rules would continue to prevent abuses without tying railroads to rigid price structures.
- Establish new rules to protect railway employees who may be affected by rail mergers or abandonments. .
- Eliminate ICC jurisdiction over many day-to-day aspects of managing the rail system.

The transition period to the new regulatory environment may involve some dislocations and may lead to temporary uncertainty for some shippers, railroads and communities. To the extent possible we shall continue to use existing federal programs enacted by previous Congresses to meet these needs as they arise. In addition, new federal resources will be available to compensate, retrain, and relocate workers who are affected by the restructuring of the system.

These regulatory changes alone will not be enough to fully solve problems of the rail industry. Revitalizing the railroads will take a concerted effort by railroad management and labor, working with shippers and communities. Only a complete overhaul of the nation's rail system leading to higher labor productivity and more efficient use of plant and equipment may be able to reverse current unfavorable trends. The government can assist in that effort but the most important contribution must be made by the industry itself.

Without regulatory changes, however, it is certain that the industry will not be able to pull out of its long decline. Without the changes I am recommending, we will face a catastrophic series of rail bankruptcies, sharply declining service and massive federal expenditures.

Unless we act expeditiously the unfortunate pattern we have seen among eastern railroads will be repeated on a national scale. Bankruptcies, followed by huge federal bailouts will spread to the Midwest and ultimately throughout the country. We can act now, while there is still time to address the crisis in an orderly way; or we can wait and have events dictate drastic solutions.

All of us — railroads, shippers, communities, workers and the public — have a vital interest in solving this rail crisis. I am confident that we can work together to

solve it. I urge the Congress to act promptly on this important legislation.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
March 23, 1979 ▮

Regulatory Reform

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress March 26 detailing his program for reform of the regulatory process:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am today announcing a program of major reforms in the regulatory process, including both legislative and executive action. This program will make new regulations more efficient and effective; ensure reviews of existing regulatory laws and individual rules to eliminate or revise those that are outmoded; and reduce the burden of regulation and paperwork without jeopardizing our progress toward vital regulatory goals.

Since the first Federal regulatory agency was established nearly a century ago, regulatory programs have grown steadily in number, scope, and impact. During that time, however, little attention has been paid to the management of the regulatory process. There was little effort to reexamine rules which no longer served the public or to ensure that needed programs are run on a common sense basis, so that missions are accomplished with maximum results and minimum burdens.

The time has come to stop this neglect. Just as we have injected a new sense of discipline into the management of Federal budgetary and personnel resources, we must reform the government's regulation of others' resources.

Much of Federal regulation is vitally important to modern society. Goals such as equal opportunity, a healthy environment, a safe workplace, and a competitive and truthful marketplace cannot be achieved through market forces alone. In the last decade, the regulatory programs created to achieve these goals have produced a wide range of benefits, such as:

- Workplace health standards have been established which are protecting more than two and one-half million workers exposed to cancer causing substances, such as asbestos, arsenic, and vinyl chloride.
- Automobile safety devices such as seat belts, collapsible steering wheels, interior padding, and side door strength are saving an estimated 9,000 lives per year.
- Fuel economy standards are reducing automobile gasoline consumption by about 1.5 billion gallons this year.
- Populated areas have more protection against fires, explosion and the spilling of hazardous materials transported by rail because of new rules on tank cars.
- We are making real progress on water pollution. Salmon are swimming in the Connecticut River for the first time in almost two centuries.
- Regulations requiring child-proof containers for such products as household cleaners and drugs have prevented as many as 200,000 accidental poisonings of young children.
- Emission controls for automobiles helped reduce carbon monoxide air pollution by 20% between 1972 and 1977.

The regulatory programs that produced these benefits are essential to the Nation's well-being. I am committed to continuing this progress.

Regulatory System

The overall regulatory system, however, has become burdensome and unwieldy. We now have 90 regulatory agencies issuing some 7,000 rules each year. When Congress established these programs, it usually focused on isolated objectives. There was little effort to coordinate overlapping agency mandates or to assess cumulative impact. Little attention was given to analyzing the benefits and costs of proposed rules or to using regulatory approaches which could reduce the cost of achieving the goals.

Many regulatory programs were allowed to continue unreviewed for decades, in spite of changing conditions. Some rules, such as certain rules affecting transportation rates and routes, came to do more harm than good by crippling competition. The last comprehensive legislation to improve regulatory procedures was passed more than 30 years ago.

We can no longer afford this neglect. Regulation has a large and increasing impact on the economy. Uncertainty about upcoming rules can reduce investment and productivity. Compliance with regulations absorbs large amounts of the capital investments of some industries, further restricting productivity. Inflexible rules and massive paperwork generate extra costs that are especially burdensome for small businesses, state and local governments, and non-profit groups. Regulations that impose needless costs add to inflation.

Our society's resources are vast, but they are not infinite. Americans are willing to spend a fair share of those resources to achieve social goals through regulation. Their support falls away, however, when they see needless rules, excessive costs, and duplicative paperwork. If we are to continue our progress, we must ensure that regulation gives Americans their money's worth.

During the past two years, I have used my authority as President to improve regulatory management.

- After extensive public comment, I issued Executive Order 12044, establishing far-reaching new procedures for development of regulations by Executive agencies. Under that Order, agencies are now analyzing the costs of all major new regulations to seek out the most cost-effective approach; they are expanding opportunities for public participation; and they are starting to identify and eliminate out-dated rules.
- To assist individual agencies in meeting the goals of Executive Order 12044, I established the Regulatory Analysis Review Group, which prepares reports on particularly important proposed rules.
- Until this year, there was no way to get a picture of upcoming regulations. Now, each agency is publishing agendas of the rules it is developing. To provide a government-wide picture of major rules, I have established a Regulatory Calendar to be published twice a year. The first Calendar, issued last month, listed 109 rules being developed this year.
- I created the Regulatory Council to prepare the Calendar and use it to identify and deal with areas of overlapping and conflicting regulations. The Council is composed of Executive regulatory agencies plus those independent commissions that agreed to join.

The men and women I appointed to head the regulatory agencies are working to implement these steps and improve regulatory management. They are achieving results. HEW has eliminated 300 pages of rules. OSHA voided nearly 1,000 nitpicking rules, and the Federal Trade Commission cancelled 145 more. The FCC rewrote its rules on citizens band broadcasting into plain English.

The FAA reduced the hours small airlines have to spend filling out their forms by more than two-thirds. EPA designed creative procedures that allow companies flexibility in meeting pollution standards, leading to potential savings of millions of dollars without sacrificing clean air goals. We reorganized regulation of pension programs to eliminate duplication and reduce paperwork.

Continuing Efforts

These efforts will continue in 1979. We have important non-legislative initiatives underway, including: a wide-ranging review of rules affecting technological innovation; revisions of all OSHA safety standards to make them simpler and more flexible; overhauls of the regulations imposing costs on hospitals; streamlining EPA permit procedures; review of restrictions on banking; development of a coordinated policy on identification and regulation of cancer-causing substances; and increased research to improve the factual basis for regulatory decisions on toxic chemicals, air pollutants and radiation.

We will continue to scrutinize major new rules to ensure that they accomplish their statutory mandates without imposing needless burdens.

These steps are having an impact. Regulatory programs were created by legislation, however, and we need legislation to achieve comprehensive reform. Last year we and Congress made an important beginning. The Airline Deregulation Act sub-

stantially deregulated a major industry and enabled more people to fly while saving passengers $2.5 billion in air fares.

My regulatory reform program has two elements:

- We must work together to review the laws that established the regulatory programs. Those that needlessly restrict competition, impose rigidity, or are otherwise out of date must be revised or eliminated.
- For the programs that are needed, we must assure that the statutory mandates are executed sensibly. We must identify alternative means of achieving goals, choose efficient and effective approaches, and improve planning and coordination. We must make it easier for the public and those affected by regulations to anticipate them, participate in developing them, comply with them, and benefit from them. We must provide common sense management for the regulatory process.

This year I am proposing that Congress act in three areas:

I. Regulation Reform Act of 1979

Once a statute creating a regulatory program is passed, the quality of the program depends mainly on the men and women who are running it. We have a competent and dedicated group of regulators in government now, and they are producing real advances in regulatory reform.

We need legislation to set uniform standards for the work they do and give them the tools to continue their progress. I am submitting, with this Message, a bill to revamp regulatory procedures. This bill strengthens the reforms introduced by E. O. 12044, makes them permanent, and applies them to the independent regulatory commissions. It also overhauls key parts of the Administrative Procedure Act, for the first time since 1946. It sets vital new rules for the regulators:

- **Cost-Effectiveness:** The bill requires that when an agency develops a major rule, it lists the alternative means of accomplishing the objective and the costs and benefits of each alternative. The public will be asked to comment on that analysis and to suggest any additional options that should be considered. The agency must select the least costly way to achieve the rule's objective, or — if another is needed — explain the reasons.
- **Review of Old Rules:** Each agency will establish a schedule to review its major rules and smaller rules which may be outmoded or ineffective. The reviews, to be conducted over a 10-year period, will be used to ensure that rules are kept up-to-date or eliminated.
- **Planning and Management:** The bill requires agencies to publish semi-annual agendas of upcoming rules; ensures that senior officials are fully involved in developing rules; and strengthens selection and oversight for the Administrative Law Judges who make many key regulatory decisions.
- **Delay:** To eliminate needless legal formality and delay, the bill revamps the procedures for agency hearings. It also requires that agencies set deadlines on most proceedings.
- **Public Participation:** The bill helps those affected by regulation participate in the regulatory process, through more notice to the public, a longer comment period, and consultation with affected state and local governments. It also authorizes limited funding for groups that would present important information and could not otherwise afford to participate.

The Office of Management and Budget will oversee the key management reforms. The Administrative Conference of the U.S. will oversee administrative law judges and use of the participation funds. I will soon submit a reorganization plan to enable the Conference to carry out these missions.

II. Paperwork Reduction

The Federal Government must collect information from the public to enforce the laws, analyze the economy and establish sound public policy. But too many paperwork requirements are duplicative, unnecessary, or place an unreasonable burden upon small organizations. Over the past two years, we have cut the time the public spends filling out Federal forms by about 15 percent. But we must do more.

The job of reviewing Federal paperwork requirements should be performed in one place — not divided as it is now, among OMB, GAO and other agencies. I shall submit legislation to the Congress to centralize this mission in the Office of Management and Budget.

In addition. I will soon issue an Executive Order to further reduce the paperwork burden. The Order will require agencies to consider the special problems that small businesses and organizations face in filling out Federal forms and will authorize simpler forms and requirements for such groups.

It will establish a "paperwork budget" for Executive agencies and create an information locator system to help agencies determine whether the information they need is already available elsewhere. No report should be approved if the information can be obtained, within privacy and confidentiality protections, elsewhere in the government.

III. Reform of Individual Statutes

All regulatory programs were created by legislation and many of their problems can be solved only by amending individual statutes. Much of the trouble with regulation built up because laws have gone unchanged in spite of changing needs. This problem applies to many Federal programs in addition to regulation. One answer is to pass a sunset bill. This legislation would set a schedule for Congressional review of each program, once every 10 years. The reviews would be timed so that related programs are considered simultaneously. To ensure that the reviews are serious, spending authority would terminate unless Congress acts to renew or revise the program.

Sunset will make a crucial contribution to the effort to cut the waste from government regulation and government spending. An excellent sunset bill passed the Senate last year. With the addition of sunset reviews for Federal tax expenditures, this legislation will make a great contribution to effective management . . . .

In addition, my Administration will work with Congress this year to reform several individual regulatory statutes. We just submitted the first of our proposals to reduce economic regulation of surface transportation. We will submit legislation on drugs, nuclear plant siting, meat and poultry inspection and other areas. And we will work with Congress on bills already introduced to revamp regulation of communications.

To reform regulation, we and Congress must act in partnership, within our respective spheres of responsibility under the Constitution. The program I have stated follows that principle. From Congress, it asks reform of underlying statutes and modernization of the ground rules for administering them. From me, and from the agency heads I have appointed to help me execute the laws, it demands competent management and coordination.

I ask Congress to join me in this effort and to refrain from seeking authority to veto individual regulatory decisions and thereby to administer the laws itself. The legislative veto is an illusory solution to the problems of regulation. In some cases it would make rules weaker; in others it would make them stricter. But in all cases, it would increase delay, undermine fair procedures, and fragment responsibilities. It would disrupt our effort to manage the regulatory process, and it would distract Congress from the fundamental job of reforming underlying statutes. Any serious effort to administer the legislative veto would require a major increase in congressional staff and threaten the Constitutional division of power.

The program I am proposing will not solve all the problems overnight. But these steps will make regulation a more effective tool to improve our lives. They will help get needless rules and paperwork off our backs, and they will help marshal our resources to attack the real problems with maximum efficiency. By doing so, they will help us advance our national commitment to the regulatory goals we all believe in — a healthier, safer and fairer America.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House
March 26, 1979 ▮

Privacy Protection

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress April 2 detailing his proposals to protect the privacy of individuals:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am announcing today sweeping proposals to protect the privacy of individuals.

"The right to be let alone," Justice Brandeis wrote 60 years ago, "is the right most valued by civilized men." That right is built into our Constitution, which forbids unwarranted searches of citizens and their homes. At the time the Constitution was written — a time when private conversations were conducted face-to-face or through the mail and most private records were kept at home — those protections seemed adequate.

The growth of society and technology has changed all that. We confront threats to privacy undreamed of 200 years ago. Private conversations are often conducted by telephone. Many personal records are held by institutions, such as banks and government agencies, and the Supreme Court has held that the individual has no constitutional rights over such records. Important judgments about people — such as the decision to extend credit or write an insurance policy — are often made by strangers, on the basis of recorded data.

Whenever we take out a loan, apply for insurance, receive treatment at a hospital, obtain government assistance, or pay our taxes, we add to the store of recorded information about our lives. That store is growing exponentially: in 1940, for example, 1.2 billion checks were written — in 1970 it was 7.2 billion. Personal information on millions of Americans is being flashed across the nation from computer to computer.

These changes are not the product of any plan to invade our privacy. They have developed naturally with the growth of our economy, the expansion of public and private institutions, the mobility of our citizens and the invention of computers and telecommunications systems.

Modern information systems are essential to our economy. They contribute to the comfort and convenience of our lives. But they can be misused to create a dangerously intrusive society.

Our challenge is to provide privacy safeguards that respond to these social changes without disrupting the essential flow of information.

Much has already been done. Laws are in place to restrict wiretapping. Last year Congress strengthened those protections by legislating restrictions on national security wiretaps. The Privacy Act of 1974 set rules for Federal agencies' record keeping. The Fair Credit Reporting Act and related Acts gave consumers the right to know information about themselves contained in the records of credit-reporting bureaus. The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act gave students the right to see personal records held by educational institutions. Last year, the Congress passed the Financial Privacy Act, placing controls on Federal agencies' access to bank records.

These protections are a good beginning, but they were adopted piecemeal and have limited scope. It is time to establish a broad, national privacy policy to protect individual rights in the information age, as recommended by the Privacy Protection Study Commission.

I propose a privacy policy based on two principles:

• **Fair Information Practices.** Standards must be provided for handling sensitive, personal records. Individuals should be told what kind of information is being collected about them, how it will be used, and to whom it will be disclosed. They should be able to see and obtain a copy of the records and correct any errors. They should be told the basis for an adverse decision that may be based on personal data. And they should be able to prevent improper access to the records.

• **Limits on the Government.** Government access to and use of personal information must be limited and supervised so that power over information cannot be used to threaten our liberties.

The policy I am proposing will not disrupt the flow of information needed for legitimate business operations. Businesses gain by establishing good record-keeping systems and by keeping the trust of their customers and employees.

Nor will this policy prevent government agencies from collecting the information they need to enforce the laws. It will strengthen, not impede, the ability of reporters to cover the news. It will not impose heavy costs, and it will not create any new regulatory structures. Instead, it will establish a framework for private and government activity to prevent privacy abuses.

The responsibility for implementing this policy should be shared by the Federal government, by state and local governments, and by private institutions. I propose that the Federal government concentrate on improving its own activities and on setting standards for non-Federal record systems that contain particularly sensitive data and either involve Federal funding or require nationwide, uniform rules. We are submitting three bills to Congress today to address these areas, and a fourth major proposal will follow soon.

State and local governments should build on this base to ensure that their own record systems are properly protected. In addition, a key element of the policy I am proposing is voluntary action by private businesses and organizations.

I. Fair Information Practices

To establish privacy safeguards for key record systems, I have these proposals:

Medical Records

The "Privacy of Medical Information Act" is being submitted to you today. It establishes privacy protections for information maintained by almost all medical institutions. The Act will give individuals the right to see their own medical records. If direct access may harm the patient, the Act provides that access may be provided through an intermediary. This legislation allows the individual to ensure that the information maintained as part of his medical care relationship is accurate, timely, and relevant to that care. Such accuracy is of increasing importance because medical information is used to affect employment and collection of insurance and other social benefits.

The Act also limits the disclosure of medical information, and makes it illegal to collect medical information under false pretenses. The legislation allows disclosure when it is needed for medical care and other legitimate purposes, such as verifying insurance claims, and for research and epidemiological studies. In such cases, redisclosure is restricted.

Financial Records

The Administration will soon submit the "Fair Financial Information Practices Act." This bill will expand the laws on consumer credit and banking records to provide full fair information protections. It will ensure that consumers are informed about firms' record keeping practices and thereby help them decide which firm to patronize. Specific requirements will be tailored to fit the varying information practices of the industries.

The bill will also provide, for the first time, national privacy standards for insurance records. This is a major step forward into an area where individuals have few such protections. The bill is not intended to change the existing pattern of regulating insurance at the state level, and it allows state regulators to oversee compliance. However, it will minimize the danger that a welter of differing state privacy standards will confuse the public and impose heavy costs on the insurance industry.

In addition, this bill will restrict disclosure of data from electronic funds transfer (EFT) systems. Although the emergence of EFT is relatively recent, its potential impact on our lives is enormous. Americans are benefitting from EFT in a variety of ways: automatic deposit of a paycheck in a bank account; automatic payment of a mortgage installment; cash dispensing machines; and so on. EFT terminals have the potential to supplant cash, checks and credit cards in a broad range of consumer transactions, from supermarket purchases to auto rentals.

Such systems are efficient, but they pose major privacy problems. Not only do they contain extensive personal data on individuals, but they can be used to keep track of people's movements and activities. This legislation will erect safeguards against misuse of these systems while allowing flexibility for commercial and technological innovation.

Research Records

Federally-supported research collection is vital for improved medical care, for cost-effective regulations, for economic analysis, and for many other purposes. In most cases, the information collected for these purposes is submitted voluntarily, is

quite personal, and is collected on an express or implied pledge of confidentiality. That pledge is often essential to obtain individuals' cooperation in providing the information and ensuring its accuracy and completeness. However, in most cases there is no legal basis at present to guarantee the promise of confidentiality.

The "Privacy of Research Records Act" is being submitted today. This bill will ensure that personal information collected or maintained for a research purpose may not be used or disclosed in individually identifiable form for an action that adversely affects the individual.

We are also developing separate legislation to reduce the amount of information government collects in the first place through improved oversight and through carefully controlled sharing arrangements.

Other Record Systems

The Privacy Commission recommended against Federal legislation on employment records and proposed instead that employers be asked to establish voluntary policies to protect their employees' privacy. I agree.

Many employers are already adopting the standards established by the Commission. Business groups, including the Business Roundtable, the Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers, are encouraging such voluntary action. I urge other employers to take similar action, and I have instructed the Secretary of Labor to work with employer and employee groups in the implementation of these standards.

The Commission did urge one piece of legislation in the employment area — limits on the use of lie detectors in private employment. Such legislation already has been introduced in this Congress, and I urge you to proceed favorably with it.

I also urge commercial credit grantors and reporting services to adopt voluntary fair information standards, to avoid any need for Federal legislation in this area.

It is critical that the privacy of those who receive public assistance and social services be adequately protected. I call upon the states to move forward with legislation to provide such protections, consistent with the Privacy Commission's recommendations and the need to prevent fraud in these programs. I have instructed the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to develop minimum privacy standards for these Federally funded programs.

I also urge the states to act on other state and local record systems, particularly those of criminal justice agencies.

II. Federal Government Activities

I am also announcing measures to strengthen safeguards on Federal investigations and record-keeping.

The bills on medical and financial records will ensure that the government obtains access to such records only for legitimate purposes. In most cases, the individual will be notified and given an opportunity to contest such access. I have these additional proposals:

Government Access to News Media Files

The Supreme Court's decision last year in *Zurcher v. Stanford Daily* poses dangers to the effective functioning of our free press. I announced in December that we would develop legislation to protect First Amendment activities from unnecessarily intrusive searches while preserving legitimate law enforcement interests.

Although regulations already restrict Federal officers' investigation of the news media, the problems raised by the *Stanford Daily* case require new, stringent safeguards against Federal, state and local governmental intrusion into First Amendment activities.

I am submitting this legislation today. It will restrict police searches for documentary materials held by the press and by others involved in the dissemination of information to the public. With limited exceptions, the bill will prohibit a search for or seizure of "work product" — such as notes, interview files and film.

For documents which do not constitute work product, the bill requires that the police first obtain a subpoena rather than a search warrant. This ensures that police will not rummage through the files of people preparing materials for publication and that those subject to the subpoena have the opportunity to contest the government's need for the information.

Wiretapping

The privacy of personal communication is an important civil liberty. Americans are entitled to rely on that privacy, except where a legitimate and urgent law enforcement or national security purpose creates an overriding need. The fact that the person who is the target of surveillance is usually unaware of it argues for the tightest controls and for public accountability for the officials who authorize surveillance.

Title III of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 governs the use of electronic surveillance of wire and oral communications except in matters involving foreign intelligence and counterintelligence. The National Commission for the Review of Federal and State Laws Relating to Wiretapping and Electronic Surveillance has studied the experience under Title III and has issued findings and recommendations.

I am transmitting to Congress today a letter which sets forth my detailed views concerning those recommendations. In general I endorse the recommended adjustments which would strengthen Title III's protections for individual privacy. I do not, however, support the recommendation to amend the law to allow Federal officials below the rank of Assistant Attorney General to apply to the courts for wiretaps.

Such a change would diminish accountability and increase the danger of misuse. Also, I am not convinced that the list of criminal statutes for which electronic surveillance orders may be obtained should be expanded. I have asked the Attorney General to consult with the Secretary of the Treasury and with the Congress on those Commission recommendations.

Federal Records

The Federal Government holds almost four billion records on individuals, most of them stored in thousands of computers. Federally-funded projects have substantial additional files. This information is needed to run the social security system, collect taxes, conduct research, measure the economy, and for hundreds of other important purposes.

Modern technology, however, makes it possible to turn this store into a dangerous surveillance system. Reasonable restrictions are needed on the collection and use of this information.

The Privacy Act of 1974 established privacy safeguards for Federal records. It prevents agencies from collecting certain kinds of information, such as information about political beliefs; requires public notice whenever a new data system is established; gives individuals the right to see and correct their records; and limits disclosure of personal information.

While the Privacy Act is working reasonably well and is too new to decide on major revisions, I have ordered a number of administrative actions to improve its operation.

We are issuing today final guidelines for Federal agencies on the use of "matching programs." These programs compare computerized lists of individuals to detect fraud or other abuses. Such programs are making an important contribution to reducing abuse of Federal programs and are thereby saving taxpayers' money.

However, safeguards are needed to protect the privacy of the innocent and to ensure that the use of "matching" is properly limited. The guidelines, which were developed with public participation, will ensure that these programs are conducted:

- only after the public has been notified and given the opportunity to identify privacy problems;
- with tight safeguards on access to the data and on disclosure of the names of suspects identified by matching;
- only when there are no cost-effective, alternative means of identifying violators.

I have also directed that action be taken to:

- extend Privacy Act protections to certain data systems operated by recipients of Federal grants;
- strengthen administration of the "routine use" provision of the Privacy Act, which governs disclosures of personal information by Federal agencies;
- ensure that each Federal agency has an office responsible for privacy issues raised by the agency's activities;
- improve the selection and training of the system managers required by the Privacy Act;

- improve oversight of new Federal information systems at an early state in the planning process; and
- limit the amount of information the government requires private groups and individuals to report.

The Office of Management and Budget, as the unit responsible for overseeing Federal agency record-keeping, will implement these actions. I have assigned the Commerce Department's National Telecommunications and Information Administration to be the lead agency on other privacy matters and to work with Congress on the continuing development of privacy policy.

International Privacy Issues

The enormous increase in personal data records in the U.S. has been matched in other advanced countries. Throughout Western Europe, as well as in Canada, Australia, and Japan, records of personal data have grown at explosive rates. Our concerns about privacy are shared by many other governments.

International information flows, however, are increasingly important to the world's economy. We are, therefore, working with other governments in several international organizations to develop principles to protect personal data crossing international borders and to harmonize each country's rules to avoid needless disruption of international communications.

Enactment of the proposals I have outlined will help speed this process by assuring other countries that the U.S. is committed to the protection of personal data.

Privacy is a permanent public issue. Its preservation requires constant attention to social and technological changes, and those changes demand action now.

I ask the Congress and the public to join me in establishing a comprehensive framework of reasonable privacy protections. Together we can preserve the right to privacy in the information age.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
April 2, 1979 ▮

Gas Inspector

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress April 2 on his reorganization plan to create an Office of Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am submitting to you today Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1979 to create the Office of Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System and establish the position of Federal Inspector. Creation of this Office and the transfer of appropriate Federal enforcement authority and responsibility is consistent with my September 1977 *Decision and Report to the Congress on the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System.* This decision was approved by the Congress November 2, 1977.

The Alaska Gas Transportation System is a 4,748-mile pipeline to be constructed in partnership with Canada. Canada completed legislation enacting a similar transfer last year and has already appointed an official to coordinate its activities prior to and during pipeline construction. The Northwest Alaska Pipeline Company has been selected to construct the pipeline with completion scheduled in late 1984. Estimated construction costs are $10-$15 billion, to be financed by private investment.

Natural gas is among the Nation's most valuable fuels. It is in the national interest to bring Alaskan gas reserves to market at the lowest possible price for consumers. Construction of a gas pipeline from the Prudhoe Bay reserves in Alaska through Canada to points in the West and Midwest United States will provide a system which will deliver more Alaskan natural gas at less cost to a greater number of Americans than any alternative transportation system. Every effort must be made to ensure timely completion of the pipeline at the lowest possible cost consistent with Federal regulatory policies.

As a result of our experience in construction of the Trans-Alaska Oil Pipeline, we recognize the need for the Federal government to be in a strong position to manage its own role in this project through prompt, coordinated decision-making in pre-construction approval functions and in enforcing the terms and conditions of the permits, certificates, leases and other authorizations to be issued by various Federal agencies. We must avoid duplicating the delays and cost escalations experienced in the construction of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System. The Plan I am submitting would establish clear responsibility for the efficient functioning of Federal enforcement activities by assigning the Federal Inspector authority to carry out these responsibilities.

The Alaska Natural Gas Transportation Act of 1976 only provided for monitoring the construction of the pipeline. The Plan transfers to the Federal Inspector the authority to supervise the enforcement of terms and conditions of the permits and other authorizations, including those to be issued by the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Transportation and Treasury, and the Environmental Protection Agency, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The Plan provides for the Federal Inspector to coordinate other Federal activities directly related to the pipeline project. Federal agencies retain their authority to issue permits and related authorizations, but enforcement of the terms and conditions of these authorizations is transferred to the Federal Inspector. Transfer of enforcement authority from Federal agencies to the Federal Inspector is limited in scope to their participation in this project and in duration to the pre-construction, construction, and initial operation phases of the project.

The *Decision and Report* to the Congress recommended an Executive Policy Board with policy-making and supervisory authority over the Federal Inspector. I plan to sign an Executive Order upon approval of this Plan by the Congress which will create an Executive Policy Board which will be only advisory, but which will enhance communication and coordination among Federal agencies and with the Federal Inspector. The Plan modifies the *Decision and Report* in that regard. The Federal Inspector will use the policies and procedures of the agencies involved in exercising the transferred enforcement responsibilities to the maximum extent practicable. The Board provides the opportunity for agencies to contribute to the policy deliberations of the Inspector and exercises an oversight role to insure that pipeline activities are carried on within existing regulatory policy. The Board is required to review the budget of the Office of the Federal Inspector and periodically report to me on the progress of construction and on major problems encountered. I am convinced that the Federal Inspector must have authority commensurate with his responsibilities.

Each of the provisions of this proposed reorganization would accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in Section 901(a) of Title 5 of the United States Code. The appointment and compensation of the Federal Inspector is in accordance with the provisions of the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation Act of 1976, and the Reorganization Act of 1977. The provisions for appointment and pay in this Plan are necessary by reason of a reorganization made by the Plan. The rate of compensation is comparable to rates for similar positions within the Executive Branch. This reorganization will result in a reduction in the cost of construction for the pipeline system and ultimately in savings to American consumers. A small increase in cost to the Federal government will result from the creation of the Office of the Federal Inspector. The Plan requires that the Office and the position of Federal Inspector will be abolished upon the first anniversary date after the pipeline becomes operational.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
April 2, 1979 ▮

Wiretapping Views

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress April 2 detailing his views on the recommendations of the National Commission for the Review of Federal and State Laws Relating to Wiretapping and Electronic Surveillance:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with Section 6(b) of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (PL 92-

463), I am pleased to report to the Congress my views concerning the recommendations contained in the "Report of the National Commission For The Review of Federal and State Laws Relating to Wiretapping and Electronic Surveillance."

The Commission was charged by the Congress to study and evaluate the effectiveness of Title III of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (PL 90-351; 18 U.S.C. Sec. 2510-2520) which governs the use of electronic surveillance of wire and oral communications, except in matters involving foreign intelligence and counterintelligence.

From my viewpoint, the most significant findings of the Commission in carrying out this Congressional mandate are that the provisions of Title III are an indispensable aid to law enforcement, particularly in obtaining evidence of offenses committed by organized criminals; that the procedural requirements of Title III have effectively minimized the invasion of individual privacy in electronic surveillance investigations by law enforcement officers; and that Title III has reduced the incidence of illegal interceptions through its controls on the manufacture, sale, and advertising of wiretapping devices and its criminal sanctions for their use.

It is particularly reassuring to note the Commission's finding that the carefully designed Title III controls and procedures have effectively minimized the invasion of individual privacy in electronic surveillance investigations by law enforcement officers, and that there were no cases among the many studied by the Commission in which law enforcement authorities sought a Title III court order for an apparently corrupt purpose. From the very inception of its use in criminal cases, the Department of Justice has developed a highly centralized review system for the approval of Title III authorization requests as well as detailed instructions governing execution of court orders designed to protect the substantive rights of both innocent persons and those under investigation. In this connection I am pleased to note the Commission's finding that Federal officials responsible for administering wiretap application review procedures have shown a commendable concern for adhering to the requirements of Title III.

We must always bear in mind that Title III both permits law enforcement officials to fight crime while it protects citizens against unjustified invasions of privacy. It is clearly a criminal statute designed both to prohibit private citizens from conducting illegal interceptions and to regulate governmental conduct by prohibiting law enforcement officials from violating or disregarding specific procedures for conducting wiretaps.

The Commission has made a number of findings and recommendations which it believes will both improve the effectiveness of the use of court-authorized electronic surveillance in criminal investigations and will also strengthen enforcement of Title III strictures against illegal electronic surveillance. In general, I support the objectives of most of these proposals. I am, however, strongly opposed to a few and believe others to be unnecessary.

Penalties

I support the Commission's recommendation that misdemeanor and civil penalties should be included in Title III for the prosecution and punishment of nonprofessional electronic eavesdroppers. At present the only sanctions applicable to the nonprofessional who enages in electronic surveillance is the felony provision of 18 U.S.C.

In many instances it is simply too severe a sanction for the offense committed and has resulted in considerable judicial distaste for prosecutions brought under Section 2511 against nonprofessionals. Such persons frequently indicate a desire not to contest such charges, yet still proceed with a contested trial in the absence of the alternative of pleading guilty to a misdemeanor.

Disclosure

The Commission's recommendation that Title III should be amended to explicitly allow the disclosure of illegal interceptions when relevant in a prosecution for illegal interceptions is sound. I also agree with the Commission that judges should retain the discretion to deny admission of the evidence where relevance is outweighed by undue loss of privacy to the victim.

While it is often possible to pursue such a prosecution without playing any of the illegal tapes, situations occasionally arise where a portion of such a tape is critical to the Government's case. A violator should not escape punishment by hiding behind the exclusionary rule embodied in 18 U.S.C. Sec. 2515, which appears on its face to allow him to move to have such evidence excluded from his trial.

Court Order

In addition, I support those Commission proposals recommending that a court order for electronic surveillance expressly authorize entry upon a private place or premises to install an eavesdropping device if such entry is necessary to execute the warrant and that the Congress undertake studies of encroachments on individual privacy by new forms of the art, such as computer technology.

Similiarly, periodic comprehensive studies and reviews of the operations of Title III would help to determine their continuing effectiveness in law enforcement and in stemming illegal surveillance. Congressional studies also are needed to determine whether some form of notice should be required to assure that customers whose conversations and actions are monitored in the ordinary course of a business, have given their implied consent based upon some reasonable public understanding of the need for such monitoring.

Carter Opposed

On the other hand, I am strenuously opposed to those proposals of the Commission which recommend that Title III be amended to authorize the Attorney General to designate by name, any United States Attorney or any Federal Strike Force Chief to authorize applications for court-ordered wiretapping, and that the Department of Justice consider some decentralization and streamlining of procedures for the review and approval of such applications by greater delegation of screening requests and decision-making responsibility to United States Attorneys or Federal Strike Force Chiefs.

The statute (18 U.S.C. Sec. 2516) permits the Attorney General to delegate application authorization to any Assistant Attorney General and the Attorney General has delegated this authority to specified Assistant Attorneys General. As the legislative history of this statute indicates, this provision centralizes in a publicly responsible official subject to the political process the formulation of law enforcement policy on the use of electronic surveillance techniques.

It thus avoids the possibility that divergent practices might develop and insures that if abuses occur the lines of responsibility will lead to an identifiable person subject to the political process. Any further delegation of this authority would greatly attenuate this centralized control and responsibility which the Congress determined was essential to its use. Further delegation of such authority to the field level would also likely result in a greater number of application requests and court orders.

While under existing procedures application requests are currently reviewed by United States Attorneys and Federal Strike Force Chiefs in the field, the final review and approval authority must remain the responsibility of the Assistant Attorney General designated by the Attorney General to approve such applications.

The Commission has recommended that the Congress consider expanding the list of Federal crimes for which electronic surveillance orders may be obtained to include such crimes as customs offenses, manufacture, sale, and interstate shipment of illegal firearms, and fencing of stolen goods affecting interstate commerce. In view of the expression of Congressional concern respecting the limitation of Federal criminal jurisdiction which was demonstrated by the extensive debate during formulation of this provision (18 U.S.C. Sec. 2516) on the floor of the Congress, I believe that a more up-to-date examination of the experiences of the Treasury and Justice Departments in investigating these crimes should be made before the recommendation of the Commission is either endorsed or rejected. I have asked the Attorney General to consult with the Secretary of Treasury on this matter.

Finally, although I support the substance of certain other of the Commission's

important proposals, I do not believe that any remedial legislation in this area is necessary since the essence of these recommendations has been implemented by administrative controls adopted by the Department of Justice as a result of its experience with Title III or in response to court decisions interpreting the statute. Recommendations in this area include amending Title III to require an additional showing of facts in order to obtain an extension of a Title III court order and that the explanation of exhaustion of alternative investigative techniques include consideration of the case under investigation insofar as practicable.

Exhaustive Compilation

The Commission's final Report and its five volumes of supporting materials constitute the most exhaustive compilation of information on the subject of wiretapping and electronic surveillance ever assembled. The record of the Commission stands as an enduring monument to the difficult and conscientious work of its distinguished members and dedicated staff.

While its conclusions may be subject to differing degrees of public acceptance, there can be no doubt that the Commission has rendered outstanding service to the American public by its thorough and sensitive exposition of the conflicting demands of law enforcement and individual privacy which inhere in the use of court-authorized electronic eavesdropping.

The Commission's Report has reaffirmed my belief that the Federal Government has used this extraordinarily effective investigative technique in the investigation of serious crimes in a highly responsible and circumscribed manner, and that so used, it has preserved and will continue to preserve the delicate balance that must be maintained between the needs of law enforcement and the demands of personal privacy.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
April 2, 1979. ▮

Economic Development

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress April 4 detailing his proposed National Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1979:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am today transmitting to Congress the National Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1979. To millions of Americans in distressed urban and rural communities this legislation will mean new private sector jobs and economic progress, new income and new hope for the future.

This legislation will help strengthen the economic development of distressed urban and rural communities. It will provide new private sector jobs and badly-needed income to the citizens of these communities. It will strengthen their tax bases and attract new private investment. It will help these communities support essential public services without imposing high property taxes on their citizens. And it will help these communities and their citizens become more self-sufficient in the future.

This legislation is based on one overriding fact of our economic life today. Our Nation can no longer afford to rely only, on government to provide jobs and income to our disadvantaged citizens and to our distressed communities. We must continue to harness the vast resources of the private sector to help us meet these important challenges. The legislation that I am sending to Congress today is another major step in this direction.

Two years ago when I took office, our economy was struggling to recover from the deepest recession since the great Depression. Unemployment was high, industrial capacity was idle and the incomes of American workers were well below expectations.

Today more than 7.5 million new jobs have been created in our economy and factories across the country have regained high levels of production. Family incomes, after adjustment for inflation, have risen substantially and so have business profits. Our economy is much stronger today than when I took office just two years ago.

Blighted Areas

Despite this period of strong economic expansion, there are numerous rural and urban areas that have not participated fully in our Nation's economic health. These areas still have very high unemployment, low average incomes, substantial poverty and loss of jobs. They do not have enough private investment to provide jobs to their residents, nor do they have the private sector tax base to support essential public services.

The problems of these rural and urban communities have not been solved fully by national economic policies. These communities require special targeted aid to bring in new private sector jobs and investment. Only with this targeted assistance can we be assured that all areas of our Nation, both rural and urban, will participate in the Nation's economic prosperity.

Since taking office, I have focused the resources of the Federal government on programs that will retain existing jobs, bring in new jobs and income, and expand the tax base of these economically troubled communities. I have expanded both the tax incentives and the Federal grant and loan programs available to businesses that remain or locate in these areas. With the help of the Congress we already have accomplished a great deal.

I have proposed, and Congress has enacted, legislation establishing the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) program in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This program, which I propose to fund at $675 million in my Fiscal Year 1980 budget, provides grants to economically distressed cities and urban counties for projects that create private sector jobs and new tax base in these communities.

The first $599 million of UDAG grants have stimulated more than $3.6 billion of private investment in these communities. In addition, we have encouraged cities and counties to use more of their Community Development Block Grant funds for economic development projects.

I have expanded funding for the economic development grant, loan and loan guarantee programs that are administered by the Economic Development Administration (EDA) in the Department of Commerce. EDA programs were funded at approximately $400 million in FY 1977 when I took office. If the legislation I am transmitting today is approved, our FY 1980 budget will contain approximately $1.3 billion in budget authority for EDA's economic development programs.

FmHA Loans

With Congress' approval, I have greatly expanded the Farmers' Home Administration's business and industry loan program from approximately $350 million in loan guarantees in FY 1977 to $1 billion in FY 1980. This increase complements the substantial growth that I have proposed for FmHA's overall program.

With Congress' approval, I expanded the existing Investment Tax Credit (ITC) to provide a ten percent tax credit for the rehabilitation of factories, warehouses, hotels, stores and other businesses. Previously, the ITC had applied only to new plant and equipment. My FY 1980 budget projects that $1.8 billion of private sector rehabilitation will be assisted by this tax credit.

With the help of Congress, I have implemented a significant new tax credit to encourage private sector businesses to hire the economically disadvantaged. The targeted jobs tax credit will provide a tax credit of 50 percent of the wages, up to $3,000, for any employee hired from one of seven target groups. My budget estimates that a tax expenditure of $500 million will be required to implement this program in FY 1980.

I proposed and Congress enacted amendments to the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) which include provisions to make CETA more responsive to the needs of private sector employers. CETA's new private sector jobs initiative will allow CETA to reimburse private employers for part of the wages and other expenses incurred as part of on-the-job training or job-upgrading programs. I have requested $400 million in a supplemental that is urgently needed this year to fund this program.

As a result of these actions and the legislation I am transmitting today, the Federal Government will provide more than $3 billion of direct expenditures and tax expenditures and almost $2 billion of loan guarantees to stimulate private sector jobs and investment in economically troubled communities and to encourage private sector business to hire the economically disadvantaged. This amounts to a 700 percent increase in both the amount of budgetary assistance and the amount of loan guarantee aid provided for these purposes above Fiscal Year 1977 levels.

Economic Development

To assist these communities further in regaining their economic and fiscal stability, I am hereby transmitting to Congress the National Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1979. This legislation is part of my overall effort to strengthen the Federal Government's economic development programs. That effort will include:

- The National Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1979;
- A $275 million increase in the authorization for the UDAG program submitted early in March;
- A reorganization plan to be submitted later this year that will transfer the Farmers' Home Administration's (FmHA) business and industrial loan program and the Small Business Administration's (SBA) State and local development corporation programs to EDA;
- Separate legislation that will consolidate the programs currently managed by SBA and FmHA into the consolidated economic development financing program in EDA. This legislation will be submitted after Congress has completed action on the reorganization plan; and
- Legislation that will reauthorize and expand the work of the Multi-State Regional Action Planning Commissions.

Incentives

The National Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1979 will strengthen and expand the Federal government's ability to bring private sector jobs and investment to economically troubled urban and rural areas. The bill provides various incentives — grants, direct loans to businesses, loan guarantees and interest subsidies — to encourage businesses to invest in areas with high unemployment, low average incomes, significant poverty and loss of jobs. The bill will help to rejuvenate economically troubled communities in both rural and urban areas.

There are three major elements to this legislation. The first is a consolidated and substantially expanded public works and economic development grant program. It consolidates into one grant program the authorities previously included in Titles I, IV and IX of the current EDA legislation.

The public works and economic development grants will be available for the design, construction and rehabilitation of public facilities; the capitalization of State and local government revolving loan programs; the funding of State economic development projects; the provision of assistance to private sector businesses that expand or locate in economically troubled areas; and the financing of special projects that provide immediate jobs for the unemployed. I will request $575 million of budget authority in FY 1980 for this grant program.

A second part of this legislation authorizes a variety of financing incentives to encourage private sector businesses to remain, locate or expand in economically distressed urban and rural areas. The consolidated economic development financing program will make available direct loans, loan guarantees and interest subsidies to businesses that provide private sector jobs in economically distressed communities. It consolidates the loan and loan guarantee assistance currently available under EDA's Title II program with the financing incentives previously proposed for the National Development Bank.

It will be the foundation for the consolidated economic development loan and loan guarantee program that I have proposed as part of my reorganization effort. My budget proposes that $570 million of budget authority and $1.8 billion of loan guarantee authority be available for this program in Fiscal Year 1980.

Planning Help

The third key part of this legislation will provide economic development planning assistance to urban and rural areas and technical assistance to both the public sector and the private sector. It will help State and local governments and the private sector strengthen their capacity to work together to rebuild the economic base of economically distressed urban and rural communities. I will request that approximately $90 million of budget authority be provided in Fiscal Year 1980 for this program.

The National Public Works and Economic Development Act will provide the foundation for the consolidated economic development loan and loan guarantee program that I announced as part of my reorganization proposals. Later this year, I will transmit to Congress a reorganization plan that transfers to EDA the business and industry loan program from FmHA and the State and local development company loan programs from SBA.

This reorganization plan will bring the major economic development loan and loan guarantee programs together into one economic development financing program in EDA. It will make it possible for the Federal government to provide one-stop service to urban and rural communities and private businesses that are seeking economic development loan and loan guarantee assistance. It also will streamline Federal aid in this area, reduce Federal red tape and improve the management of the economic development financing programs. After Congress has acted upon the reorganization plan, I will submnit legislation that consolidates the SBA and FmHA program requirements into EDA's economic development financing program.

The economic development legislation, reorganization plan and accompanying program consolidations will substantially expand the economic development aid available to rural and urban areas. I intend to ensure that both rural and urban areas are guaranteed a fair share of the new resources. In addition, I will take every step to preserve and strengthen our capacity to deliver this aid to rural and urban areas efficiently and promptly.

This package of economic development legislation and reorganization proposals represents an important departure from previous urban and rural assistance efforts. For the first time, the Federal government is committing substantial resources to attracting private sector jobs and investment to the lagging areas of our country. For the first time, we are asking the private sector to join us in our redevelopment efforts. I am hopeful that Congress will join me in this sensible approach to urban and rural problems and will enact this important legislation.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
April 4, 1979 ■

Energy Address Broadcast

Following is the prepared text of President Carter's energy address April 5:

Good evening.

Our nation's energy problem is serious — and it's getting worse. We are wasting too much energy, we are buying far too much oil from foreign countries, and we are not producing enough oil, gas or coal in the United States. To control energy price, production and distribution, the federal bureaucracy and red tape have become so complicated, it's almost unbelievable. Energy prices are high and going higher, no matter what we do. The use of coal and solar energy, which are in plentiful supply, is lagging far behind their great potential. The recent accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania has demonstrated dramatically that we have other energy problems.

What can we do? We can solve these problems together.

Federal government price controls now hold down our own production and encourage waste and increasing dependence on foreign oil.

Present law requires that these federal government controls on oil be removed by September 1981, and the law gives me the authority at the end of next month to carry out this decontrol process. In order to mini-

mize sudden economic shock, I have decided that phased decontrol of oil prices will begin on June 1st and continue at a fairly uniform rate over the next 28 months. The immediate effect of this action will be to increase production of oil and gas in our own country.

As government controls end, prices will go up on oil already discovered, and unless we tax the oil companies, they will reap huge and undeserved windfall profits. We must impose a windfall profits tax on the oil companies to capture part of this money for the American people. This tax money will go into an Energy Security Fund, and will be used to protect low-income families from energy price increases, to build a more efficient mass transportation system, and to put American genius to work solving our long-range energy problems.

Let me explain all of this in more detail. This is very important, and I hope all of you will listen carefully and give me your cooperation and support.

Crisis Real

The energy crisis is real. I said so in 1977, and I say it again tonight, almost exactly two years later. Time is running short.

While the situation at Three Mile Island is improving and we have taken every precaution to protect the people of the area, this nuclear accident obviously causes all of us concern.

I have directed the establishment of an independent Presidential Commission of experts to investigate the causes of this accident and to make recommendations on how we can improve the safety of nuclear power plants. You deserve a full accounting, and you will get it.

Although this accident is of immediate concern, the fundamental cause of our nation's energy crisis is petroleum. We are dangerously dependent on uncertain and expensive sources of foreign oil.

Since the 1973 embargo, oil production in the United States has actually dropped. Our imports have been growing. Just a few foreign countries control the amount of oil that is produced and the price we must pay.

Just ten years ago, we imported hardly any oil. Today, we buy about half the oil we use from foreign countries. We are by far the largest customer for OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] oil, buying one-fourth of that foreign cartel's total production. This year, we will pay out $50 billion for imported oil — about $650 for every household in the United States.

This growing dependence has left us dangerously exposed to sudden price rises and interruptions in supply. In 1973 and 1974, shipment of oil was embargoed and the price quadrupled almost overnight. In the last few months, the upheaval in Iran again cut world supplies of oil, and the OPEC cartel prices leaped up again.

These shocks have sent us stern warnings about energy, but our nation has not yet responded to these warnings. Our national strength is dangerously dependent on a thin line of oil tankers stretching halfway around the earth, originating in the Middle East and around the Persian Gulf — one of the most unstable regions in the world.

The National Energy Plan which I proposed in April 1977 was the first major effort to deal with these problems. Then, for 18 long months, Congress debated and special interests struggled for advantage. Some of my original proposals were enacted and benefits are already obvious, but proposals dealing with oil were not adopted, and we have now lost time we could not afford. With new legal authority, I am now able to act without delay.

No Single Answer

There is no single answer. We must produce more. We must conserve more. And now we must join together in a great national effort to use American technology to give us energy security in the years ahead.

The most effective action we can take to encourage both conservation and production here at home is to stop rewarding those who import foreign oil and to stop encouraging waste by holding the price of American oil down far below its replacement or true value.

This is a painful step, and I'll give it to you straight: Each one of us will have to use less oil and pay more for it.

But this is a necessary step, and I want you to understand it fully.

Excessive federal government controls must end.

Phased decontrol will gradually increase the price of petroleum products. In the short run it will add a small amount to our rate of inflation, but that is the cost we must pay to reduce our dependence on the foreign oil cartel.

In the longer run the actions I'm announcing tonight will help us to fight inflation. Other nations will join and support us as we cut down our use of oil and increase our own production of energy. The foreign oil cartel will then find it harder to raise prices. The dollar will grow stronger and the prices we pay for many imported goods will be less. This will strengthen our economy and reduce inflation in future years.

But decontrol could also further inflate the already large profits of oil companies. As I have said, part of this excessive new profit will be totally unearned — what is called a "windfall" profit.

Windfall Profits

That is why we must have a new windfall profits tax to recover the unearned billions of dollars, and to ensure that you — the American people — are treated fairly.

I want to emphasize that this windfall profits tax is not a tax on the American people. It is purely and simply a tax on the new profits of the oil producers which they will receive but not earn.

Even with the windfall profits tax in place, our oil producers will get substantial new income — enough to provide plenty of incentive for increased domestic production. I will demand that they use their new income to develop energy for America, and not to buy department stores and hotels, as some have done in the past.

Congressional leaders, who share my belief that a windfall profits tax is necessary, warn me that we face two very real threats to these proposals.

First, as surely as the sun will rise, the oil companies can be expected to fight to keep the profits which they have not earned. Unless you speak out, they will have more influence on the Congress than you do.

Second, the inevitable scrambling by interest groups for a larger share of these revenues can leave the Congress divided, bogged down, and unable to act. Unless your voice is heard, once again the selfishness of a few will block action which is badly needed to help our entire nation.

Let Congress Know

I will fight to get this tax passed, to establish the Energy Security Fund, and to meet our future energy needs, and tonight I appeal for your support. Please let your Senators and Representatives in Congress know that you support the windfall profits tax — and that you do not want the need to produce more energy to be turned into an excuse to cheat the public and to damage our nation.

We can meet our energy challenge, but I am not going to put an undue burden on people who can hardly make ends meet as it is.

Part of the proceeds of the windfall profits tax will go to help those among us who will be hurt most by rising energy prices.

I will also ask every State to pass laws protecting Americans from arbitrary cutoffs of heat for their homes.

We will channel the tens of millions of dollars we are already winning in lawsuits against oil companies for price gouging into further energy assistance for lower-income citizens.

For the sake of fairness, I will ask Congress to close foreign tax credit loopholes that now give unnecessary benefits to the major oil companies.

And, to ease short run inflationary pressures, I will propose that existing fees and duties now applicable to imported crude oil and products be lifted temporarily.

Other Actions

Besides removing government controls on oil to encourage production, we must take other actions to increase supply and to make the most of our own domestic fuel reserves.

- I have today signed an executive order that will set strict deadlines for cutting through federal red tape on important new energy projects such as pipelines, seaports, and refineries.

• We will move to eliminate bureaucratic barriers to construction of the pending pipeline from California to Texas, which has been stuck in a quagmire of more than 700 State and local permit applications for the last 14 months.

• We will step up exploration and production of oil and gas on federal lands.

• This week my personal representatives began negotiations in Mexico City which we hope will lead to an agreement on sales of Mexican natural gas to the United States, at a price that is fair to both countries.

• The three federal agencies which regulate the coal industry will report to me within 60 days on ways to encourage greater use of coal — our most abundant fuel resource.

• And I will soon announce significant measures to increase and to accelerate the use of solar energy.

Conservation Efforts

In addition to producing more energy, we must conserve more energy. Conservation is our cheapest and cleanest energy source. It helps to control inflation, and every barrel of oil we save is a barrel we don't have to import.

We have recruited 19 other consuming nations to join us in pledging to reduce expected oil consumption by 5 percent.

To help accomplish this conservation goal:

• I have asked Congress to grant me standby authority in four areas, one of which is to require that thermostats in all commercial buildings be set no higher than 65 degrees in winter and no lower than 80 degrees in summer. As soon as I get that authority, I will use it.

• Steps will be taken to eliminate free parking for government employees in order to reduce the waste of gasoline in commuting to work. I call on all employers to follow suit.

• Tax credits will encourage the use of wood-burning stoves.

• I am asking all citizens to honor, and all States to enforce, the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit. This is one of the most effective ways to save fuel.

• I will set targets for our 50 States to reduce gasoline consumption, and ask each State to meet its target. The timetable will be strict. If States fail to meet their targets when gasoline shortages exist, then I will order mandatory steps to achieve the needed savings, including the weekend closing of service stations. If these savings are not made, we will almost certainly have gasoline shortages as early as this summer.

Drive Less

In addition, I ask each of you to take an important action on behalf of our nation. I ask you to drive 15 miles a week fewer than you do now. One way to do this is not to drive your own car to work every day. At least once a week take the bus, go by carpool — or, if you work close to home, walk.

This action can make a difference for our country. For each day that we do this, we can save hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil. This will help to hold down prices of fuel, and you obviously will save money you would otherwise have spent on gasoline.

As needed on a temporary basis:

• I may extend certain environmental deadlines and make regulatory changes to help avoid serious shortages of gasoline.

• Unless utilities do so voluntarily, they may be ordered to run non-oil-burning generating plants at full capacity and to transmit the extra power to areas where oil burners can be phased out.

So far I have spoken about producing more energy and conserving more energy.

Now in the next few minutes, I would like to talk about the third — and most promising — part of our battle for energy security: shifting to more abundant sources of energy by the development and use of American technology.

We are already investing some $3.5 billion each year to develop the new energy supplies we will need for the future.

But we must step up this effort. Just as we harnessed American dedication and brainpower to put men on the moon, we will make the same kind of massive, purposeful effort to achieve the goal of national energy security through technology. We must begin now so that we can regain control over our energy future.

Energy Security Fund

That is why the Energy Security Fund — with the tax on windfall oil profits that will pay for it — is so vitally important. That is why every vote in Congress for this Fund will be a vote for America's future — and every vote against it will be a vote for excessive oil company profits and for reliance on the whims of the foreign oil cartel.

The Energy Security Fund will let us pursue a sound strategy of energy research and development.

In years to come, we can design automobiles, buildings, appliances and engines that serve us better and use less energy.

We can improve mass transit and make our entire transportation system cleaner, faster, and more efficient.

We can broaden the use of our huge coal deposits by turning coal into clean gas, liquid, and solid fuels.

We can learn how to use our immense reserves of oil shale.

From the products of our forests and croplands, we can produce more gasohol — already being used to replace gasoline in several Midwestern states.

We can promote the use of small-scale hydroelectric plants, powered by the flow of ordinary streams without the need for big dams.

Solar Power

And we can turn increasingly toward the ultimate source of all our energy — the sun.

There are solar techniques that are economical right now. With existing tax credits and with our new Energy Security Fund, we can encourge even more rapid development and use of solar power. In the future, we will use solar energy in many other ways, including the direct conversion of sunlight into electricity. We already use this method for limited purposes such as in our space program, but scientific discoveries will be needed to make it more useful in our homes and factories.

The Energy Security Fund derived from the windfall profits tax will pay for these exciting new energy programs.

All of these steps can be part of a wider international effort. Other nations are eager to cooperate.

The actions and plans I have announced tonight will move us away from imported oil and toward a future of real energy security. These actions will give us a better life. These are necessary steps, because our country facts a serious petroleum problem and a broader energy challenge. The future of the country we love is at stake.

We Americans have met equal challenges in the past. Our nation has endured and prospered. Ours is a great country, and we have bountiful resources and technological genius.

We must recognize the urgency of this challenge — and we must work together to meet it. Then we too will endure. We too will prosper. We too will triumph.

Thank you, and good night. ▮

Foreign Aid Reorganization

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress April 10 on his reorganization plan to consolidate U.S. foreign assistance activities:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1979, to consolidate certain foreign assistance activities of the United States Government. I am acting under the authority vested in me by the Reorganization Act, chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code, and pursuant to title III of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1978 which requires that I report to the Congress my decisions on reorganization in this area.

The purposes of this reorganization are to make more coherent our economic policies and programs affecting the developing nations and to improve the effectiveness of United States foreign development activities.

This Nation is committed — not only in the interest of the people of developing countries, but in our own interest as well — to help those countries in their efforts to achieve better lives for their citizens. To

this end, we conduct a number of bilateral development assistance programs, participate in a number of multilateral development assistance programs, and engage in a variety of other economic activities that affect developing countries.

Four Problems

When this Administration took office, United States support of international development suffered from four major problems. First, no single U.S. official was charged with responsibility for establishing a comprehensive and coherent strategy for our Nation's efforts in this field. Second, no agency or official had the authority to ensure that the various U.S. programs affecting development were consistent with each other or complemented the programs of the multilateral organizations to which we contribute.

Third, none of the agency heads testifying before the Congress about his particular portion of our foreign assistance efforts was able to speak authoritatively for the program as a whole or for the Administration's overall development policies and priorities. Finally, because there was no authoritative spokesperson, developmental concerns were at times accorded insufficient weight in executive branch decision-making on trade, monetary, and other non-aid economic issues that affect developing nations.

Just before his death a year ago, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey prepared a bill intended to solve these problems. Congressman Clement Zablocki introduced a similar measure in the House. Although the Congress took no action last year on the organizational provisions of the Humphrey-Zablocki bill, it directed me, in title III of the 1978 development assistance authorization act, to institute a strengthened system of coordination of U.S. economic policies affecting the developing countries, and urged me to create an agency with primary responsibility for coordination of international development-related activities.

In response to the Humphrey-Zablocki bill and the Administration's own analyses, I took a number of steps last year to strengthen aid coordination and improve the effectiveness of our development assistance programs. The Reorganization Plan transmitted with this message continues that process. It will provide stronger direction of U.S. policies toward the developing world, ensure a more coherent development strategy, promote the more effective use of the various U.S. bilateral instruments by which the U.S. can encourage economic and social progress in developing countries, and ensure that U.S. bilateral programs and the multilateral programs to which we contribute better complement each other.

New Agency

This reorganization would create a new agency, to be known as the International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA). IDCA would become a focal point within the U.S. Government for economic matters affecting U.S. relations with developing countries. Subject to guidance concerning the foreign policy of the United States from the Secretary of State, the IDCA Director would be the principal international development advisor to the President and to the Secretary of State.

The Director would replace the AID Administrator in chairing the Development Coordination Committee. The IDCA Director would make recommendations to me concerning the appointment and tenure of senior officials of each component of IDCA, and would establish and control the budgets and policies of the Agency for International Development and the bilateral foreign assistance programs it administers, and of the Institute For Technological Cooperation, proposed in legislation transmitted to the Congress on February 26, 1979, which would support research and technological innovation to reduce obstacles to economic development.

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which insures and guarantees U.S. private investments in developing countries against certain hazards, would also be a component of IDCA, but OPIC's Board of Directors, which the IDCA Director would chair, would continue to set OPIC policy.

Each of these agencies would retain its individual identity and substantial day-to-day operating autonomy. A principal responsibility of the IDCA Director — who would be supported by a small staff — would be the achievement of consistency and balance among the policies, major programs, and budgets of the component agencies.

To help ensure that U.S. bilateral efforts and the programs of major multilateral development institutions better complement each other, the IDCA Director would participate in the selection of U.S. Executive Directors of multilateral development banks (World Bank Group, Inter-American Development Bank, Asian Development Bank and African Development Fund) and would advise these Executive Directors on development policy and proposed projects and programs.

Additionally, IDCA would assume lead responsibility for budget support and policy concerning United States participation in those organizations and programs of the United Nations and the Organization of American States whose purpose is primarily developmental. These are the UN Development Program, UNICEF, the Organization of American States Technical Assistance Funds, the UN Capital Development Fund, the UN Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa, the UN/Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) World Food program, the FAO Post-Harvest Losses Fund, and the UN Disaster Relief Organization.

Responsibilities

The IDCA Director would be responsible for ensuring that development goals are taken fully into account in all executive branch decision-making on trade, technology, and other economic policy issues affecting the less developed nations, and would submit an annual development policy statement to the Congress. The Director would also prepare a comprehensive foreign assistance budget, which he would submit to the Office of Management and Budget after consulting with the Secretary of State, and would lead the Administration's presentation of that budget to the Congress.

When IDCA is established, I intend to delegate to it the principal authority for the bilateral development assistance program administered by AID (now vested in me by law, delegated to the Secretary of State, and redelegated to the Administrator of AID). Certain functions vested in me under the Foreign Assistance Act will continue to be delegated to the Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Defense, or elsewhere; but most functions relating to the assistance program will be delegated directly to the IDCA Director, who will in turn redelegate these functions, as appropriate, to the Administrator of AID. I also intend to delegate to the Director of IDCA authority proposed to be vested in me to establish an Institute For Technological Cooperation; the IDCA Director would redelegate these functions, as appropriate, to IFTC.

The reorganization would increase program effectiveness through improved coordination, as requested in the 1978 authorization act. I estimate that it would achieve that goal with no increase in expenditures or personnel. After investigation, I have found that this reorganization is necessary to carry out the policy set forth in section 901(a) of title 5 of the United Staets Code.

This plan abolishes one of the statutory officers that the President may appoint under section 624(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2384 (a). No statutory functions are abolished by the plan. The provisions in this plan for the appointment and pay of the Director, Deputy Director, and Associate Directors of IDCA have been found by me to be necessary by reason of the reorganization and are at rates applicable to comparable officers in the executive branch.

This proposal constitutes the first major restructuring of the U.S. foreign aid program since the creation of the Agency for International Development in 1961. It will provide the United States with governmental machinery far better able to fulfill our commitment to assist people in developing countries to eliminate hunger, poverty, illness and ignorance. It responds to the mandate of the Congress. Let us work together to ensure its successful and effective implementation.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
April 10, 1979.

Windfall Profits Tax

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress April 26 detailing his proposal for a tax on oil company windfall profits:

TO THE CONGRESS
OF THE UNITED STATES:

On April 5, I announced the phased decontrol of oil prices beginning on June 1 of this year, and ending with the expiration of price control authority on October 1, 1981. The decontrol program I have established will increase domestic oil production, encourage conservation of existing energy supplies, and make it possible to accelerate development of alternative energy supplies and thereby lessen our dangerously heavy reliance on imported foreign oil.

To prevent unearned, excessive profits which the oil companies would receive as a result of decontrol and possible future OPEC [Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries] price increases, I proposed a windfall profits tax. I further proposed that the revenues generated by that tax be used to establish an Energy Security Trust Fund which will have three major purposes:

- to provide assistance to low-income households who can least afford energy price increases;
- to increase funding for mass transit; and
- to undertake a major program of new energy initiatives and investments which will permit us to develop critically needed alternatives to imported oil.

This Message sets out the detailed specifications of the windfall profits tax and the Energy Security Trust Fund. I look forward to working closely with you to act on this proposal as quickly as possible.

THE WINDFALL PROFITS TAX

Summary of the Windfall Profits Tax

Under the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 (EPCA), which amends the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act (EPAA), all authority to control the price of domestically-produced crude oil expires on September 30, 1981. However, as of June 1, 1979, the amount by which oil prices may increase becomes discretionary with the President.

The Department of Energy has been directed to undertake administrative actions designed to phase out controls on all domestic crude oil by September 30, 1981. Department of Energy regulations implementing some of these changes were published in the *Federal Register* on April 12, 1979 (44 *Fed. Reg.* 22012). The phased decontrol program will begin as of June 1, 1979 and will extend through September 30, 1981.

In order to prevent oil producers from reaping excessive profits from decontrol a windfall profits tax is proposed. This tax would apply to windfall revenues from sales of lower and upper tier oil which are attributable to decontrol and to revenues from the sales of domestic crude oil which are attributable to any future OPEC price increases in excess of adjustments for inflation.

The gradual deregulation of domestic oil prices will bring the price of oil to world oil price levels, with the following benefits: First, it will eliminate the current subsidy provided to imported oil, which has increased consumption and dependence on foreign supplies. Second, it will encourage producers of oil to seek out additional supplies and to continue production from marginally economic operations.

Third, decontrol will phase out the complex system of controls which presently produces inequities and inefficiencies. Fourth, through replacement cost pricing, new sources of energy will come into commercial use, further reducing U.S. dependence on foreign oil. Fifth, it will strengthen the stability of the dollar and reduce balance of payment flows, both directly through reduced oil payments abroad and indirectly through confidence that the U.S. is attacking its energy problem.

However, deregulation of domestic oil prices will also provide enormous windfall gains for domestic producers of oil. These windfall gains will be generated by two aspects of deregulation: First, there are those gains which will result from the lifting of price controls on lower and upper tier oil.

Producers of lower tier oil (controlled at an average price of $5.75 per barrel in January of 1979) will be able to sell increasing volumes of their oil at upper tier prices (controlled at an average price of $12.66 per barrel in January of 1979). At the same time, the controlled price of upper tier oil will be allowed to rise gradually to the world price.

Second, there are those gains that may result from the future actions of the OPEC cartel.

It is estimated that deregulation will increase domestic oil producer income before tax by $1.0 billion in 1979, $5.0 billion in 1980 and $9.3 billion in 1981. In order to capture the windfall portion of these increased revenues, a windfall profits tax of 50 percent is proposed. The proceeds of the tax and of increased income tax revenues attributable to higher producer profits during the deregulation period will be allocated to an Energy Security Trust Fund, described later in this Message.

The tax is designed to reduce to the greatest possible extent the complexity and excessive regulation associated with the existing price control mechanism. The entitlements program will be phased out. For purposes of administering the tax it will no longer be necessary to police the price at which oil and oil products are sold.

The records that are to be kept will, in large part, be the same records that taxpayers are required to retain for income tax purposes. Finally, because the volume of oil at the lower tier and the upper tier base price will both phase out, only a simple tax will remain in place permanently.

The Decontrol Schedule

The phased decontrol schedule is as follows:

- As of June 1, 1979, newly discovered oil will be permitted to receive the world market price.
- The Department of Energy has promulgated a rule under which, as of June 1, 1979, a substantial percentage of production from marginal properties may be sold at the upper tier price. The base production control level against which current production volumes are measured to determine upper tier volumes each month for marginal properties are set at 20 percent of the average monthly production and sale of lower tier crude oil from marginal properties. Marginal properties are those properties which produced below a certain volume of oil per well per day depending upon the average completion depth of all crude oil producing wells on such properties. The schedule of average well depths and average daily production volumes used to determine a marginal property are:

  Under 20 barrels/day between 2,000 and 4,000 feet

  Under 25 barrels/day between 4,000 and 6,000 feet

  Under 30 barrels/day between 6,000 and 8,000 feet

  Under 35 barrels/day below 8,000 feet.
- On January 1, 1980, the base production control levels for marginal properties will be reduced to zero and all current production will be eligible for the upper tier price.
- Effective June 1, any incremental new production from wells employing specified enhanced recovery techniques (e.g., tertiary recovery), may receive the world price. Beginning on January 1, 1980, producers who invest in enhanced recovery projects after June 1 may release specified volumes of lower tier oil to the upper tier price in order to finance that investment.
- Beginning on January 1, 1980, the upper tier oil price will increase in equal monthly increments until it reaches the world price on October 1, 1981.
- The Department of Energy has promulgated a rule under which base production control levels for all properties other than marginal properties will be permitted to decline lower tier oil at a rate of 1-1/2 percent per month from January 1, 1979 through December 31, 1979. Between January 1, 1980 and October 1, 1981, the decline rate will equal 3 percent per month.

Technical Explanation of the Windfall Profits Tax

1. Imposition of Tax

An excise tax will be imposed at the wellhead on the owners of property interests in domestic crude oil (i.e., producers

and royalty owners). The tax will not be imposed upon royalties paid to the Federal government. The tax will be withheld and paid over by the person having responsibility for settling with the various property interest owners under a division order. This is generally the first purchaser.

The person having responsibility for withholding and paying over the tax will deposit the tax semi-monthly with authorized depositories. That person will be required to file quarterly returns setting forth the amount collected and deposited for the return period.

Production from the Alaska North Slope (and any other oil transported through the TAPS line) is excluded entirely from the tax. This is because the transportation costs of bringing this oil to market are high, and the actual price received at the wellhead by producers of such oil is significantly below the upper tier price level.

Since the windfall profits tax is an excise tax, it is deductible for income tax purposes.

2. Amount of Tax

One tax is to be imposed at a rate of 50 percent. The tax is to be imposed on the difference between the price at which each taxable barrel of oil is sold and its base price, multiplied by the volume of oil subject to tax. There are three base prices: the controlled price of lower tier oil; the controlled base price of upper tier oil; and, for the production of unregulated oil, the market incentive price.

3. Oil Subject to Tax

(a) Definitions

The windfall profits tax applies only to crude oil produced in the United States. For this purpose, the United States includes Puerto Rico, all United States possessions and the Continental Shelf.

The terms "crude oil", "lower tier oil", "upper tier oil", "stripper well", and "marginal well" will be defined in the same manner as those terms are defined by current Department of Energy regulations.

(b) Effective date

The tax is to be effective on January 1, 1980. It is a permanent tax.

(c) Tax bases

Lower tier. Under the President's decontrol schedule, lower tier oil will be released to the upper tier price in accordance with a decline rate applied to the producer's base period control level (BPCL). The BPCL is determined as of January 1, 1979 under recently issued Department of Energy regulations. For decontrol purposes, the decline rate is 1-1/2 percent per month during 1979, and 3 percent per month thereafter.

The taxable volume of lower tier oil will be the volume of lower tier oil freed to the upper tier under decontrol which exceeds the volume of oil which would be freed by reducing the January 1, 1980 volume of lower tier oil by 2 percent of the BPCL per month.

For purposes of computing taxable volume, the 2 percent reduction continues even after price controls expire on September 30, 1981. Consequently, the taxable volume of lower tier oil equals zero at the end of May 1983.

For purposes of computing the tax on lower tier oil, the base price is the controlled price of lower tier oil. Thus, oil which is now selling below its controlled price will be taxed only on the difference between the former controlled price and the price at which it is sold when freed to the upper tier.

For the period following the termination of controls, a constructive lower tier controlled price, generally based upon the present Department of Energy regulations, will be used in computing the lower tier base price. The constructive lower tier base price will be adjusted for inflation (as measured by the GNP deflator) by the Secretary of the Treasury in the same manner as the controlled price is currently adjusted for inflation under Department of Energy regulations.

Any lower tier oil released to the upper tier under decontrol and not includible in the lower tier taxable volume will be included in the upper tier taxable volume and will be taxed at that level.

The computation of the windfall profits tax at the lower tier level is illustrated by the following example:

Producer A's BPCL for lower tier oil as of January 1, 1979 is 100X barrels per day. Under the Department of Energy decontrol schedule the volume of oil subject to lower tier prices on December 31, 1979 will be 82X barrels per day (100X barrels per day less 18X barrels per day representing a 1-1/2 percent decline for the 12 months of 1979). During January, 1980 A produces 83X barrels per day. Of that production, 4X barrels can be sold as upper tier oil, since the lower tier volume for January 1980 is 79X barrels per day. One X barrels per day, the difference between the application of the 3 percent decline permitted under the Department of Energy decontrol schedule and the 2 percent decline permitted for purposes of computing the lower tier taxable volume, is the taxable volume of oil. Thus, if the controlled price of lower tier oil in January 1980 is $6 per barrel and the 1X taxable barrels per day are sold at the wellhead for $13 per barrel, the amount of tax would be equal to: 50 percent x (1X barrels per day x 31 days) x ($13 per barrel −$6 per barrel) [equals] $108.50X. The other decontrolled oil produced in January 1980 (31 days x 3X barrels per day) will be included in the upper tier taxable volume.

The lower tier taxable volume will not include marginal well production nor production that is released beginning on January 1, 1980 in order to finance investment in tertiary recovery. However, this production is included in the upper tier taxable volume. The lower tier taxable volume also will not include production from wells that would be considered to be stripper wells had controls continued beyond October 1981. However, this production is included in the market incentive tier taxable volume.

Upper tier. The windfall profits tax will apply to all upper tier oil beginning on January 1, 1980. The taxable volume of upper tier oil includes *all* upper tier oil except oil subject to tax at the lower tier level. Under the Department of Energy decontrol schedule, beginning on January 1, 1980, the upper tier oil price reaches the world price on October 1, 1981. For purposes of the tax, the controlled base price of upper tier oil is the price at which upper tier oil would be controlled if the Department of Energy decontrol schedule had not been implemented. This constructive upper tier controlled base price will be adjusted for inflation (as measured by the GNP deflator) by the Secretary of the Treasury in the same manner as the controlled price is currently adjusted for inflation under Department of Energy regulations.

The tax at the upper tier level is computed by applying the 50 percent rate to the upper tier taxable volume, multiplied by the difference between the price at which upper tier oil is sold and its controlled base price.

As in the case of lower tier oil which is now selling below its controlled price, upper tier oil will be taxed only on the difference between its controlled base price and the price at which it is sold.

The constructive upper tier base price will increase in monthly increments beginning in November 1986 so that over a 50-month period the difference between the upper tier controlled base price and the market incentive price (see below) will disappear. Consequently, at the end of the 50-month period, the upper tier tax base will be phased out. The Secretary of the Treasury will prescribe by regulations the applicable monthly increments.

The upper tier tax base will not include new production or incremental tertiary production.

Market incentive tier. The market incentive tier tax will be based on the difference between the price at which the uncontrolled oil is sold and the market incentive base price. The market incentive base price for the fourth quarter of 1979 is $16.00 per barrel. This base price will be adjusted for domestic inflation (as measured by the GNP deflator) and determined by the Secretary of the Treasury on a quarterly basis.

The taxable volume of the market incentive tier includes all uncontrolled oil except any oil subject to tax in the lower or upper tier taxable volume and Alaska North Slope oil. The tax at the market incentive tier is computed by applying the 50 percent rate to the taxable volume, multiplied by the difference between the price at which the oil is sold and the market incentive base price.

4. Application of Other Tax Provisions

For purposes of computing percentage depletion, gross income is reduced by the amount subject to the 50 percent windfall profits tax.

5. Revenue Effect

The gross windfall profits tax will equal $0.4 billion in fiscal year 1980, $1.8 billion in fiscal year 1981, and $3.0 billion in fiscal year 1982. The net windfall profits tax (after reduction for income tax deductions of the excise tax and gain from disallowance of percentage depletion) will equal $0.2 billion in fiscal year 1980, $1.3 billion in fiscal year 1981, and $2.0 billion in fiscal year 1982.

THE ENERGY SECURITY TRUST FUND

Summary of The Energy Security Trust Fund

The Energy Security Trust Fund is proposed to be established by statute in the Treasury of the United States to receive on a regular basis the revenues from the windfall profits tax and to receive for fiscal years 1980, 81, and 82, an additional amount to be appropriated from general revenues which will be based on an estimate of additional income taxes paid in 1980, 81, and 82 resulting from decontrol. The Administration will request an appropriation as soon as the windfall profits tax is enacted. The revenues in the Trust Fund will be used for three basic purposes:

- not to exceed $800 million annually for assistance to low-income households;
- not to exceed $350 million annually for additional funds for energy efficient mass transit purposes; and
- a range of energy program initiatives, including those set forth in the White House Fact Sheet issued on April 5, 1979, and additional initiatives, for long-term energy R&D, conservation, and energy-related environmental R&D, which Trust Fund revenues will support.

The Energy Security Trust Fund programs will be undertaken only if the windfall profits tax is enacted and provides (along with the additional corporate income taxes for fiscal years 1980, 81, and 82) revenues adequate to cover full costs. The Trust Fund is being proposed to insure that all revenues resulting from decontrol are used for the specified purposes.

Trust Fund Structure and Operation

The Energy Security Trust Fund will be established by statute and will be credited with revenue from two sources:

- all revenues actually received from the windfall profits tax on domestic crude petroleum less tax credit reimbursement; and
- additional income taxes that are estimated by Treasury to be collected as a result of phased decontrol during fiscal years 1980, 81, and 82.

The assistance to low-income households will be given priority on Trust Fund resources.

The total estimated costs for approved Trust Fund initiatives will not be permitted to exceed available resources within the Trust Fund. Total cost estimates by fiscal year will be developed for the expected life of each proposed initiative. The total for all proposed uses of the Trust Fund shall not exceed expected revenue estimates under constant world oil price assumptions.

The estimated out-year costs of approved initiatives will be calculated by year from the first year of the Trust Fund's operation to insure that revenues are adequate to meet commitments. This is necessary because of the substantial out-year costs of certain initiatives such as the shale oil tax credit and the uncertainty about revenues beyond 1985. To the extent that projected resources are in excess of projected commitments, additional energy initiatives which contribute to reducing United States dependence on imported oil may be undertaken. Purposes may include: energy research, development, demonstration, energy related environmental R&D, conservation, etc. All spending from the Trust Fund will be subject to authorization and appropriation in the annual budget process.

The Treasury Department will be responsible for holding the Trust Fund and for current year and long range revenue estimates and for tax expenditure estimates. The extent of resources in the Trust Fund which shall be available for new initiatives shall be determined on the basis of estimates, by fiscal year, of receipts and revenue foregone made by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the total costs of all other demands upon the Trust Fund as determined by the Office of Management and Budget. Office of Management and Budget responsibilities will include:

- completing reviews of proposed new initiatives and determining whether adequate revenues exist for new initiatives to be undertaken and making recommendations to the President;
- providing annual projections of budget authority and outlays for the life of each approved spending initiative; and
- providing an annual report to the President and Congress describing the operation of the Trust Fund and the projections of future balance.

The Department of the Treasury will be responsible for:

- an estimate for the FY 80-FY 82 period of the amounts of added income taxes paid in consequence of the President's decontrol decision;
- annual estimates of the tax expenditures and foregone excise tax revenues (if any);
- long range revenue estimates updated annually, based on constant real world oil prices; and
- Trust Fund accounting.

Line agencies will be responsible for developing annual budget estimates for approved initiatives, proposing new initiatives for energy purposes if adequate Trust Fund balances are estimated to exist by OMB, justifying Presidentially approved requests before Congress and implementation of appropriated programs.

The Department of Transportation will be responsible for developing and implementing the additional mass transit assistance program. The Department of Energy will be responsible for developing and implementing through the normal budget process the energy initiatives specified by the President and other initiatives to the extent permitted by Trust Fund balances estimated by the Office of Management and Budget.

Report to Congress

Each year a full report on Trust Fund projections and activities, will be transmitted to Congress along with any required specific authorization and appropriation requests for approved spending initiatives.

CONCLUSION

Prompt enactment of legislation built on these specifications is essential to a sound energy policy for the future of our country. This initiative is one of the most important of my Presidency.

Taken together, the windfall profits tax and the Energy Security Trust Fund will provide us with the means to move ahead to maximize domestic energy production, to establish stronger conservation habits, and to build toward the day when our reliance on imported oil no longer threatens the very security of this Nation. It will do so in a way which is fair and equitable and which protects the neediest in our society.

The Members of my Cabinet and Senior Staff and I look forward to working with each of you in the Congress to ensure that these vital proposals are quickly and fully enacted.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
April 26, 1979.

Gas Rationing Revisions

Following are the texts of President Carter's revised gas rationing plans.

Carter's original rationing plan was made public Feb. 27.

The two revisions printed below were made by Carter to win votes in Congress for gas rationing. The first revision was made public May 7. When that revision failed to win enough support, Carter again revised his proposal. That revision was made public May 8.

May 7 Proposal

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

Pursuant to Sections 201(d)(1) and 552 of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act (EPCA), 42 U.S.C. 6261(d)(1) and 6422, I am hereby transmitting to the Congress for its approval an amendment to the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan (Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan No. 1) which I transmitted on March 1, 1979.

During the consideration of the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan, concerns were raised by both Houses of Congress that the Plan did not treat states and the citizens within states equitably. The purpose of this amendment is to add new provisions to the rationing plan to eliminate the potential for disparities during plan operation. The first provision alters the procedure for determining allotments of ration rights by including a historical gasoline use factor in each state, and expands the State Ration Reserve, thereby compensating for disparities both within and among states. The second change limits the number of vehicle allotments each household could receive, reflecting my belief that households with over three vehicles should not receive excessive benefits at the expense of other households.

Under this amendment, each state will be provided with an expanded State Ration Reserve of eight percent not only to provide for the needs of the handicapped and hardship applicants as already provided in the plan, but to provide additional flexibility to the states in dispensing supplemental ration allotments to citizens with special needs. The National Ration Reserve is anticipated to remain at approximately two percent of the available gasoline supply.

The amendment also provides a new method for calculating the ration rights to be alloted to each registered vehicle. Instead of allocating the net total available gasoline supply equally to vehicles in all states, the amendment provides for half the available gasoline supply to be distributed equally to vehicles and half to be allotted on the basis of historical gasoline use in the respective states.

Another provision limits the number of ration rights received by each household to three vehicle allotments. Ration rights not distributed to members of a household pursuant to the limitation of this amendment will be distributed to the state Ration Reserve in the state in which such household is located. This amendment would not preclude members of a household from obtaining additional ration rights from the State Ration Reserve on the basis of hardship or other factors.

The procedures for approval by Congress of an amendment to a contingency plan are detailed in Section 552 of the EPCA, and require among other things that a resolution of approval be passed by each House of Congress within 60 days of submittal of the amendment. I urge the Congress to give this amendment expedited consideration so that it may be approved promptly with the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan.

The EPCA does not specify in Section 552 the form which the resolution of approval is to take. As I noted in my submission of the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan on March 1, 1979, it is my view and that of the Attorney General that actions of the Congress purporting to have binding legal effect must be presented to the President for his approval under Article I, Section 7 of the Constitution. Therefore, I strongly recommend that Congressional approval of the amendment be in the form of a joint resolution. If this procedure is followed, the amendment itself, agreed to by the Congress and the President, will not later be subject to possible judicial invalidation on the ground that the President did not approve the resolution.

Prompt Congressional approval of the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan is essential. Failure of the Congress to act will leave the Nation vulnerable to economic disruption and long gasoline station lines. It is obviously impossible to develop a plan which will be perceived to be fair by each person. The proposed plan, as amended, is designed to be broadly equitable, practical and administrable. If we fail to approve a standby rationing system, the Nation's resolve to deal with a serious supply interruption will be called into question. The resulting damage to the economy and personal hardships to our citizens could be substantial.

I urge the prompt and favorable consideration by the Congress of the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan and this amendment.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
May 7, 1979.

May 8 Proposal

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

Pursuant to Sections 201(d)(1) and 552 of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act (EPCA), 42 U.S.C. 6261(d)(1) and 6422, I am hereby transmitting to the Congress for its approval an amendment to the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan (Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan No. 1) which I transmitted on March 1, 1979. This amendment is a substitute for Contingency Plan No. 5 which I transmitted on May 7, 1979.

During the consideration of the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan, concerns were raised by both Houses of Congress that the Plan did not treat states and the citizens within states equitably. The purpose of this amendment is to add new provisions to the rationing plan to eliminate the potential for disparities during plan operation. The first provision alters the procedure for determining allotments of ration rights by basing allotments on a historical gasoline use factor in each state, and expands the State Ration Reserve, thereby compensating for disparities both within and among states. The second change limits the number of vehicle allotments each household could receive, reflecting my belief that households with over three vehicles should not receive excessive benefits at the expense of other households.

Under this amendment, each state will be provided with an expanded State Ration Reserve of eight percent not only to provide for the needs of the handicapped and hardship applicants as already provided in the plan, but to provide additional flexibility to the states in dispensing supplemental ration allotments to citizens with special needs. The National Ration Reserve is anticipated to remain at approximately two percent of the available gasoline supply.

The amendment also provides a new method for calculating the ration rights to be allotted to each registered vehicle. Instead of allocating the net total available gasoline supply equally to vehicles in all states, the amendment provides for the available gasoline supply to be allotted on the basis of historical gasoline use in the respective states.

Another provision limits the number of ration rights received by each household to three vehicle allotments. Ration rights not distributed to members of a household pursuant to the limitation of this amendment will be distributed to the State Ration Reserve in the state in which such household is located. This amendment would not preclude members of a household from obtaining additional ration rights from the State Ration Reserve on the basis of hardship or other factors.

The procedures for approval by Congress of an amendment to a contingency plan are detailed in Section 552 of the EPCA, and require among other things that a resolution of approval be passed by each House of Congress within 60 days of submittal of the amendment. I urge the Congress to give this amendment expedited consideration so that it may be approved promptly with the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan.

The EPCA does not specify in Section 552 the form which the resolution of approval is to take. As I noted in my submission of the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan on March 1, 1979, it is my view and that of the Attorney General that actions of the Congress purporting to have binding legal effect must be presented to the President for his approval under Article I, Section 7 of the Constitution. Therefore, I strongly recommend that Congressional approval of the amendment be in the form of a joint resolution. If this procedure is followed, the amendment itself, agreed to by the Congress and the President, will not later be subject to possible judicial invalidation on the ground that the President did not approve the resolution.

Prompt Congressional approval of the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan is essential. Failure of the Congress to act will leave the Nation vulnerable to economic disruption and long gasoline station lines.

It is obviously impossible to develop a plan which will be perceived to be fair by each person. The proposed plan, as amended, is designed to be broadly equitable, practical and administrable. If we fail to approve a standby rationing system, the Nation's resolve to deal with a serious supply interruption will be called into question. The resulting damage to the economy and personal hardships to our citizens could be substantial.

I urge the prompt and favorable consideration by the Congress of the Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan and this amendment.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
May 8, 1979. ▮

Mental Health Services

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress May 15, detailing his proposed Mental Health Systems Act:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am today submitting to Congress the Mental Health Systems Act. This proposed legislation establishes a new partnership between the federal government and the states in the planning and provision of mental health services. It seeks to assure that the chronically mentally ill no longer face the cruel alternative of unnecessary institutionalization or inadequate care in the community. It provides local communities with more flexible federal support for mental health services and places a new emphasis on the prevention of mental illness.

I am deeply committed to reducing the tragic toll which mental illness exacts from our citizens and our country. Less than one month after entering office I signed an Executive Order creating the President's Commission on Mental Health with Rosalynn Carter as Honorary Chairperson. I directed the Commission to undertake an intensive study of the mental health needs of our nation and to recommend appropriate ways of meeting these needs.

During our years in Georgia, both Rosalynn and I became keenly aware of the unmet needs of people in our state who suffered from mental and emotional disabilities. Those with chronic mental illness were too often locked away in isolated institutions far from family and friends. Children and adults with signs of developing mental and emotional problems did not have access to early detection and prevention programs.

Community-based care was beginning to develop but was constantly stripped of its full potential by inflexible program models designed for the "average" community, rather than for the particular needs of a given locale or state. Special populations such as the elderly, children, and racial and ethnic minorities were not receiving care designed to meet their special needs. For those who required hospitalization there were almost no alternatives to large state mental hospitals. Aftercare was almost nonexistent for patients released from those hospitals who returned to their home communities.

While I am proud of what we accomplished in Georgia to begin to solve these problems, my concern that similar problems exist throughout the nation prompted me to establish the Commission and to ask it to report back to me in one year with its findings and recommendations. The excellent final report of the Commission presented to me last April made clear that the past 30 years had seen tremendous achievement on behalf of our mentally ill population.

Not only had there been a dramatic shift of emphasis from inpatient care to community-based care, but great strides had been made in mental health-related research, and thousands of mental health personnel had been trained. However, the report also contained unmistakable evidence that there are unmet needs in every region of our country.

Some of the key Commission findings dramatically illustrated the challenges this nation faces in meeting the needs of the mentally ill:

- According to the most recent estimates, between ten and fifteen percent of the population — 20-32 million Americans — need some form of mental health services at any one time.
- Substantial numbers of Americans do not have access to mental health care of high quality and at reasonable cost. For many, this is because of where they live; for others, it is because of who they are — their race, age, or sex; for still others, it is because of their particular disability or economic circumstance.
- There are approximately 1.5 million chronically mentally disabled adults in mental hospitals, nursing homes and other residential facilities. Many of these individuals could lead better lives in less restrictive settings if mental health and supporting services were available in their communities. The problem is that for them — and for the hundreds of thousands of patients who have been returned to their communities from large institutions over the past few years — such support services are seldom readily available. As a result, evidence indicates that half the people released from large state mental hospitals are readmitted within a year of discharge.
- There is insufficient emphasis at federal, state, and local levels on prevention and early detection of mental disorders. Infants and children would especially benefit from expanded prevention efforts, since early intervention with problems in physical, emotional and cognitive development can prevent more serious mental and emotional problems in the future.
- Conflicting policy objectives in various Federal health and mental health programs and between federal and state programs often lead to confusion, fragmentation of services, and a lack of continuity of care for those with mental and emotional problems. In addition, diverse federal planning requirements and poorly developed planning capabilities at the state and local levels have perpetuated the lack of integrated planning necessary to build a nationwide network of accessible public and private mental health services.
- The lack of flexibility in Federal funding of community-based services has prevented some communities from providing services to their underserved populations. Although over 700 Community Mental Health Centers provide services to almost 3 million patients annually, this model of organizing services cannot fit the needs of all people and all communities. Therefore, varying approaches to developing comprehensive community mental health services should be encouraged.
- About two-thirds of all mentally ill persons being treated in this country every year are receiving care in the general health care system. Nevertheless, cooperative working arrangements between general health care settings and community mental health programs are rare.
- Over the past several years, there has been a marked increase in the number of professional and paraprofessional mental health practitioners. However, rural areas, small towns, and poor urban areas still have only a fraction of the personnel they need. Many mental health facilities have a shortage of trained personnel. The mental health professions still have too few minority members, and there is a shortage of specialists trained to work with children, adolescents, and the elderly.
- Since 1969, our national mental health research capacity has undergone substantial erosion and our investment in mental health research is now so low that the development of new knowledge is jeopardized.

To deal with these and other problems in the mental health arena, the Commission developed a series of recommendations for bold new action to improve our nation's mental health. Many of these recommendations served as a blueprint for the proposed Mental Health Systems Act.

The proposed Act charts a new course for mental health care which promises comprehensiveness, flexibility and innovation. For the first time in the history of federal involvement with mental health care, a true, performance-based partnership would be created between the federal and state governments. Special emphasis is placed on the chronically mentally ill.

Recognizing that this population has long been the most neglected of any mentally ill group, the proposed Act provides support to states which are phasing down large state hospitals, upgrading the quality

of services in remaining institutions, and providing quality alternatives to institutionalization. I believe that these provisions of the Act will encourage the development of a comprehensive, integrated system of care designed to best serve the needs of chronically mentally ill adults and children.

Another innovation is the proposed Act's emphasis on prevention. States and localities are awarded grants to develop preventive and mental health promotion programs through public and professional education and demonstration projects. Such programs, I believe, will lay the foundation for the future in mental health care as we learn how to prevent mental illness before it occurs.

The proposed legislation gives a new and much needed flexibility to community mental health programs. It authorizes funds for one or more mental health services without requiring that a comprehensive package be developed as a prerequisite for financial assistance. This new flexibility will enable communities to provide services to their most underserved populations — whether the chronically mentally ill, children, the elderly, racial and ethnic minorities, the poor, rural residents, or other groups — and build toward a comprehensive system of care for the entire community over time.

In addition by providing financial incentives for closer coordination between ambulatory health care providers and mental health care providers, the Act takes an important step toward assuring that appropriate mental health care is available for all who need help.

The Act also guarantees increased availability of mental health personnel in underserved areas by requiring that mental health professionals who receive federal support for training work in an area with a shortage of mental health personnel for a period equal to the length of the support.

It is, of course, impossible for any one piece of legislation to meet all the mental health needs of the nation. The federal government has already sought to implement many of the recommendations of the Commission in other ways:

- To increase the development of new knowledge about mental illness, the 1980 budget provides additional funding for research into disabling mental illness, and for determining ways to improve the delivery of mental health care.
- To increase the availability of mental health services for the elderly, changes have been proposed increasing the Medicare reimbursement ceiling for outpatient mental health services and decreasing the beneficiary's co-payment requirement. Also, the Child Health Assurance Program will mandate that states provide mental health services for Medicaid-eligible children.
- To assist the chronically mentally ill to function effectively outside of institutions, the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare and Housing and Urban Development have initiated a joint demonstration project which provides both housing and support services.
- To promote protection of the rights of the mentally ill, the Administration is funding demonstration projects which deliver advocacy services to the mentally ill and is studying existing advocacy programs to determine the appropriate role for the federal government in this area.

I am convinced that these actions and the passage of the Mental Health Systems Act will reduce the number of Americans robbed of vital and satisfying lives by mental illness. I ask the Congress to join with me in developing a new system of mental health care designed to deal more effectively with our nation's unmet mental health needs.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
May 15, 1979. ▮

Energy Planning

Following is the text of a letter May 18 from President Carter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate regarding his proposed Energy Management Partnership Act:

In furtherance of my energy program announced on April 5, 1979, I am transmitting herewith the proposed "Energy Management Partnership Act of 1979" (EMPA), a measure designed to assist the States in developing an ongoing energy planning and management capability and assist local governments in expanding their energy-related activities.

As you know, Congress in recent years has established a number of energy programs designed to assist States and local governments in achieving more efficient use of energy. Two State conservation planning programs were separately established by the Energy Policy and Conservation Act enacted in late 1975 and the Energy Conservation and Production Act adopted in 1976. With enactment of the National Energy Act (NEA), still other responsibilities must be assumed by States and local governments although Federal funding for some NEA programs is not provided.

Experience strongly suggests that these programs could be made more effective if they, as well as other State energy-related initiatives, were carried out as part of an overall State energy plan. The effectiveness of these programs could be increased by assisting States in establishing a mechanism for their integration at the State level.

This legislation addresses the concerns which Governors, local officials and others have raised regarding the need for better coordination in energy activities carried on at every level of government. Much more can be done if State and local energy agencies, working in partnership with the Federal government, are permitted to seek their own solutions to their energy problems.

The bill I am transmitting contains the following principal features.

1. State energy plan. Participation in the State energy plan program under EMPA would be voluntary. A participating State would receive an initial grant for planning activities in addition to assistance it receives to continue activities under existing Federal energy programs pending approval of the State energy plan. After the Secretary has approved the plan, these programs would be managed and monitored by the State according to the requirements and objectives of the State energy plan. The plan would provide a framework in which a State, working with local governments, would develop and implement its own strategies and programs.

2. Energy emergency planning. EMPA would provide support for State energy emergency planning. Some of the activities included in such planning are State plans for set-aside of petroleum products and other energy supplies, allocation of fuels in short supply during a period of supply disruption, monitoring of supply and consumption, and developing and implementing other emergency energy measures which are responsive to State needs.

3. Special energy projects. EMPA would authorize the Secretary of Energy to make grants to local governments and Indian tribes to develop and implement special energy projects. This feature of the bill would provide the flexibility necessary to support innovative projects which may not qualify under existing categorical programs but which are nevertheless worthy of Federal support. Projects having national applicability are given preference under this program.

4. Funding for programs not now funded. No Federal assistance to States is provided for some energy functions, including renewable resource development and removal of technical, economic and institutional barriers to energy production. EMPA would help fill these financial gaps.

5. Coordination of Federal energy assistance. EMPA would permit States to consolidate applications for assistance programs administered by the Department of Energy and would provide States flexibility in the use of administration funds under such programs.

I believe that to meet our national energy requirements requires concerted action with all levels of government working in partnership. Enactment of this bill would make a significant contribution toward that end. For these reasons, I urge prompt consideration of this proposed legislation.

Sincerely,

JIMMY CARTER ▮

Savings Interest Rates

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress May 22 detailing his proposals regarding interest rates paid by savings institutions:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

For over a decade, the Federal government has limited the interest rates that savers can receive on their deposits in banks and savings institutions. In keeping with my commitment to eliminate inequitable and unnecessary regulations, I directed an Administration task force, chaired by the Treasury Department, to review the fairness, effectiveness and efficiency of these interest rate controls.

Based on the task force's findings, I am today recommending that the Congress enact comprehensive financial reform legislation. I am asking that the Congress permit an orderly transition to a system where the average depositor can receive market-level interest rates on his or her savings.

I am also proposing measures to protect the long-term viability of savings institutions so that they can pay fair and competitive rates to depositors and continue their traditional role in meeting our nation's housing needs.

These actions will reform a system which has become increasingly unfair to the small saver. The present rate ceilings are costing the American people billions of dollars in lost interest annually. Our senior citizens, and others whose savings are concentrated in passbook accounts, have suffered the most.

During a period of high inflation, it is particularly unconscionable for the Federal Government to prohibit small savings from receiving the return on their deposits that is available to large and sophisticated investors.

The present ceilings have also contributed to sharp fluctuations in the flow of housing credit. Large cyclical swings in the availability of mortgage funds have increased housing costs and forced many prospective homebuyers out of the market during periods of high interst rates. The actions I am recommending today will help assure a steadier flow of mortgage credit for homebuyers.

Savings and loan associations exist to channel household savings into mortgages. Mutual savings banks are also major suppliers of housing credit. Because these institutions invest in long-term, fixed-rate mortgages, they are limited in their ability to meet competitive rates for savings when interest rates rise.

In 1966, interest rates rose sharply, and depositors fled many of these institutions to those able to pay higher interest rates.

To prevent the failure of savings institutions and the disruption of the mortgage and housing markets, deposit rate ceilings covering commercial banks were temporarily extended to thrift institutions. The ceilings generally have been administered to permit thrift institutions to pay higher rates of interest than commercial banks.

Conditions have changed dramatically since these limitations were first imposed on thrift institutions. In the current economic and financial environment, the ceilings have the following effects:

- They discriminate against the small saver, who often lacks sufficient funds to purchase market-rate securities which are available to the large investor.
- They are increasingly ineffective in maintaining deposit flows to thrift institutions. The financial marketplace is becoming adept at creating new investment alternatives, such as the money market mutual funds, which induce the small saver to withdraw his funds to obtain benefits similar to those enjoyed by the large investor. While the six-month money market certificate has succeeded in maintaining the flow of housing since last year, it has imposed serious pressures on thrift institutions, and it is not a long-term solution.
- They avoid the discipline of competition and create inefficiencies in the financial marketplace. Financial institutions are limited to non-price competitive practices such as merchandising gifts, although the consumer might prefer a higher yield on his savings.

These problems cannot be solved overnight. They are rooted in the structure of our financial system, and their resolution will require a careful and deliberate approach which takes account of the realities facing our thrift institutions.

Our savings institutions have been required by law and influenced by tax incentives to invest primarily in residential mortgages. In most states, the law confines them to long-term fixed-rate mortgages. Their sources of funds — deposits — have considerably shorter maturities.

When short-term interest rates rise sharply, revenues are limited by their earnings on the existing longer-term mortgages. Since their deposit liabilities are more volatile than their assets, they must pay depositors market rates or they start to lose their deposits.

While raising or removing the ceilings would give savings institutions the legal power to pay market rates to depositors, their economic ability to do so is still limited by the earnings from their mortgage investments.

Savings institutions must be given new investment powers so that they can afford to pay higher rates and maintain the flow of mortgage credit. The transition to freer deposit rates and to new asset powers must be orderly, to avoid major shocks to the financial system.

The disparity between market rates and the ceilings is greatest during periods of high interest rates. Yet that is the time when it is most difficult for the regulatory agencies that set the ceilings to raise them substantially. These agencies are also responsible for the safety and soundness of financial institutions. If deposit interest rates rise sharply, the institutions' earnings come under great pressure unless, at the same time, their earnings are made more responsive to changing interest rates.

Accordingly, I shall ask the Congress to:

- provide that through an orderly transition period all deposit interest rates be permitted to rise to market-rate levels. This will be subject to emergency action on the part of the responsible regulators if the safety and soundness of financial institutions is threatened or the implementation of monetary policy so requires:
- grant the power to offer variable rate mortgages to all Federally-chartered savings institutions, subject to appropriate consumer safeguards. This authority, which would be phased in, would permit thrifts the earnings flexibility to pay competitive rates throughout the business cycle;
- permit all Federally-chartered savings institutions to invest up to 10% of their assets on consumer loans; and
- permit all Federally-insured institutions to offer interest-bearing transaction accounts to individuals.

These steps will bring the benefits of market rates to consumers, promote a steadier flow of mortgage credit and improve the efficiency of the financial markets.

In the interim I support the efforts of the Federal Reserve, the FDIC, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the National Credit Union Administration to take steps to increase the interest rates payable to small savers.

I urge them to pursue the direction begun with authorization of the six-month money market certificate, with the goal of increasing the responsiveness of the interest rate ceilings to market rates.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
May 22, 1979. ▮

Welfare Reform

Following is the text of President Carter's May 23 message to Congress detailing his welfare reform program:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am submitting today my Welfare Reform program in two bills: the Social Welfare Reform Amendments of 1979 and the Work and Training Opportunities Act of 1979. Enactment of these proposals will be an important step in addressing the key failings of the present welfare system — promoting efficiency, improving incentives and opportunities to work, and substantially improving the incomes of millions of poor people.

For too many years, we have lived with a welfare system universally recognized to be inadequate and ineffective. It is a crazy-

quilt patchwork system stitched together over decades without direction or design. It should offer opportunity, but often breeds dependency. It should encourage and reward useful work, but often penalizes those who find jobs.

The guiding principles of my proposals are simple: those who can work should; and there should be adequate support for those who cannot.

The legislation I am submitting today will:

- redirect our welfare system towards employment wherever possible, and provide training and jobs to break the cycle of poverty;
- help secure stable employment with an adequate income for millions of low-income families;
- save hundreds of millions of dollars each year by reducing waste, fraud, and error through tightened and streamlined administration;
- remove major inequities in the present welfare system and redirect assistance to those most in need and least able to help themselves.

In my campaign I pledged to work for welfare reform. The need for reform is no less serious now. I urge Congress to act promptly on this critically important social legislation. The need for action is clear:

The present system is both inadequate and unacceptably unfair. Despite major efforts at all levels of government in the last twenty years, millions of American families throughout the U.S. still live in poverty. Moreover, under the present system assistance to needy households varies widely from state to state. Welfare benefits, including both food stamps and cash assistance, range from 49 percent to 96 percent of the poverty level. For example, current combined benefits in Mississippi for a family of four are $3,540 per year, while a poor family in Vermont receives $6,540. Twenty-four states have chosen not to provide Federally-supported cash benefits to two-parent families, while twenty-six do provide such assistance.

Many technical provisions of current law are inequitable or unnecessarily restrictive. For example:

- In those states which have adopted two-parent coverage, the family suddenly loses all benefits when the family breadwinner begins to work more than 100 hours a month. For a minimum wage earner that is only $290 per month. Yet a higher wage earner can earn more in 100 hours while retaining welfare benefits.
- A family which has been receiving public assistance and then starts to work, can continue receiving assistance even though their earnings may be higher than those of low-income families who are working but have never been on public assistance.

The present system is cumbersome and needlessly difficult to administer. For example:

- Recipients who work are required to submit detailed lists of work-related expenses — which must then be used to calculate benefits. This is burdensome to the recipient and the system, and invites errors and fraud.
- The basic Federal welfare program and the food stamp program currently have different definitions of income and assets, although the same state offices usually administer both programs, and although welfare recipients are almost always eligible for food stamps as well.

This new legislation makes a number of important program simplifications and adopts measures to reduce error and abuse. Savings from reduced errors in the first full year of implementation will be about $300 million. This is in addition to the Administration's present efforts in child support enforcement and error reduction, which will yield savings of over $800 million in the coming year.

The present system provides insufficient opportunities for families to move off cash assistance and into productive jobs. The great majority of family heads receiving cash assistance want to work. Most of the poor who are able to work do in fact work, but usually in low paying and sporadic jobs.

In 1977, more than three-fifths of the 3.8 million families with children with incomes below the official poverty line had either a part-time or a full-time worker. Over a million of these families were headed by women, most of whom supplemented their meager earnings with welfare. Yet, only one-fifth of these working poor families had a worker who was able to find a full-time, year-round job.

In addition, almost three million other families with children live close to the poverty line despite the efforts of one or more family workers.

Even in a period of austerity and fiscal stringency, our Nation cannot afford to ignore its most pressing needs and its most needy. We must do what we can as soon as we can.

The legislation I am submitting today will help to meet the most pressing problems of our welfare system in the following ways:

- *increase employment and training* opportunities. Those who are expected to work will be required to do so if a suitable job is available. In addition, my proposed new legislation will assure participation in a structured job search effort, add resources for training and — for those for whom a private job cannot be found — seek to provide a public sector work opportunity. There will be over 620,000 work and training opportunities for welfare eligibles including 400,000 newly funded public service employment and training slots. The program is structured to assure that required work will always pay more than welfare. Subsidized public sector jobs will only be available to those who have completed a rigorous search for private work. Thus, individuals will have substantial opportunity and incentive as well as a requirement to move from welfare to work. And the legislation assures that states will have substantial incentives to join in the effort to move individuals from welfare to work.
- *improve the fairness and adequacy of welfare cash assistance* to needy families with children by:

—establishing a national minimum benefit (for AFDC and food stamp benefits combined) at 65% of poverty, raising benefits to 800,000 people in the 13 lowest benefit states; mandating coverage of two-parent families in the 24 states which now lack this coverage; and simplifying the benefit computation and eliminating several sources of inequity in the current system.

- *improve welfare administration* by aligning definitions in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and food stamps programs, standardizing certain deductions that are now itemized, tightening eligiblity determinations, and building upon HEW's program of anti-fraud, anti-waste efforts. Furthermore, food stamps will be cashed out for a portion of the needy aged, blind and disabled population receiving Supplemental Security Income (SSI). This step towards program consolidation will extend benefits to needy individuals who are eligible but do not currently participate in the food stamp program, and simplify the welfare system for recipients and administrators.
- *expand the earned income tax credit* to provide greater assistance to low-income working families and provide greater incentives to take private sector jobs.
- *provide fiscal relief* to state and local governments.

These two bills will increase the incomes of 2.3 million families, or nearly 6.5 million people. They will remove from poverty 800,000 families, or 2.2 million people. They will achieve important gains in reducing error and waste. Their cost — $5.7 billion when fully implemented in FY 1982 — is included in the Administration's budget projections submitted to Congress last January and fully consistent with a prudent budget policy.

It is rare that the President and Congress are given the opportunity to work together on legislation that does so much to benefit so many of the most needy.

I recognize that welfare reform is a difficult undertaking. No legislative struggle in the last decade has provided so much hopeful rhetoric or so much disappointment and frustration. We have spent several months in quiet, detailed consultations working to develop a package which I hope provides a basis for a legislative consensus.

I urge the Congress to cap a decade of debate on welfare reform with action. America's people, particularly her poor, have waited long enough for important progress in this area. A society like ours must be judged by what we do for the most

needy in our midst. America must meet this challenge. Congress can make an important contribution by enacting the proposals I am making today.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
May 23, 1979. ■

Pay Reform

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress June 6 detailing his proposals to reform the federal civilian employee pay system:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am transmitting to the Congress today legislation to reform the Federal civilian employee compensation system. The proposals I am making will insure that Federal employees are rewarded fairly for their work and that taxpayers' dollars for such compensation are well spent. This legislation is part of my continuing efforts to make the operation of the Federal government more efficient, effective and equitable.

The Federal pay system has been governed under the principle of comparability since 1962. The comparability principle requires that annual Federal employee pay increases be based upon a survey comparison with pay levels of employees with similar jobs in the non-Federal sector. By determining pay raises through an objective, annual survey, the pay setting process is depoliticized, employee expectations are stabilized, and the government is better able to plan the timing and approximate size of pay adjustments. This comparability principle is equitable to Federal employees and taxpayers alike.

Despite the soundness of the principle of comparability, significant problems have developed in the way the comparability principle is implemented. The existing comparability system, by excluding consideration of such factors as employee fringe benefits, has distorted the comparisons between the Federal and non-Federal sectors. In addition, other structural and procedural problems have developed with parts of our Federal employee compensation system. The blue-collar pay system, for example, has statutory requirements that result in unjustified salary levels for these workers.

The Federal Employees Compensation Reform Act of 1979 will remedy these problems. Its objectives are to:

- insure that Federal employees are paid fairly;
- make the comparability system more accurate;
- improve management flexibility in the compensation area so that needed employees can be better recruited and retained;
- make sure that taxpayers' money for Federal employee compensation is efficiently spent; and,
- eventually reduce the annual budgetary cost of the Federal payroll.

Total Compensation Comparability

At present, comparability between the Federal and non-Federal sectors is measured only in terms of pay rates. However, a large part of compensation for both Federal and non-Federal employees consists of benefits aside from pay such as retirement and health plans. If we are to have a truly comparable Federal employee compensation system, such fringe benefits cannot be ignored. Under my proposal the value of benefits plus pay in the non-Federal sector would be compared with benefits plus pay in the Federal sector. This concept, known as total compensation comparability, would allow for a realistic assessment of whether the total compensation of Federal employees is ahead, comparable with, or behind that of their non-Federal counterparts.

A Locality Pay System For The White Collar Work Force

At present, General Schedule employees of a given grade are paid the same rate regardless of where they work in the United States. However, pay rates in the non-Federal sector vary widely in different parts of our nation. As a result, Federal pay rates are significantly higher in some areas than local prevailing rates. In others, Federal rates are far below the local level. These differences either give the Federal government an unfair competitive advantage over other employers or hamper the government's ability to recruit and retain a qualified work force. My proposal would minimize this problem by requiring that the compensation of most white collar employees be comparable with compensation in the local area.

Changes In The Blue-Collar Pay System

The system for paying blue-collar employees, known as the Federal Wage System, is already based upon the principle that Federal blue-collar pay rates should be comparable to prevailing local non-Federal rates. However, several features of the Federal Wage System law are inconsistent with this principle, such as one which requires the use of non-local wage data under certain circumstances and the distortion that results from applying average local pay rates to a designated step in the Federal grade structure. As a result, the Federal government pays many blue-collar workers well above local prevailing rates. My proposal would repeal these unjustified statutory provisions, and would allow the Office of Personnel Management to design provisions that reflect prevailing practices.

Inclusion Of State And Local Governments In Comparability Surveys

Under existing law, only private businesses are surveyed in the comparability process used to set Federal white and blue-collar compensation rates. State and local government employment is excluded. This exclusion distorts true comparability. Today there are over 13 million State and local employees, almost 14 percent of the national work force. This is double the number employed in 1962 when comparability was first adopted. If compensation for Federal employees is to be truly comparable to what other Americans are paid, this large portion of the national work force should be included in the survey. In addition, there are a number of job categories in State and local government such as policeman, firefighter, and social worker which are analogous to certain Federal job categories but are not well represented in the private sector. This is a further reason why State and local government workers should be included in the comparability survey.

Increased Management Flexibility To Recruit And Retain A Quality Work Force

This legislation would give Executive Branch managers needed flexibility to adopt more efficient and equitable industry pay practices. For example, premium pay such as overtime would be patterned after prevailing practices and the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Limited additional payments called "staffing differentials" would be authorized to aid in recruiting and retaining highly qualified individuals critically needed for the Federal work force. The Office of Personnel Management would be authorized to establish special pay and classification systems for those occupations that do not fit a standard pattern of the General Schedule and for which it is difficult to hire qualified employees. This would be similar to the authority the Office now has for special blue-collar schedules.

The reforms I am proposing today are based on the principle that comparability is the best long-term policy for determining compensation for Federal employees. It is not expected that any employee will suffer any actual reduction in current pay as a result of these proposals. However, in the long-run this legislation will create significant annual budget savings.

I ask the Congress to act promptly on these proposals to reform the Federal civilian compensation system. Federal employees will benefit from fairer compensation treatment. The American people will benefit from more efficient use of their tax dollars.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
June 6, 1979. ■

Health Plan

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress June 12 detailing his proposal for a National Health Plan:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

Today I am proposing to the Congress a National Health Plan. This major new initiative will improve health care for millions of Americans and protect all our people against the overwhelming financial burdens of serious illness.

It has been 30 years since President Truman challenged Congress to secure for all Americans access to quality health care as a matter of right. It has been nearly 15 years since the Congress, responding to the leadership of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, finally enacted Medicare and Medicaid. Now, after a decade and a half of inaction, it is time to move forward once again.

I have consulted with the Congress, with consumers, with leaders of labor, management, and the health care industry, and have carefully weighed every option. My proposal is practical, premised on effective cost controls, and consistent with sound budget practices. It will:

- protect all Americans from the cost of catastrophic illness or accident;
- extend comprehensive health coverage to almost 16 million low-income Americans;
- provide coverage for prenatal, delivery, postnatal, and infant care, without cost-sharing;
- establish Healthcare, which will provide more efficient Federal administration of health coverage for the poor and the elderly;
- reform the health care system to promote competition and contain costs;
- create both the framework and the momentum for a universal, comprehensive national health plan.

Catastrophic Protection

No American should live in fear that a serious illness or accident will mean bankruptcy or a lifetime of debt. Yet today over 80 million Americans are unprotected against devastating medical costs, and millions more can lose the protection they now have because of unemployment or the death of a working spouse.

This National Health Plan will protect every American from the serious financial burden caused by major illness and injury. All employers will provide catastrophic coverage for full-time employees and their families, with subsidies to ease the burden on small businesses. No family will be required to pay more than $2500 for medical expenses in a single year. Americans who are not covered elsewhere can obtain affordable catastrophic coverage from a special Federal program. Under this special program, no one will be denied coverage because he or she is labelled a "bad medical risk."

Expanded Benefits for the Elderly

The cost of health care falls most cruelly on America's older citizens who, with reduced incomes, have the highest medical expenses. Because Medicare places limits on hospital days and places no ceiling on out-of-pocket expenses, serious illness threatens senior citizens with loss of their homes and their life savings. Under the National Health Plan, the elderly will have unlimited hospital coverage and will be required to pay no more than $250 for medical expenses in a single year.

Today, the elderly also face heavy financial burdens because physicians increasingly charge more than the Medicare fee. Under the National Health Plan, physicians would be prohibited from charging elderly patients more than the allowable fee.

Improved Program for the Poor

The National Health Plan also provides expanded benefits for the poor. The Plan will extend comprehensive coverage — full physician, hospital and related services — to all Americans with incomes below 55% of poverty ($4200 for a family of four). In addition, persons with incomes above 55% of poverty will be able to "spend-down" into comprehensive coverage if their medical expenses in a given year reduce their income to the eligibility level. A family of four with an income of $4500, for example, will be covered after $300 of medical expenses. Under these provisions, 15.7 million poor people, including 1.2 million elderly, will receive comprehensive coverage for the first time.

Today the existence of 53 separate State and territorial Medicaid programs impedes efficient management. Under the National Health Plan, the administration of programs for the poor and the elderly will be significantly upgraded by the creation of a single new Federal program — Healthcare. Healthcare will improve claims processing, reduce error rates in eligibility determination, and facilitate detection of fraud and abuse.

Mothers and Infants Services

Prevention is the best way to eliminate the suffering and cost of illness, and one of the most effective preventive health measures we can take is to assure health care for expectant mothers and infants. We have been far too slow to learn this lesson. Our infant mortality rates are higher than those of eleven other nations. This inexcusable record can and will be corrected.

Under the National Health Plan, employers will provide employees and their families with coverage for prenatal care, delivery, and infant care to age one, without any cost-sharing. A high priority in future years must be to expand this coverage to include children up to age six. The employer provisions of the Plan, combined with the Child Health Assurance Plan I have already proposed for low-income expectant mothers and children, will assure that no newborn child in this country will be denied the chance for a full and productive life by the high costs of health care.

Extended Insurance Coverage

Today, many employees and their families suddenly lose all health coverage when the employee is laid off or is between jobs. Under the National Health Plan, employer-based insurance policies will be required to maintain coverage for 90 days after employment ends. In addition, employer-based policies will be required to maintain family coverage for 90 days after an employee's death, and to cover dependents until age 26.

Cost Containment

A renewed emphasis on cost containment must accompany new health benefits. The American people now spend over 9% of the Gross National Product on health services — $200 billion a year. Hospital costs in America are rising $1 million an hour, 24 hours a day. It is time to draw the line.

The National Health Plan is premised on passage of strong hospital cost containment legislation, which will save the American people $53 billion over the next five years, including $28 billion in Federal, State, and local expenditures. The Nation cannot afford expanded coverage without hospital cost containment legislation. In addition, my National Health Plan proposes a $3 billion annual limit on hospital capital expenditures. This Nation cannot support more duplicative facilities and more unnecessary equipment. We must not add to the 130,000 excess hospital beds we now have. We must and we will insure that needed extensions in coverage do not become the excuse for further waste.

This Plan will also provide for a mandatory fee schedule for physicians who serve Healthcare patients. The fee schedule will curb excessive inflation in physician fees and will reduce the disparities in fees paid to rural physicians as compared to urban physicians, and primary care physicians as compared to specialists. Over time, the new fee schedule will help produce a better geographic distribution of physicians and increase the availability of primary care services.

The Healthcare fee schedule will provide a model for private health insurance plans. Private plans will publish the names of physicians who agree to adhere to the Healthcare fee schedule for all their patients. To assure that Blue Shield and similar organizations reexamine their physician reimbursement policies, the Plan will prohibit physician domination of the governing boards of these organizations.

Increased Competition

Competition has been weak in the health care industry because a very high percentage of costs are paid by third parties, and because patients generally cannot determine or shop for the services they need. In recent years, however, health maintenance organizations (HMOs) have injected important competitive forces into

the health care system. The National Health Plan will encourage further competition by giving employees and Healthcare beneficiaries new financial incentives to enroll in HMOs or other cost-effective health plans.

Employers will be required to make equal contributions to the various health plans they offer their employees. Employees who choose more cost-effective plans will either pay lower premiums, receive additional compensation, or receive expanded health benefits.

The Healthcare program will pay a fixed amount on behalf of elderly beneficiaries who choose to enroll in HMOs. If the HMO can provide the standard Healthcare benefit package for less than the fixed amount, it must offer additional health benefits to the patient.

The Plan also promotes competition by requiring Healthcare to use competitive bidding to select private companies to perform claims processing and related functions. Demonstration projects by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare have shown that this change will produce significant administrative savings.

Framework for a Comprehensive Plan

A universal, comprehensive national health insurance program is one of the major unfinished items on America's social agenda. The National Health Plan I am proposing today creates both the framework and the momentum to reach that long-sought goal. In future years, the Plan can be expanded to include all low-income persons. Employer coverage can be made more fully comprehensive, with subsidies to ease the burden on small businesses. First-dollar coverage for preventive services can be extended throughout early childhood. I am today sending to the Congress an outline of a fully comprehensive plan which builds upon the significant health care improvements that I am asking the Congress to enact this session.

Consistent with current budgetary constraints, new Federal spending for the National Health Plan will not begin until FY '83. When the Plan is fully implemented, the Federal budget cost in 1980 dollars will be $18 billion and the premium cost to employers and employees will be $8 billion. A substantial portion of these expenditures reflect reduced out-of-pocket expenses for individuals and reduced spending by State and local governments for their health programs. These expenditures are a social investment in the future of our children, the economic security of our elderly, and the well-being and peace of mind of all Americans. They are an investment in a more effective and efficient health care system. Over time, the Plan's emphasis on prevention, competition, and cost containment will reap important dividends for our Nation and its people.

I urge the Congress not to lose this precious opportunity for progress. The real needs of our people are not served by waiting and hoping for a better tomorrow. That tomorrow will never come unless we act today. The National Health Plan I propose will provide millions of our citizens with better health, greater economic security, and more productive, dignified, and hopeful lives. The American people have waited long enough. I call on the Congress to act without delay.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
June 12, 1979. ▮

Trade Agreements

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress June 19 on trade agreements negotiated in the Tokyo Round of the Multilateral Trade Negotiations:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am today transmitting to the Congress, pursuant to Section 102 of the Trade Act of 1974, the texts of the trade agreements negotiated in the Tokyo Round of the Multilateral Trade Negotiations and entered into in Geneva on April 12, 1979.

With these agreements, I am submitting the proposed Trade Agreements Act of 1979, which will revise domestic law as required or appropriate to implement the Geneva agreements, and fulfill our international commitment.

These agreements offer new opportunities for all Americans.

- For American farmers, the agreements expand world markets for American farm products.
- For American workers, the agreements offer more jobs, higher incomes, and more effective responses to unfair foreign competition.
- For American businesses, the agreements will open major new markets overseas for American products.
- For American consumers, the agreements will make available a wider choice of goods at better prices.

In short, the agreements mean a stronger, more prosperous, more competitive American economy. They mean lower inflation rates and a more favorable balance of trade.

These agreements bring to a successful conclusion the most ambitious and comprehensive effort undertaken by the international community since World War II to revise the rules of international trade and to achieve a fairer, more open, world trading system. They come at a time when intense pressures around the world threaten to disrupt the international trading system.

Representatives of ninety-nine nations worked for five years to reduce or remove thousands of specific barriers to trade — including both tariff and nontariff barriers — and to develop new rules which will govern the international trading system in the coming decades.

Since World War II, a period of remarkable trade expansion, our experience teaches us that international trade brings strength and growth to economies throughout the world. It serves the cause of peace by enriching the lives of people everywhere.

By responding to the needs of today's rapidly changing world economy, these agreements ensure that growing prosperity and growing interdependence through increased trade will continue to benefit all nations.

World trade has expanded more than six-fold since completion of the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations in 1967, and now exceeds $1.3 trillion annually.

Our nation is much more heavily dependent on trade than in the past. Today, one of every three acres in America produces food or fiber for export. One of every seven manufacturing jobs in our country depends on exports.

Economic interdependence will continue to increase in the future — and so will our opportunities.

Approval and implementation by the Congress of the Tokyo Round Agreements will be the first important step toward realizing these opportunities by building a solid foundation for continued strong growth of trade. The package assembled under the direction of Robert Strauss, my Special Trade Representative, is an achievement which represents vast potential for the American economy.

The most important achievement of the Tokyo Round is a series of codes of conduct regulating nontariff barriers to trade. The code agreements are described more fully in the attachments to this Message. Also attached is a statement of administrative action detailing executive branch implementation of these laws. These agreements will accomplish the following:

- Codes on subsidies and countervailing duties and on anti-dumping will limit trade distortions arising from such practices, and will give signatories to the agreements the right to challenge and counteract such practices when they cause material injury or breach agreed rules.
- An agreement on technical barriers to trade will require countries to use fair and open procedures in adopting product standards.
- An agreement on government procurement will open purchases by all signatory governments to bids from foreign producers.
- An agreement on customs valuation will encourage predictable and uniform practices for appraising imports for the purpose of assessing import duties.
- An agreement on import licensing will reduce unnecessary or unduly complicated licensing requirements.
- An agreement on civil aircraft will provide a basis for fairer trade in this important U.S. export sector.
- In the agricultural sector, specific product concessions from our trading partners and international commodity arrange-

ments will enhance export opportunities. An agreement on a multilateral agricultural framework will provide a forum for future consultations on problems arising in agricultural trade.

• Tariff reductions have been carefully negotiated in close consultation with American industry and labor, and will be phased in over the next eight years.

Agreements on the international trading framework will accomplish the following:

• tighten procedures for handling international trade disputes.

• respond to the needs of developing countries in a fair and balanced manner, while increasing their level of responsible participation in the trading system.

• modernize the international rules applicable to trade measures that can be taken in response to balance-of-payments emergencies.

• provide a basis for examining the existing international rules on export and import restraints.

The agreements meet the major objectives and directives of the Trade Act of 1974. They provide new opportunities for U.S. exports. They help fight inflation by assuring access to lower-cost goods for both U.S. consumers and U.S. industries. They strengthen our ability to meet unfair foreign trade practices, and assure that U.S. trade concessions are matched by reciprocal trade benefits for U.S. goods.

Throughout the negotiating process, these talks were conducted with an unprecedented degree of participation and advice from Congress, American industrial and agricultural communities, labor, and consumers alike.

Through continued cooperation and aggressive application and enforcement of the provisions of these agreements, we can ensure a fair and open international trading system, and usher in a new era of effective joint efforts by business, labor and government.

These agreements will make it possible for us to demonstrate, through vigorous and peaceful action, that the free enterprise system of the United States is the best economic system in the world now and in the future. They are also a central element in my program to stimulate domestic economic growth, to control inflation, and to expand our exports.

Therefore, in the interest of strengthening our economy and the international trading system, I urge immediate approval and implementation of the Tokyo Round Agreements by the Congress.

JIMMY CARTER.

The White House,
June 19, 1979. ▮

Solar Energy

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress June 20 detailing his solar energy program:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

On Sun Day, May 3, 1978 we began a national mobilization in our country toward the time when our major sources of energy will be derived from the sun. On that day, I committed our Nation and our government to developing an aggressive policy to harness solar and renewable sources of energy. I ordered a major government-wide review to determine how best to marshal the tools of the government to hasten the day when solar and renewable sources of energy become our primary energy resources. As a result of that study, we are now able to set an ambitious goal for the use of solar energy and to make a long term commitment to a society based largely on renewable sources of energy.

In this Message I will outline the major elements of a national solar strategy. It relies not only on the Federal government, both Executive and Congress, but also on State and local governments, and on private industry, entrepreneurs, and inventors who have already given us significant progress in the availability of solar technologies. Ultimately, this strategy depends on the strength of the American people's commitment to finding and using substitutes for our diminishing supplies of traditional fossil fuels.

Events of the last year — the more than 30% increase in the price of oil we import and the supply shortage caused by the interruption of oil production in Iran — have made the task of developing a national solar strategy all the more urgent, and all the more imperative.

More than ever before, we can see clearly the dangers of continued excessive reliance on oil for our long-term future security. Our energy problem demands that we act forcefully to diversify our energy supplies, to make maximum use of the resources we have, and to develop alternatives to conventional fuels.

Price Controls

Past governmental policies to control the prices of oil and natural gas at levels below their real market value have impeded development and use of solar and renewable resource alternatives. Both price controls and direct subsidies that the government has provided to various existing energy technologies have made it much more difficult for solar and renewable resource technologies to compete.

In April of this year I announced my decision to begin the process of decontrolling domestic oil prices. Last November, I signed into law the Natural Gas Policy Act which will bring the price of that premium fuel to its true market level over the next five years. Together, these steps will provide much-needed incentives to encourage maximum exploration and production of our domestic resources. They provide strong incentives to curb waste of our precious energy resources. Equally important, these steps will help solar and renewable resource technologies compete as the prices of oil and natural gas begin to reflect their real market value. Consumers will see more clearly the benefits of investing in energy systems for which fuel costs will not escalate each year. Industry can plan and invest with more certainty, knowing the market terms under which their products will compete.

We must further strengthen America's commitment to conservation. We must learn to use energy more efficiently and productively in our homes, our transportation systems and our industries. Sound conservation practices go hand in hand with a strong solar and renewable resources policy. For example, a well-designed and well-insulated home is better able to make use of solar power effectively than one which is energy inefficient.

We must also find better ways to burn and use coal — a fossil fuel which we have in abundance. Coal must and will be a key part of a successful transition away from oil. We must and will do more to utilize that resource. Solar energy and an increased use of coal will help in the near and mid-term to accelerate our transition away from crude oil.

Benefits

But it is clear that in the years ahead we must increasingly rely on those sources of power which are renewable. The transition to widespread use of solar energy has already begun. Our task is to speed it along. True energy security — in both price and supply — can come only from the development of solar and renewable technologies.

In addition to fundamental security, solar and renewable sources of energy provide numerous social and environmental benefits.

Energy from the sun is clean and safe. It will not pollute the air we breathe or the water we drink. It does not run the risk of an accident which may threaten the health or life of our citizens. There are no toxic wastes to cause disposal problems.

Increased use of solar and renewable sources of energy is an important hedge against inflation in the long run. Unlike the costs of depletable resources, which rise exponentially as reserves are consumed, the cost of power from the sun will go down as we develop better and cheaper ways of applying it to everyday needs. For everyone in our society — especially our low-income or fixed-income families — solar energy provides an important way to avoid rising fuel costs.

No foreign cartel can set the price of sun power; no one can embargo it. Every solar collector in this country, every investment in using wind or biomass energy, every advance in making electricity directly from the sun decreases our reliance on uncertain sources of imported oil, bolsters our international trade position, and enhances the security of our Nation.

Solar energy can put hundreds of thousands of Americans to work. Because solar applications tend to be dispersed and de-

centralized, jobs created will be spread fairly evenly around the Nation. Job potentials span the ranges of our employment spectrum, from relatively unskilled labor to advanced engineers, from plumbers and metal workers to architects and contractors, from scientists and inventors to factory workers, from the small businessman to the large industrialist. Every investment in solar and renewable energy system keeps American dollars working for us here at home, creating new jobs and opportunities, rather than sending precious funds to a foreign cartel.

Energy Control

Increased reliance on solar and renewable technologies can also increase the amount of control each one of us as individuals and each of our local communities has over our energy supplies. Instead of relying on large, centralized energy installations, many solar and renewable technologies are smaller and manageable by the homeowner, the farmer, or the individual factory or plant. By their very nature, renewable technologies are less likely to engage the kind of tension and conflict we have seen in other energy areas, such as the problems posed by siting a very large energy facility, or trading off between surface uses of land and development of the energy minerals that might lie below that land.

Finally, solar and renewable technologies provide great international opportunities, both in foreign trade, and in the ability to work with the developing nations to permit them to harness their own, indigenous resources rather than become dependent on fuels imported from other nations.

It is a mistake to think of solar energy as exotic or unconventional. Much of the technology for applying the sun's power to everyday tasks has been in use for hundreds of years. There were windmills on our great plains long before there were high tension wires. There were factories in New England using waterpower long before the internal combustion engine was invented. In Florida, before World War II, there were more than 60,000 homes and buildings using solar hot water heaters. The Native Americans who built the great cliff dwellings of the West understood and applied solar heating principles that we have neglected in recent years, but which are available for us to use today.

These traditional and benign sources of energy fell into disuse because of a brief glut of cheap crude oil. These years are over. That inescapable fact is not a cause for despondency or a threat to our standard of living. On the contrary, it presents us with an opportunity to improve the quality of our lives, add dynamism to our economy and clean up our environment. We can meet this challenge by applying the time-tested technologies of solar power, and by developing and deploying new devices to harness the rays of the sun.

The government-wide survey I commissioned concluded that many solar technologies are available and economical today. These are here and now technologies ready for use in our homes, schools, factories, and farms. Solar hot water heating is competitive economically today against electric power in virtually every region of the country. Application of passive design principles that take into account energy efficiency and make maximum use of the direct power of the sun in the intrinsic design of the structure is both good economics and good common sense. Burning of wood, some uses of biomass for electricity generation, and low head hydropower have repeatedly been shown to be cost competitive.

Numerous other solar and renewable resources applications are close to economic competitiveness, among them solar space heating, solar industrial process heat, wind-generated electricity, many biomass conversion systems, and some photovoltaic applications.

Solar Goal

We have a great potential and a great opportunity to expand dramatically the contribution of solar energy between now and the end of this century. I am today establishing for our country an ambitious and very important goal for solar and renewable sources of energy. It is a challenge to our country and to our ingenuity.

We should commit ourselves to a national goal of meeting one fifth — 20% — of our energy needs with solar and renewable resources by the end of this century. This goal sets a high standard against which we can collectively measure our progress in reducing our dependence on oil imports and securing our country's energy future. It will require that all of us examine carefully the potential solar and renewable technologies hold for our country and invest in these systems wherever we can.

In setting this goal, we must all recognize that the Federal government cannot achieve it alone. Nor is the Federal budget the only tool that should be considered in determining the courses we set to reach this goal. The extent to which solar and renewable technologies become more competitive will depend upon the cost of existing sources of energy, especially oil and natural gas. The degree to which existing solar technologies achieve widespread use in the near term will be as much if not more a function of the commitment on the part of energy users in this country to consider these technologies as it will be a function of the incentives the government is able to provide.

State and local governments must make an all-out effort to promote the use of solar and renewable resources if the barriers now found at those levels are to be overcome. Zoning ordinances, laws governing access to the sun, housing codes, and state public utility commission policies are not Federal responsibilities. Although the Federal government should provide leadership, whether or not these tools are used to hinder or to help solar and renewable energy use ultimately depends upon decisions by each city, county and state. The potential for success in each of these areas is great; the responsibility is likewise. I call on our Governors, our Mayors, and our county officials to join with me in helping to make our goal a reality.

American industry must also be willing to make investments of its own if we are to reach our solar goal. We are setting a goal for which industry can plan. We are providing strong and certain incentives that it can count on. Industry, in turn, must accelerate and expand its research, development, demonstration, and promotional activities. The manufacturing, construction, financing, marketing, and service skills of American business and labor are essential. Banks and financial institutions will need to examine and strengthen their lending policies to assure that solar technologies are offered a fair chance in the marketplace. Universities and the academic community must mobilize to find ways of bringing those solar and renewable technologies that are still not ready for commercial introduction closer to the marketplace. Small businesses and family farmers also have opportunities for significant use of solar and renewable resources. They, too, must join in this effort.

Finally, each one of us in our daily lives needs to examine our own uses of energy and to learn how we can make solar and renewable resources meet our own needs. What kind of house we buy, or whether we are willing to work in our own communities to accelerate the use of solar energy, will be essential in determining whether we reach our goal.

Federal Role

The Federal government also has a responsibility in providing incentives, information, and the impetus for meeting our 20% solar goal by the year 2000. Almost every agency of the Federal government has responsibilities which touch in one way or another on solar energy. Government agencies helped finance over one million U.S. homes in 1978. By their lending policies and their willingness to assist solar investments, these agencies have significant leverage.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is the Nation's largest utility and producer of power. It has a far-reaching opportunity to become a solar showcase — to set an example for all utilities, whether public or privately owned, of how to accelerate the use of solar technologies. The Department of Defense (DOD) is a major consumer of energy and a major provider of housing. A multitude of opportunities exist for DOD to demonstrate the use of solar. The Agency for International Development (AID) works full time in helping other countries to meet their essential needs, including energy. Solar and renewable resources hold significant potential for these countries and, through AID, we can assist in promoting the worldwide application of these technologies.

The Department of Energy has a particularly significant responsibility in aiding

ments will enhance export opportunities. An agreement on a multilateral agricultural framework will provide a forum for future consultations on problems arising in agricultural trade.

• Tariff reductions have been carefully negotiated in close consultation with American industry and labor, and will be phased in over the next eight years.

Agreements on the international trading framework will accomplish the following:

• tighten procedures for handling international trade disputes.

• respond to the needs of developing countries in a fair and balanced manner, while increasing their level of responsible participation in the trading system.

• modernize the international rules applicable to trade measures that can be taken in response to balance-of-payments emergencies.

• provide a basis for examining the existing international rules on export and import restraints.

The agreements meet the major objectives and directives of the Trade Act of 1974. They provide new opportunities for U.S. exports. They help fight inflation by assuring access to lower-cost goods for both U.S. consumers and U.S. industries. They strengthen our ability to meet unfair foreign trade practices, and assure that U.S. trade concessions are matched by reciprocal trade benefits for U.S. goods.

Throughout the negotiating process, these talks were conducted with an unprecedented degree of participation and advice from Congress, American industrial and agricultural communities, labor, and consumers alike.

Through continued cooperation and aggressive application and enforcement of the provisions of these agreements, we can ensure a fair and open international trading system, and usher in a new era of effective joint efforts by business, labor and government.

These agreements will make it possible for us to demonstrate, through vigorous and peaceful action, that the free enterprise system of the United States is the best economic system in the world now and in the future. They are also a central element in my program to stimulate domestic economic growth, to control inflation, and to expand our exports.

Therefore, in the interest of strengthening our economy and the international trading system, I urge immediate approval and implementation of the Tokyo Round Agreements by the Congress.

JIMMY CARTER.

The White House,
June 19, 1979.

Solar Energy

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress June 20 detailing his solar energy program:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

On Sun Day, May 3, 1978 we began a national mobilization in our country toward the time when our major sources of energy will be derived from the sun. On that day, I committed our Nation and our government to developing an aggressive policy to harness solar and renewable sources of energy. I ordered a major government-wide review to determine how best to marshal the tools of the government to hasten the day when solar and renewable sources of energy become our primary energy resources. As a result of that study, we are now able to set an ambitious goal for the use of solar energy and to make a long term commitment to a society based largely on renewable sources of energy.

In this Message I will outline the major elements of a national solar strategy. It relies not only on the Federal government, both Executive and Congress, but also on State and local governments, and on private industry, entrepreneurs, and inventors who have already given us significant progress in the availability of solar technologies. Ultimately, this strategy depends on the strength of the American people's commitment to finding and using substitutes for our diminishing supplies of traditional fossil fuels.

Events of the last year — the more than 30% increase in the price of oil we import and the supply shortage caused by the interruption of oil production in Iran — have made the task of developing a national solar strategy all the more urgent, and all the more imperative.

More than ever before, we can see clearly the dangers of continued excessive reliance on oil for our long-term future security. Our energy problem demands that we act forcefully to diversify our energy supplies, to make maximum use of the resources we have, and to develop alternatives to conventional fuels.

Price Controls

Past governmental policies to control the prices of oil and natural gas at levels below their real market value have impeded development and use of solar and renewable resource alternatives. Both price controls and direct subsidies that the government has provided to various existing energy technologies have made it much more difficult for solar and renewable resource technologies to compete.

In April of this year I announced my decision to begin the process of decontrolling domestic oil prices. Last November, I signed into law the Natural Gas Policy Act which will bring the price of that premium fuel to its true market level over the next five years. Together, these steps will provide much-needed incentives to encourage maximum exploration and production of our domestic resources. They provide strong incentives to curb waste of our precious energy resources. Equally important, these steps will help solar and renewable resource technologies compete as the prices of oil and natural gas begin to reflect their real market value. Consumers will see more clearly the benefits of investing in energy systems for which fuel costs will not escalate each year. Industry can plan and invest with more certainty, knowing the market terms under which their products will compete.

We must further strengthen America's commitment to conservation. We must learn to use energy more efficiently and productively in our homes, our transportation systems and our industries. Sound conservation practices go hand in hand with a strong solar and renewable resources policy. For example, a well-designed and well-insulated home is better able to make use of solar power effectively than one which is energy inefficient.

We must also find better ways to burn and use coal — a fossil fuel which we have in abundance. Coal must and will be a key part of a successful transition away from oil. We must and will do more to utilize that resource. Solar energy and an increased use of coal will help in the near and mid-term to accelerate our transition away from crude oil.

Benefits

But it is clear that in the years ahead we must increasingly rely on those sources of power which are renewable. The transition to widespread use of solar energy has already begun. Our task is to speed it along. True energy security — in both price and supply — can come only from the development of solar and renewable technologies.

In addition to fundamental security, solar and renewable sources of energy provide numerous social and environmental benefits.

Energy from the sun is clean and safe. It will not pollute the air we breathe or the water we drink. It does not run the risk of an accident which may threaten the health or life of our citizens. There are no toxic wastes to cause disposal problems.

Increased use of solar and renewable sources of energy is an important hedge against inflation in the long run. Unlike the costs of depletable resources, which rise exponentially as reserves are consumed, the cost of power from the sun will go down as we develop better and cheaper ways of applying it to everyday needs. For everyone in our society — especially our low-income or fixed-income families — solar energy provides an important way to avoid rising fuel costs.

No foreign cartel can set the price of sun power; no one can embargo it. Every solar collector in this country, every investment in using wind or biomass energy, every advance in making electricity directly from the sun decreases our reliance on uncertain sources of imported oil, bolsters our international trade position, and enhances the security of our Nation.

Solar energy can put hundreds of thousands of Americans to work. Because solar applications tend to be dispersed and de-

centralized, jobs created will be spread fairly evenly around the Nation. Job potentials span the ranges of our employment spectrum, from relatively unskilled labor to advanced engineers, from plumbers and metal workers to architects and contractors, from scientists and inventors to factory workers, from the small businessman to the large industrialist. Every investment in solar and renewable energy system keeps American dollars working for us here at home, creating new jobs and opportunities, rather than sending precious funds to a foreign cartel.

Energy Control

Increased reliance on solar and renewable technologies can also increase the amount of control each one of us as individuals and each of our local communities has over our energy supplies. Instead of relying on large, centralized energy installations, many solar and renewable technologies are smaller and manageable by the homeowner, the farmer, or the individual factory or plant. By their very nature, renewable technologies are less likely to engage the kind of tension and conflict we have seen in other energy areas, such as the problems posed by siting a very large energy facility, or trading off between surface uses of land and development of the energy minerals that might lie below that land.

Finally, solar and renewable technologies provide great international opportunities, both in foreign trade, and in the ability to work with the developing nations to permit them to harness their own, indigenous resources rather than become dependent on fuels imported from other nations.

It is a mistake to think of solar energy as exotic or unconventional. Much of the technology for applying the sun's power to everyday tasks has been in use for hundreds of years. There were windmills on our great plains long before there were high tension wires. There were factories in New England using waterpower long before the internal combustion engine was invented. In Florida, before World War II, there were more than 60,000 homes and buildings using solar hot water heaters. The Native Americans who built the great cliff dwellings of the West understood and applied solar heating principles that we have neglected in recent years, but which are available for us to use today.

These traditional and benign sources of energy fell into disuse because of a brief glut of cheap crude oil. These years are over. That inescapable fact is not a cause for despondency or a threat to our standard of living. On the contrary, it presents us with an opportunity to improve the quality of our lives, add dynamism to our economy and clean up our environment. We can meet this challenge by applying the time-tested technologies of solar power, and by developing and deploying new devices to harness the rays of the sun.

The government-wide survey I commissioned concluded that many solar technologies are available and economical today. These are here and now technologies ready for use in our homes, schools, factories, and farms. Solar hot water heating is competitive economically today against electric power in virtually every region of the country. Application of passive design principles that take into account energy efficiency and make maximum use of the direct power of the sun in the intrinsic design of the structure is both good economics and good common sense. Burning of wood, some uses of biomass for electricity generation, and low head hydropower have repeatedly been shown to be cost competitive.

Numerous other solar and renewable resources applications are close to economic competitiveness, among them solar space heating, solar industrial process heat, wind-generated electricity, many biomass conversion systems, and some photovoltaic applications.

Solar Goal

We have a great potential and a great opportunity to expand dramatically the contribution of solar energy between now and the end of this century. I am today establishing for our country an ambitious and very important goal for solar and renewable sources of energy. It is a challenge to our country and to our ingenuity.

We should commit ourselves to a national goal of meeting one fifth — 20% — of our energy needs with solar and renewable resources by the end of this century. This goal sets a high standard against which we can collectively measure our progress in reducing our dependence on oil imports and securing our country's energy future. It will require that all of us examine carefully the potential solar and renewable technologies hold for our country and invest in these systems wherever we can.

In setting this goal, we must all recognize that the Federal government cannot achieve it alone. Nor is the Federal budget the only tool that should be considered in determining the courses we set to reach this goal. The extent to which solar and renewable technologies become more competitive will depend upon the cost of existing sources of energy, especially oil and natural gas. The degree to which existing solar technologies achieve widespread use in the near term will be as much if not more a function of the commitment on the part of energy users in this country to consider these technologies as it will be a function of the incentives the government is able to provide.

State and local governments must make an all-out effort to promote the use of solar and renewable resources if the barriers now found at those levels are to be overcome. Zoning ordinances, laws governing access to the sun, housing codes, and state public utility commission policies are not Federal responsibilities. Although the Federal government should provide leadership, whether or not these tools are used to hinder or to help solar and renewable energy use ultimately depends upon decisions by each city, county and state. The potential for success in each of these areas is great; the responsibility is likewise. I call on our Governors, our Mayors, and our county officials to join with me in helping to make our goal a reality.

American industry must also be willing to make investments of its own if we are to reach our solar goal. We are setting a goal for which industry can plan. We are providing strong and certain incentives that it can count on. Industry, in turn, must accelerate and expand its research, development, demonstration, and promotional activities. The manufacturing, construction, financing, marketing, and service skills of American business and labor are essential. Banks and financial institutions will need to examine and strengthen their lending policies to assure that solar technologies are offered a fair chance in the marketplace. Universities and the academic community must mobilize to find ways of bringing those solar and renewable technologies that are still not ready for commercial introduction closer to the marketplace. Small businesses and family farmers also have opportunities for significant use of solar and renewable resources. They, too, must join in this effort.

Finally, each one of us in our daily lives needs to examine our own uses of energy and to learn how we can make solar and renewable resources meet our own needs. What kind of house we buy, or whether we are willing to work in our own communities to accelerate the use of solar energy, will be essential in determining whether we reach our goal.

Federal Role

The Federal government also has a responsibility in providing incentives, information, and the impetus for meeting our 20% solar goal by the year 2000. Almost every agency of the Federal government has responsibilities which touch in one way or another on solar energy. Government agencies helped finance over one million U.S. homes in 1978. By their lending policies and their willingness to assist solar investments, these agencies have significant leverage.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is the Nation's largest utility and producer of power. It has a far-reaching opportunity to become a solar showcase — to set an example for all utilities, whether public or privately owned, of how to accelerate the use of solar technologies. The Department of Defense (DOD) is a major consumer of energy and a major provider of housing. A multitude of opportunities exist for DOD to demonstrate the use of solar. The Agency for International Development (AID) works full time in helping other countries to meet their essential needs, including energy. Solar and renewable resources hold significant potential for these countries and, through AID, we can assist in promoting the worldwide application of these technologies.

The Department of Energy has a particularly significant responsibility in aiding

the development and encouraging the use of solar energy technologies, in providing back-up information and training for users of solar, and, generally, in directing our government-funded research and development program to ensure that future solar and renewable technologies are given the resources and institutional support that they need.

As a government-wide study, the Domestic Policy Review of Solar Energy has provided a unique opportunity to draw together the disparate functions of government and determine how best to marshal all of the government's tools to accelerate the use of solar and renewable resources. As a result of that study, the set of programs and funding recommendations that I have already made and am adding to today will provide more than $1 billion for solar energy in FY 1980, with a sustained Federal commitment to solar energy in the years beyond. The FY 1980 budget will be the highest ever recommended by any President for solar energy. It is a significant milestone for our country.

This $1 billion of Federal expenditures — divided between incentives for current use of solar and renewable resources such as tax credits, loans and grants, support activities to develop standards, model building codes, and information programs, and longer term research and development — launches our Nation well on the way toward our solar goal. It is a commitment we will sustain in the years ahead.

Solar Bank

I am today proposing the establishment of a national Solar Bank as a government corporation to be located within the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). It will provide a major impetus toward use of today's solar technologies by increasing the availability of financing at reasonable terms for solar investments in residential and commercial buildings.

The Solar Bank will be funded at $100 million annually out of the Energy Security Trust Fund from revenues generated by the windfall profits tax. The Bank will be authorized to provide interest subsidies for home improvement loans and mortgages for residential and commercial buildings. It will pay up front subsidies to banks and other lending institutions which, in turn, will offer loans and mortgages for solar investments at interest rates below the prevailing market rate. Ceilings on the amount of the loan or portion of a loan which can be subsidized will be set.

The Solar Bank will be governed by a Board of Directors including the Secretary of HUD, the Secretary of Energy, and the Secretary of the Treasury. The Board of Directors will be empowered to set the specific level of interest subsidy at rates which will best serve the purposes of accelerating the use of solar systems in residential and commercial buildings. Standards of eligibility for systems receiving Solar Bank assistance will be set by the Secretary of HUD in consultation with the Secretary of Energy.

The Solar Bank I have proposed is similar in many respects to that introduced by Congressman Stephen Neal of North Carolina. A companion bill has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Robert Morgan of North Carolina. To them, and to the co-sponsors of this legislation, we owe our gratitude for the hard work and sound conceptual thinking that has been done on how a Solar Bank should be designed.

The Solar Bank will complement the residential and commercial tax credits that I originally proposed in April 1977 and that were signed into law with the National Energy Act last November. To provide full and effective coverage for all solar and renewable resource technologies which can be used in residential and commercial buildings, I have recently proposed two additional tax credits, to be funded out of the Energy Security Trust Fund.

I am directing the Department of the Treasury to send to the Congress legislation which will provide a 20% tax credit up to a total of $2,000 for passive solar systems in new homes. Credits will also be proposed for passive solar in commercial buildings. Passive solar applications are competitive today, but we need to provide incentives to owners, builders, architects, and contractors to ensure early and widespread use.

I am also directing the Treasury to prepare and transmit legislation to provide a tax credit for purchasers of airtight woodburning stoves for use in principal residences. This credit would equal 15% of the cost of the stove, and will be available through December 1982. There is a greater potential to expand significantly the use of wood for home heating. It can help lower residential fuel bills, particularly as oil and natural gas prices increase.

With these levels of assistance, hot water heating can be made fully competitive with electricity. In many instances, complete passive solar home designs, including solar heating and cooling, will be economically attractive alternatives.

A strong Federal program to provide accurate and up-to-date solar information to homeowners, builders, architects and contractors will be coupled with these financial incentives. The Department of Energy has established a National Solar User Information Program to collect, evaluate and publish information on the performance of solar systems throughout the country. Expanding the government's information dissemination systems through seminars, technical journals, state energy offices, and the Solar Energy Research Institute will be a major thrust of DOE's program in 1980. The four Regional Solar Energy Centers will become fully operational in 1980, providing information to the general public and to groups such as builders, contractors, and architects who will play key roles in the acceleration of solar technologies.

To be fully effective, however, these incentives must be combined with a determined effort by the architects, engineers, and builders who design and construct our homes and offices, schools, hotels, restaurants, and other buildings we live and work in. I am calling upon the deans of our schools of architecture and engineering to do their part by making the teaching of solar energy principles an essential part of their curricula. The young men and women being trained today must learn to regard the solar energy and overall energy efficiency of the buildings they design as no less important than their structural integrity. I call as well on America's builders to build and market homes which offer the buyer freedom from escalating utility bills.

In the end, it will be consumers of this country who will make the purchasing decisions that will dictate the future of this industry. They must have confidence in the industry and in the products which it produces before they will be willing to make necessary investments. To this end, both industry and government must be ever vigilant to assure that consumers are well protected from fraud and abuse.

Significant opportunities for use of existing solar technologies are also available in the agricultural and industrial sectors of our economy. Industrial process heat can be generated using solar technologies. Critical agricultural activities — fueling tractors, running irrigation pumps and drying crops — provide numerous opportunities for the use of solar and other renewable resources.

Existing Technologies

Biomass, gasohol, wind energy, low head hydro, and various direct solar technologies hold significant promise in the agricultural and industrial sectors. I will soon be forwarding legislation to the Congress which will:

- Provide a 25% investment tax credit for agricultural and industrial process heat uses of solar energy. This is a 15% addition to the existing investment tax credit and it will remain available through 1989. This responds directly to the concern expressed in the Domestic Policy Review that the tax credit currently provided in the National Energy Act is set at too low a level and expires too early to provide needed incentives. These uses now account for about 25% of our energy demand. Substitution of solar and other renewable resources for a portion of this energy would significantly reduce our dependence on foreign oil.
- Permanently exempt gasohol from the Federal gasoline excise tax. More and more Americans are learning that a gasohol blend of 90% gasoline and 10% alcohol — which is made from various agricultural products or wastes — is an efficient octane-boosting fuel for automobiles and other gasoline engines.

The existing tax incentives of the National Energy Act will continue to stimulate the uses of these technologies in the industrial and agricultural sectors.

The Department of Agriculture will have a significant responsibility for inform-

ing farmers and other agricultural users of energy about how solar and other renewable sources can begin to help meet their needs. The Farmers Home Administration and other agencies within the Agriculture Department will continue to provide financial and technical assistance to farmers in using solar and other renewable technologies.

The TVA is demonstrating what can be done by utilities in helping private industries, farmers, and residential customers apply existing solar technologies. The goal of the TVA's "Solar Memphis" program is to install 1,000 solar water heaters this year by offering long-term, low-interest loans, by inspecting solar installations, and by backing manufacturers' warranties. In addition, the TVA's 1.75 million square foot passive solar office complex in Chattanooga, Tennessee will be designed to be completely energy self-sufficient and will be a model for the nation in the use of renewable technologies in office building.

The Small Business Administration is now operating a solar loan program for small manufacturers and purchasers of solar technologies. Next year, the SBA aims to triple the amount of funds available to small businesses under this program over the amount originally appropriated. We will also marshal the efforts of agencies such as the Economic Development Administration to include solar and other renewable resources within their assistance programs.

These activities, along with the basic information dissemination programs of the Department of Energy, will help increase the use of solar and other renewable resource technologies in residential, commercial, agricultural and industrial buildings.

Federal Use

Finally, we will strive to increase use of solar energy by the Federal government itself. An estimated 350 solar systems will be placed in government facilities and buildings over the next fifteen months. Energy audits of all large federal buildings will be completed in 1979. DOE will continue to develop guidelines which take into account the lifetime energy costs of various systems. The Department of Defense, which accounts for about 72% of all government-owned buildings, is playing a major role in the federal solar buildings program. To date, DOD has over 100 solar projects in various stages of completion, ranging in size from solar hot water heaters in residences to solar heating and air conditioning of Naval, Air Force and Army base facilities. When all of the presently planned solar projects are complete, DOD estimates that they will be providing more than 20 billion Btu's of energy. The Federal government must set an example, and I call upon the states to do likewise.

The Domestic Policy Review recommended several important changes in the direction and nature of the Federal research and development program for future solar and renewable resource technologies. It found that solar demonstration programs for active hot water systems and high-cost centralized solar electric technologies had been overemphasized at the expense of those systems which hold wider potential to displace the use of oil and natural gas.

Budget

As a result of the Domestic Policy Review, the FY 1980 budget for DOE's research and development program for solar and renewable energy sources was redirected toward technologies such as photovoltaics, biomass, wind energy, and systems for generation of process heat. To respond to these new priorities, over $130 million in increased funding was provided in the R&D program, an increase of 40% over FY 1979 levels.

While solar heating and cooling units are already being used to meet the energy requirements of buildings throughout the country, the DOE is supporting continued advances in these products, by providing funds to industry, small business, Federal laboratories, and the research community to reduce the cost of solar systems and to improve performance. Improved system design, analysis, and system-integration activities are being carried out for active heating and cooling systems, passive systems, and agricultural and industrial process heating systems. The program also supports product improvements for such key components as solar collectors, energy storage units, and controls.

Photovoltaics, which permit the direct conversion of sunlight into electricity, hold significant promise as a solar technology for the future. Research and development efforts are directed at reducing the cost of photovoltaic systems. In addition, new systems which produce hydrogen through an electrochemical reaction can be used to produce electricity. There is no question about our technical ability to use photovoltaics to generate electricity. These systems are already used extensively to meet remote energy needs in our space program. The main issue now is how to reduce the costs of photovoltaics for grid-related applications such as providing electricity to residential buildings over the next five to ten years. The photovoltaic program involves all aspects of research and development, from hardware components to materials, marketing and distribution systems. The Federal government has already made commitments to purchase $30 million of photovoltaic systems at a specified cost per watt as a means of stimulating private efforts to reduce the cost of this technology.

DOE's research and development program has also emphasized wind energy. Our objective is the development of wind systems which will compete cost-effectively with conventional technologies. There will also be efforts to develop wind technologies for small units suitable for farm and rural use and for large utility units.

Biomass conversion holds significant promise as a major source of renewable energy over the coming decades. Liquid and gaseous fuels produced from organic wastes and crops can displace oil and natural gas both as direct combustion fuels and as chemical feedstocks. Some biomass fuels, such as gasohol, are in use today. Others, such as liquid fuels from organic wastes, require additional research and development.

In the coming fiscal year, DOE will complete construction of the solar power tower in Barstow, California. Such systems could potentially displace some oil- and gas-fired generators. The DOE solar thermal program is also concentrating on reducing to near commercial levels the costs of distributed receiver systems by 1983 and similarly reducing the future costs of central receiver systems. This program supports R&D efforts in advanced space heating and cooling, photovoltaic concentration, and high temperature industrial heat applications.

Oceans

The oceans are another potential source of solar energy. We will pursue research and development efforts directed toward ocean thermal energy conversion, and other concepts such as the use of salinity gradients, waves, and ocean currents.

DOE is working with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to evaluate the concept of a solar power satellite system (SPS) which would capture solar energy in space for transmission to earth. A determination will be made in January 1981 on whether this system should proceed to the exploratory research stage.

DOE will undertake intensified efforts involving solar energy storage and basic solar energy research. In the basic research area, emphasis is being placed on the development of new materials to better use or convert the sun's energy, solar photochemistry (including the possibility of using electrochemical cells to convert the energy of sunlight into electricity and/or fuels) and research on artificial photosynthesis.

In Fiscal Year 1980 we will begin building a new 300-acre solar research facility for the Solar Energy Research Institute at Golden, Colorado. This institute, along with four regional solar centers established across the country, will help provide a focus for research and development activities and will become information centers for individuals and firms who market or install solar equipment.

In addition to DOE's research and development activities, several other agencies will continue to support commercial introduction of solar technologies as they become available. AID, TVA and the Department of Agriculture now have and will continue to have significant responsibilities in the demonstration of new solar and renewable resource systems.

The Domestic Policy Review identified numerous specific program suggestions, many of which I believe can and should be

implemented. Over the course of the coming weeks, I will be issuing a series of detailed directives to the appropriate agencies to implement or consider recommendations in accordance with my instructions.

Some of these suggestions involve detailed budget issues which should be taken up in our normal budget planning process. In order to provide much-needed flexibility to DOE to respond to these — and other — suggestions, I am directing the Office of Management and Budget to provide an additional $100 million to DOE for use on solar programs beyond that which had previously been identified for the FY 1981 base program.

An essential element of a successful national solar strategy must be a clear central means of coordinating the many programs administered by the numerous agencies of government which have a role in accelerating the development and use of these energy sources. I am today directing that the Secretary of Energy establish a permanent, standing Subcommittee of the Energy Coordinating Committee (ECC) to monitor and direct the implementation of our national solar program. The ECC membership includes the major agencies which have responsibilities for solar and renewable resource use. By using this existing mechanism, but strengthening its focus on solar and renewable activities, we can provide an immediate and direct means to coordinate the Federal solar effort. The Subcommittee will report on a regular basis to the ECC, and through it directly to me, on the progress of our many and varied solar activities. The Subcommittee will be able to identify quickly any problems that arise and the ECC will provide a forum to resolve them. Since the membership of the ECC includes key agencies of the Executive Office of the President, especially the Office of Management and Budget, the Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, the Council on Environmental Quality, and the Domestic Policy Staff, direct and easy access to my staff and Members of the Cabinet is assured.

The Standing Subcommittee of the ECC has an extremely important responsibility. I am expecting it to provide the leadership and the day-to-day coordinating function which will be essential as we strive to meet our national solar goal.

We are today taking an historic step. We are making a commitment to as important a goal as we can set for our Nation — the provision of 20% of our energy needs from solar and renewable sources of energy by the year 2000.

We are launching a major program — one which requires and has received a significant commitment from the Federal government to accelerate the development and use of solar technologies.

We are marshalling the best that the agencies of government can provide and asking for the commitment of each of them, in their diverse and numerous functions, to assist our country in meeting our solar goal.

The stakes for which we are playing are very high. When we speak of energy security, we are in fact talking about how we can assure the future economic and military security of our country — how we can maintain the liberties and freedoms which make our Nation great.

In developing and implementing a national solar strategy we are taking yet another critical step toward a future which will not be plagued by the kinds of energy problems we are now experiencing, and which will increase the prospects of avoiding worse difficulties.

We have set a challenge for ourselves. I have set a challenge for my Presidency. It will require the best that American ingenuity can offer, and all the determination which our society can muster. Although government will lead, inspire, and encourage, our goal can be achieved only if each American citizen, each business, and each community takes our solar goal to heart.

Whether our energy future will be bright — with the power of the sun — or whether it will be dim, as our fossil resources decline, is the choice that is now before us. We must take the path I have outlined today.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
June 20, 1979. ▮

Trucking Deregulation

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress June 21 detailing his proposal to reduce federal regulation over the trucking industry:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am today transmitting to the Congress legislation to reduce substantially Federal economic regulation over the trucking industry.

The trucking industry today is subject to perhaps more complex, detailed, and burdensome Federal regulation than any other industry in our Nation.

Not only does the Interstate Commerce Commission control who may enter the trucking industry, the ICC must also approve the application of an existing carrier seeking to offer new services or improve its old ones.

But ICC regulation merely begins when a certificate is awarded. The ICC, not the trucking company, decides what cities and towns a carrier may serve. The ICC, not the trucking company, decides in detail what commodities the carrier may haul — and whether any commodities can be carried on the return trip. The ICC, not the trucking company, often decides the actual highway the trucker must use, whether stops may be made to serve points along the way, and whether the trucker may take the most direct route to its destination.

This system of detailed regulation was imposed in 1935 when the trucking industry was in its infancy, and when the Nation was in the midst of its most serious depression. At that time, competition was blamed for the Nation's economic woes. Many believed that extensive government control was needed to protect the newly developing trucking industry.

In the 44 years since regulation was first imposed, conditions have changed dramatically. The trucking industry has matured and prospered, and our economy has become strong. But our system of regulation has remained basically the same.

ICC-regulated carriers are also sheltered from price competition. In 1948, Congress overrode President Truman's veto and enacted a special immunity from the antitrust laws that permits regulated trucking companies to meet together and decide upon rates. This conduct, which would be a felony in nearly every other industry, stifles competition, discourages innovative pricing, and forces the prices of consumer products higher than they otherwise would be.

Our current regulatory system contributes to three of our Nation's most pressing problems — inflation, excessive government regulation and the shortage of energy. Since regulation permits price-fixing and stifles price competition, consumers are unnecessarily paying billions of dollars a year in higher transportation prices. During these inflationary times, government policies that needlessly raise costs cannot be tolerated.

Regulation also subjects one of our Nation's most important industries to a mindless scheme of unnecessary government interference and control. Rather than putting their talents and energies to the task of providing the prices and services customers want, trucking companies are forced to concentrate on proposing measures that government regulators will permit.

Finally, regulation needlessly wastes our Nation's precious fuel by preventing carriers from making the most productive use of their equipment, and by requiring empty backhauls and circuitous routings.

The legislation I am proposing will restore the competitive spirit to the trucking industry, reduce inflation, minimize government regulation and save energy.

The major provisions in the legislation are summarized below.

New, Competitive Policy Statement

The bill I propose establishes a new policy statement to govern all aspects of ICC regulation of the trucking industry. The policy statement emphasizes reliance on competition rather than government regulation to the maximum extent possible to reduce rates, improve service, attract capital, increase efficiency and offer the opportunity to earn fair profits.

The policy statement also emphasizes the need to reduce existing regulations which contribute to concentration of market power, waste energy, restrict entry and services to smaller and other communities,

protect larger carriers at the expense of smaller carriers, and adversely affect the long-term maintenance of fair wages and working conditions.

The policy statement also emphasizes the need for fairer and more expeditious regulatory procedures and the need for more effective safety regulation.

Removal of Certificate Restrictions

ICC certificates today are subject to a variety of restrictions that control every aspect of a motor carrier's operations. For example:

Backhaul Restrictions. Many certificates award only one-way authority, or specify that a carrier may haul commodities to a point, but with "no transportation for compensation upon return unless otherwise authorized." As recently as 1975, only half the operating certificates awarded contained authority to haul goods on a return trip.

Prohibition on Intermediate Stops. Many certificates prohibit carriers from making intermediate stops between authorized points. This prevents carriers from maximizing their loads, increases costs, and keeps many towns, especially smaller ones, from receiving the best possible service.

Route Restrictions. Most certificates authorizing the carriage of general commodities specify the actual highway the truck must use.

In addition to restricting operating flexibility, these restrictions harm service to small towns. A carrier cannot leave the highway to serve a town off the beaten track without violating the law.

Circuitous Routings. In some instances, carriers are required to take an indirect route or travel through a designated "gateway city" to reach their destination. For example:

- Denver, Colorado and Albuquerque, New Mexico, are connected to each other via Interstate 25, a distance of 442 miles. Garrett Freight Lines is permitted to haul freight from Denver to Albuquerque — but only if it goes by way of Salt Lake City, a distance of 730 miles.
- In 1974, during the height of the energy crisis, Consolidated Freightways was denied a request to travel directly between Minneapolis-St. Paul and Dallas. The carrier's route authority required it to travel 37% extra miles on trips between the two points. Despite the company's desire to eliminate excessive mileage and save fuel, the ICC denied the request because the new service would harm carriers already serving the route.

Circuitous routings, like regulations which require trucks to travel empty, waste precious fuel and increase costs and prices.

Commodity Restrictions. ICC certificates specify in detail the commodities a carrier is authorized to haul. These restrictions often follow no logical pattern and serve no apparent purpose. Some certificates, for example, authorize the carrier to haul crated, but not uncrated machinery; or allow paint hauled in 2-gallon cans, but not paint in 5-gallon cans. One recent certificate permits a carrier to haul bananas. The carrier may also haul pineapples, but only if mixed with loads of bananas.

In another case, a regulated trucker whose certificate authorizes him to haul "foodstuffs" recently wanted to haul beer. Permission was denied by the ICC. Although "wine" falls into the category of "foodstuffs," "beer" does not. If this trucker persists in his desire to haul beer, he must go through the burdensome, costly and time-consuming process of obtaining a certificate to haul "malt beverages."

As a result of backhaul and other regulatory restrictions, enormous amounts of fuel are wasted each year. This waste needlessly raises prices and significantly aggravates the energy shortage.

The legislation I am proposing provides that:

- All backhaul restrictions are removed immediately.
- All prohibitions on making intermediate stops between authorized points are removed immediately.
- All route restrictions, including requirements that a carrier take a circuitous route or pass through a designated gateway city, must be removed no later than December 31, 1981.
- All restrictions limiting the types of commodities a carrier may haul must be removed no later than December 31, 1982.
- All other restrictions must be removed no later than December 31, 1983.
- The ICC is directed to adopt liberal standards and expedited procedures for carrier petitions for removal of individual restrictions prior to the statutory deadlines. Opponents to carriers' petitions have the burden of proof to show why a restriction should not be removed.
- The ICC is directed to develop a program allowing existing carriers to increase each year their operating authority by a limited amount without ICC approval. The ICC program shall emphasize increased opportunities to serve small towns.

Entry and Procedural Reform

Before a carrier can haul regulated commodities, and before an existing carrier can expand or rationalize its operations, it must obtain authority from the ICC. Obtaining new authority has been difficult. The applicant has the burden of proving that the new competition is "required" by the public convenience and necessity. Carriers already serving the route have been able to block new entry if they could provide the service themselves, or if the new competition might impair their profitability. Although the ICC has begun to grant a larger percentage of these applications, the existing statute still requires carriers to meet an excessive burden. The ICC needs new statutory authority to carry forward the liberalization that it has begun.

This regulatory maze is particularly burdensome to small businesses. Large businesses may be able to afford experts to go through complicated regulations and wait the long months or years to obtain decisions, but this is not true for the small entrepreneur.

The legislation I propose liberalizes these restrictive entry standards. The bill substantially reduces regulation over time, and places increasing reliance upon the competitive marketplace. The bill:

- Retains the requirement that the applicant prove it meets financial, safety and insurance requirements (i.e., that it is "fit, willing, and able").
- Reverses the burden of proof and requires *opponents* of new competition to show that the transportation applied for would be inconsistent with the public convenience and necessity.
- Applies new standards for the "public convenience and necessity" test. The ICC must give substantial weight in favor of the application where it finds that the service would lower operating costs, improve fuel efficiency, meet consumer or user preference for service or lower rates, improve service to small communities; or generally improve the competitive climate. The ICC shall not consider possible diversion of revenues or traffic from other carriers.
- Requires the ICC to make a final decision on entry applications within 90 days.
- Grants the application of any fit, willing and able carrier to enter a point which an authorized carrier does not serve, or which a railroad has abandoned.

Exemptions from ICC Regulation

From the start, major farm organizations opposed Federal economic regulation of the trucking industry. Farmers believed regulation would raise prices and limit the operating flexibility needed for distribution of agricultural products, many of which are perishable. Congress responded in 1935 by granting an exemption from ICC regulation for unprocessed agricultural commodities.

The agricultural exemption has served our Nation's farmers and consumers well. The exemption is too restrictive, however, and should be expanded. For example:

- raisins are exempt, if they are coated with honey, cinnamon, or sugar but not if they are coated with chocolate;
- wood chips for making wood pulp are not exempt; but wood cut into short crosswise lengths for firewood (not sawed lengthwise) are;
- frozen dinners are exempt, unless they are frozen chicken or seafood dinners;
- crab shells are exempt, but oyster shells are not;
- an owner-operator has stated, "I carry all the ingredients to the cannery to make the soup, but I cannot carry the canned soup back."

These narrow restrictions have resulted in significantly more empty backhauls for exempt truckers than for regulated truckers. The transportation costs for food, and hence food prices to consumers, are consequently higher.

The bill I propose expands the agricultural exemption to include livestock; agri-

cultural, horticultural or aquacultural commodities; food and any edible products; and farm implements and supplies, including seed, fertilizer, and chemicals.

These provisions will allow better utilization of trucks and fewer empty backhauls. The result will be better trucking services and, most important, lower rates for farmers and lower food prices for consumers.

The bill also gives the ICC authority to grant exemptions from regulation, and expands the authority of agricultural cooperatives to haul regulated commodities for non-farmers.

Contract Carriers and Freight Forwarders

Contract Carriers

Contract carriers are ICC-regulated carriers who give specialized service to a limited number of shippers. They differ from common carriers in that they do not hold themselves out as serving the general public.

Although regulation of contract carriers has been less severe, this segment of the industry has been subject to two major restrictions: (1) they have been prohibited from applying for common carrier authority; and (2) they have been prohibited from entering into contracts to serve more than eight shippers. This second restriction has been particularly harmful to small shippers because contract carriers naturally arrange to serve only the eight largest shippers they can find.

Although the ICC has recently decided to reverse these two restrictions, their decision is being challenged in the courts by the trucking industry, and the outcome remains uncertain.

The bill I propose permits contract carriers to hold common carrier authority, and states that the ICC may not limit the number of shippers that a contract carrier may serve.

Freight Forwarders

Freight forwarders are regulated companies who consolidate small shipments, pay a common carrier (railroad, motor carrier or airline) to transport the shipments to the forwarder's terminal in another area, and then deliver the shipments to their ultimate destination.

The bill removes unnecessary restrictions on freight forwarders. Freight forwarders will be permitted to negotiate rates and enter into contracts with rail and motor carriers. The removal of these restrictions will enable freight forwarders to compete more effectively, and will afford shippers of small shipments a greater variety of price and service options.

Rates and Rate Bureaus

Collective ratemaking, commonly known as price-fixing is normally a felony, punishable by fines up to $100,000 and three years imprisonment for individuals, and up to $1 million for corporations.

Since 1948, however, the regulated trucking industry has enjoyed a special exemption from the antitrust laws. This immunity allows trucking companies to meet in secret and decide the prices they will charge for truck transportation. Although rate agreements are theoretically subject to ICC review, the ICC has been inclined to rubber stamp rate agreements rather than subject them to an independent and thorough review. This lack of effective oversight is due in part to the sheer volume of processing, some 5,000 pages of rate tariffs are filed before the ICC each day.

Legalized price-fixing and the lack of rate flexibility have cost consumers billions of dollars in higher prices. There is considerable evidence that rates are significantly higher today than they would be if set by the competitive marketplace.

- The Director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability has stated that consumers pay from $5 billion a year in extra costs because of the current regulatory system.
- Rates for the transportation of exempt agricultural commodities are lower than they would be under regulation. A representative of the American Farm Bureau Federation has estimated that:

  "...if agriculture had been saddled with a totally regulated motor carrier and barge transportation system for the past 35 years, the cost of transportation, which now accounts for nearly 10% of the nation's food bill, *would be a third greater.*"
- In the mid-1950s, fresh and frozen dressed poultry and frozen fruits and vegetables were declared exempt from ICC regulation. The U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that as a result of deregulation, trucking rates dropped substantially for those commodities.
- A recent study concludes that unregulated household mover rates within Maryland are 27-87% lower than rates for comparable interstate shipments.
- The trucking industry is highly profitable. Last year the largest eight trucking companies earned an average return on equity of 28.8%. These returns far exceed the average 14% return on equity earned by unregulated manufacturing companies, as well as the return on equity for the top firms in any other major industry.

Because regulation permits such high profits and makes operating certificates so scarce, ICC certificates are bought and sold for enormous sums. When Associated Transport went bankrupt in 1976, the operating rights carried on its balance sheet at $976,000 sold for over $20 million. Eastern Freightway, Inc., recently sold rights for about $3.8 million. Ultimately, of course, the buyer must recover the certificate's price from its customers in the form of higher prices.

The bill I propose:

- repeals the special antitrust immunity, making the trucking industry subject to the same antitrust laws that govern most other industries. Although carriers would be prohibited from discussing and voting on rates, rate bureaus may continue to publish rates. Carriers may also continue to interline and set joint line rates so that a shipper can pay one rate even though more than one carrier hauls the shipment to its final destination;
- encourages price competition by preventing the ICC from disapproving rates within a zone. For the first two years, carriers may lower their rates 20%, or raise their rates 5% per year, without ICC interference. At the end of two years, the ICC may not disapprove a rate reduction unless the rate would be predatory, and carriers may raise their rates 7% per year.

Mergers

The bill requires the ICC to weigh possible anticompetitive effects of the proposed mergers.

The ICC may not approve or authorize any merger or acquisition if there is likely to be a substantial lessening of competition, creation of a monopoly, or a restraint of trade — unless the ICC finds that the anticompetitive effects of the transaction are outweighed by significant transportation needs that could not be satisfied by a reasonable available alternative having materially less anticompetitive effects.

After five years, the ICC's authority over mergers is eliminated, and jurisdiction is transferred to the FTC and the Department of Justice.

Private Carriage

Under existing law, non-transportation companies (such as Montgomery Ward and Pet Milk) may transport their own goods free from ICC regulation. Although these "private carriers" are not directly regulated by the ICC, their operations have been severely restricted. As a result, private carriers are plagued with an unusually high rate of empty backhauls. The bill I propose would allow private carriers to apply for authority to carry non-company commodities, to provide transportation for corporate subsidiaries, and to permit private carriers to "trip-lease" with certificated carriers for single trips.

Truckload Transportation

"Truckload" motor carriers of property, who concentrate on hauling specialized commodities in full truckload lots, are already a relatively competitive sector of the trucking industry. The ICC has been more liberal in granting entry, and rates are often negotiated between the shipper and carrier. Truckload carriers compete with railroads and with private carriers. The Commission has recently announced plans to deregulate several types of these "special commodity" carriers of truckload traffic.

The bill builds on this trend toward less regulation of this segment of the industry. After two years, entry and rate controls over truckload transportation are removed.

After two years, any trucking company that meets safety, financial, and insurance requirements may haul truckload lots to any point. Rates are subject only to the antitrust law's prohibition on predatory pricing. "Truckload" transportation is de-

fined as carriage (a) by specialized commodity carriers, as categorized by the Commission; (b) in lots over 10,000 pounds; or (c) in lots under a single bill of lading.

Proposals for Further Change

The legislative changes I am proposing in this bill will make the trucking industry substantially more efficient, competitive, and responsive to consumers. It will also greatly reduce government interference with the economic decisions of trucking companies. However, there will remain a greater degree of regulation over trucking than exists for any industry of comparable size and competitive potential. After increased competition in this industry has had a chance to take hold, we should consider whether ICC regulation over the trucking industry should continue.

The bill requires the Secretary of Transportation, in cooperation with the ICC and the Department of Justice, to report to the Congress by January 1, 1983, on the effects of this legislation, and whether ICC regulation over the trucking industry should be continued.

Finally, I will soon send to Congress proposals which assure that consumers receive increased protection in the household moving industry.

Improvement of Service to Small Communities

The bill I propose contains the following provisions that will improve trucking service to small communities:

1. The general policy statement that governs ICC decisions specifically directs the ICC to improve small town service. There is no such provision in existing law.

2. In determining whether applications for entry meet the "public convenience and necessity" standard, the ICC is directed to emphasize increased service to small communities. There is no such requirement in existing law.

3. Certificate restrictions are liberalized to improve service to small communities. For example, many certificates today specify the actual highway a trucking company must use. If a truck leaves the designated highway to serve a town off the beaten track, it is violating the law. The proposed legislation liberalizes these certificate restrictions, and makes it easier for trucking companies to obtain authority to serve small towns.

Many existing certificates do not allow trucks to make intermediate stops and serve towns between authorized points. These restrictions are particularly harmful to towns that are so small that trucking companies are unwilling to undergo the costly and often unsuccessful process of obtaining authority to serve them. The proposed legislation would remove these restrictions and permit carriers to stop at intermediate points immediately.

4. The program for phased route expansion without ICC approval will emphasize increased service to small communities. There is no such program under existing law.

5. The agricultural commodity and agricultural co-op exemptions are substantially broadened. This will give carriers serving small towns increased opportunities to fill their trucks with commodities they cannot now carry.

6. Increased pricing flexibility will allow lower backhaul rates to small communities.

7. Any carrier that meets financial, safety, and insurance requirements (a "fit, willing, and able" carrier) may enter a point which an authorized carrier no longer serves, or which a railroad abandons. There is no such provision in existing law.

Safety

Reforms in safety enforcement are necessary because present levels of safety are unsatisfactory, and because authority to monitor safety practices and to sanction safety violations should be strengthened. These provisions are distinct from the economic reforms and are not made necessary by them.

The bill I propose places new emphasis on the existing fitness test which guarantees that all new entrants into the industry are safe. It also consolidates the safety authority in the Department of Transportation, and gives the Secretary of Transportation broader and more effective authority to deal with safety violations.

These reform proposals for the trucking industry, together with airline deregulation and my recently proposed rail reforms, fundamentally reshape Federal regulatory policies toward the transportation industries. These new policies recognize that our national interest in a more productive, fuel-efficient and responsive transportation system can be best achieved with less Federal regulation and more reliance on private initiative.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
June 21, 1979.

Crisis of Confidence Televised Address

Following is the text of President Carter's televised address to the nation, as delivered July 15:

Good evening.

This is a special night for me. Exactly three years ago on July 15, 1976, I accepted the nomination of my party to run for President of the United States.

I promised you a President who is not isolated from the people, who feels your pain and who shares your dreams and who draws his strength and his wisdom from you.

During the past three years I have spoken to you on many occasions about national concerns, the energy crisis, reorganizing the government, our Nation's economy and issues of war and especially peace. But over those years the subjects of the speeches, the talks and the press conferences have become increasingly narrow, focused more and more on what the isolated world of Washington thinks is important.

Gradually you have heard more and more about what the government should be doing and less and less about our Nation's hopes, our dreams and our vision of the future.

Ten days ago I had planned to speak to you again about a very important subject — energy. For the fifth time I would have described the urgency of the problem and laid out a series of legislative recommendations to the Congress. But as I was preparing to speak, I began to ask myself the same question that I now know has been troubling many of you. Why have we not been able to get together as a Nation to resolve our serious energy problem?

True Problems

It is clear that the true problems of our Nation are much deeper — deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages, deeper even than inflation or recession. And I realize more than ever that as President I need your help.

So I decided to reach out and to listen to the voices of America. I invited to Camp David people from almost every segment of our society — business and labor, teachers and preachers, Governors, Mayors and private citizens. And then I left Camp David to listen to other Americans, men and women like you. It has been an extraordinary ten days, and I want to share with you what I have heard.

First of all, I got a lot of personal advice. Let me quote a few of the typical comments that I wrote down.

This from a Southern Governor:

"Mr. President, you are not leading this Nation — you are just managing the government."

"You don't see the people enough any more."

"Some of your Cabinet members don't seem loyal. There is not enough discipline among your disciples."

"Don't talk to us about politics or the mechanics of government, but about an understanding of our common good."

"Mr. President, we are in trouble. Talk to us about blood and sweat and tears."

"If you lead, Mr. President, we will follow."

Many people talked about themselves and about the condition of our Nation.

This from a young woman in Pennsylvania: "I feel so far from government. I feel like ordinary people are excluded from political power."

And this from a young Chicano: "Some of us have suffered from recession all our lives."

"Some people have wasted energy, but others haven't had anything to waste."

And this from a religious leader: "No material shortage can touch the important things like God's love for us or our love for one another."

And I like this one particularly from a black woman who happens to be the Mayor of a small Mississippi town: "The big shots are not the only ones who are important. Remember, you can't sell anything on Wall Street unless someone digs it up somewhere else first."

This kind of summarized a lot of other statements: "Mr. President, we are confronted with a moral and a spiritual crisis."

Energy Comments

Several of our discussions were on energy and I have a notebook full of comments and advice. I will read just a few.

"We can't go on consuming 40 percent more energy than we produce. When we import oil we are also importing inflation plus unemployment."

"We have got to use what we have. The Middle East has only five percent of the world's energy, but the United States has twenty-four percent."

And this is one of the most vivid statements: "Our neck is stretched over the fence and OPEC has the knife."

"There will be other cartels and other shortages. American wisdom and courage right now can set a path to follow in the future."

This was a good one: "Be bold, Mr. President. We may make mistakes, but we are ready to experiment."

And this one from a labor leader got to the heart of it: "The real issue is freedom. We must deal with the energy problem on a war footing."

And the last that I will read: "When we enter the moral equivalent of war, Mr. President, don't issue us BB guns."

These ten days confirmed my belief in the decency and the strength and the wisdom of the American people, but it also bore out some of my longstanding concerns about our Nation's underlying problems.

Mixed Success

I know, of course, being President, that government actions and legislation can be very important. That is why I have worked hard to put my campaign promises into law — and I have to admit, with just mixed success.

But after listening to the American people I have been reminded again that all the legislation in the world can't fix what is wrong with America. So I want to speak to you first tonight about a subject even more serious than energy or inflation. I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy.

I do not mean our political and civil liberties. They will endure. And I do not refer to the outward strength of America, a Nation that is at peace tonight everywhere in the world, with unmatched economic power and military might.

The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our Nation.

The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America.

American Confidence

The confidence that we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream or a proverb in a dusty book that we read just on the 4th of July. It is the idea we founded our Nation on and it has guided our development as a people. Confidence in the future has supported everything else — public institutions and private enterprise, our own families, and the very Constitution of the United States.

Confidence has defined our course and has served as a link between generations. We have always believed in something called progress. We have always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own.

Our people are losing that faith, not only in government itself, but in the ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy. As a people we know our past and we are proud of it. Our progress has been part of the living history of America, even the world. We always believed that we were part of a great movement of humanity itself called democracy, involved in the search for freedom and that belief has always strengthened us in our purpose. But just as we are losing our confidence in the future, we are also beginning to close the door on our past.

In a Nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close knit communities, and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns.

But we have discovered that owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning. We have learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose.

Crisis Around Us

The symptoms of this crisis of the American spirit are all around us. For the first time in the history of our country the majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the past five years.

Two-thirds of our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has fallen below that of all other people in the Western world.

As you know, there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions.

This is not a message of happiness or reassurance, but it is the truth and it is a warning. These changes did not happen overnight. They have come upon us gradually over the last generation, years that were filled with shocks and tragedy.

We were sure that ours was a Nation of the ballot, not the bullet, until the murders of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. We were taught that our armies were always invincible and our causes were always just, only to suffer the agony of Vietnam.

We respected the Presidency as a place of honor until the shock of Watergate.

We remember when the phrase "sound as a dollar," was an expression of absolute dependability, until 10 years of inflation began to shrink our dollars and our savings.

We believed that our Nation's resources were limitless until 1973 when we had to face a growing dependence on foreign oil.

These wounds are still very deep. They have never been healed.

Government Isolated

Looking for a way out of this crisis, our people have turned to the Federal Government and found it isolated from the mainstream of our Nation's life. Washington, D.C., has become an island. The gap between our citizens and our government has never been so wide. The people are looking for honest answers, not easy answers, clear leadership, not false claims and evasiveness and politics as usual.

What you see too often in Washington and elsewhere around the country is a system of government that seems incapable of action.

You see a Congress twisted and pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-financed and powerful special interests.

You see every extreme position defended to the last vote, almost to the last breath by one unyielding group or another.

You often see a balanced and a fair approach that demands sacrifice, a little sacrifice from everyone, abandoned like an orphan without support and without friends.

Often you see paralysis and stagnation and drift. You don't like it, and neither do I. What can we do?

Faith

First of all, we must face the truth and then we can change our course. We simply must have faith in each other, faith in our ability to govern ourselves and faith in the future of this Nation.

Restoring that faith and that confidence to America is now the most important task we face. It is a true challenge of this generation of Americans.

One of the visitors to Camp David last week put it this way:

"We have got to stop crying and start sweating, stop talking and start walking, stop cursing and start praying. The strength we need will not come from the White House but from every house in America."

We know the strength of America. We are strong. We can regain our unity. We can regain our confidence. We are the heirs of generations who survived threats much more powerful and awesome than those that challenge us now. Our fathers and mothers were strong men and women who shaped a new society during the Great

Depression, who fought world wars and who carved out a new charter of peace for the world.

We ourselves are the same Americans who just 10 years ago put a man on the moon. We are the generation that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human rights and equality. And we are the generation that will win the war on the energy problem and in that process rebuild the unity and confidence of America.

Turning Point

We are at a turning point in our history. There are two paths to choose. One is a path I warned about tonight, the path that leads to fragmentation and self-interest. Down that road lies a mistaken idea of freedom, the right to grasp for ourselves some advantage over others. That path would be one of constant conflict between narrow interests ending in chaos and immobility. It is a certain route to failure.

All the traditions of our past, all the lessons of our heritage, all the promises of our future point to another path, the path of common purpose and the restoration of American values. That path leads to true freedom for our Nation and ourselves. We can take the first steps down that path as we begin to solve our energy problem. Energy will be the immediate test of our ability to unite this Nation and it can also be the standard around which we rally. . . .

In little more than two decades we have gone from a position of energy independence to one in which almost half the oil we use comes from foreign countries, at prices that are going through the roof. Our excessive dependence on OPEC has already taken a tremendous toll on our economy and our people.

This is the direct cause of the long lines which have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline. It is a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face. This intolerable dependence on foreign oil threatens our economic independence and the very security of our Nation. . . .

Point one: I am tonight setting a clear goal for the energy policy of the United States. Beginning this moment, this Nation will never use more foreign oil than we did in 1977 — never. From now on, every new addition to our demand for energy will be met from our own production and our own conservation. The generation-long growth in our dependence on foreign oil will be stopped dead in its tracks right now and then reversed as we move through the 1980s, for I am tonight setting the further goal of cutting our dependence on foreign oil by one-half by the end of the next decade — a saving of over four and a half million barrels of imported oil per day.

Point two: To ensure that we meet these targets, I will use my Presidential authority to set import quotas. I am announcing tonight that for 1979 and 1980, I will forbid the entry into this country of one drop of foreign oil more than these goals allow. These quotas will ensure a reduction in imports even below the ambitious levels we set at the recent Tokyo Summit.

Point three: To give us energy security, I am asking for the most massive peacetime commitment of funds and resources in our Nation's history to develop America's own alternative sources of fuel — from coal, from oil shale, from plant products for gasohol, from unconventional gas, from the sun.

I propose the creation of an Energy Security Corporation to lead this effort to replace two and a half million barrels of imported oil per day by 1990. The corporation will issue up to $5 billion in energy bonds, and I especially want them to be in small denominations so that average Americans can invest directly in America's energy security.

Just as a similar synthetic rubber corporation helped us win World War II, so will we mobilize American determination and ability to win the energy war. Moreover, I will soon submit legislation to Congress calling for the creation of this Nation's first solar bank which will help us achieve the crucial goal of 20 percent of our energy coming from solar power by the year 2000.

These efforts will cost money, a lot of money, and that is why Congress must enact the windfall profits tax without delay. It will be money well spent. Unlike the billions of dollars that we ship to foreign countries to pay for foreign oil, these funds will be paid by Americans to Americans. These funds will go to fight, not to increase, inflation and unemployment.

Point four: I am asking Congress to mandate, to require as a matter of law, that our Nation's utility companies cut their massive use of oil by 50 percent within the next decade and switch to other fuels, especially coal, our most abundant energy source.

Point five: To make absolutely certain that nothing stands in the way of achieving these goals, I will urge Congress to create an energy Mobilization Board which, like the War Production Board in World War II, will have the responsibility and authority to cut through the red tape, the delays, and the endless roadblocks to completing key energy projects.

We will protect our environment. But when this Nation critically needs a refinery or a pipeline, we will build it.

Point six: I am proposing a bold conservation program to involve every State, county and city and every average American in our energy battle. This effort will permit you to build conservation into your home and your lives at a cost you can afford.

I ask Congress to give me authority for mandatory conservation and for standby gasoline rationing. To further conserve energy, I am proposing tonight an extra $10 billion over the next decade to strengthen our public transportation systems, and I am asking you for your good and for your Nation's security to take no unnecessary trips, to use car pools or public transportation whenever you can, to park your car one extra day per week, to obey the speed limit and to set your thermostats to save fuel. Every act of energy conservation like this is more than just common sense — I tell you it is an act of patriotism.

Our Nation must be fair to the poorest among us, so we will increase aid to needy Americans to cope with rising energy prices. We often think of conservation only in terms of sacrifice. In fact, it is the most painless and immediate way of rebuilding our Nation's strength. Every gallon of oil each one of us saves is a new form of production. It gives us more freedom, more confidence, that much more control over our own lives.

Crisis Solution

So the solution of our energy crisis can also help us to conquer the crisis of the spirit in our country. It can rekindle our sense of unity, our confidence in the future and give our Nation and all of us individually a new sense of purpose.

You know we can do it. We have the natural resources. We have more oil in our shale alone than several Saudi Arabias. We have more coal than any Nation on earth. We have the world's highest level of technology. We have the most skilled work force with innovative genius and I firmly believe that we have the national will to win this war. I do not promise you that this struggle for freedom will be easy. I do not promise a quick way out of our Nation's problems, when the truth is that the only way out is an all out effort.

What I do promise you is that I will lead our fight and I will enforce fairness in our struggle and I will ensure honesty. And above all, I will act.

We can manage the short-term shortages more effectively and we will, but there are no short-term solutions to our long-range problems. There is simply no way to avoid sacrifice. . . .

I will continue to travel this country, to hear the people of America. You can help me to develop a national agenda for the 1980s. I will listen and I will act. We will act together. These were the promises I made three years ago and I intend to keep them. Little by little we can and we must rebuild our confidence. We can spend until we empty our treasuries and we may summon all the wonders of science, but we can succeed only if we tap our greatest resources — America's people, America's values, and America's confidence.

I have seen the strength of America in the inexhaustible resources of our people. In the days to come, let us renew that strength in the struggle for an energy-secure Nation.

In closing, let me say this: I will do my best, but I will not do it alone. Let your voice be heard. Whenever you have a chance, say something good about our country. With God's help and for the sake of our Nation it is time for us to join hands in America. Let us commit ourselves together to a rebirth of the American spirit. Working together with our common faith we cannot fail.

Thank you and good night. ∎

Kansas City Address

Following are excerpts from President Carter's address July 16 to the National Association of Counties in Kansas City, Mo.

The underlying cause of the energy crisis . . . [is] a massive, dangerous, growing dependence on oil, and particularly our dependence, excessive dependence, on imported oil. . . .

My first priority as President is to protect the lives and the well-being of all Americans. Therefore, our emergency services, such as police, fire and health, must be maintained. So must the essentials of food and shelter. We must have fuel to produce and to distribute food. We must have heating fuel to prevent suffering next winter in almost every part of this country, and particularly, of course, in the Northern states.

. . . We will distribute limited supplies of gasoline fairly and equitably among the motorists of this country. . . . We are pressing the refineries, for instance, to increase their production of fuel and heating oil. As a byproduct, this will also produce more gasoline as well. We are requiring the oil industry to cooperate. If they do not cooperate voluntarily we will not hesitate to use the authority that I have to require the oil companies to meet the basic energy needs of our Nation. The oil companies must cooperate.

. . .I urge the Congress to give me power to set mandatory state-by-state conservation goals and to impose mandatory conservation. . . .

Congress must act finally to give me authority to develop a standby gasoline rationing plan. It is absolutely crucial for us to arm ourselves against the possibility of further serious interruptions in our energy supplies. We never know when we might lose a major portion of our oil imports. If this happens a gasoline rationing plan will help us distribute it — distribute those limited supplies fairly. But I want to now mention the most important thing of all. Every single American must stop wasting energy.

. . . Overall, we are going to take the unparalleled peacetime commitment, an investment of $140 billion . . . [to] come from the windfall profits tax on the oil industry which I have proposed to the Congress. . . .

. . .Each year I will set targets for the amount of foreign oil we import. I am today announcing a quota for this year, 1979, which will hold United States imports to 8.2 million barrels per day — 300,000 below the ceilings we set at the Tokyo summit and 400,000 barrels per day below what we used in 1977. And we will meet this goal.

The Energy Security Corporation that I proposed last night to produce American energy from new sources will not be . . . just another Federal agency. It will be outside the Federal Government, outside the Federal bureaucracy, free to use its independent business judgment in order to produce enough alternate energy sources to meet its 10-year target of reducing our imports by two and a half million barrels of oil per day. I am announcing new incentives for the production of heavy oil, oil shale and hard to get at natural gas, all of which this country has in great abundance.

To make certain that energy projects such as critical pipelines, port facilities, production plants are built, a new Energy Mobilization Board will slash through red tape and bureaucratic obstacles and will set absolute deadlines for action at the Federal, state and local level.

We are leaving with state and local authorities the first line of responsibility to remove roadblocks to these critical projects. . . .

I have earmarked $16.5 billion in new funds for the next 10 years to improve buses, subways and other mass transit and to build more fuel-efficient automobiles.

Recognizing that low-income families have been hardest hit by the OPEC price increases and rising energy costs in general, I am proposing to triple the size of the assistance program. . . .

One major project will be the new pipeline to be built from Alaska through Canada to bring natural gas to the lower 48 states. By 1985 Alaskan and Canadian natural gas can displace almost 700,000 barrels of imported oil per day. . . .

. . .[W]e depend on nuclear power now for 13 percent of all the electricity consumed in the United States. . . . [N]uclear power must play an important role in the United States to ensure our energy future.

In June I set an ambitious but important goal for meeting 20 percent of the Nation's energy needs from the sun by the year 2000. . . .

I am going to keep these initiatives moving and every one of us, public officials and private citizens, must keep up this pressure for progress. . . .

FBI Charter

Following is President Carter's message to Congress July 31 detailing his proposed FBI charter legislation:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am transmitting today the FBI Charter Act of 1979, which will provide the first comprehensive Charter for the functioning of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This legislative proposal will govern all the investigative and law enforcement functions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The foreign intelligence and counterintelligence functions of the Bureau will be governed by a separate charter for the entire foreign intelligence community.

This proposal was developed by the FBI and the Justice Department and has received close scrutiny and personal approval from Attorney General Griffin Bell, Deputy Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti, and [FBI] Director William Webster.

The law enforcement Charter would bring together in one statute the authorities and responsibilities that the FBI now exercises as a matter of custom and practice.

Although most departments and agencies operate under detailed statutory schemes, the FBI has lacked a statutory framework, although it is one of the most important and sensitive of all Executive Branch agencies. A one-paragraph 1908 law creating the Bureau is all that presently exists. The controversies in past years regarding particular actions of the Bureau, such as those directed at Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and various other persons and organizations, are to some degree attributable to this lack of statutory direction. It was these controversies which led me to call for a clear and binding charter for the FBI when I ran for President. Statutory safeguards would insure that the Bureau exercises its responsibilities in a manner sensitive to the fundamental rights of all Americans. The public must be assured that the FBI is acting properly under the law.

Vital Function

We need to recognize that the FBI serves a vital national function and that it has rendered distinguished service to the Nation. It has set a standard for competence, dedication and professionalism of which we should all be proud. We must be careful to maintain the fundamental capability of an institution which has served us so well. This Charter maintains that capability. Under Director William Webster the conduct of the Bureau has been exemplary and I applaud his leadership.

A clear definition of the authorities and responsibilities of the FBI is essential to its proper functioning and is in the best interest of national law enforcement and the proper administration of justice. Enactment of this Charter will enable FBI agents to carry out their duties with greater certainty, confidence, and effectiveness.

Objectives

The bill I submit today reflects three fundamental objectives:

The Charter should be a document of broad principles, not a long detailing of procedures. It should enumerate the FBI's jurisdiction, functions and powers and set forth the limits on its activities, but should leave to the Attorney General the power to issue specific detailed procedures and guidelines.

With few exceptions, coupled with procedural safeguards, the investigative power of the FBI should be limited to the detection, prevention and prosecution of federal crimes. This will prevent the unrestricted accumulation of information concerning in-

dividuals not suspected of criminal conduct.

The Charter should strike a proper balance between the true needs of law enforcement and the civil liberties guaranteed by our Constitution. The greater the potential for impairment of rights, the stronger the authorization and accountability systems required.

The Charter authorizes the FBI to employ traditional and lawful investigative techniques in carrying out its responsibilities. These include confidential informants, undercover agents, and undercover operations.

Investigations

Two primary types of criminal investigations are authorized: investigation of criminal acts that violate federal law and investigations into criminal enterprises that involve racketeering or terrorism. No investigation may be commenced unless based on "facts and circumstances that reasonably indicate" a criminal violation.

For the most part, this bill simply codifies current practices. However, FBI authority would be significantly expanded in two areas:

1. The FBI could issue "investigative demands" for financial records. This is a compulsory process enforceable in the courts comparable to the administrative subpoenas issued by agencies such as the Securities and Exchange Commission and the new Inspectors General in each Federal agency. This is essential if the FBI is to be effective in combatting white collar crime, fraud, corruption, and organized crime.

2. The FBI could investigate patterns of terrorist acts that involve violations of state criminal laws even without federal violations, following the model of current racketeering statutes.

The bill continues existing restrictions, procedural controls, and requirements for accountability on FBI activities. It adds, however, several new restrictions providing tighter controls over the use of informants. For example, infiltration of groups under investigation for terrorist activities and participation by an informant in criminal activity must now be approved by a supervisory FBI official.

The Charter requires that the Attorney General promulgate, and periodically review, operational guidelines for each of the Bureau's major activities. These guidelines will be filed with the Congress and made available to the public unless, in a specific case, their release would jeopardize the investigative process. The FBI is also required to report on important and sensitive activities to the Attorney General and the Congress.

This Charter strikes the proper balance between assuring both that the civil rights and liberties guaranteed to Americans by our Constitution are protected and that the FBI can fully pursue its appropriate functions.

I urge the Congress to give this bill the careful and urgent attention it deserves and to pass the first Charter for the FBI.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
July 31, 1979.

Environmental Message

Following is the text of President Carter's environmental message to Congress Aug. 2:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

Four months after I took office, I presented to the Congress a comprehensive Message on the Environment, a charter for the first years of my Administration. Building on the record of the Congress in the 1970s, I sought both to protect our national heritage and to meet the competing demands on our natural resources.

Certain basic ideas remain the foundation of American environmental policy. Our great natural heritage should be protected for the use and enjoyment of all citizens. The bounty of nature — our farmlands and forests, our water, wildlife and fisheries, our renewable energy sources — are the basis of our present and future material well-being. They must be carefully managed and conserved. The quality of our environment must be nurtured by wise decisions and protected from hasty or unplanned actions. Clean air and water remain essential goals, and we intend to achieve them in the most efficient and effective ways possible. And we have a serious responsibility to help protect the long-term health of the global environment we share with all humanity.

I am proud of the achievements of this period. The program I offer today emphasizes continuity, but it also reflects a keener awareness of certain serious emerging problems — such as disposition of the toxic wastes our highly technological society produces.

We have made great strides together since I took office. With my strong support, the Congress enacted and I signed into law:

- the 1977 Amendments to our two fundamental laws for cleaning up pollution, the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, including strict but enforceable standards and a strong wetlands protection program;
- the 1977 Surface Mining Reclamation Act, which established the first federal environmental standards for coal mining, and under which regulations were developed with strong public involvement;
- the 1977 Federal Mine Safety and Health Act, which established the Mine Safety and Health Administration in the Department of Labor to promulgate and enforce health and safety standards in all mines;
- the 1977 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act, which sets conditions on U.S. nuclear exports to deter the spread of nuclear weapons, and offers other countries incentives to cooperate with our safeguards against proliferation;
- indefinite deferral of other activities which might lead to weapons proliferation, particularly nuclear fuel reprocessing and commercialization of the breeder reactor;
- the 1978 National Energy Act, with specific policies and programs emphasizing energy conservation;
- the 1978 Federal Environmental Pesticide Control Act, which provided for generic registration and control of pesticides;
- reauthorization, in 1978, of the Endangered Species Act, including new procedures for resolving conflicts under the Act;
- enactment of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 and other legislation to preserve nationally significant areas, adding 45 million acres to the National Park System, 13 new Wild and Scenic Rivers and National Trails, and protecting more than 4.5 million additional acres of wilderness.

In addition, I issued Executive Orders in 1977 and 1978 directing federal agencies to improve their implementation of the National Environmental Policy Act under new regulations, which were issued in 1978; examine the environmental effects of federal actions abroad; preserve and restore natural values of wetlands and floodplains; protect our public lands from damage caused by off-road vehicles; and analyze the impacts of new federal policies on urban areas. These directives are being implemented.

With these accomplishments behind us, we can turn our attention to new issues and to other key issues that are still unresolved.

In the decade ahead, we will face difficult decisions as we confront the necessity of reducing dangerous dependence on foreign oil. The leaders of the major industrial democracies met in Tokyo last month to chart a course that would help cut the use of imported oil from uncertain foreign suppliers. Each nation committed itself to a specific reduction in imports, to be accomplished in a way appropriate to its particular needs and resources.

For the past two and one-half years, conservation and energy from the sun have been major thrusts of my energy program. Solar energy funding has been tripled during that period and the Congress in 1978 enacted the National Energy Act which will save 2.5 million barrels of imported oil per day. Much of these savings will be accomplished with conservation initiatives. In addition, another 1.5 million barrels of imported oil will be saved as a result of my April energy message and June solar energy package.

To build on these major savings, I have proposed an expanded effort to put this nation on a sound energy footing, with clear goals for the next decade. That effort is based on a bold program to increase domestic energy production and on additional energy conservation initiatives. Overall, this program will reduce our dependence on

foreign oil by 4.5 million barrels per day by 1990.

Some of the measures I have proposed will simultaneously serve the goals of reducing oil imports and enhancing our environment. I proposed establishing a major new residential and commercial conservation program designed to save at least 500,000 barrels of oil a day by 1990. I further proposed a total of $16.5 billion over the coming decade for improvements in the nation's public transportation system and in transportation fuel efficiency. A major solar energy program will help us to meet our goal of 20 percent solar energy by the year 2000.

We must also embark on a major energy production effort through a new Energy Security Corporation that will have broad responsibility for developing 2.5 million barrels a day of replacement fuels by 1990. That Corporation will be specifically authorized to develop not only synthetic fuels but also sources of energy which could have significant environmental benefits, such as natural gas and biomass. I do not pretend that all new replacement sources of energy will be environmentally innocuous. Some of the new technologies we will need to develop pose environmental risks, not all of which are yet fully understood. I will work to ensure that environmental protections are built into the process of developing these technologies, and that when tradeoffs must be made, they will be made fairly, equitably, and in the light of informed public scrutiny. We will examine not only the impact of new energy technologies on land and water and the effects of toxic chemicals, but also the longer term implications of increasing carbon dioxide concentration in the atmosphere.

I am pledged to be sensitive both to energy needs and to environmental considerations. There is no excuse for unnecessary red tape, which has plagued construction of some needed energy projects. I have proposed the creation of an Energy Mobilization Board to accelerate decision-making on critical energy facilities. This will cut out excessive delay, but I will not allow it to undermine protection of our nation's environment. I intend, for instance, to make the environmental impact statement process fit the decision schedule set by the Energy Mobilization Board so that waivers of these statements will be rare. Only in exceptional cases will alternative procedures be necessary for the orderly completion of a critical energy facility. With the exception of new requirements imposed when construction of a critical facility is underway, the Board could not waive substantive environmental standards. The President will retain the right to override decisions of the Board on any waiver issue, and Board waiver decisions would be subject to judicial review.

Solving the nation's energy problem is essential to our economy and our security. We will not lose sight of our other goals but we must not fail in ending the energy crisis. This Administration's basic commitment to clean air, clean water and the overall protection of the environment remains strong.

Alaska Lands

The highest environmental priority of my Administration is the passage of adequate legislation designating National Parks, Wildlife Refuges, Wilderness Areas, National Forests, and Wild and Scenic Rivers in Alaska.

To protect these magnificent Alaskan lands, I took several actions after the 95th Congress failed to provide protection against exploitation of certain areas in Alaska. By executive action, I designated 17 areas as National Monuments, covering 56 million acres. Additional areas were set aside by the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture. These areas should be promptly and permanently protected by legislation.

The legislation I support not only protects Alaska's natural and cultural heritage but also accommodates the need for balanced development of Alaska's natural resources. Under the Alaska Statehood Act and Native Claims Settlement Act, federal land comprising an area nearly as large as Texas will soon be in state, native and private ownership. My proposals leave most of Alaska's mineral and timber wealth available for development, both on federal and non-federal lands. In particular, all of the off-shore and 95 percent of the on-shore areas in Alaska with favorable potential for oil and gas would be open to exploration and development.

The only area with significant potential for oil and gas reserves that would be foreclosed from exploration and development is the Arctic Wildlife Refuge, the calving grounds of the largest remaining caribou herd in the world and an important part of the herd's migration route. Because of our responsibility to protect this extraordinary remnant of our continent's original wildlife, and because oil and gas are plentifully available elsewhere in Alaska, I firmly believe that the Arctic Wildlife Refuge deserves the full protection the House bill would provide.

There are other Alaskan areas where disagreements and conflicts exist over proper management. The Administration's proposals strike a balance that offers future generations of all Americans — especially Alaskans — broad opportunities for prosperity and enjoyment without the mistakes in land management we have seen elsewhere in the country.

I applaud the recent passage by the House of Representatives, by a margin of 300 votes, of a strong and fair bill which will protect Alaska's wildlife and wild areas, while providing for America's future economic needs. I urge the Senate to act with equal foresight this session.

Hazardous Wastes

In August 1978, I declared Love Canal in Niagara Falls, New York, a national disaster, thus authorizing the use of federal disaster relief aid. The tragedy of Love Canal exemplifies the legacy of past improper hazardous waste disposal.

Last month I submitted to Congress a legislative proposal designed to prevent future disasters like the one at Love Canal. My proposed legislation — the Oil, Hazardous Substances and Hazardous Waste Response, Liability and Compensation Act — will provide the first comprehensive program to address releases of oil and hazardous substances from spills and from inactive and abandoned sites into navigable waters, ground waters, land and air. The legislation builds on present authority and fills gaps where present authority is inadequate to protect the human environment.

We do not yet know all of the problems associated with the disposal of hazardous wastes, but we must take further steps immediately. A report done for the Environmental Protection Agency estimates that there are 33,000-50,000 dumpsites which may contain some hazardous wastes. Of these, EPA estimates that 1,200 to 2,000 may present potentially significant problems, and 500 to 800 of them may have to be abandoned. Other accounts of improper disposal describe shallow burial in steel drums which leak after years in the ground, dumping in open lagoons, and clandestine dumping in sewers and along our highways. These abuses have caused serious damage to human health and economic welfare, pollution of ground and drinking water, and degradation of residential and recreation areas. The cost of cleaning up these sites runs into the billions of dollars. But the costs of ignoring the problem would be far higher.

Timely action by the Congress on my program will enable the Federal government, in cooperation with State and local governments and industry, to:

- identify abandoned hazardous dump sites across the nation;
- establish a uniform system of reporting spills and releases;
- provide emergency government response and containment to clean up and mitigate pollution without delay in cases where those responsible do not respond adequately or cannot be quickly identified;
- provide vigorous investigation of releases of oil, hazardous substances or hazardous waste from spills or abandoned and inactive sites;
- provide stronger authority to compel the responsible parties to clean up dangerous sites wherever possible;
- provide compensation for damages to property and for some other economic losses resulting from spills; and
- provide financing for these actions through a national fund of appropriations and a fee on the oil and chemical industries, and State cost-sharing over certain limits.

Solar Energy

My Solar Energy Message, submitted to the Congress on June 20, 1979, calls for a national commitment to the use of solar energy. That message and the program it

lays out came from a 13-month effort by my Administration and the public, begun on Sun Day — May 3, 1978.

Solar energy is renewable and secure. It is clean and safe. In the long run, solar and other renewable sources of energy provide a hedge against inflation. Unlike the costs of depletable resources, which rise at increasing rates as reserves are consumed, the cost of energy from the sun will go *down* as we develop better and cheaper ways of applying it to everyday needs. For everyone in our society — especially our low-income or fixed-income families — solar energy will provide an important way to avoid rising fuel costs in the future. No foreign cartel can embargo the sun or set the price of the energy we harness from it.

I have set a national goal of achieving 20 percent of the Nation's energy from the sun and other renewable resources by the year 2000. To do this we must commit ourselves to several major new initiatives which will hasten the introduction of solar technologies. I am proposing a variety of solar programs to be funded from my proposed Energy Security Trust Fund, including a Solar Bank to help finance solar installations in homes and commercial buildings; tax credits for new buildings that use solar energy and for using the sun's heat for industrial and agricultural processes; and stronger efforts to remove institutional, financial, and information barriers that currently inhibit the use of solar energy by citizens. These proposals are in addition to the expanded research, development and demonstration program I included in my budget for fiscal year 1980.

Nuclear Waste Management and Safety

I will soon announce a national nuclear waste management policy that will be designed to deal effectively with nuclear wastes from all sources, including commercial, defense, medical, and research activities. This nuclear waste management policy will be based primarily on recommendations presented to me by the Interagency Review Group on Nuclear Waste Management. Some of the important findings of that Report include the following:

- Existing and future nuclear waste from military and civilian activities, including discarded spent fuel from the once-through nuclear fuel cycle, should be isolated from the biosphere so that it does not pose a significant threat to public health and safety.
- The responsibility for establishing a waste program should not be deferred to future generations.
- A broader research and development program for waste disposal, particularly geologic isolation, should begin promptly.
- Public participation should be developed and strengthened for all aspects of nuclear waste management programs.

I also look forward to receiving the recommendations on reactor safety from the Kemeny Commission in the aftermath of the Three Mile Island accident so that we can assure that nuclear reactors are as safe as the public expects them to be.

Water Resources Policy

I remain firmly committed to the water resources policy reforms I announced in my Message to Congress one year ago. The revised criteria used by the Administration in reviewing proposed water projects have already shown their worth. They are producing environmental benefits and reducing wasteful government spending. In 1979, for the first time in four years, the Executive branch proposed funding new water projects, using the more systematic and objective evaluation procedures I have instituted. With the help of Congress and State and local governments, the Administration has prepared legislation to make further reforms in water resources management, including cost-sharing and assistance to states for comprehensive water resources planning. I look forward to cooperation with the 96th Congress in this area.

National Heritage Policy Act

I strongly support the establishment of a comprehensive Federal program to identify and protect significant natural areas and historic places. I will soon propose a National Heritage Policy Act which would help Federal agencies, State and local governments, Indian tribes and citizens identify potential heritage areas; establish a new National Register of Natural Areas to supplement the existing National Register of Historic Places; and protect areas listed on either Register, or eligible for listing, from adverse federal actions. This important legislation would support the Heritage Conservation program already established by the Secretary of the Interior in 1977.

Saving the Whales

With U.S. leadership, the nations of the world are making encouraging progress toward protecting the great whales. At the July 1979 meeting of the International Whaling Commission (IWC), proposals by the United States and other countries for a moratorium on commercial whaling led to dramatic improvements. By the necessary three-fourths majority, IWC members voted to:

- End whaling from factory ships on the high seas (except for hunting of the relatively numerous minkes) and allow whaling only from coastal stations;
- Reduce killing of the commercially valuable but jeopardized sperm whales by more than three-quarters, with world quotas down from 9,360 sperm whales to 2,203;
- Establish a whale sanctuary in most of the Indian Ocean where no hunting of any of the great whales will be allowed for 10 years.

I am wholeheartedly committed to strong action to guarantee the survival of the great whales. The progress made in this year's IWC meeting shows that many other nations share the American commitment. I will continue to press for better scientific understanding of these magnificent and highly intelligent creatures and will maintain the effort to halt commercial whaling.

Implementation of 1978 National Parks and Recreation Act

Following passage of the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978, the Administration has sought to speed the acquisition of new park land before it is spoiled or priced out of reach. We shall continue to do that.

Among the most significant and imaginative actions included in the 1978 legislation is the program to establish a million-acre Pinelands National Reserve in New Jersey. The Department of the Interior will support local and State efforts to protect the Pinelands and its unique scenic and natural resources while maintaining private ownership and a sound local tax base. The Administration strongly supports this new Federal, State and local partnership in the Pinelands, and will work hard to see that federal agencies cooperate with State and local governments to ensure its success.

Pollution Control

Making the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts work is an important commitment of my Administration. We will continue the progress we have made in the past two years in promulgating fair standards and regulations, and we will continue to encourage new approaches to control of pollution, such as alternative and innovative waste water treatment projects. The Environmental Protection Agency has taken a number of steps in the right direction. For example, the "bubble concept," "offset" policy, and permit consolidation are intended to simplify pollution controls.

I will seek the reauthorization of the Safe Drinking Water Act, which expires next year. This law protects our citizens from newly-discovered toxic pollutants within drinking water, as well as imposing standards for conventional contaminants. For toxic substances which may enter the environment in a multitude of ways, my Administration is committed to the reauthorization and vigorous enforcement of the comprehensive Toxic Substances Control Act.

Oil Pollution of the Oceans

The recent collision in the Caribbean of two supertanker behemoths, each carrying more than 1.4 million barrels of oil, underscores the importance of effective national and international programs to reduce oil spills. At the outset of my presidency, I proposed a comprehensive program to reduce the threat of oil pollution from tankers in United States waters, and to win international agreement to higher standards of tanker safety and pollution prevention.

Responding to the U.S. initiative, maritime nations of the world agreed in 1978 to tighten inspection requirements and sig-

nificantly raise world standards for tanker construction and equipment. The Department of Transportation is completing new rules, based on the international agreement, to require improved features on both U.S. ships and foreign tankers entering our ports, including: segregated ballast, protective location of ballast space, crude oil washing, inert gas systems, and improved emergency steering systems. Dual radars and other aids to navigation are already required.

In addition, for the past two and one-half years, the Coast Guard has boarded and examined at least once a year every foreign-flag tanker entering our ports, recorded any deficiencies, and required repairs if necessary.

The Secretary of Transportation will promptly add to this program requirements for:

- improved construction of tank barges;
- safe conduct of lightering (ship to ship transfer of oil);
- improved U.S. standards for tanker crews and pilots; and
- pollution prevention features for older, smaller tankers not covered by the international standards.

Requirements for collision avoidance aids will also be added; international agreement is near on standards for these important tanker safety devices.

The United States will continue to urge other nations to put into effect promptly the requirements of the 1978 international agreements on tanker safety and pollution prevention. I also urge the prompt adoption by all nations of the new international standards for training and certification of seafarers, agreed upon in 1978.

The proposed Oil, Hazardous Substances and Hazardous Waste Response, Liability and Compensation Act, submitted to the Congress by the Administration, provides for swift cleanup of oil spills, strict liability of spillers, and compensation for victims of oil spill damage.

I expect the Coast Guard to report to me promptly on the results of its study of devices to improve tanker maneuverability and stopping. In addition, the Coast Guard is undertaking a study of past accidents to evaluate further the usefulness of double bottoms and side protection in reducing oil spills. The Department of Transportation will continue to evaluate promising ideas to preserve the oceans and its resources from pollution by oil.

Regulatory Reform

Improving government regulations is important to my effort to make government more efficient and private-sector responses more cost-effective. Environmental protection can and should benefit. I intend to improve the regulatory process in a way that does not weaken our commitment to environmental quality.

If there are better methods to achieve our environmental goals, we should use them. Agencies should seek and adopt innovative alternatives to government regulations which reduce burdens on private citizens or businesses. The Environmental Protection Agency has become a leader among federal agencies in examining new approaches and has made several moves to streamline its regulatory process. In addition to the permit consolidation, bubble concept, and offset policy mentioned above, EPA is doing an effective job of implementing my executive order on regulatory reform and published the first agenda of regulations issued by any federal agency. A regulatory calendar is now prepared and published on a government-wide basis by the Regulatory Council I recently established.

Since 1977 the Occupational Health and Safety Administration has gotten rid of hundreds of unnecessary standards, and has reorganized its program to devote 95 percent of its resources to the most serious workplace hazards. In addition, regulatory agencies have begun to work together to coordinate their activities and use their resources more efficiently. I expect such progress to continue and I intend that it reinforce — not diminish — our environmental improvement efforts.

Pending Legislation and Reauthorizations

I have proposed and will continue to support reauthorization of important environmental statutes, including the Endangered Species Act, the Toxic Substances Control Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act, and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act. I also continue to support a nongame wildlife program, and a wide range of wilderness proposals.

The Environmental Program I am outlining today expands upon the efforts we have already begun with a series of new initiatives in land and resource management, agricultural conservation, urban quality, and improving the global environment.

NEW INITIATIVES

I. *Land and Resource Management*

America's land and natural resources have nourished our civilization. Because our original heritage was so abundant, we sometimes take these resources for granted. We can no longer do so. Our land and natural resources do have limits, and our demands upon them are growing at increasing rates. Renewable resources — farmlands, fisheries, and forests — can be depleted through overuse and misuse. We must build into our decisions the understanding that unwise actions affecting our lands and resources are difficult and costly, if not impossible, to correct.

Conservation of resources takes care of planning, and requires a partnership between various levels of government, and public and private actions. The following initiatives for protection and wise management of our coastal resources, public lands, wildlife and rivers and trails reflect this understanding.

National Coastal Protection

America's coast lines are extraordinarily varied, productive and beautiful. Congress recognized the need for special protection in the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, which established a voluntary Federal-State partnership for the conservation and management of coastal resources. Under this partnership, many states have already made notable progress. They have passed comprehensive coastal management laws; adopted new measures to protect wetlands, barrier islands, mineral resources, historic sites and other important coastal resources; worked out better management of hazardous areas; and streamlined Federal, State and local actions affecting the coast. By the end of 1979, 75 percent of the U.S. shoreline will be covered by Federally-approved state coastal zone management programs.

The coastal zone is subject to unusual pressures, both from natural causes and human activities. The land and water resources which support the environments and economies of coastal communities are in danger of depletion. The opportunity for our citizens to enjoy beaches, bays, and marshes is often threatened. I support efforts to improve our understanding of these coastal issues, and I heartily endorse the designation by conservation organizations of the year 1980 as the "Year of the Coast."

To help achieve the balanced comprehensive and wise management intended by the Coastal Zone Management Act, I am announcing three initiatives to continue and improve our resource protection policy.

First, I will submit to Congress legislation to reauthorize Federal assistance to state coastal zone management programs under the Coastal Zone Management Act. Under this extension, each state would be guaranteed a total of five years of federal assistance at current levels after a state management program is approved and before federal support is gradually phased down. This will help ensure that recently developed state and local coastal zone management efforts become fully established and accepted functions of government.

Second, I will recommend enactment of new amendments to the Coastal Zone Management Act that will establish a national coastal protection policy. Working through the states, the goals of this policy will be:

- to protect significant natural resources such as wetlands, estuaries, beaches, dunes, barrier islands, coral reefs, and fish and wildlife;
- to manage coastal development to minimize loss of life and property from floods, erosion, saltwater intrusion and subsidence;
- to provide predictable siting processes for major defense, energy, recreation and transportation facilities;

• to increase public access to the coast for recreation purposes;

• to preserve and restore historic, cultural and aesthetic coastal resources; and

• to coordinate and simplify government decision-making to ensure proper and expedited management of the coastal zone.

Third, I am directing the Secretary of Commerce to conduct a systematic review of federal programs that significantly affect coastal resources. This review, to be conducted by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, will provide the basis for specific recommendations to improve federal actions affecting the coastal zone and to develop any additional legislation needed to achieve our national coastal management goals.

Public Land Resources

Among the many natural resource issues facing the Nation, few are more important than the management, protection and use of the 417 million acres of public lands owned by all Americans and administered by the Secretary of the Interior through the Bureau of Land Management.

The public lands include vast tracts of the arid rangelands of the West which were once lands that no one wanted. Now, some of these lands are highly valued for their energy and other valuable resources, and they have come to be appreciated for their scenic and natural values. My Administration is committed to purposeful management of the public lands and resources administered by the Bureau of Land Management in an environmentally sound and cost-effective manner.

Therefore, I am directing the Secretary of the Interior to manage the public lands administered by BLM in accordance with these principles:

• The Federal Government will be a good steward of the land, seeking to find the best balance of uses to assure that resources are available to meet the Nation's needs and that environmental values are carefully protected.

• The Federal Government will be a good neighbor, providing full opportunities for those affected by our management decisions to be involved in making them, with a special concern for the people and institutions of the Western States that are most directly affected.

• The Federal Government will make cost-effective investments in protecting and enhancing these lands within the constraints of fiscal responsibility.

• The Federal Government will seek to resolve conflicts among competing uses in a spirit of cooperation and trust, and will make — not avoid — tough decisions on the allocation of the valued resources of public lands.

We have already made significant progress in bringing these lands under effective management. A concerted federal effort is now underway to reverse the declining productivity of the 174 million acres of rangeland ecosystems managed by the Bureau of Land Management for livestock, wildlife, soil and moisture conservation, and other beneficial purposes. We have developed a comprehensive on-the-ground planning process for each unit of BLM-managed land which involves the public and assesses the environmental impacts of alternative actions. On June 4, 1979, the Secretary of the Interior announced our new federal coal management program, which establishes a balanced and efficient process for determining coal leasing and management on federal lands.

Much more remains to be done. I am therefore directing that the following actions be taken:

• The Secretary of the Interior will establish a comprehensive "program development process" for managing all the lands under BLM stewardship, which will, for the first time, set long range goals to ensure balanced protection and use of the resources and develop and analyze alternative programs and investment strategies to meet the goals. Each alternative program will be designed to achieve environmentally sound, fiscally responsible, and economically efficient investment, development, protection, and resource use. This new program planning process will supplement BLM's current unit-by-unit planning. It will invite State and local governments and interested citizens to participate in making better informed choices among the alternative programs.

• The Secretary will give special attention to protecting areas of BLM-administered lands with nationally significant wildlife, natural, scientific, cultural, or scenic resources. An example is the Birds of Prey area, located along the Snake River in the Idaho desert, that has North America's richest concentration of birds of prey, including dense nesting populations of falcons, eagles, and other raptors.

• Finally, I am directing the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture to work together to coordinate their Departments' natural resource policies and programs, particularly those of the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service. I am requesting the two Secretaries to develop within six months a detailed statement of coordination objectives and a process and timetable for achieving them.

Wildlife Law Enforcement

A massive illegal trade in wild animals, wild animal parts and products, and wild plants has been uncovered in the last year through investigations by the Department of Justice, the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Customs Service and the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce.

This illegal trade in wildlife and plants has several very serious consequences. It can introduce exotic diseases, threatening agriculture. It creates a market for thousands of species of wildlife and plants taken in violation of the laws of foreign nations, ultimately threatening the survival of these species. It is a danger to the survival of hundreds of species listed on the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, to which the U.S. is a signatory nation.

I am therefore submitting to Congress a bill to overcome obstacles inhibiting enforcement efforts.

In addition, I am directing the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, Justice, and Treasury to investigate this trade aggressively and to prosecute violators of the law. I am directing the Department of the Interior to coordinate this effort, through an interagency Wildlife Law Enforcement Coordinating Committee which will review enforcement experiences, priorities and problems. I am also directing the Department of Agriculture to chair a task force to investigate the illegal trade in plants and to prosecute where appropriate.

I am further directing that the following specific steps be taken: The Treasury and Commerce Departments will raise the priority of wildlife enforcement cases; the Agriculture Department will place greater emphasis on coordinating its wildlife enforcement program with its disease quarantine program, and will begin hiring special agents to investigate the illegal plant trade; and the Department of Justice will establish a Wildlife Section which will be staffed principally by attorneys trained as wildlife law enforcement specialists.

Wild and Scenic Rivers

Our Nation's river corridors are a rich concentration of natural ecosystems, scenic beauty, and historic and recreational values. Since my Environmental Message of May 1977, eight rivers totalling 695 miles have been added to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and nine new rivers have been recommended for study. As part of the Administration's Alaska proposals, 33 additional rivers have been proposed for National Wild and Scenic Rivers designation.

Development along the banks of our rivers continues to outpace our ability to protect those rivers that might qualify for designation. This problem is particularly acute near urban areas, where there are greater demands for recreational opportunities which can partly be met by river protection.

We need to speed up the process for studying Wild and Scenic Rivers for designation and to consider the protection of rivers or parts of rivers which can protect important natural ecosystems. Moreover, the Federal government should set an example of sound management for state, local, and private landowners by taking an aggressive role in protecting possible Wild and Scenic Rivers which flow through our public lands. Accordingly, I am directing the following actions be taken:

• federal land management agencies shall assess whether rivers located on their lands and identified in the National Inventory prepared by the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service are suitable for inclusion in the Wild and Scenic Rivers System; if so, these agencies shall take prompt

action to protect the rivers — either by preparing recommendations for their designation or by taking immediate action to protect them;

- all federal agencies shall avoid or mitigate adverse effects on rivers identified in the National Inventory; and
- the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior shall jointly revise their Guidelines for evaluating wild, scenic, and recreational rivers to ensure consideration of river ecosystems and to shorten the time currently used to study rivers for designation.

In addition to the new policy initiatives, I am reaffirming my support for four river segments proposed in my last Environmental Message and recommending four new river segments which will add a total of 930 miles to the Wild and Scenic Rivers System:

- Gunnison River, Colorado (new)
- Encampment River, Colorado (new)
- Priest River, Idaho (new)
- Illinois River, Oregon (new)
- Bruneau River, Idaho (1977 Message)
- Dolores River, Colorado (1977 Message)
- Upper Mississippi River, Minnesota (1977 Message)
- Salmon River, Idaho (1977 Message)

I am also directing the Secretary of the Interior to develop, through the National Park Service and with full public participation, a conceptual master plan for the Upper Mississippi River in Minnesota. I expect this planning process to determine the specific requirements for protecting the river corridor and providing public access, campgrounds and other recreational facilities on the lands now in private ownership. The conceptual master plan for this important national resource will be developed in cooperation with the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, affected Indian tribes, and the public. It will be completed by April 1980.

In my last Environmental Message, I proposed 20 river segments for study as potential additions to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. Several of those rivers have already been designated. Except for rivers where subsequent development has affected the river's qualifications for designation, I will continue to seek study authorizations for these rivers. In addition, I am submitting legislation to add the North Umpqua River in Oregon to the list of those rivers to be studied.

I am also forwarding to Congress reports on several rivers which, after thorough study, were found to qualify for inclusion in the National system. However, because of the interest of the states or local governments in protecting their natural values, the reports recommend that the rivers be protected and managed by state and/or local action. I am greatly encouraged by the efforts which all levels of government are taking to protect valued natural resources. I am particularly pleased to note that in the case of the Housatonic and Shepaug Rivers in Connecticut, local governmental agencies are taking the lead in developing management plans to protect these significant river resources. I am transmitting reports on:

- Pine Creek, Pennsylvania
- Buffalo River, Tennessee
- Youghiogheny River, Pennsylvania-Maryland
- Shepaug River, Connecticut
- Kettle River, Minnesota
- Lower Wisconsin River, Wisconsin
- Housatonic River, Connecticut
- Illinois River, Oklahoma

National Trails

More than 61 million of the Nation's people go nature walking and more than 28 million people hike or backpack at least five times a year. To meet the growing needs of these and other trail users, Congress enacted the 1968 National Trails System Act and directed that a National Trails System be established. Since the establishment of the National Trails system, 257 National Recreation Trails have been designated, including 21 trails for those using wheelchairs and 13 trails designed for the use of blind people, with interpretive signs in braille.

The National Trails System is still in its fledgling stage and should grow to meet widespread public interest. National trails near urban areas can serve an energy-conscious nation by providing recreation close to home for the majority of our citizens and, in some cases, by providing commuter routes for bicyclists, walkers, and joggers.

To meet these objectives, under my direction, the U.S. Forest Service will establish 145 additional National Recreation Trails by January 1980, achieving a goal of two National Recreation Trails in each National Forest System unit. I am directing each Federal land management agency to follow the example set by the Forest Service and by January 1980 announce a goal for the number of National Recreation Trails each agency will establish during 1980 on the public lands administered by the agency. I am also directing that, by the end of 1980, a minimum of 75 new National Recreation Trails shall be designated on public land other than National Forests by the Federal land management agencies.

I am directing the Secretary of the Interior, through the Interagency Trails Council, to assist other Federal agencies in surveying existing trails on federal lands to determine which of those can be made part of our National Trails System and to initiate a grass-roots effort in every region of the country to assess our nationwide trails needs. In addition, I am directing the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority to encourage states, localities, Indian tribes, and private landholders to designate trails on their lands.

Finally, I will submit legislation to the Congress which will designate the 513-mile Natchez Trace National Trail through Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi. I will resubmit legislation to establish the Potomac Heritage trail through Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia and Washington, D.C. And I am reaffirming my support for the 3,200-mile North Country Trail, extending from the State of New York to North Dakota, which has already passed the House of Representatives.

I am also reaffirming the Administration's commitment to assuring the protection of the Appalachian Trail, one of America's best known and most popular recreation trails. The 2,000-mile Appalachian Trail winds through 14 states and is readily accessible to nearly half of the population of the U.S. It has been created by a volunteer movement without parallel in the history of outdoor recreation in America. In 1978 this Administration supported and I signed into law a bill to protect threatened portions of the right-of-way which are located on private lands. I expect this goal to be substantially achieved by September 30, 1981. This is a prompt but realistic timetable for the acquisition program.

II. Agricultural Conservation

From our beginnings as a nation we have sustained ourselves and others on abundant yields from our farmlands. In this century, scientific and technological advances have increased our agricultural production to unsurpassed levels.

But in emphasizing ever-increasing production we have sometimes neglected to maintain the soil, water, and biological resources upon which the long-term stability and productivity of our agriculture depends. These resources are being degraded in many areas of the country. Our farm and land management practices have led to excessive soil erosion, we have overused chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and some of our most productive farmlands are being converted to nonagricultural uses. The agricultural conservation initiatives that I am announcing today address these issues.

Soil Conservation Incentives

Over the past half century we have invested more than $20 billion of federal funds in efforts to conserve soil. These funds have been used for cost sharing, technical assistance, resource management, loans, research, and education. Yet in that same half century wind and water erosion have removed half the fertile topsoil from nearly one-third of the Nation's potentially usable croplands. The cost of replacing just the plant nutrients lost to erosion has been estimated at $18 billion a year. Moreover, agricultural runoff adversely affects two-thirds of the Nation's streams.

Our soil protection programs have undoubtedly prevented even worse soil loss, but we must do better to maintain the long-term productivity of the soil.

The Department of Agriculture is now making an important appraisal of soil and water conservation policies under the Soil

and Water Resources Conservation Act of 1977. The first Appraisal, Program and Policy reports required by the Resources Conservation Act (RCA) are due in January 1980. These documents will analyze conservation problems nationwide, set conservation targets and propose ways to solve the problems. They will provide an essential first step in the wise management of agricultural lands, and will guide my Administration's overall soil and water conservation recommendations to the Congress. Reports will be updated every 5 years and I will receive annual reports of progress and program effectiveness.

I am directing the Secretary of Agriculture, in consultation with the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, to build on the RCA process and to undertake a further detailed and systematic study of possible conservation incentives. The study will search for ways to modify or coordinate agricultural assistance programs already in existence in order to reduce soil erosion. Moreover, it will also look for conflicts or inconsistencies between farm income programs and soil conservation programs and will recommend measures to eliminate these conflicts where possible.

The results of this study will be submitted to me in January 1981. This report will provide me with specific administrative and legislative recommendations to reduce soil erosion and to improve soil stewardship in order to maintain the Nation's long-term agricultural productivity, building on the policy recommendations contained in the RCA 1980 program.

A second critical land issue for America's farmers and consumers is the availability of agricultural lands — particularly prime farmlands — and their conversion to other uses. In June, the Administration initiated an important new effort to address this issue. The Secretary of Agriculture and the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality are co-chairing an interagency study of factors affecting the availability of land for agricultural uses. The study will evaluate the economic, environmental, and social effects of the conversion or retention of agricultural lands and will make recommendations for consideration by federal, state, and local governments by January 1981.

Many members of Congress are particularly interested in these two critical issues affecting the stewardship of our nation's agricultural lands. I hope that the Administration and the Congress will work together to develop and implement appropriate actions, based on the results of these studies.

Integrated Pest Management

For all their benefits, chemical pesticides can cause unintended damage to human health and the environment. Many pests have developed resistance to chemical pesticides, escalating the cost of pest control by conventional methods. This resistence to pesticides has also decreased our ability to control some pests, which has reduced agricultural yields from what they would otherwise be.

Integrated pest management (IPM) has evolved in recent years as a comprehensive pest control strategy which has important health, economic, and environmental benefits. IPM uses a systems approach to reduce pest damage to tolerable levels through a variety of techniques, including natural predators and parasites, genetically resistant hosts, environmental modifications and, when necessary and appropriate, chemical pesticides. IPM strategies generally rely first upon biological defenses against pests before chemically altering the environment.

The Federal government — which spends more than $200 million a year on pest control research and implementation programs — should encourage the development and use of integrated pest management in agriculture, forestry, public health, and urban pest control. As a result of a government-wide review initiated by my 1977 Environmental Message, I am now directing the appropriate federal agencies to modify as soon as possible their existing pest management research, control, education, and assistance programs and to support and adopt IPM strategies wherever practicable. I am also directing federal agencies to report on actions taken or underway to implement IPM programs, and to coordinate their efforts through an interagency group.

III. Urban Quality

Our cities give us diversity and enjoyment, occupations and avocations, shopping and services, recreation and culture. By strengthening the health of our urban environment, we broaden the range of opportunities open to all of our citizens, as I emphasized in my National Urban Policy Message last year. The investments we make in maintaining and improving urban quality — particularly those involving federal taxpayer dollars — can be designed to meet environmental objectives, such as safe, convenient, well-planned public transportation, quieter communities, and assistance in mediating potential conflicts between healthy urban economies and environments. The initiatives I am proposing today will help to achieve these goals.

Transportation Policy

Our transportation systems can greatly affect the Nation's environment, for better or worse, especially in our cities. For many years, our energy and other resources were so plentiful that the Federal government encouraged the rapid expansion of a transportation system based on the private automobile without fully considering the profound effects on our resources, our urban environments, and our way of life. Although we have developed an extraordinary transportation system, we have missed opportunities in the past to improve transportation and at the same time to achieve these other national objectives.

The United States has built the most extensive and complex transportation system in the world. Federal transportation expenditures exceed $17 billion annually, including $12 billion in grants to state and local agencies. Transportation consumes approximately 53 percent of all petroleum used in the U.S. The energy and cost advantages of using this system more efficiently — for example, by greater use of carpools, vanpools and mass transit — are now obvious. Better design and use of transportation systems will also help to save and strengthen our cities and their amenities and to reduce air and noise pollution. Thus transportation decisions can help to conserve limited resources, and to further our energy, fiscal, and urban environmental goals.

Federal transportation decisions cannot escape difficult choices among competing objectives, but they must be guided by new transportation policies which I am establishing for my Administration. Urban transportation programs and projects should be reoriented to meet environmental, energy and urban revitalization goals. I am therefore directing the Department to take immediate actions to assure that:

- federal transportation funds are used to promote energy conservation, for example through special lanes for carpools, vanpools and transit vehicles;
- encouragement is given to using federal funds for public transportation projects;
- a careful review is made of any transportation proposals which would encourage urban sprawl (a major cause of high energy consumption) or which would tend to draw jobs away from urban centers;
- consideration is given to improving and rehabilitating existing facilities, or using non-construction methods — such as better traffic management — to improve transportation systems, as alternatives to constructing new facilities;
- major transportation projects are used to help improve the urban economy and to attract jobs to the urban cores; and
- firm actions are taken to mitigate adverse effects of transportation projects on the natural and urban environment and to carry out the environmental commitments that are made in planning and approving transportation projects.

We have done a great deal to make our transportation policies and actions more sensitive to our national environmental and energy goals. We can do a great deal more with cooperation of state and local governments as our partners in the national transportation system. The steps I have outlined will move us in that direction.

Economic Assistance Program

Most Americans benefit directly from the healthier and more agreeable environment that results from our air, water and other pollution control programs. Although economic data indicate that environmental programs are a strong positive factor in providing employment, there is continued

concern about their possible adverse impact on individual firms, communities, or groups of workers. The fact that there have not been a large number of such economic dislocations does not suggest that those that do occur are unimportant. Futhermore, in some instances they can be avoided, or at least significantly mitigated, by appropriate government action.

In 1977 I established an Economic Assistance Task Force, chaired by the Council on Environmental Quality, to investigate whether we needed to improve federal assistance for those cases when jobs are lost partly as a result of actions taken to reduce pollution, and to recommend initiatives we might take. The Task Force concluded that existing federal assistance programs should be adequate, but that we need to take practical steps to let people know about the program and to make sure help is delivered swiftly when it is needed.

I am therefore directing the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to create an Economic Assistance Program in his agency and to designate Economic Assistance Officers both in headquarters and in the field, who will help the public understand and use the programs, and to make sure that eligible people receive assistance promptly. I am also directing all federal agencies with programs in this area to publicize and coordinate closely their programs. A booklet describing and locating available federal assistance programs will be released soon by the Council on Environmental Quality and the Environmental Protection Agency.

Urban Noise Program

A certain level of urban noise is tolerable or even agreeable, reflecting the multitude of activities that make a city thrive. However, most of our cities suffer from too much noise. Excessive noise is a serious disturbance in city dwellers' lives, and degrades the urban environment.

Most noise abatement actions are taken by state and local governments, but there is an important role for the Federal government. I am initiating today a program to reduce urban noise by directing the Departments of Commerce, Defense, Energy, Housing and Urban Development, Transportation, and the Environmental Protection Agency and General Services Administration, in consultation with other federal agencies, to take a number of actions to improve existing noise abatement programs, including:

- programs to achieve soundproofing and weatherization of noise sensitive buildings, such as schools and hospitals;
- use of quiet-design features in transportation projects affecting urban areas;
- measures to encourage the location of housing developments away from major noise sources;
- purchase of quiet equipment and products — such as typewriters and lawnmowers which have been designed to reduce noise — and assistance to state and local agencies to do likewise; and
- support for neighborhood efforts to deal with noise problems.

IV. Global Environment

Efforts to improve the environment cannot be confined to our national boundaries. Ten years ago, at the dawn of the environmental decade, we landed on the moon. For the first time people could stand on the surface of another world and look at the whole earth. The sight of earthrise was awesome. It was also sobering. From that moment we could no longer avoid understanding that all life must share this one small planet and its limited resources. The interdependence of nations is plain, and so is the responsibility of each to avoid actions which harm other nations or the world's environment. I am announcing today two initiatives which address global environmental problems of the greatest importance.

World Forests

The world's forests and woodlands are disappearing at alarming rates. Some estimates suggest that world forests could decline by about 20 percent by 2000. More than 40 percent of the closed forests of South Asia, Southeast Asia, Pacific, and Latin America could be lost.

Nearly all the world's forest loss is occurring in or near the tropics. In these areas, environmental damage from deforestation can be severe — even irreversible — and the human costs extremely high. For example, denudation of Himalayan slopes has led to severe soil erosion, silting of rivers, loss of groundwater, and intensified, catastrophic flooding downstream. Many tropical forests, once cut, will not regrow because soils, rainfall, temperature, or terrain are too unfavorable; nor will the land support crops or pasture for more than a few years. Another serious possible consequence of tropical forest loss is accelerating extinction of species. Tropical forests provide habitat for literally millions of plant and animal species — a genetic reservoir unmatched anywhere else in the world. Equally serious is the possibility that forest loss may adversely alter the global climate through production of carbon dioxide. These changes and their effects are not well understood and are being studied by scientists, but the possibilities are disturbing and warrant caution.

The United States and other nations are just beginning to appreciate fully the scope and seriousness of the problem and to assess the effects of development projects on world forests. There is much more to be done. I am therefore directing all relevant federal agencies to place greater emphasis on world forest issues in their budget and program planning. An interagency task force established last fall and chaired by the State Department will report to me in November 1979 on specific goals, strategies, and programs that the United States should undertake. On the basis of these recommendations, I will direct federal agencies to carry out an integrated set of actions to help toward protection and wise management of world forests.

In the international arena, the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme has just adopted a resolution — introduced by the United States — calling for a meeting of experts to develop proposals for an integrated international program for conservation and wise utilization of tropical forests, and to report to the next Governing Council meeting in April 1980. I am asking the Departments of State and Agriculture, the Council on Environmental Quality, and other federal agencies to give this program full support and assistance and to encourage and support high-level multinational conferences on forest problems in regions where forest losses are severe.

To help protect the earth's natural resource base, I issued an Executive Order earlier this year, which directs federal agencies to review carefully in advance the effects of many federal activities abroad. I am directing the Council on Environmental Quality and the Department of State to report to me within six months on the best ways to designate the globally important resources to which the order applies.

Acid Rain

Acid rain has caused serious environmental damage in many parts of the world including Scandinavia, Northern Europe, Japan, Canada and the Northeastern part of the United States. Over the past 25 years the acidity of rainfall has increased as much as fifty-fold in parts of the Eastern half of the United States. In the Adirondacks in New York, many mountain lakes have become devoid of fish partly because of increasing acidification. Adverse effects on crops and forests are suspected; steel and stone buildings and art works may suffer as well.

Acid rain is produced when rain removes sulfur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide from the air, forming sulfuric and nitric acid. Sulfur and nitrogen oxides are emitted in all forms of fossil fuel combustion. Power plants, smelters, steel mills, home furnaces, automobiles — all may contribute to acid rain.

To improve our understanding of acid rain, I am establishing a ten-year comprehensive Federal Acid Rain Assessment Program to be planned and managed by a standing Acid Rain Coordination Committee. The assessment program will include applied and basic research on acid rain effects, trends monitoring, transport and fate of pollutants, and control measures. The committee will establish links with industry to promote cooperative research wherever appropriate. The Committee will also play a role in future research cooperation with Canada, Mexico, and other nations and international organizations. The Committee will prepare a comprehensive 10-year plan for review by the end of the year. In its first full year of operation, the program will have $10 million in reprogrammed research funds avail-

able, double the current amount for acid rain research.

It is important to emphasize that such a long-term acid rain research program will not delay application of necessary pollution control measures to meet the mandate of the Clean Air Act. In addition, interim results from the acid rain research program will be made available to the public, to states, to industry and to the federal government agencies responsible for developing measures to reduce air pollution.

CONTINUED AND COOPERATIVE EFFORTS

The preservation of our environment has needed to become a special concern to our country at least since the ending of the Western frontier. A former President put it clearly: "The conservation of our natural resources and their proper use constitute the fundamental problem which underlies almost every other problem of our National life. We must maintain for our civilization the adequate material basis without which that civilization cannot exist. We must show foresight, we must look ahead. The reward of foresight of this nation is great and easily foretold. But there must be the look ahead, there must be a realization of the fact that to waste, to destroy, our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness, will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right to hand down to them amplified and developed."

That was President Theodore Roosevelt speaking in a State of the Union Message more than 70 years ago.

That message needs to be repeated and heard just as clearly today. Above all — it needs to be delivered.

My Administration will continue to lead in conserving our resources and reducing risks to the environment through sound and efficient management. But all our citizens must join the effort by contributing energies and ideas.

Only with your cooperation can we maintain our advance towards protecting our environment. Only together can we hope to secure our world for the life to come.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
August 2, 1979 ▮

Defense Spending

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress Sept. 11 regarding projected Defense Department spending:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES

I am sure you agree with me that we cannot effectively safeguard U.S. legitimate interests abroad nor pursue safely peace, justice and order at home unless our national security is protected by adequate defenses.

Presidential Responsibility

The fundamental responsibility of the President — a responsibility shared with Congress — is to maintain defenses adequate to provide for the national security of the United States. In meeting that responsibility, this Administration moved promptly and vigorously to reverse the downward trend in U.S. defense efforts.

This is demonstrated by an examination of the trends in real defense expenditures since the mid 1960s. At NATO Summits in May 1977 and 1978 we persuaded our allies to join with us in endorsing a goal three percent real annual growth in defense outlays and an ambitious Long Term Defense Program for the Alliance. Together these represented a turning point, not only for the United States, but the whole Alliance.

Increase in Military Systems

For our part, we moved promptly to act on this resolve. We authorized production of XM-1 tanks; we greatly increased the number of anti-tank guided missiles; we deployed F-15s and additional F-111s to Europe, along with equipment for additional ground forces. We reduced the backlog of ships in overhaul and settled contractual disputes that threatened to halt shipbuilding progress.

In strategic systems, we accelerated development and began procurement of long range air-launched cruise missiles, began the deployment of Trident I missiles, and have begun the modernization of our ICBM force with the commitment to deploy the MX missile in a survivable basing mode for it.

These and other initiatives were the building blocks for a determined program to assure that the United States remains militarily strong. The FY 1980 budget submission of last January was designed to continue that program. In subsequent months, however, inflation has run at higher levels than those assumed in the cost calculations associated with that defense program.

Accordingly, I plan to send promptly to the Congress a defense budget amendment to restore enough funds to continue in FY 1980 to carry out the Administration's defense program based on our current best estimate of the inflation that will be experienced during the fiscal year. Although the detailed calculations needed to prepare an amendment are still in progress, I expect that the amount of the amendment will be about $2.7 billion in Budget Authority above the Administration's January 1979 budget request.

Correcting for inflation is not enough in itself to assure that we continue an adequate defense program through FY 1980. We must also have the program and the funds authorized and appropriated, substantially as they were submitted.

Therefore, in the course of Congressional consideration of the second budget resolution, I will support ceilings for the National Defense Function for FY 1980 of $141.2 billion in Budget Authority and $130.6 billion in outlays. I will also request that the Congress support the Administration's FY 1980 defense program and, in particular, that the Appropriation Committees actually appropriate the funds needed to carry it out.

Furthermore, in FY 1981 I plan a further real increase in defense spending. The Defense Department is working on the details of that budget. It would, therefore, be premature to describe the features of that budget beyond noting that it will continue the broad thrust of our defense program, and that I intend to continue to support our mutual commitment with our NATO allies.

While this defense program is adequate, it is clear that we could spend even more and thereby gain more military capability. But national security involves more than sheer military capability; there are other legitimate demands on our budget resources.

These competing priorities will always be with us within the vast array of budget decisions both the Congress and the President are called upon to make. Defense outlays are actually lower in constant dollars than they were in 1963, and a much lower percentage of the gross national product (5% compared with 9%).

There are those that think this has caused a decline in American military might and that the military balance has now tipped against us. I do not believe this to be so, but I am concerned about the trends. I believe that it is necessary for us to act now to reverse these trends.

The Secretary of Defense will be presenting to the Congress over the coming months the highlights of our defense program in terms of the goals we think we should achieve and the Five-Year Defense Program we plan to achieve them.

In this context he will point out, among many other items, how MX and our other strategic programs will contribute to the maintenance of essential equivalence between the central strategic forces of the United States and Soviet Union, how we plan to modernize theater nuclear forces in cooperation with our NATO allies, how our general purpose forces programs contribute both to our military capability to support our NATO allies and rapidly to deploy forces to defend our vital interests elsewhere.

That presentation can serve as the basis for future discussions (including open testimony) that will allow us to build the national consensus that is the fundamental prerequisite of a strong and secure America.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
September 11, 1979 ▮

Communications Policy

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress Sept. 21 regarding efforts to reform the regulation of telecommunications:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am today announcing my support for efforts in Congress to reform the regulation of telecommunications. Legislation is needed to eliminate needless regulatory controls, encourage competition and innovation, and keep telephone service affordable throughout the country.

Regulatory reform is one of my highest national priorities. Where the marketplace can work, we must get the government out of making marketplace decisions. Where regulation is needed, we must ensure it is well managed.

Last year the Administration and Congress worked together to deregulate airlines, introducing competition that already has saved over $2.5 billion for passengers while increasing air travel and airline revenues. This year we have submitted to Congress far-reaching regulatory reform proposals affecting trucking, railroads, banking, drugs and regulatory procedures.

The 45-year-old regulatory charter for telecommunications also needs revisions. This industry can provide more and better services while cutting many costs. It can help fight inflation and promote growth. We cannot afford to have this progress frustrated by unwarranted regulation. We must ensure that competitors fight through their salesmen in the marketplace rather than through their lawyers in government hearings.

Telecommunications is crucial to our society. This industry — which includes the telephone companies and the firms which provide satellite communications, computer links, and other specialized services — has more than one million employees and annual revenues of over $50 billion. The availability of nationwide, high-quality communications is vital to the economy, national security, and the quality of our lives. Sophisticated new communications systems are providing better services, lower costs, and improved productivity in an economy that depends more and more on information transfers.

Telecommunications firms are regulated by the Federal Communications Commission under the Communications Act of 1934. That Act was designed at a time when technology made monopoly the logical structure for telecommunications. That system, assisted by the rural telephone loan program, has nearly achieved the national goal of universal service — 96 percent of all households and nearly all businesses have telephone service.

Two critical changes have occurred since 1934. First, there have been extraordinary technological advances. In addition to the wired network, the telephone companies and new, competing firms are using satellites, lasers, microwaves, and miniature computers to provide more and more systems and services for businesses and homes. The new technology makes it possible to hold meetings, transmit messages, do research, bank, shop and receive a widening variety of information and entertainment — all through electronics. In the process, the technology has invalidated the old assumption that all aspects of telecommunications service are natural monopolies.

Second, FCC and court actions over the last decade opened portions of the industry to competition. Despite these far-reaching developments, the statutory framework has remained unchanged, and regulatory changes have come slowly.

Outmoded regulatory controls and slow procedures are harming new competitors, established telephone companies, and the users of telephone and other telecommunications services. Regulatory delays and uncertainties discourage firms from entering new markets and offering new services. In a dynamic industry, these delays can mean that the product or service offered is obsolete by the time the regulatory proceeding ends. Innovation is hobbled by uncertainty and by the need to respond to artificial regulatory conditions instead of real consumer demand.

Consumers are the final beneficiaries of competition, through lower prices and wider choices. The competition already allowed in the telecommunications industry is producing benefits. For example, the market for telephone sets and other terminal equipment recently was opened to competition. Consumers now can shop around for good prices, choose from a wide variety of products, and decide whether to buy or lease. Competition is also providing more choices among sophisticated, new services, such as those that combine data processing and transmission.

The choice is clear. Competition is a fact of life in this industry. It cannot and should not be rolled back, and we should not allow it to continue developing haphazardly. That approach means delay and uncertainty, and it poses a long-run danger to the health of our telecommunications system. Instead, we need both legislation and well-planned action at the FCC. The task is to create a structure that will give consumers the benefits of competition and deregulation wherever they make sense while keeping telephone service reliable and affordable.

The FCC under Chairman Charles Ferris is working hard on this effort, but the Act itself needs change. The House and Senate Communications Subcommitees are now working on legislation to meet this challenge. I urge Congress to press forward and enact a bill that incorporates the following basic principles:

• *Competition should be encouraged and fully competitive markets should be deregulated.* The bill should set a policy of encouraging competition wherever it is workable and of eliminating needless regulation. Deregulation makes sense for competitive markets, such as terminal equipment, and for small firms that cannot dominate markets. Many communications and equipment offerings should be deregulated now, and legislation is needed to avoid endless litigation over the FCC's authority to do so. Of course, some communications markets, such as the local exchange, may remain regulated monopolies indefinitely. The legislation should not, however, preclude competition in any market.

As the industry moves toward competition and deregulation, some continued controls will be needed because one firm dominates the telecommunications industry and others have local monopolies. Firms should be prevented from using monopoly power and revenues in some markets to gain advantage over competitors in others. Any monopoly facilities used in providing competitive services should be available to all competitors at the same rates and terms. In addition, changes in companies' structures will be needed, such as mandating fully separate subsidiaries. Where such changes are made, the employment, pension, and union rights of the employees should be protected.

• *Restrictions based on out-of-date market divisions should be removed.* The line between telecommunications and data processing has become blurred; new equipment and services involve both. Existing controls based on this distinction have produced years of regulatory proceedings and are delaying the use of new technologies. In addition, the rules that divide some communications services between domestic and international companies are outmoded and need change. These problems should be solved through open competition by all, without extending the scope of regulation. To ensure fair competition, creation of fully separate subsidiaries, including separate accounts and marketing, will be needed, and some of the restrictions on international service will have to be removed gradually.

• *Universal availability of basic telephone service at affordable rates must be maintained.* Overall long-distance revenues currently contribute to keeping some local and toll rates affordable. This is done through complex accounting processes largely determined by the telephone industry. Because of the developments of the last decade, this system is in trouble. The industry is considering changing it in order to match the new competitors' rates, and that could mean significant rate increases in some rural areas.

These are important public policy decisions and should not be left solely to the industry. We need a new system, which would be administered openly by public officials. The legislation should provide for a charge on all long-distance services — including those of the new competitors — which use local exchanges. This "access charge" would cover the actual cost of

using local facilities, provide support for local service, and finance protection for rural residents against large toll rate increases.

These provisions should be drawn to encourage the FCC, state regulators and the telephone companies to take long-term steps to support universal service. Such steps include prices based on actual use; low "lifeline" rates for basic service; and use of new technologies that can provide low-cost service over long distances.

In addition, the rural telephone companies and cooperatives should be encouraged to help extend to rural Americans the benefits of all the new communications technologies. As my policy statement on rural communications said last January, the current rules that restrict rural telephone companies from offering cable TV services should be removed.

• *Appropriate jurisdictional boundaries should be set.* The current boundary between federal and state regulatory jurisdictions — the state line — is inconsistent with technological realities. The bill should set new, clear boundaries: service within local exchanges should be regulated by the states, while service between exchanges should be under federal control.

• *The FCC should be given the authority to develop efficient means of assigning nonbroadcast frequencies.* Many of the new telecommunications systems use radio frequencies, such as satellite links, microwaves, and mobile radio. The FCC currently assigns many of these frequencies through "comparative hearings" which impose months or years of delay and waste FCC resources. Under the current system, once a frequency is assigned there is no incentive to use it efficiently. That is a problem because growing numbers of users, here and abroad, are crowding the limited space in the radio spectrum.

We need assignment systems that are fast, flexible, and that provide incentives to use the spectrum efficiently. The legislation should give the FCC authority to design new procedures which use marketplace forces, such as auctions, leasing, and resale. These procedures will help ensure that the spectrum is used sensibly, just as similar tools are employed for oil leases and other limited natural resources.

• *The antitrust laws should remain applicable as before.* It should be explicit that the legislation is neutral as to pending and any future litigation.

• *The technical quality of the telecommunications network should be protected.* The legislation should not impede cooperation between the carriers to plan and manage national systems. To provide for technical quality, national security, and emergency preparedness needs, the FCC should retain authority to set technical standards and ensure that facilities are capable of interconnection where appropriate.

• *Public participation in regulatory decision making should be encouraged.* Effective participation by the users of telecommunications services will help the FCC and state regulators make their difficult decisions.

Such involvement should be encouraged through open proceedings and by providing funding for groups that could not otherwise afford to participate and that represent an important interest that would not otherwise be heard.

* * * * *

I congratulate Chairman Lionel Van Deerlin of the House Communications Subcommittee and Chairmen Howard Cannon and Ernest Hollings of the Senate Commerce Committee and the Communications Subcommittee and their colleagues for the extensive and informative hearings they have held and the thoughtful bills they have introduced covering the issues I have outlined and other important communications matters.

My Administration will continue to provide assistance on specific provisions. I urge Congress to move forward with this important effort.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
September 21, 1979 ▮

Trade Reorganization

Following is the text of President Carter's foreign trade reorganization plan submitted to Congress on Sept. 25:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1979, to consolidate trade functions of the United States Government. I am acting under the authority vested in me by the Reorganization Act of 1977, chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code, and pursuant to section 1109 of the Trade Agreements Act of 1979, which directs that I transmit to the Congress a proposal to restructure the international trade functions of the Executive branch.

The goal of this reorganization is to improve the capacity of the Government to strengthen the export performance of United States industry and to assure fair international trade practices, taking into account the interests of all elements of our economy.

Recent developments, which have raised concern about the vitality of our international trade performance, have focused much attention on the way our trade machinery is organized. These developments include our negative trade balance, increasing dependence upon foreign oil, and international pressures on the dollar. New challenges, such as implementation of the Multilateral Trade Negotiation (MTN) agreements and trade with non-market economies, will further test our Government trade organization.

We must be prepared to apply domestically the MTN codes on procurement, subsidies, standards, and customs valuation. We also must monitor major implementation measures abroad, reporting back to American business on important developments and, where necessary, raising questions internationally about foreign implementation. MTN will work — will open new markets for U.S. labor, farmers, and business — only if we have adequate procedures for aggressively monitoring and enforcing it. We intend to meet our obligations, and we expect others to do the same.

The trade machinery we now have cannot do this job effectively. Although the Special Trade Representative (STR) takes the lead in administering the trade agreements program, many issues are handled elsewhere and no agency has across-the-board leadership in trade. Aside from the Trade Representative and the Export-Import Bank, trade is not the primary concern of any Executive branch agency where trade functions are located. The current arrangements lack a central authority capable of planning a coherent trade strategy and assuring its vigorous implementation.

This reorganization is designed to correct such deficiencies and to prepare us for strong enforcement of the MTN codes. It aims to improve our export promotion activities so that United States exporters can take full advantage of trade opportunities in foreign markets. It provides for the timely and efficient administration of our unfair trade laws. It also establishes an efficient mechanism for shaping an effective comprehensive United States trade policy.

To achieve these objectives, I propose to place policy coordination and negotiation — those international trade functions that most require comprehensiveness, influence, and Government-wide perspective — in the Executive Office of the President. I propose to place operational and implementation responsibilities, which are staff-intensive, in line departments that have the requisite resources and knowledge of the major sectors of our economy to handle them. I have concluded that building our trade structure on STR and Commerce, respectively, best satisfies these considerations.

I propose to enhance STR, to be renamed the Office of the United States Trade Representative, by centralizing in it international trade policy development, coordination and negotiation functions. The Commerce Department will become the focus of non-agricultural operational trade responsibilities by adding to its existing duties those for commercial representation abroad, antidumping and countervailing duty cases, and nonagricultural aspects of MTN implementation, national security investigations, and embargoes.

United States Trade Representative

The Trade Representative, with the advice of the Trade Policy Committee, will be responsible for developing and coordi-

nating our international trade and direct investment policy, including the following areas:

Import remedies. The Trade Representative will exercise policy oversight of the application of import remedies, analyze long-term trends in import remedy cases and recommend any necessary legislative changes. For antidumping and countervailing duty matters, such coordination, to the extent legally permissible, will be directed toward the establishment of new precedents, negotiation of assurances, and coordination with other trade matters, rather than case-by-case fact finding and determinations.

East-West trade policy. The Trade Representative will have lead responsibility for East-West trade negotiations and will coordinate East-West trade policy. The Trade Policy Committee will assume the responsibilities of the East-West Foreign Trade Board.

International investment policy. The Trade Representative will have the policy lead regarding issues of direct foreign investment in the United States, direct investment by Americans abroad, operations of multinational enterprises, and multilateral agreements on international investment, insofar as such issues relate to international trade.

International commodity policy. The Trade Representative will assume responsibility for commodity negotiations and also will coordinate commodity policy.

Energy trade. While the Departments of Energy and State will continue to share responsibility for international energy issues, the Trade Representative will coordinate energy trade matters. The Department of Energy will become a member of the TPC.

Export-expansion policy. To ensure a vigorous and coordinated Government-wide export expansion effort, policy oversight of our export expansion activities will be the responsibility of the Trade Representative.

The Trade Representative will have the lead role in bilateral and multilateral trade, commodity, and direct investment negotiations. The Trade Representative will represent the United States in General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) matters. Since the GATT will be the principal international forum for implementing and interpreting the MTN agreements and since GATT meetings, including committee and working group meetings, occur almost continuously, the Trade Representative will have a limited number of permanent staff in Geneva. In some cases, it may be necessary to assign a small number of USTR staff abroad to assist in oversight of MTN enforcement. In this event, appropriate positions will be authorized. In recognition of the responsibility of the Secretary of State regarding our foreign policy, the activities of overseas personnel of the Trade Representative and the Commerce Department will be fully coordinated with other elements of our diplomatic missions.

In addition to his role with regard to GATT matters, the Trade Representative will have the lead responsibility for trade and commodity matters considered in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) when such matters are the primary issues under negotiation. Because of the Secretary of State's foreign policy responsibilities, and the responsibilities of the Director of the International Development Cooperation Agency as the President's principal advisor on development, the Trade Representative will exercise his OECD and UNCTAD responsibilities in close cooperation with these officials.

To ensure that all trade negotiations are handled consistently and that our negotiating leverage is employed to the maximum, the Trade Representative will manage the negotiation of particular issues. Where appropriate, the Trade Representative may delegate responsibility for negotiations to other agencies with expertise on the issues under consideration. He will coordinate the operational aspects of negotiations through a Trade Negotiating Committee, chaired by the Trade Representative and including the Departments of Commerce, State, Treasury, Agriculture and Labor.

The Trade Representative will be concerned not only with on going negotiations and coordination of specific, immediate issues, but also — very importantly — with the development of long-term United States trade strategies and policies. He will oversee implementation of the MTN agreements, and will advise the President on the effects of other Government policies (e.g., antitrust, taxation) on U.S. trade. In order to participate more fully in oversight of international investment and export financing activities, the Trade Representative will become a member of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies and the Boards of the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

In performing these functions, the Trade Representative will act as the principal trade spokesman of the President. To assure that our trade policies take into account the broadest range of perspectives, the Trade Representative will consult with the Trade Policy Committee, whose mandate and membership will be expanded. The Trade Representative will, as appropriate, invite agencies such as the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to participate in TPC meetings in addition to the permanent TPC members. When different departmental views on trade matters exist within the TPC as will be the case from time to time in this complex policy area, I will expect the Trade Representative to resolve policy disagreements in his best judgment, subject to appeal to the President.

Department of Commerce

The Department of Commerce, under this proposal, will become the focal point of operational responsibilities in the nonagricultural trade area. My reorganization plan will transfer to the Commerce Department important responsibilities for administration of countervailing and antidumping matters, foreign commercial representation, and MTN implementation support. Consolidating these trade functions in the Department of Commerce builds upon an agency with extensive trade experience. The Department will retain its operational responsibilities in such areas as export controls, East-West trade, trade adjustment assistance to firms and communities, trade policy analysis, and monitoring foreign compliance with trade agreements. The Department will be substantially reorganized to consolidate and reshape its trade functions under an Under Secretary for International Trade.

With this reorganization, trade functions will be strengthened within the Department of Commerce, and such related efforts in the Department as improvement of industrial innovation and productivity, encouraging local and regional economic development, and sectoral analysis, will be closely linked to an aggressive trade program. Fostering the international competitiveness of American industry will become the principal mission of the Department of Commerce.

Import Remedies

I propose to transfer to the Department of Commerce responsibility for administration of the countervailing duty and antidumping statutes. This function will be performed efficiently and effectively in an organizational setting where trade is the primary mission. This activity will be directed by a new Assistant Secretary for Trade Administration, subject to Senate confirmation. Although the plan permits its provisions to take effect as late as October 1, 1980, I intend to make this transfer effective by January 1, 1980, so that it will occur as the new MTN codes take effect. Commerce will continue its supportive role in the staffing of other unfair trade practice issues, such as cases arising under section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974.

Commercial Representation

This reorganization plan will transfer to the Department of Commerce responsibility for commercial representation abroad. This transfer would place both domestic and overseas export promotion activities under a single organization, directed by an Assistant Secretary for Export Development, charged with aggressively expanding U.S. export opportunities. Placing this Foreign Commercial Service in the Commerce Department will allow commercial officers to concentrate on the promotion of U.S. exports as their principal activity.

Initially, the transfer of commercial representation from State to Commerce

will involve all full-time overseas trade promotion and commercial positions (approximately 162), responsibility for this function in the countries (approximately 60) to which these individuals are assigned, and the associated foreign national employees in those countries. Over time, the Department of Commerce undoubtedly will review the deployment of commercial officers in light of changing trade circumstances and propose extensions or alterations of coverage of the Foreign Commercial Service.

MTN Implementation

I am dedicated to the aggressive implementation of the Multilateral Trade Agreements. The United States must seize the opportunities and enforce the obligations created by these agreements. Under this proposal, the Department of Commerce will assign high priority to this task. The Department of Commerce will be responsible for the day-to-day implementation of non-agricultural aspects of the MTN agreements. Management of this function will be a principal assignment of an Assistant Secretary for Trade Policy and Programs. Implementation activities will include:

- monitoring agreements and targeting problems for consultation and negotiation;
- operating a Trade Complaint Center where the private sector can receive advice as to the recourse and remedies available;
- aiding in the settlement of disputes, including staffing of formal complaint cases;
- identifying problem areas for consideration by the Trade Representative and the Trade Policy Committee;
- educational and promotion programs regarding the provisions of the agreements and the processes for dealing with problems that arise;
- providing American business with basic information on foreign laws, regulations and procedures;
- consultations with private sector advisory committees; and
- general analytical support.

These responsibilities will be handled by a unit built around the staff from Commerce that provided essential analytical support to STR throughout the MTN negotiation process. Building implementation of MTN around this core group will assure that the government's institutional memory and expertise on MTN is most effectively devoted to the challenge ahead. When American business needs information or encounters problems in the MTN area, it can turn to the Department of Commerce for knowledgeable assistance.

Matching the increased importance of trade in the Department's mission will be a much strengthened trade organization within the Department. By creating a number of new senior level positions in the Department, we will ensure that trade policy implementation receives the kind of day-to-day top management attention that it both demands and requires.

With its new responsibilities and resources, the Department of Commerce will become a key participant in the formulation of our trade policies. Much of the analysis in support of trade policy formulation will be conducted by the Department of Commerce, which will be close to the operational aspects of the problems that raise policy issues.

To succeed in global competition, we must have a better understanding of the problems and prospects of U.S. industry, particularly in relation to the growing strength of industries abroad. This is the key reason why we will upgrade sectoral analysis capabilities throughout the Department of Commerce, including the creation of a new Bureau of Industrial Analysis. Commerce, with its ability to link trade to policies affecting industry, is uniquely suited to serve as the principal technical expert within the Government on special industry sector problems requiring international consultation, as well as to provide industry-specific information on how tax, regulatory and other Government policies affect the international competitiveness of the U.S. industries.

Commerce will also expand its traditional trade policy focus on industrial issues to deal with the international trade and investment problems of our growing services sector. Under the proposal, there will be comprehensive service industry representation in our industry advisory process, as well as a continuing effort to bring services under international discipline. I expect the Commerce Department to play a major role in developing new service sector initiatives for consideration within the Government.

After an investigation lasting over a year, I have found that this reorganization is necessary to carry out the policy set forth in section 901(a) of title 5 of the United States Code. As described above, this reorganization will increase significantly our ability to implement the MTN agreements efficiently and effectively and will improve greatly the services of the government with regard to export development. These improvements will be achieved with no increase in personnel or expenditures, except for an annual expense of about $300,000 for the salaries and clerical support of the three additional senior Commerce Department officials and a non-recurring expense of approximately $600,000 in connection with the transfers of functions provided in the plan. I find that the reorganization made by this plan makes necessary the provisions for the appointment and pay of a Deputy Secretary, an Under Secretary for International Trade, and two additional Assistant Secretaries of the Department of Commerce, and additional members of the Boards of Directors of the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

It is indeed appropriate that this proposal follows so soon after the overwhelming approval by the Congress of the Trade Agreements Act of 1979, for it will sharpen and unify trade policy direction, improve the efficiency of trade law enforcement, and enable us to negotiate abroad from a position of strength. The extensive discussions between Administration officials and the Congress on this plan have been a model of the kind of cooperation that can exist between the two branches. I look forward to our further cooperation in successfully implementing both this reorganization proposal and the MTN agreements.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
September 25, 1979

Soviet Troops in Cuba

Following is the text of President Carter's television address to the nation Oct. 1 regarding the presence of Soviet troops in Cuba:

Tonight I want to talk with you about the subject that is my highest concern, as it has been for every President. That subject is peace and the security of the United States.

We are at peace tonight, as we have been at peace throughout the time of my service in this office. The peace we enjoy is the peace of the strong. Our national defenses are unsurpassed in the world. Those defenses are stronger tonight than they were two years ago; they will be stronger two years from now than they are tonight, because of carefully planned improvements that are going forward with your support and with the support of Congress.

Our program for modernizing and strengthening the military forces of the NATO alliance is on track, with the full cooperation and participation of our European allies. Our strategic nuclear forces are powerful enough to destroy any potential adversary many times over, and the invulnerability of those forces will soon be further assured by a new system of powerful mobile missiles. These systems are designed for stability and defense.

Beyond these military defenses, we are on the threshold of a great advance in the control of nuclear weapons — the adoption of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, or SALT II.

This evening I also want to report to you about the highly publicized Soviet brigade in Cuba and about its bearing on the important relationship between our nation and the Soviet Union.

This is not a simple or easy subject.

The United States and the Soviet Union are the two most powerful nations on earth, and the relationship between us is compex because it involves strong elements of both competition and cooperation.

Conflict

Our fundamental philosophies conflict, and quite often our national interests conflict as well. But as two great nations, we do have common interests and share an overwhelming mutual concern in preventing a nuclear war. We must recognize therefore that nuclear arms control agree-

ments are vital to both our countries. And we must also exercise self-restraint in our relations and be sensitive to each other's concerns.

Recently we have obtained evidence that a Soviet combat brigade has been in Cuba for several years. The presence of Soviet combat troops in Cuba is of serious concern to us.

I want to reassure you at the outset that we do not face any immediate, concrete threat that could escalate into war or a major confrontation.

But we do face a challenge. It is a challenge to our wisdom — a challenge to our ability to act in a firm, decisive way without destroying the basis for cooperation which helps to maintain world peace and control nuclear weapons. It is a challenge to our determination to give a measured and effective response to Soviet competition and to Cuban military activities around the world.

Now let me explain the specific problem of the Soviet brigade and describe the more general problem of Soviet-Cuban military activism in the Third World.

Background

Here is the background on Soviet forces in Cuba: As most of you know, 17 years ago in the era of the Cold War, the Soviet Union suddenly attempted to introduce offensive nuclear missiles and bombers into Cuba. This direct threat to the United States ended with the Soviet agreement to withdraw those nuclear weapons, and a commitment not to introduce offensive weapons into Cuba thereafter.

At the time of that 1962 missile crisis, there were more than 20,000 Soviet military personnel in Cuba. Most of them were also withdrawn, and we monitored their departure. It was believed that those who stayed behind were not combat forces but were there to advise and train Cubans and to perform intelligence functions.

Just recently American intelligence obtained persuasive evidence that some of these Soviet forces had been organized into a combat unit. When attention was then focused on a careful review of past intelligence data, it was possible for our experts to conclude that this unit had existed for several years, probably since the mid-1970s and possibly even longer.

This unit appears to be a brigade of two to three thousand men. It is armed with about forty tanks and other modern military equipment. It has been organized as a combat unit, and its training exercises have been those of a combat unit.

This is not a large force, nor an assault force. It presents no direct threat to us. It has no airborne or seaborne capability. In contrast to the 1962 crisis, no nuclear threat to the U.S. is involved.

Nevertheless this Soviet brigade in Cuba is a serious matter. It contributes to tension in the Caribbean and Central American region. The delivery of modern arms to Cuba and the presence of Soviet naval forces in Cuban waters have strengthened the Soviet-Cuban military relationship. They have added to the fears of some countries that they may come under Soviet or Cuban pressure.

During the last few years the Soviets have been increasing the delivery of military supplies to Cuba. The result is that Cuba now has one of the largest, best equipped armed forces in this region. These military forces are used to intrude into other countries in Africa and the Middle East.

Special Relationship

There is a special relationship between Cuba and the Soviet Union. The Cubans get their weapons free. Other Soviet satellite countries have to pay for their military supplies.

The Communist regime in Cuba is an economic failure; it cannot sustain itself. The Soviet Union must send to Cuba about $8 million in economic aid every day.

Fidel Castro [Cuban premier] does not pay money for Russian arms; the Cuban people pay a much higher price. In every international dispute, on every international issue, the Cuban regime automatically follows the Soviet line.

The Soviet brigade is a manifestation of Moscow's dominance of Cuba. It raises the level of that dominance — and it raises the level of responsibility that the Soviet Union must take for escalating Cuban military actions abroad.

Now I want to report further on what we are doing to resolve these problems and to counter these activities.

Over the past three weeks we have discussed this issue at great length with top Soviet officials.

Soviet Statements

We have made it clear that the presence of a Soviet combat unit in Cuba is a matter of serious concern to us. The Soviet Union does not admit that the unit in question is a combat unit. However, the Soviets have made certain statements to us with respect to our concern:

- That the unit in question is a training center, that it does nothing more than training, and can do nothing more;
- That they will not change its function or status as a training center. We understand this to mean that they do not intend to enlarge the unit or give it additional capabilities;
- They have said that the Soviet personnel in Cuba are not and will not be a threat to the U.S. or to any other nation;
- That they reaffirm the 1962 understanding and the mutually agreed confirmation of this understanding in 1970, and will abide by it in the future. We, for our part, reconfirm this understanding.

These assurances have been given to me from the highest levels of the Soviet government.

Although we have persuasive evidence that the unit is a combat brigade, the Soviet statements about the future noncombat status of the unit are significant.

U.S. Actions

However, we shall not rest on these Soviet statements alone. First, we will monitor the status of the Soviet force by increased surveillance of Cuba. Second, we will assure that no Soviet unit in Cuba can be used as a combat force to threaten the security of the United States or any other nation in this hemisphere.

Those nations can be confident that the United States will act in response to a request for assistance in meeting any such threat from Soviet or Cuban forces.

This policy is consistent with our responsibilities as a member of the Organization of American States and a party to the Rio Treaty. It is a reaffirmation in new circumstances of John F. Kennedy's declaration in 1963 "that we would not permit any troops from Cuba to move off the Island of Cuba in any offensive action against any neighboring countries."

Third, I am establishing a permanent, full-time Caribbean Joint Task Force Headquarters at Key West, Florida. I will assign to this headquarters forces from all the military services responsible for expanded planning and for conducting exercises. This headquarters unit will employ designated forces for action if required. This will substantially improve our capability to monitor and respond rapidly to any attempted military encroachment in the region.

Fourth, we will expand military maneuvers in the region, and we will conduct these regularly from now on. In accordance with existing treaty rights, the United States will, of course, keep our forces in Guantanamo [the U.S. Marine base in Cuba].

Fifth, we will increase our economic assistance to alleviate the unmet economic and human needs in the Caribbean region and further to ensure the ability of troubled peoples to resist social turmoil and possible Communist domination.

The United States has a worldwide interest in peace and stability. Accordingly, I have directed the Secretary of Defense to further enhance the capacity of our Rapid Deployment Forces to protect our own interests and to act in response to requests for help from our allies and friends. We must be able to move our ground, sea and air units to distant areas — rapidly and with adequate supplies.

We have reinforced our naval presence in the Indian Ocean.

We are enhancing our intelligence capability in order to monitor Soviet and and throughout the world. We will increase our efforts to guard against damage to our crucial intelligence sources and methods of collection, without impairing civil and constitutional rights.

Preserving Peace

These steps reflect my determination to preserve peace, to strengthen our alliances, and to defend the interests of the United States. In developing them, I have consulted not only with my own advisers,

but with Congressional leaders and with a bipartisan group of distinguished American citizens as well. The decisions are my own, and I take full responsibility for them as President and as Commander-in-Chief.

I have concluded that the brigade issue is certainly no reason for a return to the Cold War. A confrontation might be emotionally satisfying for a few days or weeks for some people, but it would be destructive to the national interest and the security of the United States.

We must continue the basic policy that the United States has followed for 20 years, under six Administrations of both parties — a policy that recognizes that we are in competition with the Soviet Union in some fields, and that we seek cooperation in others — notably maintaining the peace and controlling nuclear arms.

My fellow Americans, the greatest danger to American security tonight is certainly not the two or three thousand Soviet troops in Cuba. The greatest danger to all the nations of the world — including the United States and the Soviet Union — is the breakdown of a common effort to preserve the peace, and the ultimate threat of a nuclear war.

SALT II

I renew my call to the Senate of the United States to ratify the SALT II Treaty.

SALT II is a solid treaty. Ensuring compliance with its terms will not be a matter of trust. We have highly sophisticated national technical means, carefully focused on the Soviet Union to ensure that the Treaty is verifiable. This Treaty is the most important step ever taken in controlling strategic nuclear arms.

It permits us to strengthen our defense and preserve the strategic balance at lower risk and cost. During the past few years we have made real increases in our defense expenditures to fulfill the goals of our Five Year Defense Plan. With SALT II we can concentrate these increases in areas where our interests are most threatened and where direct military challenge is most likely.

The rejection of SALT would seriously compromise our nation's peace and security.

Of course we have disagreements with the Soviets. Of course we have conflicts with them. If we did not have those disagreements and conflicts, we would not need a treaty to reduce the possibility of nuclear war between us.

If SALT II is rejected, these disagreements and conflicts could take on a new and ominous dimension. Against the background of an uncontrolled nuclear arms race, every confrontation or dispute could carry the seeds of a nuclear confrontation.

In addition, SALT II is crucial to American leadership and to the further strengthening of the Western Alliance. Obviously a secure Europe is vital to our own security.

The leaders of our European allies support SALT II — unanimously. We have talked to a number of those leaders in the past several days. And I must tell you tonight that if the Senate fails to approve the SALT Treaty, these leaders and their countries would be confused and deeply alarmed. If our allies should lose confidence in our ability to negotiate successfully for the control of nuclear weapons, our effort to build a stronger and more united NATO could fail.

National Interest

I know that for Members of Congress, this is a troubling and difficult issue in a troubling and difficult time. But the Senate has a tradition of being the greatest deliberative body in the world, and the whole world is watching the Senate today. I am confident that all Senators will perform their high responsibilities as the national interest requires.

Politics and nuclear arsenals do not mix.

We must not play politics with the security of the United States.

We must not play politics with the survival of the human race.

We must not play politics with SALT II. It is much too important for that — too vital to our country, to our allies, and to the cause of peace.

The purpose of the SALT II Treaty and the purpose of my actions in dealing with Soviet and Cuban military relationships are exactly the same — to keep our nation secure and to maintain a world at peace.

As a powerful nation — as a superpower — we have a special responsibility to maintain stability even when there are serious disagreements among nations.

We have had fundamental differences with the Soviet Union since 1917. I have no illusions about these differences, but the best way to deal with them successfully is to maintain American unity, American will and American strength.

That is what I am determined to do.

The struggle for peace — the long, hard struggle to bring weapons of mass destruction under the control of human reason and human law — is the central drama of our age.

At another time of challenge in our nation's history, President Abraham Lincoln told the American people: "We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth."

We acted wisely then, and preserved the Union. Let us act wisely now, and preserve the world. ∎

Industrial Innovation

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress Oct. 31 outlining his plan to "revitalize America's industrial base."

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

Industrial innovation — the development and commercialization of new products and processes — is an essential element of a strong and growing American economy. It helps ensure economic vitality, improved productivity, international competitiveness, job creation, and an improved quality of life for every American. Further, industrial innovation is necessary if we are to solve some of the Nation's most pressing problems — reducing inflation, providing new energy supplies and better conserving existing supplies, ensuring adequate food for the world's population, protecting the environment and our natural resources, and improving health care.

Our Nation's history is filled with a rich tradition of industrial innovation. America has been the world leader in developing new products, new processes, and new technologies, and in ensuring their wide dissemination and use. We are still the world's leader. But our products are meeting growing competition from abroad. Many of the world's leading industrial countries are now attempting to develop a competitive advantage through the use of industrial innovation. This is a challenge we cannot afford to ignore any longer. To respond to this challenge, we must develop our own policies for fostering the Nation's competitive capability and entrepreneurial spirit in the decades ahead. This Message represents an important first step in that direction.

I am today announcing measures which will help ensure our country's continued role as the world leader in industrial innovation. These initiatives address nine critical areas:

- Enhancing the Transfer of Information
- Increasing Technical Knowledge
- Strengthening the Patent System
- Clarifying Anti-trust Policy
- Fostering the Development of Small Innovative Firms
- Opening Federal Procurement to Innovations
- Improving Our Regulatory System
- Facilitating Labor/Management Adjustment to Technical Change
- Maintaining a Supportive Climate for Innovation.

INITIATIVES

1. Enhancing the Transfer of Information. Often, the information that underlies a technological advance is not known to companies capable of commercially developing that advance. I am therefore taking several actions to ease and encourage the flow of technical knowledge and information. These actions include establishing the Center for the Utilization of Federal Technology at the National Technical Information Service to improve the transfer of knowledge from Federal laboratories; and, through the State and Com-

merce Departments, increasing the availability of technical information developed in foreign countries.

2. Increasing Technical Knowledge. We have already made significant efforts to assure an adequate investment in the basic research that will underlie future technical advances. This commitment is reflected in a 25 percent growth in funding during the first two years of my Administration. I am taking some additional steps that will increase Federal support for research and development:

First, I will establish a program to cooperate with industry in the advancement of generic technologies that underlie the operations of several industrial sectors. This activity will broaden the $50 million initiative I announced in May to further research in automotive research. Second, in order to help harness the scientific and technological strength of American universities, I have directed a significant enhancement in support of joint industry-university research proposals. This program will be modeled on a successful program at the National Science Foundation, and I have set a target of $150 million in Federal support for it.

3. Strengthening the Patent System. Patents can provide a vital incentive for innovation, but the patent process has become expensive, time-consuming, and unreliable. Each year, fewer patents are issued to Americans. At my direction, the Patent and Trademark Office will undertake a major effort to upgrade and modernize its processes, in order to restore the incentive to patent — and ultimately develop — inventions. I will also seek legislation to provide the Patent and Trademark Office with greater authority to re-examine patents already issued, thereby reducing the need for expensive, time-consuming litigation over the validity of a patent.

For over thirty years the Federal agencies supporting research and development in industry and universities have had conflicting policies governing the disposition of pertinent rights resulting from that work. This confusion has seriously inhibited the use of those patents in industry. To remove that confusion and encourage the use of those patents I will support uniform government patent legislation. That legislation will provide exclusive licenses to contractors in specific fields of use that they agree to commercialize and will permit the government to license firms in other fields. If the license fails to commercialize the inventories, the government will retain the right to recapture those rights. I will also support the retention of patent ownership by small businesses and universities, the prime thrust of legislation now in Congress, in recognition of their special place in our society.

4. Clarifying Anti-trust Policy. By spurring competition, anti-trust policies can provide a stimulant to the development of innovations. In some cases, however, such as in research, industrial cooperation may have clear social and economic benefits for the country. Unfortunately, our anti-trust laws are often mistakenly viewed as preventing all cooperative activity.

The Department of Justice, at my direction, will issue a guide clearly explaining its position on collaboration among firms in research, as part of a broader program of improved communication with industry by the Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission. This statement will provide the first uniform anti-trust guidance to industrial firms in the area of cooperation in research.

5. Fostering the Development of Small Innovative Firms. Small innovative firms have historically played an important role in bringing new technologies into the marketplace. They are also an important source of new jobs. Although many of the initiatives in this Message will encourage such companies, I will also implement several initiatives focused particularly on small firms.

First, I propose the enhancement by $10 million of the Small Business Innovation Research Program of the National Science Foundation. This program supports creative, high-risk, potentially high-reward research performed by small business. Further, the National Science Foundation will assist other agencies in implementing similar programs, with total Federal support eventually reaching $150 million per year.

Second, in order to experiment with ways to ease the ability of small firms to obtain start-up capital, I will help establish two Corporations For Innovation Development to provide equity funding for firms that will develop and market promising high-risk innovations. These not-for-profit firms will be established with State or regional capital and the Federal government will provide each with matching loan funds up to $4 million.

6. Opening Federal Procurement to Innovations. The Federal government is the Nation's largest single purchaser of goods and services. Through its purchases, the Federal government can influence the rate at which innovative products enter the market.

For that reason, I am directing the Office of Federal Procurement Policy to introduce procurement policies and regulations that will remove barriers now inhibiting the government from purchasing innovative products. Special attention will be given to substituting performance for design specifications and, wherever feasible, selection will be on the basis of costs over the life of the item, rather than merely the initial purchase price.

7. Improving our Regulatory System. During my Administration, I have already taken a number of actions to help assure that regulation does not adversely affect innovation. Working with the Congress, I have moved successfully toward deregulation of airlines and other industries, and I expect the pressure of competition to trigger innovative new ways to cut costs and improve service. In environmental, health and safety regulation, I have emphasized the use of cost-impact analysis, where appropriate, to take account of the burdens on industry in the regulatory process. To provide better coordination between the regulatory agencies, I have created the Regulatory Council, composed of the heads of 35 regulatory agencies. This Council is working to reduce inconsistencies and duplications among regulations, to eliminate needless rule-making delays, to reduce paperwork, and to minimize the cost of compliance.

I am today proposing additional steps to improve our regulatory system. First, the Administrator of EPA will intensify his efforts, wherever possible, to use performance standards in regulations, specifying only the required goal, rather than the means of achieving it. Second, all Executive Branch environmental, health and safety regulatory agencies will prepare a five-year forecast of their priorities and concerns. This information will give industry the time to develop compliance technology. Third, all administrators of Federal executive agencies responsible for clearance of new products will be directed to develop and implement an expedited process for projects having a strong innovative impact or exceptional social benefit, and to do so without jeopardizing the quality of the review process.

8. Facilitating Labor and Management Adjustment to Technical Change. Although innovation can increase the number of workers employed within an industry over the long term, or even create an entire new industry, individual innovations may occasionally cause workers to be displaced.

In order to assure adequate time for workers and management to adjust to changes caused by innovations, I am directing the Secretaries of Labor and Commerce to work jointly with labor and management to develop a Labor/Technology Forecasting System. The System would develop advance warning of industrial changes and permit timely adjustments.

9. Maintaining a Supportive Federal Climate. The initiatives announced in this Message are only the first steps in our efforts to ensure American technological strength. We must also develop and maintain a climate conducive to industrial innovation. The Federal government must take the lead in creating that climate. And the Federal government's efforts must be continuing ones. I am committed to these goals.

I am charging the National Productivity Council with the continuing tasks of monitoring innovation, developing policies to encourage innovation and assisting the Departments and agencies in implementing the policies announced today. I am also establishing a Presidential award for technological innovation to make clear to this Nation's inventors and entrepreneurs that we place the highest national value on their contributions.

Each of the initiatives I have just proposed supports an important component in the innovation process. In combination, these initiatives should make a major difference in our Nation's ability to develop and pursue industrial innovation. However,

these incentives will not by themselves solve our current difficulties in encouraging needed innovation. In our economic system, industrial innovation is primarily the responsibility of the private sector. The manager of the firm must decide whether to develop and market innovative new products or whether to find and employ new ways of making existing products. Although the Federal government can establish a climate that encourages innovative activity, it is the private sector that finally determines whether innovation will take place.

In addition, the steps outlined in this Message must be viewed in the context of our current severe inflation problem. With costs rising at an abnormally high rate, managers naturally have a disincentive to spend the sums needed for adequate industrial innovation. I understand and fully appreciate that changing certain of our tax laws could provide additional incentives for investment in innovation. Indeed, my approval of adjustments in the capital gains tax in the Revenue Act of 1978 has alleviated some shortages of venture capital. Many of the suggested alterations of our tax system are intertwined with other economic challenges — such as fighting inflation. While it might be possible to make changes in the tax code that would promote innovation, these changes should not be viewed in isolation from other aspects of our economy. I will therefore evaluate tax laws affecting industrial innovation at the time that I consider my fiscal policies for Fiscal Year 1981.

Conclusion

Innovation is a subtle and intricate process, covering that range of events from the inspiration of the inventor to the marketing strategy of the eventual producer. Although there are many places in the chain from invention to sale where we have found modification of Federal policy to be appropriate, there is no one place where the Federal government can take action and thereby ensure that industrial innovation will be increased. We have therefore chosen a range of initiatives, each of which we believe to be helpful. In aggregate, we expect them to have a significant impact. Nonetheless, they represent only an early skirmish in what must be a continuing battle to maintain the technological strength of the American economy. I pledge myself to this task and ask the Congress to join me in meeting our common challenge.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
October 31, 1979. ∎

Latin America Aid

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress Nov. 9 detailing his proposal to expand U.S. aid to Central America and the Caribbean:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

Many of our neighbors in Central America and the Caribbean are in crisis — crisis marked by economic problems, terrorism, and popular frustration. The resolution of these problems in ways that will preserve the independence and security of these countries, while expanding democracy and supporting human rights, is very much in the national interest of the United States.

Prompt and effective U.S. assistance is vital.

- Nicaragua's economy has been crushed by bitter and prolonged strife. We have been asked to help, and we are doing so. But more is needed to restore public confidence, private initiatives, and popular well-being.
- The governments in El Salvador and Honduras have pledged democracy and moderation. These and other Central American countries are embarked on accelerated development efforts of direct benefit to the poor. Assistance in these efforts is essential in creating the conditions under which democratic institutions can grow and thrive.
- The countries of the Eastern Caribbean are young and struggling democracies. They need help now for nation-building and for economic development.

I am therefore today proposing action to expand our support for development and security in Central America and the Caribbean. This will augment our existing development and security assistance programs in these regions, which in turn complement the contributions of several other governments and international agencies.

I have directed that, subject to normal congressional notification procedures, funds be reprogrammed for use in Central America and the Caribbean. These include:

- $5 million from the fiscal year 1980 Economic Support Funds for development projects in Central American countries other than Nicaragua.
- $10 million from fiscal year 1979 and fiscal year 1980 development assistance funds for public works and high employment impact projects in the Caribbean. These projects are an important part of our fiscal year 1979-80 contributions of $66.9 million budgeted for the Caribbean Development Group, chaired by the World Bank.

We are also reprogramming Food for Peace funds to increase food assistance in the area, especially in Nicaragua. We will also likely be reprogramming $5 to $10 million in Foreign Military Sales credits and International Military Education and training funds for the Caribbean, and similar amounts for such programs in Central America. We are still working out the final details of these proposed reprogrammings and will fully inform the appropriate congressional committees of our proposed actions.

Reprogramming, however, is not enough. The enclosed bill would provide $80 million in flexible Economic Support funding, $75 million to assist in the reconstruction of the Nicaraguan economy and $5 million for early-impact development projects in other Central American countries.

I strongly urge rapid congressional action on this bill.

Such action will demonstrate that the United States can be relied upon to support democratic aspirations, the rebuilding of broken economies, and the security of our friends in this nearby region. Our additional funds for Central American development should substantially augment existing programs. Furthermore, we hope that other nations and international institutions will increase their efforts to accelerate the social and economic development of Central America.

With your help we can make clear where we stand.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
November 9, 1979. ∎

Paperwork Reduction

Following is the text of President Carter's message to Congress Nov. 30 detailing new efforts to reduce the burden of federal paperwork:

TO THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES:

In the past two and one half years, my Administration has achieved real progress in cutting the paperwork burden government imposes on the public. Today I am announcing steps to expand and accelerate that effort.

I have today signed an Executive Order on paperwork reduction. I am also calling on the Congress to enact two bills which will help eliminate needless forms, cut duplication, streamline those forms which are necessary and strengthen central oversight of Federal paperwork.

Government efficiency is a central theme of my Administration. If we are to restore confidence in government, we must eliminate needless burdens on the public. We have pursued this goal through regulatory reform, civil service reform, reorganization, and other initiatives. Paperwork reduction is an important part of this program.

Some Federal paperwork is needed. The government must collect information to enforce the civil rights laws, compile economic statistics, design sound regulations, and for many other purposes. In recent years, however, government forms, surveys and interviews have mushroomed.

Much of this paperwork is unnecessary or duplicates information being collected elsewhere.

My Administration has stopped the paperwork surge and started cutting this burden down to size. We have reduced the amount of time Americans spend filling out Federal forms by almost 15% — 127 million hours. That is the equivalent of 75,000 people working full-time for a year. We have evaluated the 520 recommendations of the Paperwork Commission and have already implemented more than half of them.

The Internal Revenue Service made it possible, for example, for five million taxpayers to switch from the long tax form to the short one. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration exempted 40,000 small businesses from reporting requirements. The Interstate Commerce Commission sliced a 70-page report required from 13,000 carriers down to 8 pages. The Labor and Treasury Departments slashed the paperwork burden that was crushing the small pension plans. I am today announcing that we are consolidating three reports required from the States on welfare and food stamp programs; this will eventually save 500,000 hours and $10 million per year.

Management Program

The progress in cutting Federal paperwork has been substantial, but we must do more. Congress is enacting new requirements in energy, environmental protection, and other programs that will add to the paperwork burden. To continue our success in eliminating Federal paperwork, we need the broad management program I am announcing today.

The Executive Order I have signed establishes strong management tools for the Executive agencies. First of all, it creates a "paperwork budget." Each agency will submit an annual estimate of the numbers of hours required to fill out all its forms.

The Office of Management and Budget will then hold agencies to that total or order it cut. The process will be similar to the spending budget; it will give agencies incentives to set priorities and to eliminate or streamline burdensome forms.

The Order creates a Federal Information Locator System, which will list all the types of information collected by Federal agencies. Before an agency collects information, it will check in this System to see if another agency already has the data.

The Order also requires agencies to consider the special paperwork problems of small organizations and small businesses. Data gathering that may be easy for a corporation with computerized records may be very costly for a small business person who keeps records by hand.

Some reports must necessarily be universal and uniform, but in many cases agencies can meet their information needs while providing exemptions or less burdensome reports for small businesses. Some agencies already have started doing so.

The Executive Order requires all agencies to review each form to identify those cases where small organizations can be exempted or given simpler forms. Senator John Culver deserves credit for leading the development of this concept of special consideration for small organizations.

Finally, the Order mandates a sunset process. This process will be similar to the legislation I am supporting to mandate sunset reviews for regulations, spending programs, and tax expenditures. The Paperwork Order requires that each form terminate every five years unless a new decision is made to continue it.

Legislation Needed

We also need legislation to build a complete paperwork control program and extend it to all agencies. Representatives Jack Brooks, Frank Horton, and Tom Steed and Senator Lawton Chiles have taken the lead in developing a Paperwork Reduction Act which will strengthen and unify existing paperwork oversight.

The Federal Reports Act is insufficient in this regard. It gives OMB power to disapprove many agencies' forms, but the independent regulatory commissions are reviewed by the General Accounting Office and tax, education, and health manpower programs have no central review at all. These loopholes represent 81% of the total paperwork burden, of which tax forms are 73%.

This legislation will close these loopholes, providing central oversight for all forms. It also strengthens the paperwork clearance process by allowing members of the public to refuse to fill out forms that have not been properly cleared.

The legislation will provide additional tools to cut duplication in paperwork requirements. When several agencies want to collect overlapping data, the bill will empower the OMB to assign one agency to do the job.

The bill will also deal with the special problems of statistical systems. One cause of duplication is that agencies collect statistical data under pledges of confidentiality, and these pledges hamper sharing the data.

The bill will authorize such sharing while strengthening safeguards to ensure the data is used only for statistical purposes and never to abuse personal privacy. These provisions will also strengthen our Federal statistical systems, which are crucial to economic and other policymaking.

While controlling the paperwork imposed on the public, we must also hold down paperwork within the Government itself. I am therefore submitting to the Congress the Reports Elimination Act of 1979. This bill, together with administrative action we are taking now, will eliminate or simplify 278 annual agency reports, saving at least $5.5 million per year.

This overall paperwork reduction program has been developed in a cooperative effort with the leaders of the Senate Governmental Affairs and House Government Operations Committees. Working together, we will continue the progress on cutting away red tape.

I urge the Congress to act promptly on the two bills I have discussed.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,

November 30, 1979. ▮

Military Spending

Following is the text of President Carter's Dec. 12 speech outlining future defense spending plans.

My first concern and that of every American President is and must be the security of our nation.

That security rests on many kinds of strength: on arms and on arms control; on military power and on economic vitality and the quality of life of our people; on modern weapons and on reliable energy supplies. The well-being of our Allies and friends is also crucial to our own. Our security is tied to human rights and social justice prevailing among other people on earth, and to the institutions of international peace and order which we have helped to build.

We will hope and work and pray for a world in which the weapons of war are no longer necessary, but we now must deal with the hard facts — with the world as it is.

In the dangerous and uncertain world of today, the keystone of our national security is still military strength — strength that is clearly recognized by Americans, by our Allies, and by any potential adversary.

Twice in this century, each time in the aftermath of a global war, we were tempted by isolationism. The first time we succumbed to the temptation, withdrawing from our global responsibilities, and a generation later the world was again engulfed by war. But after the Second World War, we built a national consensus — based on our own moral and political values — around the concept of an active role for America in preserving peace and security for ourselves and for others.

Reminder from Iran

Despite all the changes that have swept across the world in the past 30 years, that basic consensus has endured. We have learned the mistake of military intervention in the internal affairs of another country when our own vital security interests were not directly involved.

But we must understand that not every instance of the firm application of power is a potential Vietnam. The consensus for national strength and international involvement, although shaken and threatened, survived that divisive and tragic war.

Recent events in Iran have been a vivid reminder of the need for a strong and

united America — a nation which is supported by its Allies and which need not bluff or posture in the quiet exercise of its strength and in its commitment to international law and the preservation of peace. Today, regardless of other disagreements, we are united in the belief that we must have a strong defense, and that military weakness would inevitably make war more likely.

So the issue we face is not whether we should be strong, but how we will be strong. What will be our defense responsibilities for the 1980s and beyond? What challenges will we confront in meeting them? What defense programs do we need — and how much will we spend to get them? How can we correlate most effectively our military readiness and our arms control efforts?

To begin with, our defense program must be tailored to match our responsibilities.

In Europe, our military forces have provided the foundation for one of the longest periods of peace and prosperity that continent has ever enjoyed. Our strength — both conventional and nuclear — helps to maintain peace while our Allies build together through the European Community and also nurture their historical ties with Eastern Europe. Our mutual commitments within the Atlantic Alliance are vital to us all, and they are permanent and unshakeable.

American military strength provides the framework within which our mature friendships with Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand all contribute to stability in the Pacific basin and the world.

We must and we will continue to meet these responsibilities.

Soviet Military Spending

But there are reasons for concern about our ability to sustain our beneficial and peaceful influence. For nearly 20 years, the Soviet Union has been increasing its real defense spending by three or four percent each year. In contrast, our own defense spending has declined in real terms every year from 1968 through 1976. This is creating a real challenge to American leadership and influence in the world.

We will almost certainly face other challenges — less direct though no less serious. The 1980s are likely to bring continued turbulence and upheaval. Problems of energy price and supply will continue to strain the economy of the industrial world, and will put even more severe pressures on the developing nations. Political instability may even intensify as the newer nations struggle to cope with these problems.

As in the past, when the winds of change threaten to arouse storms of conflict, we must be prepared to join our friends and Allies in resisting threats to stability and peace.

The steady buildup by the Soviets, and their growing inclination to rely on military power to exploit turbulent situations, call for a calm, deliberate and sustained American response.

Changing Defense Needs

Through the mid-1970s, the United States relied on a defense strategy and on force structures devised during the early 1960s — a time when we enjoyed strategic nuclear superiority and a tactical nuclear monopoly; when Soviet seapower was limited and the Soviet military presence outside Eastern Europe almost nonexistent. All that had changed by the time I took office as President.

Beginning in 1976 and continuing in my Administration, we have set out to counterbalance the growth in Soviet military power by launching new efforts that draw on our own considerable strengths.

During each of the last four years, there has been a moderate increase in real defense spending.

In Europe, we have taken steps to reverse a decade of relative decline in the military strength of the Atlantic Alliance.

When I first began to meet with Allied leaders nearly three years ago, I found them troubled by the state of our common defense capability.

I promised to raise our own real level of defense spending by some three percent each year, and our NATO Allies responded by making the same pledge.

With American leadership, NATO also took the crucial step of adopting a bold Long-Term Defense Program. That program is helping us increase our capacity to deter or defeat any surprise attack against our European Allies.

We are also taking steps to redress the balance in Theater Nuclear Forces.

In the early 1960s, the United States removed its medium-range missiles from Western Europe. We could do this then because there was overwhelming U.S. strategic superiority.

But the Soviet Union did not show similar restraint. The accelerating development of their relatively long-range mobile, multi-warhead SS-20 missile is a major escalation in theater nuclear armaments. With the advent of rough strategic parity, this new missile creates a potentially dangerous weakness in NATO's ability to deter aggression.

In the SALT II negotiations, we carefully protected our freedom to correct this weakness. Now NATO is moving toward strengthening its nuclear weapons to offset actual Soviet deployments. Then, on the basis of strength, we can negotiate with the Warsaw Pact to reduce nuclear weapons in the European theater.

Strategic Forces

In the area of intercontinental or strategic forces, we also face adverse trends that must be corrected.

Improving Soviet air defenses now threaten to make our strategic bombers vulnerable. The cruise missile will be our solution to that problem. Production of the first generation of air-launched cruise missiles will begin next year.

In addition, our land-based Minuteman ICBMs are becoming increasingly vulnerable because of the improved accuracy of the Soviet Union's multiple-warhead missiles. That is why we decided last spring to produce the MX missile.

The relatively small number of MX missiles will have mobility and a large number of shelters and will be far less vulnerable than our present fixed-shelter Minutemen. Further, in response to any first strike, the MX will have the capability to attack a wide variety of Soviet military targets.

The MX missile will not undermine stability, but it will deter attack and encourage negotiations on further nuclear arms limits. In addition, by increasing the difficulty of any contemplated Soviet strike, it will contribute to the survivability of our strategic bombers and submarines. Even with SALT II, America needs the MX to maintain the strategic nuclear balance.

We are also modernizing our strategic submarine force. The first new Trident submarine has been launched, and the first of our new Trident missiles, with a range of more than 4,000 miles, have already been put to sea.

Thus, each leg of our strategic Triad is being modernized — cruise missiles for our bombers, MX for our intercontinental missiles, and Trident for our undersea deterrent.

Nor will we neglect modernizing our conventional forces, though here we must rely heavily on the parallel efforts of our Allies, in Asia as well as in Europe. They must bear their proportional share of the increased burdens of the common defense.

I am determined to keep our naval forces more powerful than those of any other nation. Our shipbuilding program will sustain a 550-ship Navy in the 1990s; and we will continue to build the most capable ships afloat. Seapower is indispensable to our global strategy — in peace and in war.

Rapid Deployment

Finally, we are moving rapidly to counterbalance the growing ability of the Soviet Union, directly or through surrogates, to use its military power in Third World regions, and we must be prepared to deal with hostile actions against our citizens or our vital interests from others as well.

For this purpose, we need not only stronger forces, but better means for rapid deployment of the forces we already have.

Our 1981 defense budget and our five-year defense program will meet this need in two ways.

The first will be a new fleet of Maritime Prepositioning Ships that will carry the heavy equipment and supplies for three Marine brigades, and that can be stationed in forward areas where U.S. forces may be needed. With their supplies already near the scene of action, the troops themselves can move in by air.

The second innovation will be a new fleet of large cargo aircraft to carry Army tanks and other equipment over intercontinental distances.

Having Rapid Deployment Forces does not necessarily mean we will use them. We intend their existence to deter the very developments that would invoke their use.

We must always remember that no matter how capable or advanced our weapons systems, our military security depends on the abilities, training, and dedication of the people who serve in our armed forces. I am determined to recruit and to retain an ample level of such skilled and experienced military personnel.

To sum up, the United States is taking strong action:

— First, to improve all aspects of our strategic forces, thus assuring our deterrent to nuclear war.
— Second, to upgrade our forces in NATO and the Pacific, as part of a common effort with our Allies.
— Third, to modernize our naval forces to keep them the best in the world.
— Fourth, to strengthen our rapid deployment capabilities to meet our responsibilities outside NATO.
— And fifth, to maintain an effective force of highly trained military personnel.

5% Growth in '81

We must sustain these commitments in order to maintain peace and security in the 1980s. To ensure that we press foward vigorously, I will submit for FY 1981 a budget to increase funding authority for defense to more than $157 billion, a real growth of more than five percent over my request for FY 1980. Just as in 1979 and 1980, requested outlays for defense during FY 1981 will grow by more than three percent in real terms, over the preceding year.

We will sustain this effort. My five-year defense program provides real funding increases that average more than 4-1/2 percent a year.

I intend to carry out this program. With careful, and efficient management, we should be able to do so within the budget increases I propose. If inflation exceeds the projected rates, I intend to adjust the defense budget as needed, just as was done in 1980.

Much of this program will take five years or more to reach fruition. The imbalances it will correct have been caused by more than a decade of disparity and they cannot be remedied overnight, so we must be willing to see this program through.

To ensure that we do so, I am setting a growth rate for defense that will be tolerable over the long haul. The most wasteful and self-defeating thing we could do would be to start this necessary program, then alter or cut it back after a year or two when such action might become politically attractive.

The defense program I am proposing for the next five years will require some sacrifice — but sacrifice we can afford. It will not increase at all the percentage of our Gross National Product devoted to defense, which will remain steady at about five percent.

We must have a long-range, balanced approach to the allocation of federal expenditures. We will continue to meet such crucial needs as jobs, housing, education, and health, but we must realize that a prerequisite to the enjoyment of such progress is to assure peace for our nation. So in asking Congressional support for our defense efforts, I am asking for consistent support — steadfast support — not just for 1980 or 1981, but until these commitments have been fulfilled.

Sustained American strength is the only possible basis for the wider, truly reciprocal detente we seek with the Soviet Union. Only through strength can we create global political conditions hospitable to worldwide economic and political progress — and to controlling both conventional and nuclear arms.

SALT Debate

As the strongest, most advanced country in the world, we have a special obligation to seek security through arms control as well as through military power. So I welcome the debate by the Senate in its consideration of the SALT II Treaty. It will enable us to build a clearer understanding that these efforts in both arms control and defense are vital to our security.

There are several reasons why SALT II will strengthen the military aspects of our national security.

First, we can better maintain strategic equivalence in nuclear weapons with SALT II. Without it, the Soviets can add more to the power of their own forces, widen any advantage they may achieve in the early 1980s, and conceal from us what they are doing. For us, maintaining parity with these uncontrolled Soviet actions would add to our costs — in time, money and uncertainty.

Second, we can better maintain the combat efficiency and readiness of our non-nuclear forces with SALT II than without it. Whatever the level of the defense budget, more of it will have to go into strategic weapons if SALT II is not ratified.

Third, we can better strengthen the unity, resolve and capability of the NATO Alliance with SALT II than without it. That is why the heads of other NATO governments have urged its ratification.

Fourth, we can better continue the SALT process of negotiating further reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals with SALT II than without it. Without SALT II and all of its limits, rules and definitions in place, an agreement in SALT III on deeper cuts would, at best, take many more years to achieve.

Fifth, we can better control the proliferation of nuclear weapons among currently non-nuclear nations with SALT II than without it. This could be one of the most important factors involved in our pending decision.

All of these issues are extremely important and intimately related.

A strong defense is a matter of simple common sense. So is SALT II.

I will do my utmost to keep America strong and secure. But this cannot be done without effort or sacrifice.

The best investment in defense is in weapons that will never have to be used and soldiers who will never have to die. But the peace we enjoy is the fruit of our strength — and our will to use it if we must.

As a great nation devoted to peace, we must and we will continue to build that strength. ▮

Legislative Veto/Dioxin Veto Text

Following is the Jan. 2, 1980, text of President Carter's veto of S 2096:

TO THE SENATE OF
THE UNITED STATES:

I am returning without my approval S 2096, a bill requiring the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct a study of the long-term health effects in humans of exposure to a class of chemicals known as dioxins.

I strongly support the effort to investigate the effects of dioxins. The exposure of individuals to these substances has been a matter of concern to this Administration and is the subject of a number of studies currently being carried out by several Federal agencies, including the Department of Defense, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Veterans Administration, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. However, I cannot approve S 2096 because it includes what I believe to be an unconstitutional requirement that the Secretary of HEW conduct a study only after the protocol for that study has been approved by the Director of the Office of Technology Assessment, which is an office and an arm of the Congress.

I have previously informed Congress of my view that legislative veto devices are unconstitutional intrusions into the day-to-day administration of the law by the Executive Branch. Congress is constitutionally empowered to direct Executive Branch decisions executing the law only by enacting legislation subject to the veto power of the President under Article I, section 7 of the Constitution. In my view, such legislative power may not constitutionally be delegated to committees of the Congress or to offices subordinate to committees of the Congress.

I recently signed into law a bill (HR 3892, PL 96-151) containing a similar provision requiring the Veterans Administration to conduct a study — subject to the approval of the Office of Technology Assess-

ment — of the effect of dioxins on Vietnam-era veterans. I approved PL 96-151 because it extended the appropriation authorizations for several veterans medical programs and because it included provisions affecting veterans medical care which had been the subject of lengthy discussions between the Administration and the Congress. I viewed the provision in that bill requiring approval of the study by the Office of Technology Assessment as being constitutionally defective, and I am instructing the VA Administrator not to treat that provision as legally binding.

This Administration intends to continue its support of efforts to ascertain the health effects of dioxin exposure. Enactment of S 2096 is unnecessary, since HEW is already planning to conduct the study called for by the bill under the authority of the Public Health Service Act. I am requesting Secretary Harris to move forward expeditiously on this study. In addition, my Assistant for Domestic Affairs and Policy recently ordered the establishment of an interagency work group to study the long-term health effects of exposure to this class of chemicals. I believe the studies currently being conducted will result in an improved and a more well-coordinated Federal response to whatever dangers these chemicals pose to the health of American citizens.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
January 2, 1980.

PUBLIC LAWS

CQ

Public Laws, 96th Congress, 1st Session

PL 96-1 (H J Res 1) — Extend from Jan. 22 to Jan. 29, 1979, the time for filing the Economic Report. BRADEMAS, D-Ind. — 1/15/79 — House passed Jan. 15, 1979. Senate passed Jan. 18. President signed Jan. 22, 1979.

PL 96-2 (HR 1902) — Authorize the Administrator of General Services to conduct future sales of the Carson City silver dollars under such terms and conditions as he deems proper. ANNUNZIO, D-Ill., REUSS, D-Wis., SPELLMAN, D-Md., VENTO, D-Minn., FAUNTROY, D-D.C., GONZALEZ, D-Texas, MITCHELL D-Md., STANTON, R-Ohio, and EVANS, R-Del. — 2/8/79 — House passed under suspension of the rules Feb. 13, 1979. Senate passed Feb. 26. President signed March 7, 1979.

PL 96-3 (S 37) — Repeal the section relative to financial privacy of PL 95-630, to extend the authority for flexible regulation of interest rates on deposits and accounts in depository institutions. PROXMIRE, D-Wis. — 1/15/79 — Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported Feb. 9, 1979 (S Rept 96-5). Senate passed Feb. 9. House passed under suspension of rules Feb. 27. President signed March 7, 1979.

PL 96-4 (HR 2301) — Make certain administrative changes which arose from the redrawing of the federal judicial districts in the State of Illinois. KASTENMEIER, D-Wis., RAILSBACK, R-Ill., O'BRIEN, R-Ill. — 2/21/79 — House Judiciary reported March 20, 1979 (H Rept 96-55). House passed March 22. Senate passed March 22. President signed March 30, 1979.

PL 96-5 (HR 2534) — Increase through Sept. 30, 1979, the public debt limit. ULLMAN, D-Ore. — 3/1/79 — House Ways and Means reported March 8, 1979 (H Rept 96-31). House passed March 15. Senate passed, amended, March 27. House agreed to Senate amendments April 2. President signed April 2, 1979.

PL 96-6 (HR 1147) — Extend temporarily the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to waive the imposition of the countervailing duties. ULLMAN, D-Ore., ROSTENKOWSKI, D-Ill., VANIK, D-Ohio, CORMAN, D-Calif., GIBBONS, D-Fla., JONES, D-Okla., JACOBS, D-Ind., MIKVA, D-Ill., FISHER, D-Va., FORD, D-Tenn., DOWNEY, D-N.Y., CONABLE, R-N.Y., and FRENZEL, R-Minn. — 1/18/79 — House Ways and Means reported Feb. 22, 1979 (H Rept 96-15). House passed March 1. Senate Finance reported March 22 (S Rept 96-45). Senate passed March 28. President signed April 3, 1979.

PL 96-7 (HR 2439) — Rescind certain budget authority stated in the message of the president of January 31, 1979. WHITTEN, D-Miss. — 2/27/79 — House Appropriations reported March 1, 1979 (H Rept 96-25). House passed March 6. Senate Appropriations reported March 8 (S Rept 96-33). Senate passed, amended, March 14. House agreed to conference report March 27. Senate agreed to conference report March 27. President signed April 9, 1979.

PL 96-8 (HR 2479) — Promote the foreign policy of the United States through the maintenance of commercial, cultural, and other relations with the people on Taiwan on an unofficial basis. ZABLOCKI, D-Wis., WRIGHT, D-Texas, FOUNTAIN, D-N.C., FASCELL, D-Fla., DIGGS, D-Mich., ROSENTHAL, D-N.Y., HAMILTON, D-Ind., WOLFF, D-N.Y., BINGHAM, D-N.Y., YATRON, D-Pa., SOLARZ, D-N.Y., BONKER, D-Wash., PEASE, D-Ohio, MICA, D-Fla., BARNES, D-Md., GRAY, D-Fla., HALL, D-Ohio, WOLPE, D-Mich., BOWEN, D-Mass., FITHIAN, D-Ind., BROOMFIELD, R-Mich., DERWINSKI, R-Ill., FINDLEY, R-Ill., BUCHANAN, R-Ala., WINN, R-Kan., GILMAN, R-N.Y., GUYER, R-Ohio, PRITCHARD, R-Wash., and FENWICK, R-N.J. — 2/28/79 — House Foreign Affairs reported March 3, 1979. House passed March 13 (H Rept 96-25). Senate passed, amended, March 14. House agreed to conference report March 28. Senate agreed to conference report March 29. President signed April 10, 1979.

PL 96-9 (H J Res 283) — Reaffirm the United States commitment to the North Atlantic Alliance. ZABLOCKI, D-Wis., WRIGHT, D-Texas, RHODES, R-Ariz., BROOKS, D-Texas, FOUNTAIN, D-N.C., FASCELL, D-Fla., DIGGS, D-Mich., ROSENTHAL, D-N.Y., YATRON, D-Pa., COLLINS, D-Ill., BONKER, D-Wash., STUDDS, D-Mass., IRELAND, D-Fla., PEASE, D-Ohio, MICA, D-Fla., BARNES, D-Md., GRAY, D-Fla., HALL, D-Ohio, WOLPE, D-Mich., DERWINSKI, R-Ill., FINDLEY, R-Ill., BUCHANAN, R-Ala., WINN, R-Kan., GILMAN, R-N.Y., GUYER, R-Ohio, LAGOMARSINO, R-Calif., GOODLING, R-Pa., PRITCHARD, R-Wash., FENWICK, R-N.J., QUAYLE, R-Ind., and WILSON, D-Calif. — 3/28/79 — House Foreign Affairs discharged from further consideration. House passed April 4, 1979. Senate passed amended April 5. House agreed to Senate amendment April 5. President signed April 19, 1979.

PL 96-10 (HR 2283) — Increase funds for and extend the life of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. MOORHEAD, D-Pa. — 2/21/79 — House Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported March 12, 1979 (H Rept 96-33). House passed March 21. Senate passed, amended, April 2. House agreed to conference report April 25. Senate agreed to conference report April 26. President signed May 10, 1979.

PL 96-11 (H J Res 262) — Authorize the president to proclaim May 18, 1979, as "National Museum Day." FORD, D-Mich., BRADEMAS, D-Ind., and THOMPSON, D-N.J. — 3/20/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service discharged from further consideration May 15, 1979. House passed May 15. Senate passed May 16. President signed May 18, 1979.

PL 96-12 (SJ Res 80) — Confer certain powers on the Presidential Commission appointed to investigate the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant accident. KENNEDY, D-Mass., THURMOND, R-S.C., BAYH, D-Ind., BAUCUS, D-Mont., MATHIAS, R-Md. and BIDEN, D-Del. — 5/17/79 — Passed Senate May 17. Passed House May 21. President signed May 23, 1979.

PL 96-13 (SJ Res 71) — Authorize the President to proclaim the week of May 6 through 12, 1979, as "National Historic Preservation Week." CULVER, D-Iowa, JOHNSTON, D-La., LEAHY, D-Vt., McGOVERN, D-S.D., PERCY, R-Ill., BURDICK, D-N.D., MATHIAS, R-Md., STEVENSON, D-Ill., PELL, D-R.I., MOYNIHAN, D-N.Y., WALLOP, R-Wyo. and PRESSLER, R-S.D. — 5/1/79 — Passed Senate May 2. Passed House May 10. President signed May 24, 1979.

PL 96-14 (S 532) — Authorize funds for two years from the date of enactment to continue the work of the President's Commission on Pension Policy to develop a national retirement policy. PRYOR, D-Ark. — 3/1/79 — Senate Governmental Affairs reported April 18 (S Rept 96-70). Senate passed April 30. House passed May 14. President signed May 24, 1979.

PL 96-15 (S 631) — Authorize the President to present on behalf of the Congress a specially struck gold medal to John Wayne. GOLDWATER, R-Ariz., BAYH, D-Ind., EAGLETON, D-Mo., GARN, R-Utah, HATCH, R-Utah, HAYAKAWA, R-Calif., HELMS, R-N.C., JEPSEN, R-Iowa, MOYNIHAN, D-N.Y., ROTH, R-Del. and SIMPSON, R-Wyo. — 3/13/79 — Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs reported May 1, 1979 (S Rept 96-110). Senate passed May 3. House Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs discharged from further consideration May 23. House passed, amended, May 23. Senate agreed to House amendment May 23. President signed May 26, 1979.

PL 96-16 (HR 1787) — Authorize $185 million for fiscal year 1979 for supplemental funds for NASA. FUQUA, D-Fla. — 2/1/79 — House Science and Technology reported March 19 (H Rept 96-53). House passed March 28. Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported May 10 (S Rept 96-128). Senate passed May 17. President signed June 4, 1979.

PL 96-17 (HR 2520) — Authorize $4.3 million for fiscal year 1980 for the Ocean Pollution Research Development Act. MURPHY, D-N.Y., McCLOSKEY, R-Calif., STUDDS, D-Mass., PRITCHARD, R-Wash., AMBRO, D-N.Y. and WALKER, R-Pa. — 2/28/79 — House Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported May 1 (H Rept 96-110, Pt. I). House Science and Technology reported May 1 (H Rept 96-110, Pt. II). House passed under suspension of the rules May 14. Senate passed May 17. President signed June 4, 1979.

PL 96-18 (HR 3404) — Authorize Federal Reserve banks to lend certain obligations to the Secretary of the Treasury to meet the short-term cash requirments of the Treasury. MITCHELL, D-Md., HANSEN, R-Idaho, BARNARD, D-Ga., CAVANAUGH, D-Neb., D'AMOURS, D-N.H., MATTOX, D-Texas, NEAL, D-N.C. and RITTER, R-Pa. — 4/3/79 — House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs reported May 1 (H Rept 96-111). House passed May 23. Senate passed May 24. President signed June 8, 1979.

PL 96-19 (HR 2805) — Make technical and conforming changes to the financial disclosure provisions in the Ethics in Government Act. DANIELSON, D-Calif., and MOORHEAD, R-Calif. — 3/13/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported May 2 (H Rept 96-114, Pt. I). House Judiciary reported May 2 (H Rept 96-114, Pt. II). House passed under suspension of the rules May 14. Senate Governmental Affairs discharged from further consideration May 21. Senate passed May 23. President signed June 13, 1979.

PL 96-20 (S 348) — Authorize the President to present on behalf of the Congress a specially struck gold medal to Ben Abruzzo, Maxie Anderson, and Larry Newman. DOMENICI, R-N.M., SCHMITT, R-N.M. — 2/6/79 — Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported May 1 (S Rept 96-108). Senate passed May 3. House passed, amended, under suspension of the rules June 4. Senate agreed to House amendments June 5. President signed June 13, 1979.

PL 96-21 (S 613) — Authorize the President to present a gold medal to the widow of Hubert H. Humphrey. BENTSEN, D-Texas, LEAHY, D-Vt, and SASSER, D-Tenn. — 3/12/79 — Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported May 3 (S Rept 96-109). Senate passed May 3.

House passed, amended, under suspension of the rules June 4. Senate agreed to House amendments June 5. President signed June 13, 1979.

PL 96-22 (S 7) — Revise and improve certain health care programs of the Veterans Administration. CRANSTON, D-Calif. — 1/15/79 — Senate Veterans' Affairs reported April 27 (S Rept 96-100). Senate passed May 16. House passed, amended, May 21. House agreed to conference report May 30 (H Rept 96-223). Senate agreed to conference report June 4. President signed June 13, 1979.

PL 96-23 (S 709) — Authorize $1,391,593,000 for fiscal years 1980-81 for the U.S. Coast Guard. CANNON, D-Nev. — 3/21/79 — Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported May 11 (S Rept 96-134). Senate passed May 17. House passed May 31. President signed June 13, 1979.

PL 96-24 (HR 3915) — Defer from July 1, 1979, to May 1, 1980, the effective date of automatic termination insurance coverage for multi-employer pension plans. THOMPSON, D-N.J., ASHBROOK, R-Ohio, ERLENBORN, R-Ill., and ULLMAN, D-Ore. — 5/3/79 — House Education and Labor reported May 23 (H Rept 96-215). House passed under suspension of the rules June 4. Senate passed June 6. President signed June 19, 1979.

PL 96-25 (S 199) — Strengthen the Federal Maritime Commission's authority to deal with illegal rebating practices in U.S. waterborne foreign trade. INOUYE, D-Hawaii. — 1/23/79 — Commerce, Science and Transportation reported May 15 (S Rept 96-147). Senate passed May 23. House Merchant Marine and Fisheries discharged from further consideration May 30. House passed, amended, June 4. Senate agreed to House amendment June 5. President signed June 19, 1979.

PL 96-26 (HR 3577) — Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980 and 1981 for the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere. MURPHY, D-N.Y., and PRITCHARD, R-Wash. — 4/10/79 — House Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported May 3 (H Rept 96-116). House passed under suspension of the rules May 14. Senate passed, amended, June 4. House agreed to Senate amendment June 14. President signed June 21, 1979.

PL 96-27 (HR 3879) — Authorize $22 million to provide for an independent audit of the financial condition of the government of the District of Columbia. DELLUMS, D-Calif. — 5/2/79 — House District of Columbia reported May 8 (H Rept 96-130). House passed May 17. Senate passed, amended, May 24. House agreed to Senate amendment June 13. President signed June 21, 1979.

PL 96-28 (S 869) — Clarify ethical standards for Federal employees. RIBICOFF, D-Conn. — 4/4/79 — Senate passed April 9. House Judiciary reported May 2 (H Rept 96-115). House passed, amended, May 24. Senate agreed to House Amendment No. 1 with an amendment June 14. Senate disagreed to House Amendment No. 2 June 14. Senate agreed to House Amendment No. 3 June 14. House agreed to Senate amendment to House Amendment No. 1 June 15. House receded from its amendment No. 2 June 15. President signed June 22, 1979.

PL 96-29 (S 429) — Authorize supplemental funds for fiscal year 1979 for the defense establishment. STENNIS, D-Miss., and TOWER, R-Texas. — 2/9/79 — Senate Armed Services reported April 6 (S Rept 96-62). Senate passed May 3. House passed, amended, May 31. Senate agreed to conference report June 18 (H Rept 96-282). House agreed to conference report June 21. President signed June 27, 1979.

PL 96-30 (S 1317) — Extend the antitrust exemption for oil companies participating in an international energy program. JACKSON, D-Wash. — 6/12/79 — Senate Energy and Natural Resources reported June 26 (no written report). Senate passed June 26. House passed June 28. President signed June 30, 1979.

PL 96-31 (S 984) — Provide authority for the waiver or reduction of penalties where peanuts are marketed in excess of the farm poundage quota. TALMADGE, D-Ga., BENTSEN, D-Texas, HELMS, R-N.C., MORGAN, D-N.C., STEWART, D-Ala., STONE, D-Fla., TOWER, R-Texas, WARNER, R-Va., BOREN, D-Okla., DOMENICI, R-N.M. — 4/23/79 — Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry reported May 4 (S Rept 96-118). Senate passed May 10. House passed June 25. President signed July 7, 1979.

PL 96-32 (SJ Res 14) — Correct an error made in the printing of Public Law 95-613, authorizing funds through fiscal year 1983 for programs administered under the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act. BYRD, W.Va. — 1/18/79 — Senate passed Jan. 18. House Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported May 15 (H Rept 96-187). House passed, amended, June 25. Senate agreed to House amendments June 27. President signed July 10, 1979.

PL 96-33 (HR 4556) — Authorize the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to extend conditional designations of State health planning and development agencies. WAXMAN, D-Calif., and CARTER, R-Ky. — 6/21/79 — House passed under suspension of the rules, June 25. Senate passed, amended, June 27. House agreed to Senate amendments June 28. President signed July 16, 1979.

PL 96-34 (HJ Res 353) — Congratulate the men and women of the Apollo program upon the tenth anniversary of the first manned landing on the Moon and requesting the President to proclaim the period of July 16 through July 24, 1979 as "United States Space Observance." FUQUA, D-Fla., WINN, R-Kan., ADDABBO, D-N.Y., AKAKA, D-Hawaii, AMBRO, D-N.Y., ANDERSON, R-Ill., ANTHONY, D-Ark., ARCHER, R-Texas, ATKINSON, D-Pa., BAFALIS, R-Fla., BAILEY, D-Pa., BENJAMIN, D-Ind., BENNETT, D-Fla., BEVILL, D-Ala., BLANCHARD, D-Mich., BOGGS, D-La., BOLAND, D-Mass., BONIOR, D-Mich., BOUQUARD, D-Tenn., BOWEN, D-Miss., BRODHEAD, D-Mich., BROWN, D-Calif., BUCHANAN, R-Ala., CARTER, R-Ky., CHAPPELL, D-Fla., CHENEY, R-Wyo., CLAUSEN, R-Calif., COLLINS, R-Texas, CONABLE, R-N.Y., CONTE, R-Mass., CORRADA, New Prog.-P.R., COTTER, D-Conn., DANNEMEYER, R-Calif., DAVIS, R-Mich., de la GARZA, D-Texas, DERWINSKI, R-Ill., DICKS, D-Wash., DIGGS, D-Mich., DOWNEY, D-N.Y., DUNCAN, R-Tenn., EMERY, R-Maine, ERTEL, D-Pa., EVANS, D-Ga., EVANS, R-Del., FARY, D-Ill., FASCELL, D-Fla., FAUNTROY, D-D.C., FAZIO, D-Calif., FENWICK, R-N.J., FLIPPO, D-Ala., FLOOD, D-Pa., FOLEY, D-Wash., FORSYTHE, R-N.J., FOUNTAIN, D-N.C., FOWLER, D-Ga., FROST, D-Texas, GEPHARDT, D-Mo., GINN, D-Ga., GOLDWATER, R-Calif., HAGEDORN, R-Minn., HALL, D-Ohio, HANCE, D-Texas, HANSEN, R-Idaho, HAWKINS, D-Calif., HEFNER, D-N.C., HIGHTOWER, D-Texas, HOLLAND, D-S.C., HOLLENBECK, R-N.J., HORTON, R-N.Y., HOWARD, D-N.J., HUBBARD, D-Ky., HUTTO, D-Fla., HYDE, R-Ill., IRELAND, D-Fla., JEFFORDS, R-Vt., JEFFRIES, R-Kan., JENKINS, D-Ga., JENRETTE, D-S.C., JOHNSON, D-Calif., KAZEN, D-Texas, KELLY, R-Fla., KEMP, R-N.Y., KOGOVSEK, D-Colo., KOSTMAYER, D-Pa., KRAMER, R-Colo., LAGOMARSINO, R-Calif., LEACH, R-Iowa, LEDERER, D-Pa., LEHMAN, D-Fla., LELAND, D-Texas, LLOYD, D-Calif., LUNDINE, D-N.Y., LUNGREN, R-Calif., MADIGAN, R-Ill., MARKEY, D-Mass., MARTIN, R-N.C., MATHIS, D-Ga., MAVROULES, D-Mass., McDADE, R-Pa., MINETA, D-Calif., MURPHY, D-Pa., MURPHY, D-N.Y., MURPHY, D-Ill., NATCHER, D-Ky., NEAL, D-N.C., NEDZI, D-Mich., NELSON, D-Fla., OBERSTAR, D-Minn., PANETTA, D-Calif., PATTEN, D-N.J., PAUL, R-Texas, PEPPER, D-Fla., PERKINS, D-Ky., PREYER, D-N.C., PRICE, D-Ill., PRITCHARD, R-Wash., RAHALL, D-W.Va., RAILSBACK, R-Ill., RANGEL, D-N.Y., REGULA, R-Ohio, ROE, D-N.J., ROTH, R-Wis., ROUSSELOT, R-Calif., ROYER, R-Calif., RUDD, R-Ariz., RUNNELS, D-N.M., SCHEUER, D.N.Y., SCHULZE, R-Pa., SEBELIUS, R-Kan., SENSENBRENNER, R-Wis., SHARP, D-Ind., SIMON, D-Ill., SKELTON, D-Mo., SMITH, D-Iowa, SMITH, R-Neb., SOLARZ, D.N.Y., SPELLMAN, D-Md., STENHOLM, D-Texas, STEWART, D-Ill., ST GERMAIN, D-R.I., STOCKMAN, R-Mich., STRATTON, D-N.Y., SYMMS, R-Idaho, TAUKE, R-Iowa, THOMAS, R-Calif., TRAXLER, D-Mich., TREEN, R-La., VENTO, D-Minn., WALGREN, D-Pa., WALKER, R-Pa., WATKINS, D-Okla., WAXMAN, D-Calif., WEISS, D.N.Y., WHITE, D-Texas, WHITEHURST, R-Va., WILSON, D-Calif., WOLFF, D.N.Y., WOLPE, D-Mich., WON PAT, D-Guam, WYLIE, R-Ohio, YOUNG, D-Mo., and ZEFERETTI, D-N.Y. — 6/5/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported July 9 (H Rept 96-320). House passed July 10. Senate passed July 12. President signed July 17, 1979.

PL 96-35 (S 1007) — Authorize funds for military and economic assistance to Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt. CHURCH, D-Idaho. — 4/25/79 — Senate Foreign Relations reported May 3 (S Rept 96-113). Senate passed May 14. House passed, amended, May 30. Senate agreed to House amendments with an amendment June 21. House agreed to Senate amendment June 28. President signed July 20, 1979.

PL 96-36 (S 927) — Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for further development of the area south of the original Smithsonian Institution Building, adjacent to Independence Avenue at Tenth Street, Southwest, in the City of Washington. JACKSON, D-Wash., MORGAN, D-N.C., and GOLDWATER, R-Ariz. — 4/9/79 — Senate Rules and Administration reported May 14 (S Rept 96-140). Senate passed May 21. House Administration Committee discharged from further consideration. House passed July 9. President signed July 20, 1979.

PL 96-37 (HR 3978) — Exempt Savings and Loan Associations from the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission. RINALDO, R-N.J. — 5/7/79 — House Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported June 12 (H Rept 96-265, Pt. I). House passed under suspsension of the rules, July 9. Senate passed July 10. President signed July 23, 1979.

PL 96-38 (HR 4289) — Make supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1979. WHITTEN, D-Miss. — 5/31/79 — House Appropriations reported May 31 (H Rept 96-227). House passed June 6. Senate Appropriations reported June 18 (S Rept 96-224). Senate passed, amended, June 26. House agreed to conference report July 17 (H Rept 96-331). Senate agreed to conference report July 20. President signed July 25, 1979.

PL 96-39 (HR 4537) — Approve and implement the trade agreements negotiated by the United States in the Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN). WRIGHT, D-Texas and RHODES, R-Ariz. — 6/19/79 — House Ways and Means reported July 3 (H Rept 96-

317). House passed July 11. Senate Finance reported July 17 (S Rept 96-249). Senate passed July 23. President signed July 26, 1979.

PL 96-40 (HR 3661) — Increase the annual authorization for the Navajo-Hopi Relocation Commission. UDALL, D-Ariz. — 4/26/79 — House Interior and Insular Affairs reported May 10 (H Rept 96-134). House passed July 16. Senate passed July 17. President signed July 30, 1979.

PL 96-41 (HR 2154) — Revise and update the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act to conform the law to current stockpile policies and strengthen the role of Congress in stockpile matters. BENNETT, D-Fla., BRINKLEY, D-Ga., MOLLOHAN, D-W.Va., SPENCE, R-S.C., BYRON, D-Md., FAZIO, D-Calif., EMERY, R-Maine, TRIBLE, R-Va., and DOUGHERTY, R-Pa. — 2/15/79 — House Armed Services reported March 15 (H Rept 96-46). House passed under suspension of the rules March 19. Senate Armed Services reported June 6 (S Rept 96-201). Senate passed, amended, June 13. House agreed to Senate amendment July 13. President signed July 30, 1979.

PL 96-42 (HR 4712) — Delay conditionally the effective date of certain rules of procedure and evidence proposed by the U.S. Supreme Court. DRINAN, D-Mass., HALL, D-Texas, SYNAR, D-Okla., SHELBY, D-Ala., KINDNESS, R-Ohio, SAWYER, R-Mich., and LUNGREN, R-Calif. — 7/10/79 — House passed July 23. Senate passed July 24. President signed July 31, 1979.

PL 96-43 (S 961) — Expedite trials of persons charged with Federal crimes. KENNEDY, D-Mass. — 4/10/79 — Senate Judiciary reported June 13 (S Rept 96-212). Senate passed June 19. House Judiciary reported July 26 (H Rept 96-390). House passed, amended, under suspension of the rules, July 31. Senate agreed to House amendment July 31. President signed Aug. 2, 1979.

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PL 96-51 (HJ Res 209) — Designate the week of October 8 through October 14, 1979 as "National Diabetes Week." FORSYTHE, R-N.J. — 2/15/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported July 17 (H Rept 96-341). House passed July 20. Senate passed Aug. 3. President signed Aug. 13, 1979.

PL 96-52 (S 1318) — Allow the Bureau of the Census a temporary variance in securing space for purposes of taking the 1980 Decennial Census. GLENN, D-Ohio. — 6/12/79 — Senate Governmental Affairs reported July 31 (S Rept 96-277). Senate passed Aug. 1. House passed Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 13, 1979.

PL 96-53 (HR 3324) — Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for international development and economic assistance programs. ZABLOCKI, D-Wis., FASCELL, D-Fla., HAMILTON, D-Ind., WOLFF, D-N.Y., BINGHAM, D-N.Y., SOLARZ, D-N.Y., PEASE, D-Ohio, BARNES, D-Md., GRAY, D-Pa., BUCHANAN, R-Ala., WINN, R-Kan., GILMAN, R-N.Y., and FENWICK, R-N.J. — 3/29/79 — House Foreign Affairs reported March 31 (H Rept 96-79). House passed April 10. Senate Foreign Relations reported May 15 (no written report). Senate passed, amended, June 19. Senate agreed to conference report July 31 (H Rept 96-397). House agreed to conference report Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-54 (HR 4616) — Make certain technical and clerical amendments to Title 5, United States Code. HANLEY, D-N.Y. — 6/26/79 — House passed July 10. Senate Governmental Affairs reported July 31 (S Rept 96-276). Senate passed Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-55 (HR 4811) — Provide for the relief of the City of Nenana, Alaska. YOUNG, R-Alaska. — 7/16/79 — House Interior and Insular Affairs reported July 25 (H Rept 96-387). House passed, under suspension of the rules, July 30. Senate passed Aug. 1. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-56 (HR 2807) — Provide for repayment of certain student loan debts federally insured or guaranteed which arise in bankruptcy proceeding unless determined otherwise by the courts. EDWARDS, D-Calif. — 3/13/79 — House passed, under suspension of the rules, May 7. Senate Judiciary reported June 21 (S Rept 96-230). Senate passed, amended, July 11. House agreed to Senate amendments Aug. 1. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-57 (HR 3914) — Increase the amount authorized for the District of Columbia share of the cost of the rapid transit system of the National Capital Region. STARK, D-Calif., HARRIS, D-Va., FAUNTROY, D-D.C., MCKINNEY, R-Conn., MOFFETT, D-Conn. — 5/3/79 — House District of Columbia reported May 9 (H Rept 96-132). House passed May 23. Senate Government Affairs reported July 27 (S Rept 96-263). Senate passed Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-58 (HR 4057) — Authorize an additional $620 million in supplemental funds for fiscal year 1979 for the Food Stamp Program. RICHMOND, D-N.Y. — 5/10/79 — House Agriculture reported June 11 (H Rept 96-264). House passed July 11. Senate passed, amended, July 23. Senate agreed to conference report July 27 (H Rept 96-394). House agreed to conference report Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-59 (S 41) — Direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey to Bell County, Kentucky, Board of Education, interest in certain land held by the United States. FORD, D-Ky., and HUDDLESTON, D-Ky. — 1/15/79 — Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry reported March 27 (S Rept 96-48). Senate passed April 4. House Agriculture reported June 15 (H Rept 96-277). House passed, amended, under suspension of the rules, July 23. Senate agreed to House amendments Aug. 1. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-60 (HR 3363) — Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980 and 1981 for the Department of State, International Communication Agency, and Board for International Broadcasting, and authorize supplemental funds for fiscal year 1979 for the Department of State. FASCELL, D-Fla., ZABLOCKI, D-Wis., BOWEN, D-Miss., GRAY, D-Pa., BUCHANAN, R-Ala., DERWINSKI, R-Ill., PRITCHARD, R-Wash., BARNES, D-Md., BONKER, D-Wash., DIGGS, D-Mich., FENWICK, R-N.J., FINDLEY, R-Ill., SOLARZ, D-N.Y., STUDDS, D-Mass., WINN, R-Kan., WOLFF, D-N.Y., WOLPE, D-Mich., and YATRON, D-Pa. — 4/2/79 — House Foreign Affairs reported April 3 (H Rept 96-81). House passed April 24. Senate passed, amended, May 15. House agreed to conference report Aug. 2 (H Rept 96-399). Senate agreed to conference report Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 15, 1979.

PL 96-61 (S 917) — Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980, 1981, and 1982, for programs administered by the Fisheries Conservation and Management Act. MAGNUSON, D-Wash., JACKSON, D-Wash., STEVENS, R-Alaska, and GRAVEL, D-Alaska. — 4/9/79 — Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation reported April 23 (S Rept 96-72). Senate passed April 30. House passed, amended, June 25. Senate agreed to House amendment with an amendment Aug. 1. House agreed to Senate amendment Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 15, 1979.

House passed, amended, under suspension of the rules June 4. Senate agreed to House amendments June 5. President signed June 13, 1979.

PL 96-22 (S 7) — Revise and improve certain health care programs of the Veterans Administration. CRANSTON, D-Calif. — 1/15/79 — Senate Veterans' Affairs reported April 27 (S Rept 96-100). Senate passed May 16. House passed, amended, May 21. House agreed to conference report May 30 (H Rept 96-223). Senate agreed to conference report June 4. President signed June 13, 1979.

PL 96-23 (S 709) — Authorize $1,391,593,000 for fiscal years 1980-81 for the U.S. Coast Guard. CANNON, D-Nev. — 3/21/79 — Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported May 11 (S Rept 96-134). Senate passed May 17. House passed May 31. President signed June 13, 1979.

PL 96-24 (HR 3915) — Defer from July 1, 1979, to May 1, 1980, the effective date of automatic termination insurance coverage for multi-employer pension plans. THOMPSON, D-N.J., ASHBROOK, R-Ohio, ERLENBORN, R-Ill., and ULLMAN, D-Ore. — 5/3/79 — House Education and Labor reported May 23 (H Rept 96-215). House passed under suspension of the rules June 4. Senate passed June 6. President signed June 19, 1979.

PL 96-25 (S 199) — Strengthen the Federal Maritime Commission's authority to deal with illegal rebating practices in U.S. waterborne foreign trade. INOUYE, D-Hawaii. — 1/23/79 — Commerce, Science and Transportation reported May 15 (S Rept 96-147). Senate passed May 23. House Merchant Marine and Fisheries discharged from further consideration May 30. House passed, amended, June 4. Senate agreed to House amendment June 5. President signed June 19, 1979.

PL 96-26 (HR 3577) — Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980 and 1981 for the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere. MURPHY, D-N.Y., and PRITCHARD, R-Wash. — 4/10/79 — House Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported May 3 (H Rept 96-116). House passed under suspension of the rules May 14. Senate passed, amended, June 4. House agreed to Senate amendment June 14. President signed June 21, 1979.

PL 96-27 (HR 3879) — Authorize $22 million to provide for an independent audit of the financial condition of the government of the District of Columbia. DELLUMS, D-Calif. — 5/2/79 — House District of Columbia reported May 8 (H Rept 96-130). House passed May 17. Senate passed, amended, May 24. House agreed to Senate amendment June 13. President signed June 21, 1979.

PL 96-28 (S 869) — Clarify ethical standards for Federal employees. RIBICOFF, D-Conn. — 4/4/79 — Senate passed April 9. House Judiciary reported May 2 (H Rept 96-115). House passed, amended, May 24. Senate agreed to House Amendment No. 1 with an amendment June 14. Senate disagreed to House Amendment No. 2 June 14. Senate agreed to House Amendment No. 3 June 14. House agreed to Senate amendment to House Amendment No. 1 June 15. House receded from its amendment No. 2 June 15. President signed June 22, 1979.

PL 96-29 (S 429) — Authorize supplemental funds for fiscal year 1979 for the defense establishment. STENNIS, D-Miss., and TOWER, R-Texas. — 2/9/79 — Senate Armed Services reported April 6 (S Rept 96-62). Senate passed May 3. House passed, amended, May 31. Senate agreed to conference report June 18 (H Rept 96-282). House agreed to conference report June 21. President signed June 27, 1979.

PL 96-30 (S 1317) — Extend the antitrust exemption for oil companies participating in an international energy program. JACKSON, D-Wash. — 6/12/79 — Senate Energy and Natural Resources reported June 26 (no written report). Senate passed June 26. House passed June 28. President signed June 30, 1979.

PL 96-31 (S 984) — Provide authority for the waiver or reduction of penalties where peanuts are marketed in excess of the farm poundage quota. TALMADGE, D-Ga., BENTSEN, D-Texas, HELMS, R-N.C., MORGAN, D-N.C., STEWART, D-Ala., STONE, D-Fla., TOWER, R-Texas, WARNER, R-Va., BOREN, D-Okla., DOMENICI, R-N.M. — 4/23/79 — Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry reported May 4 (S Rept 96-118). Senate passed May 10. House passed June 25. President signed July 7, 1979.

PL 96-32 (SJ Res 14) — Correct an error made in the printing of Public Law 95-613, authorizing funds through fiscal year 1983 for programs administered under the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act. BYRD, W.Va. — 1/18/79 — Senate passed Jan. 18. House Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported May 15 (H Rept 96-187). House passed, amended, June 25. Senate agreed to House amendments June 27. President signed July 10, 1979.

PL 96-33 (HR 4556) — Authorize the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to extend conditional designations of State health planning and development agencies. WAXMAN, D-Calif., and CARTER, R-Ky. — 6/21/79 — House passed under suspension of the rules, June 25. Senate passed, amended, June 27. House agreed to Senate amendments June 28. President signed July 16, 1979.

PL 96-34 (HJ Res 353) — Congratulate the men and women of the Apollo program upon the tenth anniversary of the first manned landing on the Moon and requesting the President to proclaim the period of July 16 through July 24, 1979 as "United States Space Observance." FUQUA, D-Fla., WINN, R-Kan., ADDABBO, D-N.Y., AKAKA, D-Hawaii, AMBRO, D-N.Y., ANDERSON, R-Ill., ANTHONY, D-Ark., ARCHER, R-Texas, ATKINSON, D-Pa., BAFALIS, R-Fla., BAILEY, D-Pa., BENJAMIN, D-Ind., BENNETT, D-Fla., BEVILL, D-Ala., BLANCHARD, D-Mich., BOGGS, D-La., BOLAND, D-Mass., BONIOR, D-Mich., BOUQUARD, D-Tenn., BOWEN, D-Miss., BRODHEAD, D-Mich., BROWN, D-Calif., BUCHANAN, R-Ala., CARTER, R-Ky., CHAPPELL, D-Fla., CHENEY, R-Wyo., CLAUSEN, R-Calif., COLLINS, R-Texas, CONABLE, R-N.Y., CONTE, R-Mass., CORRADA, New Prog.-P.R., COTTER, D-Conn., DANNEMEYER, R-Calif., DAVIS, R-Mich., de la GARZA, D-Texas, DERWINSKI, R-Ill., DICKS, D-Wash., DIGGS, D-Mich., DOWNEY, D-N.Y., DUNCAN, R-Tenn., EMERY, R-Maine, ERTEL, D-Pa., EVANS, D-Ga., EVANS, R-Del., FARY, D-Ill., FASCELL, D-Fla., FAUNTROY, D-D.C., FAZIO, D-Calif., FENWICK, R-N.J., FLIPPO, D-Ala., FLOOD, D-Pa., FOLEY, D-Wash., FORSYTHE, R-N.J., FOUNTAIN, D-N.C., FOWLER, D-Ga., FROST, D-Texas, GEPHARDT, D-Mo., GINN, D-Ga., GOLDWATER, R-Calif., HAGEDORN, R-Minn., HALL, D-Ohio, HANCE, D-Texas, HANSEN, R-Idaho, HAWKINS, D-Calif., HEFNER, D-N.C., HIGHTOWER, D-Texas, HOLLAND, D-S.C., HOLLENBECK, R-N.J., HORTON,R-N.Y., HOWARD, D-N.J., HUBBARD, D-Ky., HUTTO, D-Fla., HYDE, R-Ill., IRELAND, D-Fla., JEFFORDS, R-Vt., JEFFRIES, R-Kan., JENKINS, D-Ga., JENRETTE, D-S.C., JOHNSON, D-Calif., KAZEN, D-Texas, KELLY, R-Fla., KEMP, R-N.Y., KOGOVSEK, D-Colo., KOSTMAYER, D-Pa., KRAMER, R-Colo., LAGOMARSINO, R-Calif., LEACH, R-Iowa, LEDERER, D-Pa., LEHMAN, D-Fla., LELAND, D-Texas, LLOYD, D-Calif., LUNDINE, D-N.Y., LUNGREN, R-Calif., MADIGAN, R-Ill., MARKEY, D-Mass., MARTIN, R-N.C., MATHIS, D-Ga., MAVROULES, D-Mass., McDADE, R-Pa., MINETA, D-Calif., MURPHY, D-Pa., MURPHY, D-N.Y., MURPHY, D-Ill., NATCHER, D-Ky., NEAL, D-N.C., NEDZI, D-Mich., NELSON, D-Fla., OBERSTAR, D-Minn., PANETTA, D-Calif., PATTEN, D-N.J., PAUL, R-Texas, PEPPER, D-Fla., PERKINS, D-Ky., PREYER, D-N.C., PRICE, D-Ill., PRITCHARD, R-Wash., RAHALL, D-W.Va., RAILSBACK, R-Ill., RANGEL, D-N.Y., REGULA, R-Ohio, ROE, D-N.J., ROTH, R-Wis., ROUSSELOT, R-Calif., ROYER, R-Calif., RUDD, R-Ariz., RUNNELS, D-N.M., SCHEUER, D.N.Y., SCHULZE, R-Pa., SEBELIUS, R-Kan., SENSENBRENNER, R-Wis., SHARP, D-Ind., SIMON, D-Ill., SKELTON, D-Mo., SMITH, D-Iowa, SMITH, R-Neb., SOLARZ, D.N.Y., SPELLMAN, D-Md., STENHOLM, D-Texas, STEWART, D-Ill., ST GERMAIN, D-R.I., STOCKMAN, R-Mich., STRATTON, D-N.Y., SYMMS, R-Idaho, TAUKE, R-Iowa, THOMAS, R-Calif., TRAXLER, D-Mich., TREEN, R-La., VENTO, D-Minn., WALGREN, D-Pa., WALKER, R-Pa., WATKINS, D-Okla., WAXMAN, D-Calif., WEISS, D.N.Y., WHITE, D-Texas, WHITEHURST, R-Va., WILSON, D-Calif., WOLFF, D.N.Y., WOLPE, D-Mich., WON PAT, D-Guam, WYLIE, R-Ohio, YOUNG, D-Mo., and ZEFERETTI, D-N.Y. — 6/5/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported July 9 (H Rept 96-320). House passed July 10. Senate passed July 12. President signed July 17, 1979.

PL 96-35 (S 1007) — Authorize funds for military and economic assistance to Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt. CHURCH, D-Idaho. — 4/25/79 — Senate Foreign Relations reported May 3 (S Rept 96-113). Senate passed May 14. House passed, amended, May 30. Senate agreed to House amendments with an amendment June 21. House agreed to Senate amendment June 28. President signed July 20, 1979.

PL 96-36 (S 927) — Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for further development of the area south of the original Smithsonian Institution Building, adjacent to Independence Avenue at Tenth Street, Southwest, in the City of Washington. JACKSON, D-Wash., MORGAN, D-N.C., and GOLDWATER, R-Ariz. — 4/9/79 — Senate Rules and Administration reported May 14 (S Rept 96-140). Senate passed May 21. House Administration Committee discharged from further consideration. House passed July 9. President signed July 20, 1979.

PL 96-37 (HR 3978) — Exempt Savings and Loan Associations from the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission. RINALDO, R-N.J. — 5/7/79 — House Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported June 12 (H Rept 96-265, Pt. I). House passed under suspsension of the rules, July 9. Senate passed July 10. President signed July 23, 1979.

PL 96-38 (HR 4289) — Make supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1979. WHITTEN, D-Miss. — 5/31/79 — House Appropriations reported May 31 (H Rept 96-227). House passed June 6. Senate Appropriations reported June 18 (S Rept 96-224). Senate passed, amended, June 26. House agreed to conference report July 17 (H Rept 96-331). Senate agreed to conference report July 20. President signed July 25, 1979.

PL 96-39 (HR 4537) — Approve and implement the trade agreements negotiated by the United States in the Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN). WRIGHT, D-Texas and RHODES, R-Ariz. — 6/19/79 — House Ways and Means reported July 3 (H Rept 96-

317). House passed July 11. Senate Finance reported July 17 (S Rept 96-249). Senate passed July 23. President signed July 26, 1979.

PL 96-40 (HR 3661) — Increase the annual authorization for the Navajo-Hopi Relocation Commission. UDALL, D-Ariz. — 4/23/79 — House Interior and Insular Affairs reported May 10 (H Rept 96-134). House passed July 16. Senate passed July 17. President signed July 30, 1979.

PL 96-41 (HR 2154) — Revise and update the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act to conform the law to current stockpile policies and strengthen the role of Congress in stockpile matters. BENNETT, D-Fla., BRINKLEY, D-Ga., MOLLOHAN, D-W.Va., SPENCE, R-S.C., BYRON, D-Md., FAZIO, D-Calif., EMERY, R-Maine, TRIBLE, R-Va., and DOUGHERTY, R-Pa. — 2/15/79 — House Armed Services reported March 15 (H Rept 96-46). House passed under suspension of the rules March 19. Senate Armed Services reported June 6 (S Rept 96-201). Senate passed, amended, June 13. House agreed to Senate amendment July 13. President signed July 30, 1979.

PL 96-42 (HR 4712) — Delay conditionally the effective date of certain rules of procedure and evidence proposed by the U.S. Supreme Court. DRINAN, D-Mass., HALL, D-Texas, SYNAR, D-Okla., SHELBY, D-Ala., KINDNESS, R-Ohio, SAWYER, R-Mich., and LUNGREN, R-Calif. — 7/10/79 — House passed July 23. Senate passed July 24. President signed July 31, 1979.

PL 96-43 (S 961) — Expedite trials of persons charged with Federal crimes. KENNEDY, D-Mass. — 4/10/79 — Senate Judiciary reported June 13 (S Rept 96-212). Senate passed June 19. House Judiciary reported July 26 (H Rept 96-390). House passed, amended, under suspension of the rules, July 31. Senate agreed to House amendment July 31. President signed Aug. 2, 1979.

PL 96-44 (HR 2729) — Authorize funds for activities of the National Science Foundation for fiscal year 1980. BROWN, D-Calif., and HOLLENBECK, R-N.J. — 3/8/79 — House Science and Technology reported March 21 (H Rept 96-61). House passed March 27. Senate Labor and Human Resources reported May 1 (S Rept 96-107). Senate passed, amended, May 8. House agreed to conference report July 13 (H Rept 96-321). Senate agreed to conference report July 18. President signed Aug. 2, 1979.

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PL 96-46 (HR 4591) — Make technical corrections and clarify certain amendments in certain education laws contained in the Education Amendments of 1978. PERKINS, D-Ky., and GOODLING, R-Pa. — 6/22/79 — House Education and Labor reported July 13 (H Rept 96-338). House passed, under suspension of the rules, July 23. Senate passed July 24. President signed Aug. 6, 1979.

PL 96-47 (S 976) — Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for international affairs programs of the Department of the Treasury. Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs reported May 15 (S Rept 96-170). Senate passed May 22. House passed, amended, June 8. Senate agreed to House amendment with an amendment June 21. House agreed to Senate amendment July 27. President signed Aug. 8, 1979.

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PL 96-50 (HJ Res 19) — Authorize the President to designate the week of September 16 to 22, 1979, as "National Lupus Week." ANDERSON, D-Calif. — 1/15/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported July 17 (H Rept 96-340). House passed July 20. Senate passed Aug. 2. President signed August 13, 1979.

PL 96-51 (HJ Res 209) — Designate the week of October 8 through October 14, 1979 as "National Diabetes Week." FORSYTHE, R-N.J. — 2/15/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported July 17 (H Rept 96-341). House passed July 20. Senate passed Aug. 3. President signed Aug. 13, 1979.

PL 96-52 (S 1318) — Allow the Bureau of the Census a temporary variance in securing space for purposes of taking the 1980 Decennial Census. GLENN, D-Ohio. — 6/12/79 — Senate Governmental Affairs reported July 31 (S Rept 96-277). Senate passed Aug. 1. House passed Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 13, 1979.

PL 96-53 (HR 3324) — Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for international development and economic assistance programs. ZABLOCKI, D-Wis., FASCELL, D-Fla., HAMILTON, D-Ind., WOLFF, D-N.Y., BINGHAM, D-N.Y., SOLARZ, D-N.Y., PEASE, D-Ohio, BARNES, D-Md., GRAY, D-Pa., BUCHANAN, R-Ala., WINN, R-Kan., GILMAN, R-N.Y., and FENWICK, R-N.J. — 3/29/79 — House Foreign Affairs reported March 31 (H Rept 96-79). House passed April 10. Senate Foreign Relations reported May 15 (no written report). Senate passed, amended, June 19. Senate agreed to conference report July 31 (H Rept 96-397). House agreed to conference report Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-54 (HR 4616) — Make certain technical and clerical amendments to Title 5, United States Code. HANLEY, D-N.Y. — 6/26/79 — House passed July 10. Senate Governmental Affairs reported July 31 (S Rept 96-276). Senate passed Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-55 (HR 4811) — Provide for the relief of the City of Nenana, Alaska. YOUNG, R-Alaska. — 7/16/79 — House Interior and Insular Affairs reported July 25 (H Rept 96-387). House passed, under suspension of the rules, July 30. Senate passed Aug. 1. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-56 (HR 2807) — Provide for repayment of certain student loan debts federally insured or guaranteed which arise in bankruptcy proceeding unless determined otherwise by the courts. EDWARDS, D-Calif. — 3/13/79 — House passed, under suspension of the rules, May 7. Senate Judiciary reported June 21 (S Rept 96-230). Senate passed, amended, July 11. House agreed to Senate amendments Aug. 1. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-57 (HR 3914) — Increase the amount authorized for the District of Columbia share of the cost of the rapid transit system of the National Capital Region. STARK, D-Calif., HARRIS, D-Va., FAUNTROY, D-D.C., MCKINNEY, R-Conn., MOFFETT, D-Conn. — 5/3/79 — House District of Columbia reported May 9 (H Rept 96-132). House passed May 23. Senate Government Affairs reported July 27 (S Rept 96-263). Senate passed Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-58 (HR 4057) — Authorize an additional $620 million in supplemental funds for fiscal year 1979 for the Food Stamp Program. RICHMOND, D-N.Y. — 5/10/79 — House Agriculture reported June 11 (H Rept 96-264). House passed July 11. Senate passed, amended, July 23. Senate agreed to conference report July 27 (H Rept 96-394). House agreed to conference report Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-59 (S 41) — Direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey to Bell County, Kentucky, Board of Education, interest in certain land held by the United States. FORD, D-Ky., and HUDDLESTON, D-Ky. — 1/15/79 — Senate Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry reported March 27 (S Rept 96-48). Senate passed April 4. House Agriculture reported June 15 (H Rept 96-277). House passed, amended, under suspension of the rules, July 23. Senate agreed to House amendments Aug. 1. President signed Aug. 14, 1979.

PL 96-60 (HR 3363) — Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980 and 1981 for the Department of State, International Communcation Agency, and Board for International Broadcasting, and authorize supplemental funds for fiscal year 1979 for the Department of State. FASCELL, D-Fla., ZABLOCKI, D-Wis., BOWEN, D-Miss., GRAY, D-Pa., BUCHANAN, R-Ala., DERWINSKI, R-Ill., PRITCHARD, R-Wash., BARNES, D-Md., BONKER, D-Wash., DIGGS, D-Mich., FENWICK, R-N.J., FINDLEY, R-Ill., SOLARZ, D-N.Y., STUDDS, D-Mass., WINN, R-Kan., WOLFF, D-N.Y., WOLPE, D-Mich., and YATRON, D-Pa. — 4/2/79 — House Foreign Affairs reported April 3 (H Rept 96-81). House passed April 24. Senate passed, amended, May 15. House agreed to conference report Aug. 2 (H Rept 96-399). Senate agreed to conference report Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 15, 1979.

PL 96-61 (S 917) — Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980, 1981, and 1982, for programs administered by the Fisheries Conservation and Management Act. MAGNUSON, D-Wash., JACKSON, D-Wash., STEVENS, R-Alaska, and GRAVEL, D-Alaska. — 4/9/79 — Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation reported April 23 (S Rept 96-72). Senate passed April 30. House passed, amended, June 25. Senate agreed to House amendment with an amendment Aug. 1. House agreed to Senate amendment Aug. 2. President signed Aug. 15, 1979.

PL 96-62 (H J Res 244) — Authorize and request the President to issue annually a proclamation designating the first Sunday of September following Labor Day of each year as "National Grandparents Day." BURTON, J. L., D-Calif., LEVITAS, D-Ga., ROUSSELOT, R-Calif., BOLAND, D-Mass., BURTON, P., D-Calif., CORMAN, D-Calif., MURPHY, D-Ill., SOLARZ, D-N.Y., ALEXANDER, D-Ark., FASCELL, D-Fla., McDADE, R-Pa., DICKS, D-Wash., FLOOD, D-Pa.,GINN, D-Ga., MOTTL, D-Ohio, CHISHOLM, D-N.Y., MITCHELL, D-Md., CORRADA, New Prog.-P.R., PATTEN, D-N.J., HAWKINS, D-Calif., LAGOMARSINO, R-Calif., LaFALCE, D-N.Y., HORTON, R-N.Y., McDONALD, D-Ga., KEMP, R-N.Y., SPENCE, R-S.C., JOHNSON, D-Calif., ROE, D-N.J., MILLER, D-Calif., FAZIO, D-Calif., MURPHY, D-Pa., NOLAN, D-Minn., EVANS, D-Ga., GOODLING, R-Pa., FORSYTHE, R-N.J., HUTTO, D-Fla., VAN DEERLIN, D-Calif., FRENZEL, R-Minn., and BRODHEAD, D-Mich. — 3/8/79 — House passed July 27. Senate passed Aug. 3. President signed Sept. 6, 1979.

PL 96-63 (S 1146) — Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980, 1981, and 1982 for the Safe Drinking Water Act. MUSKIE, D-Maine. — 5/15/79 — Senate Environment and Public Works reported May 15 (S Rept 96-161). Senate passed May 22. House passed, amended, July 30. Senate agreed to House amendments Aug. 3. President signed Sept. 6, 1979.

PL 96-64 (S 1646) — Extend the time for foreign banks to obtain required deposit insurance with respect to existing branches in the United States. PROXMIRE, D-Wis. — 8/2/79 — Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported Aug. 2 (S Rept 96-301). Senate passed Sept. 6. House passed Sept. 7. President signed Sept. 10, 1979.

PL 96-65 (HJ Res 367) — Authorize the President to proclaim the week of Sept. 16 through Sept. 22, 1979, as "National Meals on Wheels Week." PREYER, D-N.C. — 6/26/79 — House passed Aug. 2. Senate Judiciary reported Sept. 14 (S Rept 96-318). Senate passed Sept. 14. President signed Sept. 19, 1979.

PL 96-66 (HR 2774) — Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980 and 1981 for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. ZABLOCKI, D-Wis., BROOMFIELD, R-Mich., HAMILTON, D-Ind., WOLFF, D-N.Y., BINGHAM, D-N.Y., and WINN, R-Kan. — 3/8/79 — House Foreign Affairs reported March 16 (H Rept 96-47). House passed March 22. Senate Foreign Relations reported April 26 (S Rept 96-65). Senate passed, amended, May 1. House agreed to conference report Sept. 7 (H Rept 96-412). Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 11. President signed Sept. 21, 1979.

PL 96-67 (S 1019) — Eliminate the present prohibition in the U.S. aid program against any form of assistance being given to Uganda. CHURCH, D-Idaho, MCGOVERN, D-S.D., WEICKER, R-Conn., and HATFIELD, R-Ore. — 4/26/79 — Senate Foreign Relations reported May 3 (no written report). Senate passed May 7. House passed, amended, May 21. House agreed to conference report Sept. 7 (H Rept 96-395). Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 11. President signed Sept. 21, 1979.

PL 96-68 (HR 4392) — Make appropriations for fiscal year 1980 for the Department of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary and related agencies. SLACK, D-W.Va. — 6/7/79 —House Appropriations reported June 7 (H Rept 96-247). House passed July 12. Senate Appropriations reported July 19 (S Rept 96-251). Senate passed, amended, July 24. House agreed to conference report Aug. 2 (H Rept 96-402). Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 10. President signed Sept. 24.

PL 96-69 (HR 4388) — Make energy and water development appropriations for fiscal 1980. BEVILL, D-Ala. — 6/7/79 — House Appropriations reported June 7 (H Rept 96-243). House passed June 18. Senate Appropriations reported July 12 (S Rept 96-242). Senate passed, amended, July 18. House agreed to conference report Aug. 1 (H Rept 96-388). Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 10. President signed Sept. 25, 1979.

PL 96-70 (HR 111) Provide for the operations and maintainance of the Panama Canal, and provide for the exercise of rights and performance of the duties of the United States provided in the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977. MURPHY, D-N.Y., de la GARZA, D-Texas, and HUBBARD, D-Ky. — 1/15/79 — House Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported April 23 (H Rept 96-98, Pt. I). House Merchant Marine and Fisheries filed supplemental report June 7 (H Rept 96-98, Pt. II). House passed June 21. Senate Armed Services reported July 21 (S Rept 96-255). Senate passed, amended, July 26. Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 20 (H Rept 96-438). House rejected conference report Sept. 20. Senate agreed to second conference report Sept. 25 (H Rept 96-473). House agreed to conference report Sept. 26. President signed Sept. 27, 1979.

PL 96-71 (S J Res 105) — Extend until November 1, 1979, Federal Housing Administration mortgage insurance authorities. PROXMIRE, D-Wis. — 3/14/79 — Senate passed Sept. 25. House passed Sept. 26. President signed Sept. 28, 1979.

PL 96-72 (S 737) — Extend the Export Administration Act through fiscal year 1983 and authorize $8 million for each of fiscal years 1980 and 1981 to provide authority to regulate exports. STEVENSON, D-Ill., and HEINZ, R-Pa. — 3/22/79 — Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported May 15 (S Rept 96-169). Senate passed July 21. House passed, amended, July 25. Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 27 (H Rept 96-482). House agreed to conference report Sept. 28. President signed Sept. 29, 1979.

PL 96-73 (HR 3996) — Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980 through 1982 for Amtrak. FLORIO, D-N.J., MADIGAN, R-Ill., MURPHY, D-N.Y., and SANTINI, D-Nev. — 5/8/79 — House Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported May 15 (H Rept 96-189). House passed July 25. Senate passed, amended, Aug. 2. Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 25 (H Rept 96-481). House agreed to conference report Sept. 27. President signed Sept. 29, 1979.

PL 96-74 (HR 4393) — Make appropriations for fiscal year 1980 for the Department of the Treasury and the U.S. Postal Service. STEED, D-Okla. — 6/7/79 — House Appropriations reported June 7 (H Rept 96-248). House passed July 16. Senate Appropriations Aug. 2 (S Rept 96-299). Senate passed, amended, Sept. 6. House agreed to conference report Sept. 26 (H Rept 96-471). Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 26. President signed Sept. 29, 1979.

PL 96-75 (HR 5380) — Continue in effect any authority provided under the Department of Justice Authorization Act for fiscal year 1979, for a certain period — RODINO, D-N.J., EDWARDS, D-Calif., MCCLORY, R-Ill., HYDE, R-Ill. — 9/25/79 — House passed Sept. 26. Senate passed Sept. 27. President signed Sept. 29, 1979.

PL 96-76 (S 230) — Authorize funds through fiscal year 1980 for nurse training programs. JAVITS, R-N.Y., KENNEDY, D-Mass., WILLIAMS, D-N.J., RANDOLPH, D-W.Va., EAGLETON, D-Mo., CRANSTON, D-Calif., RIEGLE, D-Mich., SCHWEIKER, R-Pa., STAFFORD, R-Vt., LEVIN, D-Mich., and DOLE, R-Kan. — 1/25/79 — Senate Labor and Human Resources reported April 30 (S Rept 96-101). Senate passed May 7. House passed, amended, July 27. Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 7 (H Rept 96-419). House agreed to conference report Sept. 20. President signed Sept. 29, 1979.

PL 96-77 (H J Res 406) — Extend by 120 days the expiration date of Defense Production Act. MOORHEAD, D-Pa. — 9/20/79 — House passed Sept 25. Senate passed Sept. 27. President signed Sept. 29, 1979.

PL 96-78 (HR 5369) — Provide for a combined permanent and temporary limit on the public debt of $879 billion through May 31, 1980 — ULLMAN, D-Ore. — 9/20/79 — House Ways and Means reported Sept. 24 (H Rept 96-472, Pt. I) House passed Sept. 26. Senate passed Sept. 28. President signed Sept. 29, 1979.

PL 96-79 (S 544) — Revise and extend through fiscal year 1982, programs administered under the Public Health Service Act. KENNEDY, D-Mass., SCHWEIKER, R-Pa., WILLIAMS, D-N.J., RANDOLPH, D-W.Va., PELL, D-R.I., CRANSTON, D-Calif., RIEGLE, D-Mich., JAVITS, R-N.Y. — 3/5/79 — Senate Labor and Human Resources reported April 26 (S Rept 96-96). Senate passed May 1. House Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged. House passed, amended, July 19. House agreed to conference report Sept. 20 (H Rept 96-420). Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 21. President signed Oct. 4, 1979.

PL 96-80 (HJ Res 303) — Authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation designating the seven calendar days beginning Oct. 7, 1979, as "National Port Week." MURPHY, D-N.Y. and JOHNSON, D-Calif. — 4/5/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service discharged. House passed Sept. 20. Senate Judiciary reported Oct. 2 (no written report). Senate passed Oct. 2. President signed Oct. 6, 1979.

PL 96-81 (S 721) — Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for the United States Commission on Civil Rights. BAYH, D-Ind. — 3/21/79 — Senate Judiciary reported May 15 (S Rept 96-167). Senate passed June 7. House passed, amended, June 8. Senate agreed to House amendments, with amendments, Sept. 25. House agreed to Senate amendments Sept. 27. President signed Oct. 6, 1979.

PL 96-82 (S 237) — Clarify and expand jurisdiction of U.S. magistrates and improve access to the federal courts. DECONCINI, D-Ariz. — 1/25/79 — Senate Judiciary reported April 24 (S Rept 96-74). Senate passed May 2. House Judiciary discharged. House passed, amended, June 26. Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 20 (H Rept 96-444). House agreed to conference report Sept. 28. President signed Oct. 10, 1979.

PL 96-83 (S 756) — Authorize funds through fiscal year 1984 for the Office of Federal Procurement Policy. CHILES, D-Fla. — 3/26/79 — Senate Governmental Affairs reported May 15 (S Rept 96-144). Senate passed May 21. House passed, amended, Sept. 20. Senate agreed to House amendments, with amendments, Sept. 27. House agreed to Senate amendments Sept. 28. President signed Oct. 10, 1979.

PL 96-84 (HR 3920) — Extend until July 1, 1980, the final report due date of the National Commission on Unemployment Compensation, and extend until January 1, 1982, exclusion of certain alien farm workers from the federal unemployment tax. CORMAN, D-Calif. and BAFALIS, R-Fla. — 5/3/79 — House Ways and Means reported June 5 (H Rept 96-237). House passed July 25. Senate Finance reported Sept.

21 (S Rept 96-327). Senate passed Sept. 27. President signed Oct. 10, 1979.

PL 96-85 (S 233) — Authorize funds for the U.S. Travel Service for fiscal year 1980. CANNON, D-Nev., and INOUYE, D-Hawaii — 1/25/79 — Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported March 1 (S Rept 96-8). Senate passed March 8. House Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged. House passed Sept. 28. President signed Oct. 10, 1979.

PL 96-86 (HJ Res 412) — Make continuing appropriations for the Federal Government. WHITTEN, D-Miss. — 10/9/79 — (H Rept 96-500). House passed Oct 9. Senate Appropriations reported Oct. 10 (no written report). Senate passed. amended, Oct. 10. House agreed to conference report Oct 12 (H Rept 96-513). Senate agreed to conference report Oct. 12. President signed Oct. 12, 1979.

PL 96-87 (HR 5419) - Authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide for the commemoration of the efforts of Goodloe Byron in protecting the Appalachian Trail. BURTON, D-Calif., BYRON, D-Md., BARNES, D-Md., BAUMAN, R-Md., HOLT, R-Md.,LONG, D-Md., MIKULSKI, D-Md., MITCHELL, D-Md., SPELLMAN, D-Md., SEBELIUS, R-Kan., UDALL, D-Ariz., CLAUSEN, R-Calif., SEIBERLING, D-Ohio, HARRIS, D-Va., FISHER, D-Va. — 9/27/79 — House Interior and Insular Affairs discharged. House passed Sept. 27. Senate passed, amended, Oct. 1. House agreed to Senate amendment, with amendment, Oct. 9. Senate agreed to House amendment Oct. 11. President signed Oct. 12, 1979.

PL 96-88 (S 210) — Establish a Department of Education. RIBICOFF, D-Conn.; MAGNUSON, D-Wash.; PELL, D-R.I.; NUNN, D-Ga.; WILLIAMS, D-N.J.; PERCY, R-Ill.; BYRD, D-W.Va.; BAKER, R-Tenn.; DOMENICI, R-N.M.; JACKSON, D-Wash.; CHILES, D-Fla.; GLENN, D-Ohio; SASSER, D-Tenn.; ROTH R-Del.; MATHIAS, R-Md.; DANFORTH, R-Mo.; HEINZ, R-Pa.; PRYOR, D-Ark.; LEVIN, D-Mich.; DURENBERGER, R-Minn.; CRANSTON, D-Calif.; RANDOLPH, D-W.Va.; MCGOVERN, D-S.D.; STAFFORD, R-Vt.; BOSCHWITZ, R-Minn.; BURDICK, D-N.D.; CHURCH, D-Idaho; CULVER, D-Iowa; DECONCINI, D-Ariz.; FORD, D-Ky.; GRAVEL, D-Alaska; HOLLINGS, D-S.C.; HUDDLESTON, D-Ky.; LEAHY, D-Vt.; MATSUNAGA, D-Hawaii; MELCHER, D-Mont.; METZENBAUM, D-Ohio; NELSON, D-Wis.; PACKWOOD, R-Ore.; RIEGLE, D-Mich.; TALMADGE, D-Ga.; THURMOND, R-S.C.; TSONGAS, D-Mass.; and WEICKER, R-Conn. — 2/24/79 — Senate Governmental Affairs reported March 27 (S Rept 96-49). Senate passed April 30. House passed, amended, July 11. Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 24 (H Rept 96-459). House agreed to conference report Sept. 27. President signed Oct. 17, 1979.

PL 96-89 (S 817) — Increase the annual authorization for the Canal Zone Biological Area. JACKSON, D-Wash.; MORGAN, D-N.C.; and GOLDWATER, R-Ariz. —3/28/79 — Senate Rules and Administration reported May 8 (S Rept 96-120). Senate passed May 14. House Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported Aug. 2 (H Rept 96-405). House passed Oct. 9. President signed Oct. 19, 1979.

PL PL 96-90 (HR 1301) — Permit American manufacturers to ship lottery tickets and related material to foreign countries where lotteries are legal. SAWYER, R-Mich. and FOWLER, D-Ga. — 1/23/79 — House Judiciary reported March 15 (H Rept 96-45). House passed April 24. Senate Judiciary discharged. Senate passed Oct. 10. President signed Oct. 23, 1979.

PL 96-91 (S 567) — Allow the U.S. Attorney and Assistant Attorneys for Eastern District of New York to reside within 20 miles of the district. DECONCINI, D-Ariz. — 3/7/79 — Senate Judiciary reported April 25 (S Rept 96-94). Senate passed May 2. House Judiciary discharged. House passed Oct. 15. President signed Oct. 25, 1979.

PL 96-92 (HR 3173) — Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for international security assistance programs. ZABLOCKI, D-Wis.; FASCELL, D-Fla.; DIGGS, D-Mich.; ROSENTHAL, D-N.Y.; HAMILTON, D-Ind.; WOLFF, D-N.Y.; BINGHAM, D-N.Y.; YATRON, D-Pa.; SOLARZ, D-N.Y.; BONKER, D-Wash.; BARNES, D-Md.; GRAY, D-Pa.; HALL, D-Ohio; WOLPE, D-Mich.; BROOMFIELD, R-Mich.; DERWINSKI, R-Ill.; WINN, R-Kan.; GILMAN, R-N.Y.; PRITCHARD, R-Wash.; and FENWICK, R-N.J. — 3/22/79 — House Foreign Affairs reported March 24 (H Rept 96-70). House passed March 29. Senate Foreign Relations reported May 15. Senate passed, amended, May 22. Senate agreed to conference report Oct. 4 (H Rept 96-495). House agreed to conference report Oct. 16. President signed Oct. 29, 1979.

PL 96-93 (HR 4580) Make appropriations for fiscal year 1980 for the District of Columbia government. WILSON, D-Texas — 6/21/79 — House Appropriations reported June 21 (H Rept 96-294). House passed July 17. Senate Appropriations reported July 24. Senate passed, amended, July 27. House agreed to conference report Oct. 16 (H Rept 96-443). Senate agreed to conference report Oct. 22. President signed Oct. 30, 1979.

PL 96-94 (HR 5506) Extend certain authorities relating to the international energy program. DINGELL, D-Mich. — 10/9/79 — House Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported Oct. 11 (H Rept 96-511). House passed Oct. 22. Senate Energy and Natural Resources discharged. Senate passed, amended, Oct. 31. House agreed to Senate amendment Oct. 31. President signed Oct. 31, 1979.

PL 96-95 (HR 1825) Protect the archaeological resources of land owned or controlled by the United States. UDALL, D-Ariz.; RHODES, R-Ariz.; SEIBERLING, D-Ohio; CLAUSEN, R-Calif.; LUJAN, R-N.M.; RUNNELS, D-N.M.; RUDD, R-Ariz.; and MARRIOTT, R-Utah — 2/1/79 — House Interior and Insular Affairs reported June 28 (H Rept 96-311). House passed July 9. Senate passed, amended, July 30. House agreed to Senate amendments with amendment Oct. 12. Senate agreed to House amendment Oct. 17. President signed Oct. 31, 1979.

PL 96-96 (HR 5386) Provide that any reduction in the 1980 appropriations for community service and continuing education programs be borne equally by all states. JEFFORDS, R-Vt. — 9/25/79 — House Education and Labor reported Oct. 4 (H Rept 96-497). House passed Oct. 15. Senate Labor and Human Resources discharged Oct. 17. Senate passed, amended, Oct., 18. House agreed to amendment Oct. 19. President signed Oct. 31, 1979.

PL 96-97 (S 436) Increase the amount of debt which may be incurred by the Tennessee VAlley Authority in the financing of its power operations over the next five years. BAKER, R-Tenn., and RANDOLPH, D-W.Va. — 2/21/79 — Senate Environment and Public Works reported May 15 (S Rept 96-175). Senate passed June 20. House passed Oct. 22. President signed Oct. 31, 1979.

PL 96-98 (HR 3923) Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980 and 1981 for the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. BROOKS, D-Texas; PREYER, D-N.C.; DRINAN, D-Mass.; WEISS, D-N.Y.; and BUTLER, R-Va. — 5/3/79 — House Government Operations reported May 11 (H Rept 96-141). House passed May 21. Senate Governmental Affairs reported Aug. 1 (S Rept 96-283). Senate passed, amended, Sept. 25. House agreed to Senate amendments Oct. 19. President signed Nov. 1, 1979.

PL 96-99 (H J Res 3) Designate November 4, 1979 as "Will Rogers Day," STEED, D-Okla.; JONES, D-Okla.; ENGLISH, D-Okla.; EDWARDS, R-Okla.; and SYNAR, D-Okla. — 1/15/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service Committee discharged. House passed Oct. 26. Senate Judiciary discharged. Senate passed Oct. 31. President signed Nov. 2, 1979.

PL 96-100 (S 975) Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for intelligence operations of the Federal Goverment. BAYH, D-Ind. — 4/18/79 — Senate Intelligence reported April 18 (S Rept 96-71). Senate Armed Services reported June 11 (S Rept 96-206). Senate passed June 20. House passed, amended, July 10. Senate agreed to conference report Oct. 17 (H Rept 96-512). House agreed to conference report Oct. 24. President signed Nov. 2, 1979.

PL 96-101 (S 1905) Provide for the orderly restructuring of the Milwaukee Railroad. CANNON, D-Nev.; LONG, D-La.; and PACKWOOD, R-Ore. — 10/17/79 — Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported Oct. 29. Senate passed Oct. 30. House passed, amended, Oct. 30. House agreed to conference report Nov. 2 (H Rept 96-583). Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 2. President signed Nov. 4, 1979.

PL 96-102 (S 1030) Grant authority to the president to create an emergency program to conserve energy. DOMENICI, R-N.M.; JOHNSTON, D-La.; and JACKSON, D-Wash. — 4/26/79 — Senate Energy and Natural Resources reported May 4 (S Rept 96-117). Senate passed June 5. House Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported July 23 (H Rept 96-373). House passed, amended, Aug. 1. Senate agreed to conference report Oct. 17 (H Rept 96-516). House agreed to conference report Oct. 23. President signed Nov. 5, 1979.

PL 96-103 (HR 4394) Make appropriations for fiscal year 1980 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and for sundry independent agencies, boards, commissions, corporations and offices. BOLAND, D-Mass. — 6/7/79 — House Appropriations reported June 7 (H Rept 96-249). House passed June 27. Senate Appropriations reported July 24 (S Rept 96-258). Senate passed, amended, July 27. House agreed to conference report Sept. 27, but disagreed to Senate amendment number 12 (H Rept 96-409). Senate agreed to conference report Sept. 28, but insisted on its amendment number 12. House agreed to second conference report Oct. 24 (H Rept 96-542). Senate agreed to conference report Oct. 24. President signed Nov. 5, 1979.

PL 96-104 (HR 2515) Provide a temporary exemption from state usury ceilings on certain business and agriculture loans. ALEXANDER, D-Ark.; BETHUNE, R-Ark; HAMMERSCHMIDT, R-Ark.; and ANTHONY, D-Ark. — 2/28/79 — House passed Sept. 24. Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported Oct. 11 (S Rept 96-364). Senate passed, amended, Oct. 12. House agreed to Senate amendment Nov. 1. President signed Nov. 5, 1979.

PL 96-105 (S J Res 117) Provide for a fifteen day temporary extension of certain Federal Housing Administration authorities. PROXMIRE, D-Wis; GARN, R-Utah; and WILLIAMS, D-N.J. — 10/29/79 — Senate passed Oct. 29. House passed, amended, Nov. 7. Senate agreed to House amendments Nov. 7. President signed Nov. 8, 1979.

PL 96-106 (HR 4249) Propose revisions in the highway safety and public transportation programs. HOWARD, D-N.J., and JOHNSON, D-Calif. — 5/30/79 — House Public Works and Transportation reported June 20 (H Rept 96-288). House passed July 9. Senate Environment and Public Works reported Sept. 28 (S Rept 96-333). Senate passed, amended, Oct. 24. House agreed to Senate amendments with an amendment Oct. 26. Senate agreed to House amendment Oct 29. President signed Nov. 9, 1979.

PL 96-107 (S 428) Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for military procurement programs of the Department of Defense. STENNIS, D-Miss., and TOWER, R-Texas — 2/9/79 — Senate Armed Services reported May 31 (S Rept 96-197). Senate passed June 13. House passed, amended, Sept. 14. Senate agreed to conference report Oct. 24 (H Rept 96-546). House agreed to conference report Oct. 26. President signed Nov. 9, 1979.

PL 96-108 (HR 4387) Make appropriations for Agriculture Rural Development and related agencies programs for fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1980. WHITTEN, D-Miss. — 6/7/79 — House Appropriations reported June 7 (H Rept 96-242). House passed June 19. Senate Appropriations reported July 12 (S Rept 96-246). Senate passed, amended, July 19. House agreed to conference report Oct. 26 (H Rept 96-553). Senate agreed to conference report Oct. 31. President signed Nov. 9, 1979.

PL 96-109 (HR 5218) Authorize $25 million for special Caribbean hurricane relief assistance. FASCELL, D-Fla.; ZABLOCKI, D-Wis.; and BINGHAM, D-N.Y. — 9/7/79 — House passed Sept. 25. Senate Foreign Relations reported Oct. 15 (S Rept 96-367). Senate passed Oct. 30. President signed Nov. 9, 1979.

PL 96-110 (HR 4955) Authorize additional funds for fiscal 1980 and 1981 for the Department of State for refugee asistance programs. FASCELL, D-Fla.; ZABLOCKI, D-Wis.; BUCHANAN, R-Ala.; ROSENTHAL, D-N.Y.; WOLPE, D-Mich.; SOLARZ, D-N.Y.; BONKER, D-Wash.; STUDDS, D-Mass.; IRELAND, D-Fla.; BARNES, D-Md.; WOLFF, D-N.Y.; BROOMFIELD, R-Mich.; DERWINSKI, R-Ill.; WINN, R-Kan.; GILMAN, R-N.Y.; PRITCHARD, R-Wash.; and FENWICK, R-N.J. — 7/25/7 — House Foreign Affairs reported July 27 (H Rept 96-398). House passed Oct. 25. Senate passed, amended, Nov. 2. House agreed to Senate amendment with an amendment Nov. 9. Senate agreed to House amendment Nov. 9. President signed Nov. 13, 1979.

PL 96-111 (S 1281) Provide for the operation of the *S.S. United States*, the *S.S. Santa Rosa*, and the *S.S. Independence* in domestic and/or foreign commerce of the United States primarily in cruise trade between the Hawaiian Islands and the Mainland. INOUYE, D-Hawaii, and MATSUNAGA, D-Hawaii — 6/5/79 — Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported Aug. 2 (S Rept 96-298). Senate passed Sept. 6. House Merchant Marine and Fisheries discharged. House passed, amended, Oct. 30. Senate agreed to House amendments Nov. 1. President signed Nov. 15, 1979.

PL 96-112 (S 640) Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for the Maritime Administration, Department of Commerce. CANNON, D-Nev., and INOUYE, D-Hawaii — 3/13/79 — Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported May 1 (S Rept 96-105). Senate passed May 24. House passed, amended, July 27. House agreed to conference report Nov. 2 (H Rept 96-556). Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 5. President signed Nov. 16, 1979.

PL 96-113 (HR 998) Amend the Agricultural Act of 1938, as amended, to exempt state prison farms from paying of marketing quota penalties. DE LA GARZA, D-Texas — 2/18/79 — House Agriculture reported July 27 (HH Rept 96-393). House passed Sept. 17. Senate passed Nov. 1. President signed Nov. 16, 1979.

PL 96-114 (HR 2196) Establish a congressional award program for the purpose of recognizing excellence and leadership among young people. HOWARD, D-N.J.; DUNCAN, R-Tenn.; LAFALCE, D-N.Y.; GUYER, R-Ohio; CORCORAN, R-Ill.; ROE, D-N.J.; BEVILL, D-Ala.; VENTO, D-Minn.; MURPHY, D-Ill.; CORRADA, New Prog.-P.R.; PRICE, D-Ill.; PATTEN, D-N.J.; GINN, D-Ga.; SHANNON, D-Mass.; DONNELLY, D-Mass.; CHENEY, R-Wyo.; PEPPER, D-Fla.; RAHALL, D-W.Va.; DE LA GARZA, D-Texas; COELHO, D-Calif.; WILLIAMS, D-Mont.; ERDAHL, R-Minn.; SCHEUER, D-N.Y.; DIGGS, D-Mich.; YOUNG, D-Mo.; FLORIO, D-N.J.; PREYER, D-N.C.; ZEFERETTI, D-N.Y.; WEISS, D-N.Y.; and ADDABBO, D-N.Y. — 2/15/79 — House Education and Labor reported Oct. 16. (H Rept 96-518). House passed Oct. 29. Senate passed Nov. 1. President signed Nov. 16, 1979.

PL 96-115 (H J Res 68) Authorize the president to designate the week beginning November 18, 1979 as "National Family Week." MARRIOTT, R-Utah — 2/15/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service Committee discharged. House passed Nov. 8. Senate passed Nov. 9. President signed Nov. 16, 1979.

PL 96-116 (HR 5279) Provide for the U.S. distribution of the International Communication Agency film entitled "Reflections: George Meany." ZABLOCKI, D-Wis.; FASCELL, D-Fla.; DIGGS, D-Mich.; WOLFF, D-N.Y.; SOLARZ, D-N.Y.; BONKER, D-Wash.; PEASE, D-Ohio; GRAY, D-Pa.; FINDLEY, R-Ill.; BUCHANAN, R-Ala.; GILMAN, R-N.Y.; and FENWICK, R-N.J. — 9/13/79 — House passed Sept. 24. Senate Foreign Relations reported Oct. 31 (S Rept 96-392). Senate passed Nov. 6. President signed Nov. 16.

PL 96-117 (H J Res 199) Correct a land description as contained in PL 95-498, providing that certain ublic lands be held by the United States in trust for the Santa Ana Pueblo Indians. UDALL, D-Ariz. — 2/8/79 — House Interior and Insular Affairs reported March 27 (H Rept 96-72). House passed April 2. Senate Indian Affairs reported Nov. 1 (S Rept 96-396). Senate passed Nov. 7. President signed Nov. 16, 1979.

PL 96-118 (S 838) Authorize fund for fiscal years 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983 for the Anadromous Fish Conservation Act. CHAFEE, R-R.I. — 3/29/79 — Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported May 15 (S Rept 96-174). Senate passed June 13. Proceedings vacated June 18. Senate passed June 18. House passed, amended, June 25. Senate agreed to House amendments with an amendment Nov. 1. House agreed to Senate amendment Nov. 2. President signed Nov. 16, 1979.

PL 96-119 (H J Res 428) Designate the month of December 1979 as "National Child Abuse Prevention Month." BIAGGI, D-N.Y. — 10/23/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service Committee discharged. House passed Oct. 26. Senate Judiciary discharged. Senate passed Nov. 7. President signed Nov. 16, 1979.

PL 96-120 (S 1728) Designate the U.S. Federal Court House Building in San Antonio, Texas as the "John H. Wood, Jr. Federal Courthouse." BENTSEN, D-Texas — 9/10/79 — Senate Environment and Public Works reported Oct. 4 (S Rept 96-359). Senate passed Oct. 12. House passed, amended, Oct. 15. Senate disagreed to House amendments Nov. 1. House receded from its amendments Nov. 9. President signed Nov. 16, 1979.

PL 96-121 (S 1160) Authorize funds for the U.S. Fire Administration and for the Center for Fire Research. CANNON, D-Nev. — 5/16/79 — Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported May 15 (S Rept 96-186). Senate passed May 23. House passed, amended, June 4. Senate agreed to House amendment with an amendment Oct. 31. House agreed to Senate amendment Nov. 8. President signed Nov. 16, 1979.

PL 96-122 (S 1037) Establish the District of Columbia Retirement Board to manage the reitrement funds of D.C. firefighters, police officers, teachers and judges. EAGLETON, D-Mo. and MATHIAS, R-Md. — 5/30/79 — Senate Governmental Affairs reported July 9 (S Rept 96-237). Senate passed Aug. 1. House passed, amended, Sept. 24. House agreed to conference report Nov. 8 (H Rept 96-584). Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 9. President signed Nov. 17, 1979.

PL 96-123 (H J Res 440) Make continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1980 for the federal government. WHITTEN, D-Miss. — 11/9/79 — House Appropriations reported Nov. 9 (H Rept 96-609). House passed Nov. 13. Senate Appropriations reported Nov. 14. Senate passed, amended, Nov. 15. House agreed to conference report Nov. 16 (H Rept 96-646). Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 16. President approved Nov. 20, 1979.

PL 96-124 (HR 5811) Allow the Interest Rate Modification Act of 1979, passed by the Council of the District of Columbia, to take effect immediately. FAUNTROY, D-D.C., BARNES, D-Md.; DELLUMS, D-Calif.; and MCKINNEY, R-Conn. — 11/7/79 — House District of Columbia reported Nov. 8 (H Rept 96-603). House passed Nov. 13. Senate passed Nov. 16. President signed Nov. 20, 1979.

PL 96-125 (S 1319) Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for military construction programs of the Department of Defense. HART, D-Colo. — 6/12/79 — Senate Armed Service reported June 12 (S Rept 96-209). Senate Labor and Human Resources reported adversely July 26 (S Rept 96-259). Senate passed July 30. House passed, amended, Oct. 24. Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 9 (H Rept 96-595). House agreed to conference report Nov. 16. President signed Nov. 26, 1979.

PL 96-126 (HR 4930) Appropriate funds for fiscal year 1980 for the Department of the Interior and related agencies. YATES, D-Ill. — 7/23/79 — House Appropriations reported July 23 (H Rept 96-374). House passed July 30. Senate Appropriations reported Oct. 10 (S Rept 96-363). Senate passed, amended, Oct. 18. House agreed to conference report Nov. 9 (H Rept 96-604). Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 9. President signed Nov. 27.

PL 96-127 (HR 4167) Extend through Sept. 30, 1981, the current price-support levels for dairy products. BALDUS, D-Wis.; JEFFORDS, R-Vt.; OBEY, D-Wis.; AKAKA, D-Hawaii; ANTHONY, D-Ark.; COELHO, D-Calif.; JONES, D-N.C.; ROSE, D-N.C.; STENHOLM, D-Texas; HAGEDORN, R-Minn.; KASTENMEIER, D-Wis.; and ASPIN, D-Wis. — 5/22/79 — House Agriculture reported June 15 (H Rept 96-278). House passed Nov. 8. Senate passed Nov. 15. President signed Nov. 28, 1979.

PL 96-128 (HR 2282) Provide for a cost-of-living increase in the rates of service-connected disability compensation for veterans and dependency and indemnity compensation for surviving spouses and children of veterans that reflects an actual increase in the Consumer Price Index. MONTGOMERY D-Miss.; ROBERTS, D-Texas; HAMMER-SCHMIDT, R-Ark.; WOLFF, D-N.Y.; BRINKLEY, D-Ga.; MOTTL,

D-Ohio; HEFNER, D-N.C.; EDGAR, D-Pa.; APPLEGATE, D-Ohio; GRAMM, D-Texas; SHELBY, D-Ala.; COELHO, D-Calif.; HECKLER, R-Mass.; WYLIE, R-Ohio; ABDNOR, R-S.D.; HANSEN, R-Idaho; SAWYER, R-Mich.; GRISHAM, R-Calif.; and LEE, R-N.Y. — 2/21/79 — House Veteran's Affairs reported June 27 (H Rept 96-310). House passed July 16. Senate passed, amended, Aug. 3. House agreed to Senate amendments with amendments Oct. 30. Senate agreed to House amendments to Senate amendments with amendments Nov. 15. House agreed to Senate amendments Nov. 16. President signed Nov. 28, 1979.

PL 96-129 (S 411) Authorize funds for fiscal years 1980 and 1981 for the Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act, to clarify and expand the authority of the Department of Transportation over liquefied natural gas and natural transportation safety, and to establish a statutory framework to regulate the transportation of hazardous liquids. CANNON, D-Nev. — 2/9/79 — Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation reported May 15 (S Rept 96-182). Senate passed June 4. House passed, amended, Sept. 18. Senate agreed to House amendments with an amendment Nov. 14. House agreed to Senate amendment Nov. 15. President signed Nov. 30, 1979.

PL 96-130 (HR 4391) Make appropriations for fiscal year 1980 for military construction programs of the Department of Defense. MCKAY, D-Utah — 6/7/79 — House Appropriations reported June 7 (H Rept 96-246). House passed June 18. Senate Appropriations reported Nov. 8 (S Rept 96-407). Senate passed, amended, Nov. 13. House agreed to conference report Nov. 16 (H Rept 96-626). Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 19. President signed Nov. 30, 1979.

PL 96-131 (HR 4440) Make appropriations for fiscal year 1980 for the Department of Transportation. DUNCAN, D-Ore. — 6/13/79 — House Appropriations reported June 13 (H Rept 96-272). House passed Sept. 18. Senate Appropriations reported Oct. 25 (S Rept 96-377). Senate passed, amended, Nov. 1. House agreed to conference report Nov. 15 (H Rept 96-610). Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 19. President signed Nov. 30, 1979.

PL 96-132 (S 1157) Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for the Department of Justice. KENNEDY, D-Mass. — 5/15/79 — Senate Judiciary reported May 15 (S Rept 96-173). Senate passed June 4. House passed, amended, Oct. 16. House agreed to conference report Nov. 27 (H Rept 96-628). Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 27. President signed Nov. 30, 1979.

PL 96-133 (S 1871) Extend until June 30, 1980, the existing anti-trust exemption for oil companies that participate in the agreement on an international energy program. METZENBAUM, D-Ohio and JACKSON, D-Wash. — 10/10/79 — Senate Energy and Natural Resources reported Oct. 16. Senate passed Oct. 17. House passed, amended, Oct. 22. Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 28 (H Rept 96-669). House agreed to conference report Nov. 29. President signed Nov. 30, 1979.

PL 96-134 (S 1686) Designate the federal building in Wilmington, Del., as the "J. Caleb Boggs Building." ROTH, R-Del.; RANDOLPH, D-W.Va.; STAFFORD, R-Vt.; and BIDEN, D-Del. — 8/3/79 — Senate Environment and Public Works reported Oct. 31 (S Rept 96-391). Senate passed Nov. 1. House Public Works and Transportation discharged. House passed Nov. 27. President signed Dec. 5, 1979.

PL 96-135 (HR 1885) Amend Civil Service retirement provisions as they apply to certain employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of the Indian Health Service who are not entitled to Indian employment preference. UDALL, D-Ariz.; ANDREWS, D-N.D.; LUJAN, R-N.M.; RUNNELS, D-N.M.; SPELLMAN, D-Md.; STEED, D-Okla.; and YOUNG, R-Alaska — 2/5/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported July 20 (H Rept 96-370, Pt. I). House Appropriations reported Sept. 11 (H Rept 96-370, Pt. II). House passed Oct. 26. Senate passed Nov. 26. President signed Dec. 5, 1979.

PL 96-136 (H J Res 448) Proclaim the week of Dec. 3 through Dec. 9, 1979, as "Scouting Recognition Week." CAMPBELL, R-S.C. — 11/20/79 — House committee discharged. House passed Nov. 29. Senate Judiciary reported Dec. 4. Senate passed Dec. 4. President signed Dec. 7.

PL 96-137 (HR 3354) Authorize funds for fiscal year 1980 for conservation, exploration, development and use of naval petroleum reserves and naval oil shale reserves. STRATTON, D-N.Y. — 3/29/79 — House Armed Services reported April 9 (H Rept 96-91). House passed April 25. Senate Armed Services reported Sept. 19 (S Rept 96-325). Senate passed, amended, Sept. 27. Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 9 (H Rept 96-596). House agreed to conference report Nov. 28. President signed Dec. 12, 1979.

PL 96-138 (HR 4259) Authorize the president to present a gold medal to the American Red Cross. ANNUNZIO, D-Ill. — 5/31/79 — House passed Oct 15. Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported Nov. 28 (S Rept 96-429). Senate passed Dec. 4. President signed Dec. 12, 1979.

PL 96-139 (S 1491) Designate the federal building at 211 Main St. in Scott City, Kan., as the "Henry D. Parkinson Federal Building." DOLE, R-Kan. — 7/12/79 — Senate Environment and Public Works reported Oct. 31 (S Rept 96-389). Senate passed Nov. 1. House Public Works and Transportation discharged. House passed Dec. 3. President signed Dec. 12, 1979.

PL 96-140 (S 1535) Name a certain federal building in Rochester, N.Y., the "Kenneth B. Keating Building." JAVITS, R-N.Y., and MOYNIHAN, D-N.Y. — 7/18/79 — Senate Environment and Public Works reported Oct. 31 (S Rept 96-390). Senate passed Nov. 1. House Public Works and Transportation discharged. House passed, amended, Dec. 3. Senate agreed to House amendments Dec. 4. President signed Dec. 12, 1979.

PL 96-141 (S 1655) Designate the Department of Labor Building in Washington, D.C., as the "Frances Perkins Department of Labor Building." LEVIN, D-Mich. — 8/2/79 — Senate Environment and Public Works reported Oct 31 (S Rept 96-388). Senate passed Nov. 1. House Public Works and Transportation discharged. House passed Dec. 3. President signed Dec. 12, 1979.

PL 96-142 (S 497) Authorize funds for programs relating to emergency medical services systems. CRANSTON, D-Calif.; KENNEDY, D-Mass.; WILLIAMS, D-N.J.; RANDOLPH, D-W.Va.; and JAVITS, R-N.Y. — 2/26/79 — Senate Labor and Human Resources reported April 30 (S Rept 96-102). Senate passed May 9. House passed, amended, Sept. 28. Senate agreed to House amendment with an amendment Nov. 15. House agreed to Senate amendment Nov. 29. President signed Dec. 12, 1979.

PL 96-143 (S 239) Authorize funds for programs under the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973. CRANSTON, D-Calif.; WILLIAMS, D-N.J.; and RIEGLE, D-Mich. — 1/25/79 — Senate Labor and Human Resources reported April 26 (S Rept 96-99). Senate passed June 20. House passed, amended, Oct. 10. Senate agreed to conference report Nov. 9 (H Rept 96-606). House agreed to conference report Nov. 29. President signed Dec. 13, 1979.

PL 96-144 (HR 5871) Authorize the apportionment to the states funds for the Interstate Highway System for fiscal year 1980. HOWARD, D-N.J., JOHNSON, D-Calif.; HARSHA, R-Ohio; and SHUSTER, R-Pa. — 11/13/79 — House Public Works reported Nov. 14 (H Rept 96-620). House passed Nov. 15. Senate passed Nov. 29. President signed Dec. 13, 1979.

PL 96-145 (HR 3407) Waive the time limitations on the period within which certain military decorations can be awarded to members of the unit involved in the Battle of the Bulge. OTTINGER, D-N.Y.; BAFALIS, R-Fla.; BLANCHARD, D-Mich.; CORRADA, New Prog.-P.R.; DOUGHERTY, R-Pa.; HANCE, D-Texas; LAGOMARSINO, R-Calif.; MATHIS, D-Ga.; MAVROULES, D-Mass.; REUSS, D-Wis.; RICHMOND, D-N.Y.; STOKES, D-Ohio; VENTO, D-Minn.; WEISS, D-N.Y.; WHITTAKER, R-Kan.; and YATRON, D-Pa. — 4/3/79 — House Armed Services reported Sept. 24 (H Rept 96-470). House passed Oct. 15. Senate Armed Services reported Nov. 20 (S Rept 96-422). Senate passed Nov. 30. President signed Dec. 14, 1979.

PL 96-146 (HR 4732) Fix the annual rates of pay for the architect of the Capitol and the assistant architect of the Capitol. HANLEY, D-N.Y. — 7/10/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported July 17 (H Rept 96-349). House passed Sept. 10. Senate passed Dec. 3. President signed Dec. 14, 1979.

PL 96-147 (H J Res 458) Authorize the president to designate Dec. 18 as "National Unity Day." RINALDO, R-N.J.; DUNCAN, R-Tenn.; CARNEY, R-N.Y.; EVANS, R-Del.; HORTON, R-N.Y.; SKELTON, D-Mo.; FLOOD, D-Pa.; and FLORIO, D-N.J. — 12/5/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service Committee discharged. House passed Dec. 11. Senate passed Dec. 13. President signed Dec. 16, 1979.

PL 96-148 (S 901) Repeal the industrial cost recovery provision of the Clean Water Act. CHAFEE, R-R.I., and PRESSLER, R-S.D. — 4/4/79 — Senate Environment and Public Works reported June 5 (S Rept 96-200). Senate passed June 14. House passed, amended, June 26. Senate agreed to House amendments with an amendment Nov. 30. House agreed to Senate amendment Dec. 3. President signed Dec. 16, 1979.

PL 96-149 (S 1788) Provide for a small business representative as a permanent member of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank Board of Directors. Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported Sept. 21 (S Rept 96-328). Senate passed Sept. 27. House passed Dec. 5. President signed Dec. 16, 1979.

PL 96-150 (HR 5163) Authorize the sale of certain excess U.S. vessels to certain foreign nations. BENNETT, D-Fla. — 9/5/79 — House Armed Services reported Sept. 19 (H Rept 96-445). House passed Sept. 25. Senate reported Nov. 19 (S Rept 96-420). Senate passed Dec. 6. President signed Dec. 20, 1979.

PL 96-151 (HR 3892) Review and extend through fiscal year 1982 programs of grants to state homes for veterans and the exchange of medical information. SATTERFIELD, D-Va.; ROBERTS, D-Texas; HAMMERSCHMIDT, R-Ark.; EDWARDS, D-Calif.; MONTGOMERY, D-Miss.; DANIELSON, D-Calif.; WOLFF, D-N.Y.; MOTTL, D-Ohio; HEFNER, D-N.C.; HALL, D-Texas; APPLEGATE, D-Ohio; LEATH, D-Texas; BONER, D-Tenn.; GRAMM, D-Texas; MICA, D-Fla.; DASCHLE, D-S.D.; COELHO, D-Calif.; HECKLER, R-Mass.; HILLIS, R-Ind.; ABDNOR, R-S.D.; GUYER, R-Ohio; HANSEN, R-

Idaho; SAWYER, R-Mich.; GRISHAM, R-Calif.; and LEE, R-N.Y. — 5/2/79 — House Veterans' Affairs reported May 10 (H Rept 96-138). House passed May 21. Senate Veterans' Affairs discharged June 7. Senate passed, amended, June 18. House agreed to Senate amendments, with amendments, Dec. 6. Senate agreed to House amendments Dec. 6. President signed Dec. 20, 1979.

PL 96-152 (HR 5651) Establish the position of chief of the Capitol Police Force as a congressional office. ANNUNZIO, D-Ill. — 10/19/79 — House Administration reported Nov. 1 (H Rept 96-581). House passed Nov. 8. Senate Rules and Administration reported Nov. 30. (S Rept 96-436). Senate passed Dec. 6. President signed Dec. 20, 1979.

PL 96-153 (HR 3875) Amend and extend certain federal laws relating to housing, community and neighborhood development and preservation. ASHLEY, D-Ohio; STANTON, R-Ohio; MOORHEAD, D-Pa.; ST GERMAIN, R-R.I.; GONZALEZ, D-Texas; HANLEY, D-N.Y.; FAUNTROY, D-D.C.; PATTERSON, D-Calif.; LA FALCE, D-N.Y.; AU COIN, D-Ore.; SPELLMAN, D-Md.; BLANCHARD, D-Mich.; EVANS, D-Ind.; LUNDINE, D-N.Y.; OAKAR, D-Ohio; VENTO, D-Minn.; WATKINS, D-Okla.; GARCIA, D-N.Y.; LOWRY, D-Wash.; WYLIE, R-Ohio; MCKINNEY, R-Conn.; KELLY, R-Fla.; EVANS, R-Del.; GREEN, R-N.Y.; LEACH, R-Iowa; BETHUNE, R-Ark.; and RITTER, R-Pa. — 5/2/79 — House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs reported May 15 (H Rept 96-154). House passed June 7. Senate passed, amended, July 13. Senate agreed to conference report Dec. 18 (H Rept 96-706). House agreed to conference report Dec. 19. President signed Dec. 21, 1979.

PL 96-154 (HR 5359) Make appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1980. ADDABBO, D-N.Y. — 9/20/79 — House Appropriations reported Sept. 20 (H Rept 96-450). House passed Sept. 28. Senate Appropriations reported Nov. 1 (S Rept 96-393). Senate passed, amended, Nov. 9. House agreed to conference report Dec. 12 (H Rept 96-696). Senate agreed to conference report Dec. 13. President signed Dec. 21, 1979.

PL 96-155 (S 1874) Amend the act incorporating the American Legion so as to redefine eligibility for membership therein. BAYH, D-Ind. — 10/11/79 — Senate Judiciary reported Dec. 5 (S Rept 96-450). Senate passed Dec. 14. House passed Dec. 17. President signed Dec. 21, 1979.

PL 96-156 (S 716) Amend the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefits Act, as amended, with respect to the government contribution toward subscription charge. PRYOR, D-Ark. — 3/21/79 — Senate Governmental Affairs reported May 15 (S Rept 96-154). Senate passed May 22. House passed Dec. 17. President signed Dec. 27, 1979.

PL 96-157 (S 241) Restructure the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, to assist state and local governments in improving the quality of their justice systems. KENNEDY, D-Mass.; THURMOND, R-S.C.; DECONCINI, D-Ariz.; GLENN, D-Ohio; JAVITS, R-N.Y.; LEAHY, D-Vt.; BAYH, D-Ind.; and BAKER, R-Tenn. — 1/29/79 — Senate Judiciary reported May 14 (S Rept 96-142). Senate passed May 21. House passed, amended, Oct. 12. Senate recommitted conference report Nov. 29 (H Rept 96-655). Senate agreed to second conference report Dec. 11 (H Rept 96-695). House agreed to conference report Dec. 13. President signed Dec. 27, 1979.

PL 96-158 (HR 5645) Grant to the Little Sisters of the Poor all right, title, and interest of the land comprising certain alleys in the District of Columbia. MAZZOLI, D-Ky. —10/18/79 — House District of Columbia reported Oct. 24 (H Rept 96-551). House passed Nov. 27. Senate passed Dec. 18. President signed Dec. 27, 1979.

PL 96-159 (S 1143) Extend the authorization for appropriations for the Endangered Species Act of 1973. CULVER, D-Iowa — 5/15/79 — Senate Environment and Public Works reported May 15 (S Rept 96-151). Senate passed June 13. House passed, amended, Oct. 24. Senate agreed to conference report Dec. 19 (H Rept 96-697). House agreed to conference report Dec. 19. President signed Dec. 28, 1979.

PL 96-160 (HR 5537) Amend the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act with respect to the borrowing authority of the District of Columbia. DELLUMS, D-Calif. — 10/11/79 — House District of Columbia reported Oct 24 (H Rept 96-550). House passed Nov. 27. Senate Governmental Affairs reported Dec. 13 (S Rept 96-487). Senate passed Dec. 20. President signed Dec. 28, 1979.

PL 96-161 (HR 4998) Amend the Federal Reserve Act to require that detailed minutes of Federal Open Market Committee meetings shall be published on a deferred basis. MITCHELL, D-Md.; D'AMOURS, D-N.H.; BARNARD, D-Ga.; MATTOX, D-Texas; and CAVANAUGH, D-Neb. — 7/27/79 — House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs reported Sept. 7 (H Rept 96-421). House passed Sept. 17. Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs reported Nov. 20 (S Rept 96-423). Senate passed, amended, Dec. 10. House agreed to Senate amendments, with amendments, Dec. 17. Senate agreed tc House amendments to Senate amendments Dec. 19. President signed Dec. 28, 1979.

PL 96-162 (S 585) Authorize the secretary of the interior to engage in a feasibility study of the Yakima River Basin Water Enhancement Project. JACKSON, D-Wash., and MAGNUSON, D-Wash. — 3/8/79 — Senate Energy and Natural Resources reported July 16 (S Rept 96-248). Senate passed July 23. House Interior and Insular Affairs discharged Dec. 10. House passed, amended, Dec. 10. Senate agreed to House amendments Dec. 18. President signed Dec. 28, 1979.

PL 96-163 (HR 4943) Grant the consent of Congress to the compact between the states of New York and New Jersey providing for the coordination, facilitation, promotion, preservation and protection of trade and commerce in and through the Port of New York District through the financing and effectuation of industrial development projects. ADDABBO, D-N.Y.; CHISHOLM, D-N.Y.; FENWICK, R-N.J.; GARCIA, D-N.Y.; GUARINI, D-N.J.; HOLTZMAN, D-N.Y.; RANGEL, D-N.Y.; RICHMOND, D-N.Y.; RINALDO, R-N.J.; FISH, R-N.Y.; and PEYSER, D-N.Y. — 7/24/79 — House Judiciary reported Oct. 10 (H Rept 96-507). House passed Oct. 23. Senate Judiciary reported Nov. 27 (S Rept 96-427). Senate passed, amended, Dec. 6. House disagreed to Senate amendments Dec. 10. Senate receded from its amendments Dec. 14. President signed Dec. 28, 1979.

PL 96-164 (S673) Authorize appropriations to the Department of Energy for national security programs for fiscal year 1980 and fiscal year 1981. JACKSON, D-Wash., and STENNIS, D-Miss. — 3/15/79 — Senate Armed Services reported May 22 (S Rept 96-193). Senate Energy and Natural Resource reported May 22 (S Rept 96-193). Senate passed, amended, June 18. House passed, amended, Nov. 9. Senate agreed to conference report Dec. 18 (H Rept 96-702). House agreed to conference report Dec. 19. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-165 (HR 600) Incorporate United Service Organizations, Incorporated. MOORHEAD, R-Calif. — 1/15/79 — House Judiciary reported Oct. 10 (H Rept 96-505). House passed Oct. 15. Senate Judiciary reported Dec. 20 (S Rept 96-546). Senate passed Dec. 20. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-166 (HR 5015) Amend Title 5, United States Code, to extend the Federal Physicians Comparability Allowance Act of 1978. SPELLMAN, D-Md. — 7/30/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported Dec. 4 (H Rept 96-683). House passed Dec. 10. Senate passed Dec. 20. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-167 (HR 5224) Continue through Dec. 31, 1980, the existing prohibition on the issuance of fringe benefit regulations. ULLMAN, D-Ore. — 9/10/79 — House Ways and Means reported Sept. 20 (H Rept 96-448). House passed Oct. 9. Senate Finance reported Nov. 29 (S Rept 96-433). Senate passed, amended, Dec. 7. House agreed to Senate amendments, with amendments, Dec. 19. Senate agreed to House amendments to Senate amendments Dec. 20. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-168 (H J Res 462) Express the sense of the Congress concerning the White House Preservation Fund. LEVITAS, D-Ga., and JOHNSON, D-Calif. — 12/10/79 — House Public Works and Transportation discharged Dec. 20. House passed Dec. 20. Senate passed Dec. 20. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-169 (HR 5079) Provide for participation of the United States in the International Energy Exposition to be held in Knoxville, Tenn., in 1982. DUNCAN, R-Tenn. — 8/2/79 — House Foreign Affairs discharged Oct. 9. House passed Oct. 9. Senate Foreign Relations discharged. Senate passed, amended, Nov. 14. Senate agreed to conference report Dec. 20 (H Rept 96-714). House agreed to conference report Dec. 20. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-170 (HR 3343) Permit civil suits under Section 1979 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1983) against any person acting under color of any law or custom of the District of Columbia who subjects any person within the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia to the deprivation of any right, privilege, or immunity secured by the Constitution and laws. MCKINNEY, R-Conn.; EDWARDS, D-Calif.; DELLUMS, D-Calif.; MAZZOLI, D-Ky.; DIGGS, D-Mich.; FAUNTROY, D-D.C.; and MARKS, R-Pa. — 3/29/79 — House District of Columbia reported Oct. 24 (H Rept 96-548). House passed Nov. 27. Senate passed Dec. 18. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-171 (HR 3948) Amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to eliminate the age limitation presently imposed on certain pilots of aircraft, PEPPER, D-Fla.; JOHN BURTON, D-Calif.; SANTINI, D-Nev.; OAKAR, D-Ohio; GUDGER, D-N.C.; RATCHFORD, D-Conn.; STACK, D-Fla.; LLOYD, D-Calif.; WAMPLER, R-Va.; LUNGREN, R-Calif.; and WHITTAKER, R-Kan. — 5/4/79 — House Public Works and Transportation reported Sept. 25 (H Rept 96-474). House assed Dec. 5. Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation discharged Dec. 18. Senate passed, amended, Dec. 18. House agreed to Senate amendments Dec. 19. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-172 (HR 2771) Change the name of the Palmetto Bend Reservoir on the Navidad River in Texas to Lake Texana. WYATT, D-Texas — 3/8/79 — House Interior and Insular Affairs reported May 14 (H Rept 96-142). House passed May 21. Senate Energy and Natural Resources reported Dec. 12 (S Rept 96-482). Senate passed Dec. 20. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-173 (HR 5025) Amend Title 10, United States Code, to provide that any person eligible for medical care under the Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services (CHAMPUS) who is a veteran with a service-connected disability may not be denied care and

treatment for such disability under CHAMPUS solely because such person is eligible for care and treatment for such disability in Veterans' Administration facilities. NICHOLS, D-Ala. — 7/31/79 — House Armed Services reported Sept. 24 (H Rept 96-469). House passed Oct. 15. Senate Armed Services discharged Dec. 20. Senate passed Dec. 20. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-174 (HR 5174) Amend Section 209 of Title 18, United States Code. RODINO, D-N.J. — 9/5/79 — House Judiciary reported Nov. 29 (H Rept 96-674). House passed Dec. 17. Senate passed Dec. 21. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-175 (HR 595) Authorize the administrator of General Services to dispose of 35-thousand long tons of tin in the national and supplemental stockpiles, and to provide for the deposit of moneys received from the sale of such tin. MOLLOHAN, D-W.Va. — 1/15/79 — House Armed Service reported March 20 (H Rept 96-56). House passed April 3. Senate Armed Services reported Oct. 3 (S Rept 96-338). Senate passed, amended, Oct. 16. House adopted conference report Dec. 12 (H Rept 96-680). Senate agreed to conference report Dec. 19. President signed Dec. 29, 1979.

PL 96-176 (HR 5523) Establish an improved program for extra long staple cotton. BOWEN, D-Miss.; RHODES, R-Ariz.; UDALL, D-Ariz.; COELHO, D-Calif.; STENHOLM, D-Texas; WHITE, D-Texas; STUMP, D-Ariz.; THOMAS, R-Calif.; and RUDD, R-Ariz. — 10/10/79 — House Agriculture reported Dec. 5 (H Rept 96-688). House passed Dec. 17. Senate passed Dec. 19. President signed Dec. 31, 1979.

PL 96-177 (HR 2727) Modify the method of establishing quotas on the importation of certain meat, to include within such quotas certain meat products. ULLMAN, D-Ore.; FOLEY, D-Wash.; ANDREWS, R-N.D.; ARCHER, R-Texas; BEVILL, D-Ala.; BEREUTER, R-Neb.; CHENEY, R-Wyo.; COELHO, D-Calif.; CORCORAN, R-Ill.; DE LA GARZA, D-Texas; FOWLER, D-Ga.; FUQUA, D-Fla.; GUARINI, D-N.J.; HEFTEL, D-Hawaii; HOLLAND, D-S.C.; IRELAND, D-Fla.; JACOBS, D-Ind.; JEFFORDS, R-Vt.; JENKINS, D-Ga.; KOGOVSEK, D-Colo.; LEACH, R-Iowa; MARLENEE, R-Mont.; MYERS, R-Ind.; NOLAN, D-Minn.; PANETTA, D-Calif.; PATTEN, D-N.J.; SKELTON, D-Mo.; SEBELIUS, R-Kan.; SMITH, R-Neb.; STUMP, D-Ariz.; SYMMS, R-Idaho; WILLIAMS, D-Mont.; VENTO, D-Minn.; PASHAYAN, R-Calif.; EVANS, R-V.I.; WATKINS, D-Okla. — 3/8/79 — House Ways and Means reported June 6 (H Rept 96-238). House passed Nov. 14. Senate Finance reported Dec. 7 (S Rept 96-465). Senate passed Dec. 18. President signed Dec. 31, 1979.

PL 96-178 (HR 3091) Extend for one year the provisions of law relating to the business expenses of state legislators. ROSTENKOWSKI, D-Ill., and CORMAN, D-Calif. — 3/19/79 — House Ways and Means reported March 21 (H Rept 96-63). House passed March 27. Senate passed, amended, March 28. House agreed to conference report Dec. 19 (H Rept 96-718). Senate agreed to conference report Dec. 20. President signed Jan. 2, 1980.

PL 96-179 (HR 2584) Amend Title 5, United States Code, to provide survivor benefits to certain dependent children. SPELLMAN, D-Md. — 3/1/79 — House Post Office and Civil Service reported Oct. 5 (H Rept 96-499). House passed Oct. 22. Senate Governmental Affairs reported Dec. 14 (S Rept 96-503). Senate passed, amended, Dec. 20. House agreed to Senate amendment Dec. 20. President signed Jan. 2, 1980.

PL 96-180 (S 440) Revise and extend the Comprehensive Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism Prevention, Treatment, and Rehabilitation Act of 1970. RIEGLE, D-Mich.; WILLIAMS, D-N.J.; and HATCH, R-Utah — 2/21/79 — Senate Labor and Human Resources reported April 30 (S Rept 96-103). Senate passed May 7. House Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged. House passed, amended, Oct. 16. Senate agreed to House amendment, with an amendment, Dec. 19. House agreed to Senate amendment to House amendment Dec. 19. President signed Jan. 2, 1980.

PL 96-181 (S 525) Amend the Drug Abuse Office and Treatment Act of 1972. RIEGLE, D-Mich. and WILLIAMS, D-N.J. — 3/1/79 — Senate Labor and Human Resources reported April 30 (S Rept 96-104). Senate passed May 7. House Interstate and Foreign Commerce discharged. House passed, amended, Oct. 16. Senate agreed to House amendment, with an amendment, Dec. 19. House agree to Senate amendment to House amendment Dec. 19. President signed Jan. 2, 1980.

PL 96-182 (HR 2043) Amend the Water Bank Act for the purpose of authorizing the secretary of agriculture to adjust payment rates with respect to initial conservation agreements and to designate certain areas as wetlands. OBERSTAR, D-Minn. — 2/8/79 — House Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported May 15 (H Rept 96-171). House passed July 9. Senate Agriculture discharged. Senate passed, amended, Dec. 18. House agreed to Senate amendment Dec. 20. President signed Jan. 2, 1980.

PL 96-183 (HJ Res 467) Make an urgent appropriation for administrative expenses of the Chrysler Corporation loan guarantee program, and to provide financial assistance to the Chrysler Corporation for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1980. WHITTEN, D-Miss. — 12/19/79 — House Appropriations reported Dec. 20 (H Rept 96-719). House passed Dec. 20. Senate passed Dec. 20. President signed Jan. 2, 1980.

PL 96-184 (HR 3951) Amend the National Capital Transportation Act of 1969 to authorize additional federal contributions for the cost of construction of the rapid transit system of the National Capital Region. STARK, D-Calif.; HARRIS, D-Va.; MCKINNEY, R-Conn.; FAUNTROY, D-D.C.; MOFFETT, D-Conn.; DELLUMS, D-Calif.; SPELLMAN, D-Md.; BARNES, D-Md.; and FISHER, D-Va. — 5/4/79 — House District of Columbia reported May 15 (H Rept 96-156). House passed July 16. Senate Governmental Affairs reported Dec. 11 (S Rept 96-475). Senate passed, amended, Dec. 20. House agreed to Senate amendment Dec. 20. President signed Jan. 3, 1980.

PL 96-185 (HR 5860) Authorize loan guarantees to the Chrysler Corporation. MOORHEAD, D-Pa.; ASHLEY, D-Ohio; BLANCHARD, D-Mich.; EVANS, D-Ind.; GARCIA, D-N.Y.; MCKINNEY, R-Conn.; OAKAR, D-Ohio; and VENTO, D-Minn. — 11/9/79 — House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs reported Dec. 6 (H Rept 96-690). House passed Dec. 18. Senate passed, amended, Dec. 19. House agreed to conference report Dec. 20 (H Rept 96-730). Senate agreed to conference report Dec. 21. President signed Jan. 7, 1980.

PL 96-186 (HJ Res 468) Extend the date for submission of the President's Budget and Economic Report. FOLEY, D-Wash. — 12/20/79 — House passed Dec. 20. Senate passed Dec. 20. President signed Jan. 8, 1980.

PL 96-187 (HR 5010) Amend the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1971 to make certain changes in the reporting and disclosure requirements of such act. THOMPSON, D-N.J.; BRADEMAS, D-Ind.; HAWKINS, D-Calif.; ANNUNZIO, D-Ill.; GAYDOS, D-Pa.; JONES, D-Tenn.; MOLLOHAN, D-W.Va.; VAN DEERLIN, D-Calif.; MINISH, D-N.J.; DAVIS, D-S.C.; ROSE, D-N.C.; JOHN BURTON, D-Calif.; PEYSER, D-N.Y.; RATCHFORD, D-Conn.; FAZIO, D-Calif.; DICKINSON, R-Ala.; CLEVELAND, R-N.H.; FRENZEL, R-Minn.; STOCKMAN, R-Mich.; BADHAM, R-Calif.; GINGRICH, R-Ga.; LEWIS, R-Calif.; CAMPELL, R-S.C.; and LOEFFLER, R-Texas — 7/30/79 — House Administration reported Sept. 7 (H Rept 96-422). House passed Sept. 10. Senate passed, amended, Dec. 18. House agreed to Senate amendment Dec. 20. President signed Jan. 8, 1980. ▮

SENATE ROLL-CALL VOTES

CQ

CQ Senate Votes 1-7

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALABAMA							
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA							
Gravel	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Stevens	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	N
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE							
Biden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roth	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
FLORIDA							
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
Stone	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA							
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
HAWAII							
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO							
Church	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClure	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Percy	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
INDIANA							
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lugar	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
IOWA							
Culver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
KANSAS							
Dole	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Kassebaum	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY							
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MAINE							
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Cohen	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	?
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Durenberger	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Cochran	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Danforth	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA							
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Laxalt	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Schmitt	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Helms	N	N	Y	N	-	X	?
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Young	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Bellmon	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
OREGON							
Hatfield	N	N	?	?	?	#	?
Packwood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Schweiker	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Tower	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
UTAH							
Garn	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Hatch	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
VERMONT							
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Warner	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING							
Simpson	N	N	Y	N	?	N	N
Wallop	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

1. S Res 61. Senate Filibuster Rule. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment to give each senator one hour of debate time after cloture and to count time spent on quorum calls and roll-call votes against the time of the senator who requested them. Motion agreed to 51-38: R 0-38; D 51-0 (ND 35-0; SD 16-0), Feb. 22, 1979.

2. S Res 61. Senate Filibuster Rule. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Helms, R-N.C., amendment to limit debate on a measure after cloture is invoked to no more than eight hours per day. Motion agreed to 52-39: R 2-37; D 50-2 (ND 35-0; SD 15-2), Feb. 22, 1979.

3. S Res 61. Senate Filibuster Rule. Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment to delete language to permit reduction of post-cloture debate to no less than 30 hours if three-fifths of the full Senate approved it. Adopted 92-2: R 39-0; D 53-2 (ND 36-2; SD 17-0), Feb. 22, 1979.

4. S Res 61. Senate Filibuster Rule. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment to allow senators to transfer their post-cloture debate time to any other senator, provided that no senator could have more than three hours of post-cloture debate time. Motion agreed to 51-43: R 0-38; D 51-5 (ND 36-3; SD 15-2), Feb. 22, 1979.

5. S Res 61. Senate Filibuster Rule. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Javits, R-N.Y., amendment to exempt time spent on roll-call votes on amendments from the 100-hour post-cloture debate limit and to provide a mechanism for appeals of points of order made against amendments in the post-cloture period. Motion agreed to 55-37: R 0-36; D 55-1 (ND 39-0; SD 16-1), Feb. 22, 1979.

6. S Res 61. Senate Filibuster Rule. Adoption of the resolution amending Senate Rule 22 to require the Senate to take a final vote on a measure on which cloture has been invoked once 100 hours of post-cloture debate have been consumed and to provide that senators who have not used time during the 100 hours of debate may speak on the measure for 10 minutes, notwithstanding the 100-hour limit. Adopted 78-16: R 23-15; D 55-1 (ND 39-0; SD 16-1), Feb. 22, 1979.

7. S Res. 54. Aviation Fuel Deregulation. Jackson, D-Wash., motion to discharge the Energy and Natural Resources Committee from further consideration of the resolution to disapprove the president's proposal to exempt aviation gasoline and kerosene-base jet fuel from price controls (the proposal would become effective Feb. 24 unless disapproved by either house of Congress). Motion rejected 34-53: R 1-33; D 33-20 (ND 27-10; SD 6-10), Feb. 22, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

	8	9
ALABAMA		
Heflin	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y
ALASKA		
Gravel	Y	Y
Stevens	N	N
ARIZONA		
DeConcini	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	Y
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA		
Cranston	Y	Y
Hayakawa	N	N
COLORADO		
Hart	Y	Y
Armstrong	?	Y
CONNECTICUT		
Ribicoff	–	Y
Weicker	?	?
DELAWARE		
Biden	?	?
Roth	N	Y
FLORIDA		
Chiles	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y
GEORGIA		
Nunn	Y	Y
Talmadge	?	?
HAWAII		
Inouye	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y
IDAHO		
Church	Y	Y
McClure	N	N
ILLINOIS		
Stevenson	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y
INDIANA		
Bayh	Y	Y
Lugar	N	Y

	8	9
IOWA		
Culver	Y	Y
Jepsen	N	Y
KANSAS		
Dole	N	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y
KENTUCKY		
Ford	?	?
Huddleston	Y	Y
LOUISIANA		
Johnston	?	Y
Long	Y	Y
MAINE		
Muskie	Y	Y
Cohen	N	Y
MARYLAND		
Sarbanes	Y	Y
Mathias	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y
MICHIGAN		
Levin	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz	N	Y
Durenberger	?	Y
MISSISSIPPI		
Stennis	Y	Y
Cochran	N	Y
MISSOURI		
Eagleton	Y	Y
Danforth	N	Y
MONTANA		
Baucus	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y
NEBRASKA		
Exon	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y
NEVADA		
Cannon	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	Y

	8	9
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Durkin	Y	Y
Humphrey	N	N
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley	Y	Y
Williams	Y	+
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici	N	Y
Schmitt	N	N
NEW YORK		
Moynihan	Y	Y
Javits	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA		
Morgan	+	Y
Helms	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	Y	Y
Young	N	Y
OHIO		
Glenn	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA		
Boren	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y
OREGON		
Hatfield	?	Y
Packwood	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz	N	Y
Schweiker	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND		
Pell	+	+
Chafee	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Hollings	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	Y	Y
Pressler	N	Y
TENNESSEE		
Sasser	Y	Y
Baker	?	?

Democrats ***Republicans***

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	8	9
TEXAS		
Bentsen	Y	Y
Tower	N	N
UTAH		
Garn	N	N
Hatch	?	?
VERMONT		
Leahy	Y	Y
Stafford	N	Y
VIRGINIA		
Byrd*	Y	Y
Warner	N	Y
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y
WYOMING		
Simpson	N	Y
Wallop	?	Y

*Byrd elected as independent.

8. Woodcock Nomination. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion that the Senate go into executive session for the purpose of considering the nomination of Leonard Woodcock to be ambassador to the People's Republic of China. Motion agreed to 56-29: R 4-29; D 52-0 (ND 37-0; SD 15-0), Feb. 26, 1979.

9. Woodcock Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Leonard Woodcock to be the United States ambassador to the People's Republic of China. Confirmed 82-9: R 28-9; D 54-0 (ND 37-0; SD 17-0), Feb. 26, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 10-13

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 10,11,12,13

	10	11	12	13
ALABAMA				
Heflin	N	Y	Y	N
Stewart	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA				
Gravel	N	Y	Y	?
Stevens	Y	N	N	Y
ARIZONA				
DeConcini	Y	N	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS				
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	N
Pryor	N	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston	N	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	N	N	Y
COLORADO				
Hart	N	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	N
Weicker	N	N	N	Y
DELAWARE				
Biden	N	Y	Y	N
Roth	Y	N	N	Y
FLORIDA				
Chiles	N	Y	Y	N
Stone	N	N	N	Y
GEORGIA				
Nunn	N	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	N	Y	Y	?
HAWAII				
Inouye	?	?	?	X
Matsunaga	N	Y	?	?
IDAHO				
Church	?	?	Y	N
McClure	Y	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS				
Stevenson	N	Y	Y	N
Percy	N	Y	N	Y
INDIANA				
Bayh	N	Y	Y	N
Lugar	N	N	N	Y
IOWA				
Culver	N	Y	Y	N
Jepsen	Y	N	N	Y
KANSAS				
Dole	Y	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY				
Ford	?	Y	N	N
Huddleston	N	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA				
Johnston	N	Y	Y	N
Long	N	N	?	?
MAINE				
Muskie	N	Y	Y	N
Cohen	Y	N	N	Y
MARYLAND				
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	N
Mathias	N	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	N
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN				
Levin	N	Y	Y	N
Riegle	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA				
Boschwitz	N	N	N	Y
Durenberger	N	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI				
Stennis	?	?	Y	N
Cochran	N	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI				
Eagleton	N	Y	Y	N
Danforth	N	Y	N	Y
MONTANA				
Baucus	N	Y	Y	N
Melcher	N	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA				
Exon	Y	Y	Y	N
Zorinsky	N	Y	Y	N
NEVADA				
Cannon	N	Y	N	#
Laxalt	Y	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Durkin	N	Y	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY				
Bradley	N	Y	Y	N
Williams	N	+	Y	N
NEW MEXICO				
Domenici	Y	N	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	N	Y
NEW YORK				
Moynihan	N	Y	?	N
Javits	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA				
Morgan	N	N	-	+
Helms	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA				
Burdick	N	Y	Y	N
Young	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO				
Glenn	N	Y	Y	N
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA				
Boren	N	N	N	Y
Bellmon	Y	N	N	Y
OREGON				
Hatfield	+	-	N	Y
Packwood	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA				
Heinz	Y	N	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
Pell	N	Y	Y	N
Chafee	N	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollings	Y	N	N	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern	N	Y	Y	N
Pressler	Y	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE				
Sasser	N	Y	Y	N
Baker	N	N	?	?
TEXAS				
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	N
Tower	Y	N	N	Y
UTAH				
Garn	Y	N	N	Y
Hatch	Y	N	N	Y
VERMONT				
Leahy	N	Y	Y	N
Stafford	N	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA				
Byrd*	N	N	N	Y
Warner	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON				
Jackson	N	Y	Y	N
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA				
Byrd	N	Y	Y	N
Randolph	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN				
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING				
Simpson	Y	N	N	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

10. S 245. Taiwan Relations. Dole, R-Kan., amendment to provide for unofficial United States relations with "Taiwan" rather than with the "people on Taiwan," which was the phrasing sought by President Carter. Rejected 33-62: R 28-12; D 5-50 (ND 4-34; SD 1-16), March 7, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

11. S 245. Taiwan Relations. Glenn, D-Ohio, motion to table (kill) the Humphrey, R-N.H., amendment to conduct U.S. relations with Taiwan through a governmental "liaison office" rather than through President Carter's proposed unofficial agency known as the American Institute on Taiwan. Motion agreed to 57-38: R 10-30; D 47-8 (ND 35-2; SD 12-6), March 7, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

12. S 245. Taiwan Relations. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Percy, R-Ill., amendment *(see vote 13, below)* to declare that hostile action against Taiwan would be a threat to the "security interests of the United States." Motion rejected 45-49: R 1-39; D 44-10 (ND 34-3; SD 10-7), March 8, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

13. S 245. Taiwan Relations. Percy, R-Ill., amendment to declare that hostile action against Taiwan would be a threat to the "security interests of the United States." Rejected 42-50: R-35-5; D 7-45 (ND 3-33; SD 4-12), March 8, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

	14	15	16	17	18	19
ALABAMA						
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA						
Gravel	?	?	?	+	Y	N
Stevens	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	#	N	Y	N	N	N
Goldwater	C	N	N	N	N	N
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	N	N	+	Y	N
COLORADO						
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	?	N	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
Weicker	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE						
Biden	X	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Roth	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
FLORIDA						
Chiles	?	?	?	Y	N	N
Stone	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Talmadge	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
HAWAII						
Inouye	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Matsunaga	?	?	?	?	?	?
IDAHO						
Church	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
McClure	Y	N	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Percy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA						
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Lugar	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
IOWA						
Culver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Jepsen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
KANSAS						
Dole	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY						
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Huddleston	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE						
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Cohen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Mathias	N	N	Y	?	?	?
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN						
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Riegle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Durenberger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Cochran	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA						
Baucus	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Melcher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA						
Exon	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Zorinsky	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA						
Cannon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Laxalt	Y	N	N	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
Humphrey	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Schmitt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Javits	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Young	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO						
Glenn	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
Bellmon	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON						
Hatfield	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Packwood	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Schweiker	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Chafee	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Thurmond	Y	-	-	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Pressler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Baker	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Tower	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
UTAH						
Garn	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Hatch	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
VERMONT						
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Warner	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Proxmire	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING						
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Wallop	Y	N	N	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

14. S 245. Taiwan Relations. Morgan, D-N.C., motion to table (kill) the Church, D-Idaho, substitute amendment to the Boren, D-Okla., amendment allowing Taiwan to keep its embassy in Washington (Church's substitute would have allowed the courts to resolve the issue). Motion agreed to 49-36: R 30-7; D 19-29 (ND 4-27; SD 15-2), March 12, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. The Boren amendment subsequently was adopted by voice vote.

15. S 245. Taiwan Relations. Biden, D-Del., motion to table (kill) the Dole, R-Kan., amendment to require Senate confirmation of the director of the American Institute in Taiwan — the private agency that was to conduct all future relations with Taiwan. Motion agreed to 54-38: R 7-32; D 47-6 (ND 33-3; SD 14-3), March 13, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

16. S 245. Taiwan Relations. Church, D-Idaho, motion to table (kill) the Humphrey, R-N.H., amendment to make the effective date of the bill contingent on the president obtaining written assurances from the People's Republic of China that it would not attack Taiwan. Motion agreed to 74-21: R 22-18; D 52-3 (ND 37-1; SD 15-2), March 13, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

17. S 245. Taiwan Relations. Passage of the bill to continue U.S. relations with Taiwan on an unofficial basis, provide security assurances to the people of Taiwan and continue in force nearly 60 treaties and agreements on trade and other matters. Passed 90-6: R 34-5; D 56-1 (ND 37-1; SD 19-0), March 13, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

18. HR 2439. Budget Rescission, Fiscal 1979. Kennedy, D-Mass., amendment to retain fiscal 1979 appropriations, totaling $33.6 million for general purpose ("capitation") grants to medical and other health professions schools, and to rescind certain other health training funds. Rejected 41-56: R 16-24; D 25-32 (ND 19-20; SD 6-12), March 14, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

19. HR 2439. Budget Rescission, Fiscal 1979. Johnston, D-La., amendment to rescind appropriations totaling $167.9 million for capitation grants and other aid to health professions schools, the full amount proposed by President Carter. Rejected 14-83: R 7-33 D 7-50 (ND 2-37; SD 5-13), March 14, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 20-27

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27

	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
Stevens	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Goldwater	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Pryor	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Weicker	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roth	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClure	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	N	Y
Percy	-	+	-	+	+	+	?	?
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Lugar	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N

	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
IOWA								
Culver	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Kassebaum	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Cohen	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Tsongas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Riegle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?
Cochran	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Schmitt	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Javits	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Packwood	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Schweiker	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
Garn	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Hatch	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Warner	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Wallop	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as independent.

20. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Dole, R-Kan., amendment, to the Dole amendment, to prevent debt limit increases after fiscal 1980 unless the budget is balanced or a deficit is approved by a three-fifths vote of Congress. Motion agreed to 46-44: R 0-35; D 46-9 (ND 33-4; SD 13-5), March 26, 1979. (As introduced, the Dole amendment would have required a two-thirds vote to approve a budget deficit after fiscal 1980.)

21. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Baker, R-Tenn., motion to table (kill) the Long, D-La., amendment, to the Dole amendment *(see vote 20, above)*, to require the congressional Budget committees to report on April 15, 1979, budgets for fiscal 1981 and 1982 that will be balanced, and to report first concurrent budget resolutions for fiscal 1981 and 1982 that will be balanced. Motion rejected 36-54: R 31-3; D 5-51 (ND 3-35; SD 2-16), March 26, 1979.

22. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Long, D-La., amendment, to the Dole, R-Kan., amendment *(see vote 20, above)*, to require the congressional Budget committees to report on April 15, 1979, budgets for fiscal 1981 and 1982 that will be balanced, and to report first concurrent budget resolutions for fiscal 1981 and 1982 that will be balanced. Adopted 57-42: R 6-34; D 51-8 (ND 34-6; SD 17-2), March 27, 1979.

23. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the DeConcini, D-Ariz., amendment, to the Dole, R-Kan., amendment *(see vote 20, above)*, to require an income surtax to pay for any deficit, except in cases of "grave national emergency" when it could be prevented by a two-thirds vote of Congress. Motion agreed to 86-12: R 32-7; D 54-5 (ND 36-4; SD 18-1), March 27, 1979.

24. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Dole, R-Kan., amendment as amended by the Long, D-La., amendment *(see vote 22, above)*. Adopted 96-2: R 39-1; D 57-1 (ND 38-1; SD 19-0), March 27, 1979.

25. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Packwood, R-Ore., amendment to require the president to submit an alternative balanced budget in any year he proposes a budget with a deficit. Adopted 93-2: R 38-1; D 55-1 (ND 37-1; SD 18-0), March 27, 1979.

26. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Moynihan, D-N.Y., amendment to require Congress to provide equal per capita expenditures for all states, adjusted for differing costs of living. Motion agreed to 69-28: R 30-9; D 39-19 (ND 20-19; SD 19-0), March 27, 1979.

27. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment to reduce taxes annually provided that federal outlays decline to 20.5 percent of gross national product (GNP) in fiscal 1981, 20 percent in 1982, 19.5 percent in 1983 and 19 percent in 1984. Motion agreed to 61-33: R 8-30; D 53-3 (ND 37-2; SD 16-1), March 27, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 28 - 32

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 28, 29, 30, 31, 32

	28	29	30	31	32
ALABAMA					
Heflin	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA					
Gravel	?	N	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	N	Y	?	?
ARIZONA					
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Goldwater	N	N	Y	?	Y
ARKANSAS					
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA					
Cranston	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO					
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Armstrong	N	N	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT					
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Weicker	N	N	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE					
Biden	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Roth	N	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA					
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA					
Nunn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII					
Inouye	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO					
Church	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
McClure	?	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS					
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	N	+
Percy	?	Y	Y	N	Y
INDIANA					
Bayh	Y	N	Y	-	+
Lugar	N	N	Y	Y	Y
IOWA					
Culver	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	N	N	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS					
Dole	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY					
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA					
Johnston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE					
Muskie	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	N	Y	?
MARYLAND					
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Mathias	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS					
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN					
Levin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA					
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI					
Stennis	Y	N	Y	Y	?
Cochran	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI					
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Danforth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA					
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Melcher	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA					
Exon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA					
Cannon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Durkin	Y	Y	-	N	Y
Humphrey	N	N	Y	Y	-
NEW JERSEY					
Bradley	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
Domenici	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK					
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	?	?
Javits	Y	N	Y	+	Y
NORTH CAROLINA					
Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Helms	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA					
Burdick	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OHIO					
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA					
Boren	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON					
Hatfield	N	N	Y	N	Y
Packwood	Y	-	?	?	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	?
Schweiker	N	N	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND					
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Hollings	N	?	?	Y	N
Thurmond	N	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA					
McGovern	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	N	Y	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE					
Sasser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	+	N	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS					
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Tower	N	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH					
Garn	N	N	Y	Y	N
Hatch	N	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT					
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
VIRGINIA					
Byrd*	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON					
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	+	Y
WEST VIRGINIA					
Byrd	Y	N	N	N	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN					
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING					
Simpson	N	N	Y	Y	?
Wallop	?	N	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

28. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Passage of the bill to increase the public debt limit to $830 billion from $798 billion through Sept. 30, 1979, and require the Budget committees to submit balanced budgets for fiscal 1981 and 1982 on April 15, 1979, and balanced first budget resolutions for fiscal 1981 and 1982. Passed 62-33: R 14-23; D 48-10 (ND 35-4; SD 13-6), March 27, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

29. S Res 115. Senate Income Limitation. Adoption of the resolution to reinstate a Senate ethics code provision prohibiting a senator, beginning Jan. 1, 1979, from earning outside income of more than 15 percent of his or her Senate salary, or $8,625 at the 1979 salary level. (The limit had been in effect on Jan. 1 but was suspended until 1983 by a voice vote of the Senate March 8.) Rejected 44-54: R 12-28; D 32-26 (ND 22-18; SD 10-8), March 28, 1979.

30. HR 1147. Countervailing Duty Waiver. Passage of the bill to extend until no later than Sept. 30, 1979, the president's authority to waive countervailing duties on imports that are subsidized by foreign governments. Passed 82-15: R 31-9; D 51-6 (ND 33-6; SD 18-0), March 28, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

31. S Con Res 8. Rhodesian Election. Adoption of the resolution to authorize a delegation to travel to Rhodesia to observe the April 20, 1979, election in that country. Adopted 66-27: R 32-5; D 34-22 (ND 20-17; SD 14-5), March 28, 1979.

32. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to establish unofficial relations with Taiwan and to provide American security assurances to Taiwan. Adopted (thus cleared for the president) 85-4: R 33-2; D 52-2 (ND 35-1; SD 17-1), March 29, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 33 - 35

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 33, 34, 35

	33	34	35
ALABAMA			
Heflin	Y	N	Y
Stewart	N	?	?
ALASKA			
Gravel	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	N	N
ARIZONA			
DeConcini	N	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS			
Bumpers	N	N	Y
Pryor	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA			
Cranston	N	N	Y
Hayakawa	?	?	?
COLORADO			
Hart	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT			
Ribicoff	?	+	+
Weicker	Y	N	N
DELAWARE			
Biden	N	Y	Y
Roth	Y	N	N
FLORIDA			
Chiles	N	N	?
Stone	?	?	?
GEORGIA			
Nunn	Y	N	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII			
Inouye	?	N	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y
IDAHO			
Church	?	?	?
McClure	?	?	?
ILLINOIS			
Stevenson	N	Y	Y
Percy	?	N	Y
INDIANA			
Bayh	N	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	N	N

	33	34	35
IOWA			
Culver	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	N	N
KANSAS			
Dole	Y	N	N
Kassebaum	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY			
Ford	N	N	Y
Huddleston	?	?	?
LOUISIANA			
Johnston	N	N	Y
Long	?	?	?
MAINE			
Muskie	?	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND			
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y
Mathias	?	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS			
Kennedy	?	Y	Y
Tsongas	?	?	?
MICHIGAN			
Levin	N	Y	Y
Riegle	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA			
Boschwitz	Y	N	N
Durenberger	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI			
Stennis	N	Y	?
Cochran	Y	N	N
MISSOURI			
Eagleton	?	?	?
Danforth	N	N	Y
MONTANA			
Baucus	N	Y	Y
Melcher	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA			
Exon	N	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	N
NEVADA			
Cannon	N	N	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	N

	33	34	35
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Durkin	N	N	Y
Humphrey	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY			
Bradley	N	Y	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO			
Domenici	Y	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	-	?
NEW YORK			
Moynihan	?	Y	Y
Javits	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA			
Morgan	?	-	+
Helms	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA			
Burdick	-	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	Y
OHIO			
Glenn	?	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA			
Boren	N	N	Y
Bellmon	?	N	N
OREGON			
Hatfield	?	-	?
Packwood	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA			
Heinz	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND			
Pell	N	Y	Y
Chafee	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Hollings	N	N	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA			
McGovern	N	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE			
Sasser	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	N

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	33	34	35
TEXAS			
Bentsen	N	N	Y
Tower	Y	N	N
UTAH			
Garn	Y	N	N
Hatch	Y	N	N
VERMONT			
Leahy	N	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA			
Byrd*	Y	N	Y
Warner	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON			
Jackson	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	?	Y
WEST VIRGINIA			
Byrd	N	N	Y
Randolph	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN			
Nelson	?	?	?
Proxmire	N	Y	Y
WYOMING			
Simpson	?	N	N
Wallop	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

**Byrd elected as an Independent*

33. S 349. Wage-Price Council Reauthorization. Heinz, R-Pa., amendment to earmark part of the agency's expenditures for study of the inflationary impact of federal programs. Rejected 36-41: R 30-3; D 6-38 (ND 2-27; SD 4-11), April 2, 1979.

34. S 349. Wage-Price Council Reauthorization. Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to extend the Renegotiation Board for three months, through June 30, 1979. Rejected 28-56: R 0-36; D 28-20 (ND 24-10; SD 4-10), April 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

35. S 349. Wage-Price Council Reauthorization. Passage of the bill to reauthorize the Council on Wage and Price Stability for one year, through Sept. 30, 1980. Passed 62-22: R 16-21; D 46-1 (ND 34-1; SD 12-0), April 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 36 - 38
Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 36, 37, 38

	36	37	38
ALABAMA			
Heflin	N	Y	Y
Stewart	N	?	?
ALASKA			
Gravel	Y	N	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA			
DeConcini	N	Y	Y
Goldwater	?	?	?
ARKANSAS			
Bumpers	Y	N	Y
Pryor	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA			
Cranston	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	N
COLORADO			
Hart	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT			
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	?	?
DELAWARE			
Biden	Y	N	Y
Roth	?	?	?
FLORIDA			
Chiles	N	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA			
Nunn	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	?	?	?
HAWAII			
Inouye	Y	N	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y
IDAHO			
Church	N	Y	N
McClure	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS			
Stevenson	Y	N	Y
Percy	Y	N	Y
INDIANA			
Bayh	?	?	?
Lugar	N	Y	N

	36	37	38
IOWA			
Culver	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	N	Y	N
KANSAS			
Dole	N	Y	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY			
Ford	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA			
Johnston	N	Y	Y
Long	?	?	?
MAINE			
Muskie	Y	N	Y
Cohen	Y	N	N
MARYLAND			
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y
Mathias	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS			
Kennedy	Y	N	Y
Tsongas	Y	N	?
MICHIGAN			
Levin	Y	N	Y
Riegle	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA			
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI			
Stennis	N	Y	Y
Cochran	N	Y	N
MISSOURI			
Eagleton	Y	N	Y
Danforth	Y	N	Y
MONTANA			
Baucus	Y	N	Y
Melcher	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA			
Exon	N	Y	N
Zorinsky	N	Y	Y
NEVADA			
Cannon	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	Y	N

	36	37	38
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Durkin	?	?	?
Humphrey	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY			
Bradley	Y	N	Y
Williams	?	?	?
NEW MEXICO			
Domenici	N	Y	N
Schmitt	N	Y	N
NEW YORK			
Moynihan	?	N	Y
Javits	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA			
Morgan	N	Y	N
Helms	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA			
Burdick	Y	N	Y
Young	N	Y	Y
OHIO			
Glenn	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA			
Boren	N	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	N	N
OREGON			
Hatfield	Y	N	Y
Packwood	Y	N	?
PENNSYLVANIA			
Heinz	?	?	?
Schweiker	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND			
Pell	Y	N	Y
Chafee	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Hollings	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA			
McGovern	Y	?	?
Pressler	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE			
Sasser	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	?

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	36	37	38
TEXAS			
Bentsen	N	Y	Y
Tower	N	Y	N
UTAH			
Garn	-	?	?
Hatch	N	Y	N
VERMONT			
Leahy	Y	N	Y
Stafford	?	?	?
VIRGINIA			
Byrd*	N	Y	Y
Warner	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON			
Jackson	Y	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA			
Byrd	N	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN			
Nelson	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	Y
WYOMING			
Simpson	N	Y	N
Wallop	?	?	?

Democrats *Republicans* *Byrd elected as an Independent

36. S 210. Education Department/School Prayer. Ribicoff, D-Conn., motion to table (kill) the Helms, R-N.C., amendment to remove from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court or other federal courts any state laws or regulations relating to voluntary prayer in public schools or public buildings. Motion rejected 44-43: R 13-20; D 30-23 (ND 28-8; SD 2-15), April 5, 1979.

37. S 210. Education Department/School Prayer. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to remove from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court or other federal courts any state laws or regulations relating to voluntary prayer in public schools or public buildings. Adopted 47-37: R 22-10; D 25-27 (ND 10-26; SD 15-1), April 5, 1979.

38. Senate Recess. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion that the Senate recess from 5:43 p.m., April 5, until noon, April 9, 1979. Motion agreed to 55-27: R 7-24; D 48-3 (ND 33-2; SD 15-1), April 5, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 39-44

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44

	39	40	41	42	43	44
ALABAMA						
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
ALASKA						
Gravel	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	X	?	-	+	-	+
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
COLORADO						
Hart	N	?	N	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Weicker	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE						
Biden	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Roth	?	?	?	?	?	?
FLORIDA						
Chiles	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stone	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
HAWAII						
Inouye	#	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
IDAHO						
Church	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
McClure	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Percy	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
INDIANA						
Bayh	N	N	N	Y	N	?
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
IOWA						
Culver	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
KANSAS						
Dole	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY						
Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Huddleston	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE						
Muskie	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Cohen	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Mathias	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Tsongas	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN						
Levin	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Riegle	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	?	?	?	?	?	?
Danforth	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MONTANA						
Baucus	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA						
Exon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA						
Cannon	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Williams	?	?	?	?	N	Y
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Javits	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Helms	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Young	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
OHIO						
Glenn	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
OREGON						
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Packwood	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Chafee	?	?	?	?	?	?
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Pressler	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
Baker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Tower	+	?	+	?	?	?
UTAH						
Garn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Hatch	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT						
Leahy	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stafford	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Warner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING						
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Wallop	+	Y	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

* Byrd was elected as an independent.

39. S 450. Supreme Court Jurisdiction/School Prayer. Byrd, D-W.Va., amendment to remove from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court or other federal courts any state laws or regulations relating to voluntary prayer in public schools or public buildings. (The Byrd amendment was identical to the Helms, R-N.C., amendment, *see vote 37, p. 9-S.*) Adopted 51-40: R 25-12; D 26-28 (ND 9-28; SD 17-0), April 9, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

40. S 450. Supreme Court Jurisdiction/School Prayer. Passage of the bill to eliminate virtually all of the mandatory jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Passed 61-30: R 27-11; D 34-19 (ND 19-18; SD 15-1), April 9, 1979.

41. S 210. Education Department/School Prayer. Helms, R-N.C., motion to table (kill) the Ribicoff, D-Conn., motion to reconsider the vote by which the Helms amendment *(see vote 37, p. 9-S)* was adopted. Motion rejected 41-53: R 26-12; D 15-41 (ND 3-35; SD 12-6), April 9, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

42. S 210. Education Department/School Prayer. Ribicoff, D-Conn., motion to reconsider the vote by which the Helms, R-N.C., amendment, *see vote 37, p. 9-S)* was adopted. Motion agreed to 50-43: R 13-25; D 37-18 (ND 32-5; SD 5-13), April 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

43. S 210. Education Department/School Prayer. Helms, R-N.C., motion to table (kill) the Ribicoff, D-Conn., amendment *(see vote 37, p. 9-S),* to require the undersecretary of education to consult with the secretary of education concerning the recommendations of the Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education. Motion rejected 38-57: R 25-13, D 13-44 (ND 4-35; SD 9-9), April 9, 1979. (The Ribicoff amendment subsequently was adopted by voice vote. Passage of the Ribicoff amendment met a parliamentary requirement that allowed vote 44, *see below,* to be taken.)

44. S 210. Education Department/School Prayer. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Helms, R-N.C., amendment, as amended by Ribicoff *(see vote 43, above),* to remove from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court or other federal courts any state laws or regulations relating to voluntary prayer in public schools or public buildings. Motion agreed to 53-40: R 14-23; D 39-17 (ND 34-4; SD 5-13), April 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Stewart	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Stevens	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Pryor	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Hayakawa	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N
Armstrong	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N
Weicker	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	N	N	?	?	N	N	N
Roth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Stone	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Matsunaga	?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
IDAHO								
Church	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
McClure	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Percy	?	-	-	?	?	?	?	?
INDIANA								
Bayh	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Jepsen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	N	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Huddleston	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Long	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
MAINE								
Muskie	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Cohen	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Mathias	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Tsongas	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Riegle	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Durenberger	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Cochran	?	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Danforth	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Melcher	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	N	N	N	?	?	?	?
Humphrey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Williams	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	?
Javits	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Helms	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Young	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
OHIO								
Glenn	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Metzenbaum	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Packwood	?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N	N
Chafee	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Thurmond	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Pressler	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	N	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	N
Baker	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Tower	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hatch	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Stafford	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Warner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Magnuson	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Randolph	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as independent.

45. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to cut fiscal 1980 outlays by $28.8 billion to $503.6 billion, the Budget Committee's recommended revenue figure. Rejected 23-67: R 13-22; D 10-45 (ND 4-33; SD 6-12), April 24, 1979.

46. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. McGovern, D-S.D., amendment to reduce national defense spending by $1.7 billion (budget authority) in 1980, to "transfer" $1 billion of that to nutrition, education for the handicapped, energy conservation and railroad rehabilitation programs, to use the rest to decrease the deficit and to make similar adjustments to the fiscal 1981 and 1982 budgets. Rejected 24-69: R 4-33; D 20-36 (ND 20-18; SD 0-18), April 24, 1979.

47. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Byrd, Ind-Va., amendment to reduce budget authority by $1.1 billion and outlays by $400 million in 1980, reflecting elimination of Title VI Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) countercyclical public service jobs. Rejected 29-63: R 22-14; D 7-49 (ND 1-37; SD 6-12), April 24, 1979.

48. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Byrd, Ind-Va., amendment to reduce budget authority by $1 billion and outlays by $200 million in 1980, reflecting a reduction in foreign aid. Rejected 38-50: R 18-18; D 20-32 (ND 9-25; SD 11-7), April 24, 1979.

49. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Lugar, R-Ind., amendment to reduce budget authority and outlays by $1 billion in 1980, reflecting a continuation of the $6.2 billion "cap" on food stamp expenditures. Rejected 30-61: R 22-16; D 8-45 (ND 2-34; SD 6-11), April 25, 1979.

50. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Roth, R-Del., substitute amendment to cut foreign aid, countercyclical public service jobs, health programs, welfare and food stamp programs, federal travel spending and categorical grants to the states $10 billion below the Budget Committee recommendation in 1980 so as to allow for tax cuts beginning that year, and to make similar changes in fiscal 1981 and 1982. Rejected 36-56: R 26-11; D 10-45 (ND 3-34; SD 7-11), April 25, 1979.

51. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Domenici, R-N.M., amendment to cut transportation, economic development, health, social programs, welfare, categorical grants to states and other programs $12.5 billion in budget authority and $9.4 billion in outlays in 1980 and $11.9 billion in budget authority and $10.6 billion in outlays in 1981; and provide for tax cuts of $9.4 billion in 1980 and $10.6 billion in 1981. Rejected 38-55: R 27-11; D 11-44 (ND 4-33; SD 7-11), April 25, 1979.

52. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Schweiker, R-Pa., amendment to cut budget authority $5.5 billion in 1981 and $6.5 billion in 1982 so as to provide for "no real growth" in spending. Rejected 40-52: R 27-11; D 13-41 (ND 5-31; SD 8-10), April 25, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 53 - 60

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60

	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Stewart	Y	N	N	N	X	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Stevens	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
Weicker	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Talmadge	X	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
Matsunaga	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Church	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
McClure	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
Percy	–	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
INDIANA								
Bayh	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
IOWA								
Culver	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Long	#	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
MAINE								
Muskie	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	–	?
Riegle	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
Cochran	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
Humphrey	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Schmitt	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	+	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Javits	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Helms	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Bellmon	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Hatch	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Warner	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Wallop	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

53. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, amendment to increase budget authority by $100 million in fiscal 1980, $200 million in 1981 and $300 million in 1982 for nutritional programs authorized under the Older Americans Act. Adopted 68-21: R 25-12; D 43-9 (ND 32-4; SD 11-5), April 25, 1979.

54. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Riegle, D-Mich., amendment to cut national defense budget authority by $800 million in fiscal 1979 and $400 million in 1980 to eliminate funds for the purchase of four destroyers ordered by the Shah of Iran but canceled by that country's new government. Rejected 26-62: R 8-29; D 18-33 (ND 18-16; SD 0-17), April 25, 1979.

55. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Hatch, R-Utah, amendment to require that no new spending bills be enrolled until the second concurrent budget resolution is adopted. Rejected 15-69: R 15-22; D 0-47 (ND 0-31; SD 0-16), April 25, 1979.

56. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Hatch, R-Utah, amendment to reduce budget authority and outlays by $1.1 billion in fiscal 1980, 1981 and 1982, representing cuts in overtime pay for federal employees ($200 million), government film-making ($200 million), travel expenses ($500 million), and a 1 percent attrition in the federal workforce. Rejected 41-44: R 30-5; D 11-39 (ND 4-30; SD 7-9), April 25, 1979.

57. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Kennedy, D-Mass., amendment to increase budget authority by $100 million in fiscal 1980, 1981 and 1982, restoring a cut proposed by the Budget Committee for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Rejected 38-46: R 14-22; D 24-24 (ND 19-14; SD 5-10), April 25, 1979.

58. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Chiles, D-Fla., amendment to increase outlays by $300 million in fiscal 1980, 1981 and 1982, restoring part of a $600 million savings the Budget Committee assumed would be realized in the Social Security program. Adopted 49-36: R 14-22; D 35-14 (ND 26-7; SD 9-7), April 25, 1979.

59. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Magnuson, D-Wash., amendment to increase fiscal 1979 budget authority and outlays by $400 million to meet unexpected increases in the cost of the food stamp program. Adopted 54-30: R 13-23; D 41-7 (ND 29-3; SD 12-4), April 25, 1979.

60. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Roth, R-Del., amendment to cut budget authority and outlays by $400 million in fiscal 1980, $500 million in 1981 and $600 million in 1982, representing reductions in government travel and film-making expenses. Adopted 83-0: R 36-0; D 47-0 (ND 31-0; SD 16-0), April 25, 1979.

	61	62	63	64
ALABAMA				
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA				
Gravel	?	?	?	?
Stevens	Y	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA				
DeConcini	Y	N	N	N
Goldwater	X	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS				
Bumpers	Y	Y	N	N
Pryor	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston	Y	Y	N	N
Hayakawa	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO				
Hart	Y	Y	N	N
Armstrong	N	N	?	?
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff	+	Y	N	N
Weicker	?	?	?	?
DELAWARE				
Biden	Y	Y	N	N
Roth	N	N	N	N
FLORIDA				
Chiles	Y	Y	N	N
Stone	Y	N	N	?
GEORGIA				
Nunn	Y	Y	N	N
Talmadge	Y	N	N	Y
HAWAII				
Inouye	?	Y	?	?
Matsunaga	Y	Y	N	N
IDAHO				
Church	Y	Y	N	Y
McClure	N	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS				
Stevenson	?	Y	N	N
Percy	#	?	?	?
INDIANA				
Bayh	?	?	?	?
Lugar	N	N	Y	Y

	61	62	63	64
IOWA				
Culver	Y	Y	N	N
Jepsen	Y	N	Y	Y
KANSAS				
Dole	Y	N	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY				
Ford	Y	N	N	Y
Huddleston	Y	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA				
Johnston	Y	N	N	Y
Long	+	?	?	?
MAINE				
Muskie	Y	?	?	?
Cohen	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND				
Sarbanes	Y	Y	N	N
Mathias	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy	Y	Y	N	N
Tsongas	Y	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN				
Levin	Y	Y	N	N
Riegle	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA				
Boschwitz	Y	N	N	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI				
Stennis	?	N	N	?
Cochran	Y	N	N	N
MISSOURI				
Eagleton	Y	Y	N	N
Danforth	Y	Y	N	N
MONTANA				
Baucus	Y	Y	N	N
Melcher	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA				
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	N	N	Y
NEVADA				
Cannon	Y	N	N	N
Laxalt	N	N	Y	Y

	61	62	63	64
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Durkin	Y	N	N	Y
Humphrey	N	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY				
Bradley	Y	Y	N	N
Williams	?	?	?	?
NEW MEXICO				
Domenici	N	Y	Y	N
Schmitt	?	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK				
Moynihan	?	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	?	?	N
NORTH CAROLINA				
Morgan	+	N	Y	Y
Helms	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA				
Burdick	Y	Y	N	N
Young	Y	N	N	?
OHIO				
Glenn	Y	Y	N	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA				
Boren	Y	Y	Y	?
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON				
Hatfield	N	Y	N	N
Packwood	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA				
Heinz	Y	Y	N	N
Schweiker	N	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND				
Pell	Y	Y	N	N
Chafee	?	?	?	?
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollings	Y	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	N	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern	N	Y	N	N
Pressler	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE				
Sasser	Y	Y	N	N
Baker	Y	N	N	N

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	61	62	63	64
TEXAS				
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	N
Tower	N	N	Y	Y
UTAH				
Garn	N	N	Y	Y
Hatch	N	N	Y	Y
VERMONT				
Leahy	Y	?	?	?
Stafford	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA				
Byrd*	N	N	Y	Y
Warner	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON				
Jackson	Y	Y	N	N
Magnuson	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA				
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN				
Nelson	N	?	?	?
Proxmire	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING				
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as independent.

61. S Con Res 22. Fiscal 1980-1982 Budget Targets. Adoption of the resolution to revise the fiscal 1979 second budget resolution and set spending and tax goals leading to a balanced budget in 1981 with a $55 million tax cut in 1982; and for fiscal 1980, to provide $600.3 billion in budget authority, $532.6 billion in outlays, $503.6 billion in revenues, and a $29 billion deficit. Adopted 64-20: R 20-15; D 44-5 (ND 29-4; SD 15-1), April 26, 1979.

62. S 210. Education Department. Ribicoff, D-Conn., motion to table (kill) the Hatch, R-Utah, amendment to allow a majority of local education agencies to overturn an Education Department proposed regulation by submitting their disapproval in writing to the department within 30 days of the regulation's publication. Motion agreed to 48-40: R 8-28; D 40-12 (ND 29-5; SD 11-7), April 26, 1979.

63. S 210. Education Department. Schmitt, R-N.M., amendment to delete from the bill transfer of the Defense Department overseas dependent school system to the proposed Education Department. Rejected 28-58: R 21-14; D 7-44 (ND 3-30; SD 4-14), April 26, 1979.

64. S 210. Education Department. Morgan, D-N.C., amendment to prohibit the president from using authority under the Reorganization Act to transfer additional programs into the proposed Education Department. Rejected 38-45: R 21-14; D 17-31 (ND 8-25; SD 9-6), April 26, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 65 - 72

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70

	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	-	?
Stewart	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Stevens	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Pryor	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Weicker	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Roth	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stone	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Talmadge	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	N	Y	N	?	+	N	Y
McClure	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Percy	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
IOWA								
Culver	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Huddleston	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Long	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Cohen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Mathias	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	?
Tsongas	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Riegle	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Cochran	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Danforth	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Melcher	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	?	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Williams	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Javits	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Young	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Bellmon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Packwood	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	-	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Pressler	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	-	?	+	-	+	+	N	Y
Baker	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Tower	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Hatch	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stafford	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Warner	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Magnuson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Randolph	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Wallop	?	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

65. S 210. Education Department. Schweiker, R-Pa., substitute amendment to elevate the status of education within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare by raising the chief education official to the rank of undersecretary rather than create a new education department. Rejected 26-58: R 19-17; D 7-41 (ND 4-27; SD 3-14), April 30, 1979.

66. S 210. Education Department. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to require that any public elementary and secondary schools receiving funds from the proposed department obtain parental approval before providing sex education to students. Rejected 16-73: R 11-28; D 5-45 (ND 3-30; SD 2-15), April 30, 1979.

67. S 210. Education Department. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Jepsen, R-Iowa, appeal of the chair's ruling that the Jepsen amendment to require the department to issue regulations protecting the right of school employees not to join unions was not germane and, therefore, out of order. Motion agreed to 68-24: R 19-21; D 49-3 (ND 34-0; SD 15-3), April 30, 1979.

68. S 210. Education Department. Hayakawa, R-Calif., amendment to terminate the proposed department six years after its establishment, unless Congress decided to continue it. Rejected 46-48: R 33-7; D 13-41 (ND 6-30; SD 7-11), April 30, 1979.

69. S 210. Education Department. Ribicoff, D-Conn., motion to table (kill) the Hayakawa, R-Calif., appeal of the chair's ruling that the Hayakawa amendment to prohibit the department from enforcing racial or sexual quotas in hiring or higher education admissions was not germane and, therefore, out of order. Motion agreed to 59-32: R 14-25; D 45-7 (ND 31-3; SD 14-4), April 30, 1979.

70. S 210. Education Department. Passage of the bill to establish a separate Department of Education. Passed 72-21: R 24-16; D 48-5 (ND 32-3; SD 16-2), April 30, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

71. S 413. Aviation Noise Abatement. Javits, R-N.Y., amendment to delete provisions in the bill that would allow the Federal Aviation Administration to grant waivers to its noise control standards if the airlines committed themselves to replacing their fleets with newer planes that would meet stiffer noise standards. Rejected 33-57: R 10-27; D 23-30 (ND 19-17; SD 4-13), May 1, 1979.

72. S 413. Aviation Noise Abatement. Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment to require federal aviation noise control regulations to provide "audible relief" to residents living near airports (the effect of the amendment was to exempt most two- and three-engine planes from federal noise regulations). Adopted 51-38: R 24-13; D 27-25 (ND 17-17; SD 10-8), May 1, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 73 - 80

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80

	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Stewart	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Pryor	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Armstrong	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Roth	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Stone	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Matsunaga	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
IDAHO								
Church	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
McClure	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N

	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Kassebaum	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Huddleston	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	N	?
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
MAINE								
Muskie	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Riegle	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Melcher	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Laxalt	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N

	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N
Schmitt	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y
Javits	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Helms	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	+	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	+
Young	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	?	+	?	Y	N	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	N	Y	-	+	-	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
Pressler	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Baker	Y	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
Tower	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Hatch	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Stafford	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Warner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Magnuson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Randolph	Y	+	+	-	N	Y	N	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

73. S 413. Aviation Noise Abatement. Passage of the bill to allow the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) to grant waivers to existing noise control regulations if an airline agreed by 1985 to convert to quieter planes by either purchasing new planes or muffling their existing fleet. Passed 78-15: R 34-4; D 44-11 (ND 25-11; SD 19-0), May 1, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

74. S Res 122. Emergency Temperature Restrictions. Adoption of the resolution to approve Energy Department Standby Conservation Plan 2, which would give the president authority to require that thermostats inside non-residential buildings be set no lower than 80 degrees in summer and no higher than 65 degrees in winter. Adopted 89-3: R 33-3; D 56-0 (ND 37-0; SD 19-0), May 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

75. Kutak Nomination. Confirmation of the nomination of Robert J. Kutak of Nebraska to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation. Confirmed 60-33: R 31-6; D 29-27 (ND 25-12; SD 4-15), May 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

76. S Res 123. Emergency Advertising Lighting Restrictions. Adoption of the resolution to approve Energy Department Standby Conservation Plan 3, which would give the president authority to restrict the use of non-essential lighted outdoor advertising. Rejected 24-70: R 8-30; D 16-40 (ND 15-22; SD 1-18), May 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

77. S 429. Defense Department Supplemental Authorization. Warner, R-Va., motion to table (kill) the Heinz, R-Pa., amendment *(see vote 79, below)* to provide for overhauling the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* based on cost and national security considerations as determined by the secretary of defense (the effect of the amendment was to permit the overhaul to take place at the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard). Motion rejected 33-59: R 20-19; D 13-40 (ND 6-30; SD 7-10), May 3, 1979.

78. S 429. Defense Department Supplemental Authorization. Heinz, R-Pa., motion to table (kill) the Biden, D-Del., motion to reconsider the voice vote by which the Biden perfecting amendment to the Heinz amendment *(see vote 77, above)* was adopted. Motion agreed to 52-39: R 14-25; D 38-14 (ND 29-6; SD 9-8), May 3, 1979.

79. S 429. Defense Department Supplemental Authorization. Warner, R-Va., amendment, to the Heinz, R-Pa.-Biden, D-Del., amendment, to require presidential certification of a national security need if the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* were overhauled anywhere except Newport News, Va. Rejected 41-50: R 25-12; D 16-38 (ND 5-30; SD 11-8), May 3, 1979. (The Heinz-Biden amendment, subsequently adopted by voice vote, nullified a provision in the bill requiring the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* to be overhauled in Newport News, Va.)

80. S 429. Defense Department Supplemental Authorization. Riegle, D-Mich., amendment to delete $628 million for two destroyers. Rejected 32-56: R 6-31; D 26-25 (ND 24-11; SD 2-14), May 3, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 81 - 85

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 81, 82, 83, 84, 85

	81	82	83	84	85
ALABAMA					
Heflin	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ALASKA					
Gravel	Y	Y	N	N	N
Stevens	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA					
DeConcini	Y	N	N	Y	N
Goldwater	Y	N	N	N	N
ARKANSAS					
Bumpers	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA					
Cranston	N	Y	N	N	N
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	N	N
COLORADO					
Hart	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT					
Ribicoff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE					
Biden	Y	?	N	Y	Y
Roth	Y	N	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA					
Chiles	Y	N	N	N	N
Stone	?	?	N	N	N
GEORGIA					
Nunn	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	N	N	Y	Y
HAWAII					
Inouye	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO					
Church	Y	N	N	N	N
McClure	Y	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS					
Stevenson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Percy	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA					
Bayh	?	?	?	?	Y
Lugar	Y	N	N	N	N
IOWA					
Culver	Y	N	N	N	N
Jepsen	Y	N	N	N	N
KANSAS					
Dole	Y	N	N	N	N
Kassebaum	Y	N	N	N	N
KENTUCKY					
Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	?	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA					
Johnston	Y	?	N	Y	Y
Long	?	N	N	Y	Y
MAINE					
Muskie	?	?	?	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	N	N	N
MARYLAND					
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	?	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS					
Kennedy	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN					
Levin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Riegle	N	N	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA					
Boschwitz	Y	N	N	N	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI					
Stennis	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSOURI					
Eagleton	?	?	N	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA					
Baucus	Y	Y	N	N	N
Melcher	Y	N	N	N	N
NEBRASKA					
Exon	N	N	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEVADA					
Cannon	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	N	+	-
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Durkin	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY					
Bradley	Y	?	N	Y	Y
Williams	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
Domenici	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK					
#Moynihan	N	?	N	Y	Y
Javits	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA					
Morgan	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA					
Burdick	?	N	N	N	N
Young	Y	N	N	N	N
OHIO					
Glenn	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA					
Boren	Y	N	N	N	N
Bellmon	Y	N	N	N	N
OREGON					
Hatfield	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	N	N	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA					
Heinz	?	N	Y	N	N
Schweiker	Y	N	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND					
Pell	Y	N	N	N	Y
Chafee	Y	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Hollings	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA					
McGovern	?	N	N	N	N
Pressler	Y	N	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE					
Sasser	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Baker	Y	?	N	Y	Y
TEXAS					
Bentsen	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Tower	Y	N	N	Y	N
UTAH					
Garn	Y	N	N	Y	N
Hatch	Y	N	N	Y	N
VERMONT					
Leahy	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Stafford	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA					
Byrd*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Warner	Y	N	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON					
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA					
Byrd	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN					
Nelson	N	N	N	Y	N
Proxmire	N	N	N	Y	N
WYOMING					
Simpson	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

81. S 429. Fiscal 1979 Defense Department Supplemental Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize an additional $2,103,900,000 for programs of the Department of Defense for fiscal 1979. Passed 77-12: R 36-2; D 41-10 (ND 25-10; SD 16-0), May 3, 1979.

82. S 440. Alcohol Abuse Prevention and Rehabilitation Act. Huddleston, D-Ky., motion to table (kill) the Thurmond, R-S.C., amendment to require that a health warning label be placed on all bottles of beverages containing 24 percent alcohol. Motion rejected 21-68: R 7-31; D 14-37 (ND 11-23; SD 3-14), May 7, 1979. The Thurmond amendment was adopted subsequently by voice.

83. S Res 121. Weekend Gasoline Sales Restriction. Weicker, R-Conn., motion to discharge the Energy and Natural Resources Committee from further consideration of a Carter administration plan giving the president authority to close gasoline stations on weekends during a shortage (the motion would have allowed Senate floor consideration of the measure, which the committee had rejected). Rejected 16-81: R 7-33; D 9-48 (ND 8-30; SD 1-18), May 8, 1979.A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

84. S Res 153. Gasoline Rationing Plan. Adoption of the resolution to approve an amendment, to the Carter administration's standby gasoline rationing plan, to base distribution of coupons to a car owner on the basis of his state's historic rate of consumption per vehicle (the original plan gave the same amount of coupons to every car owner without consideration of where he lived). Adopted 66-30: R 21-17; D 45-13 (ND 29-10; SD 16-3), May 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

85. S Res 120. Gasoline Rationing Plan. Adoption of the resolution to approve the standby gasoline rationing plan which, during an emergency, would require that special ration coupons be used to purchase gasoline. Adopted 58-39: R 15-23; D 43-16 (ND 27-13; SD 16-3), May 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 86 - 88

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 86, 87, 88

	86	87	88
ALABAMA			
Heflin	Y	Y	N
Stewart	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA			
Gravel	Y	N	Y
Stevens	+	+	?
ARIZONA			
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS			
Bumpers	Y	N	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA			
Cranston	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N
COLORADO			
Hart	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT			
Ribicoff	Y	?	+
Weicker	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE			
Biden	Y	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA			
Chiles	?	N	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA			
Nunn	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	Y	Y	N
HAWAII			
Inouye	Y	?	?
Matsunaga	?	Y	Y
IDAHO			
Church	Y	Y	Y
McClure	N	?	?
ILLINOIS			
Stevenson	Y	?	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA			
Bayh	Y	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	N
IOWA			
Culver	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	N
KANSAS			
Dole	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY			
Ford	Y	Y	N
Huddleston	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA			
Johnston	Y	Y	N
Long	?	?	?
MAINE			
Muskie	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	?
MARYLAND			
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	?
MASSACHUSETTS			
Kennedy	Y	N	Y
Tsongas	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN			
Levin	+	N	Y
Riegle	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA			
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI			
Stennis	Y	Y	N
Cochran	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI			
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA			
Baucus	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA			
Exon	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N
NEVADA			
Cannon	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Durkin	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY			
Bradley	Y	N	Y
Williams	?	N	Y
NEW MEXICO			
Domenici	Y	Y	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK			
Moynihan	?	?	?
Javits	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA			
Morgan	Y	Y	N
Helms	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA			
Burdick	Y	Y	N
Young	Y	Y	N
OHIO			
Glenn	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA			
Boren	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y
OREGON			
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA			
Heinz	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND			
Pell	Y	N	+
Chafee	?	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Hollings	Y	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA			
McGovern	Y	N	Y
Pressler	Y	?	Y
TENNESSEE			
Sasser	Y	Y	Y
Baker	Y	Y	N
TEXAS			
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y	N
UTAH			
Garn	Y	Y	N
Hatch	+	+	-
VERMONT			
Leahy	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	?	?	?
VIRGINIA			
Byrd*	Y	Y	N
Warner	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON			
Jackson	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA			
Byrd	Y	N	N
Randolph	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN			
Nelson	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	N
WYOMING			
Simpson	Y	Y	N
Wallop	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

86. S 586. State Department Authorization. Javits, R-N.Y., amendment, to the Baker, R-Tenn., amendment, to restrict non-immigrant visas for members of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and members of certain foreign trade unions run by communist governments. Adopted 87-2: R 34-2; D 53-0 (ND 36-0; SD 17-0), May 10, 1979. (The original Baker amendment would have repealed a 1977 provision that removed the secretary of state's discretionary authority in granting temporary visas for certain communist organizations.) The Baker amendment, as amended, was adopted subsequently by voice vote.

87. S 586. State Department Authorization. Byrd, Ind-Va., amendment to delete authorizations for fiscal 1981. Adopted 70-19: R 34-1; D 36-18 (ND 21-15; SD 15-3), May 10, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

88. S 586. State Department Authorization. Javits, R-N.Y., motion to table (kill) the Thurmond, R-S.C., amendment to reduce funding for immigration and refugee assistance programs in fiscal 1980 from $248,951,000 to $182,101,000. Motion agreed to 56-32: R 18-16; D 38-16 (ND 31-5; SD 7-11), May 10, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 89 - 95

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95

	89	90	91	92	93	94	95
ALABAMA							
Heflin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA							
Gravel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Stevens	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO							
Hart	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	-	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE							
Biden	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Roth	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA							
Chiles	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
Nunn	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
Inouye	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO							
Church	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	N	N	?	N	Y	N	Y
Percy	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
INDIANA							
Bayh	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Lugar	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA							
Culver	-	+	Y	N	N	N	Y
Jepsen	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS							
Dole	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Long	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE							
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Cohen	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Tsongas	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN							
Levin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Riegle	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Danforth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA							
Baucus	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
Melcher	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA							
Cannon	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Javits	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO							
Glenn	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Thurmond	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	?	+	Y	N	N	N	Y
Pressler	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Baker	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS							
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH							
Garn	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hatch	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VERMONT							
Leahy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Warner	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WYOMING							
Simpson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

89. S 1007. Egyptian-Israeli Aid. Helms, R-N.C., motion to table (kill) the Church, D-Idaho, substitute amendment, to the Helms amendment, to urge Egypt and Israel to sign the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (the original Helms amendment would have prohibited special aid to Egypt and Israel unless they had signed the treaty). Motion rejected 7-76: R 4-31; D 3-45 (ND 3-29; SD 0-16), May 14, 1979. (The Church substitute amendment was adopted subsequently by voice vote). A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

90. S 1007. Egyptian-Israeli Aid. Passage of the bill to authorize $4.8 billion for Egypt and Israel to support the peace treaty between those two countries. Passed 73-11: R 31-5; D 42-6 (ND 28-4; SD 14-2), May 14, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

91. S 586. State Department Authorization. Church, D-Idaho, motion to table (kill) the Helms, R-N.C., amendment to declare that the United States would not pay the portion of its United Nations mandatory assessments that would be used for technical assistance programs. Motion agreed to 54-35: R 12-27; D 42-8 (ND 30-4; SD 12-4), May 15, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

92. S 586. State Department Authorization. Schweiker, R-Pa., amendment to express the sense of Congress that Rhodesia had met the U.S. conditions for lifting the economic sanctions and to urge the president to lift sanctions 10 days after a black majority government was installed. Adopted 75-19: R 38-2; D 37-17 (ND 20-17; SD 17-0), May 15, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

93. S 586. State Department Authorization. Byrd, D-W.Va., substitute amendment, to the Helms, R-N.C., amendment *(see vote 94, below)*, to require the president to report to Congress on the economic sanctions against Rhodesia and to express the sense of Congress that the U.S. conditions for lifting them had been met. Adopted 83-11: R 39-1; D 44-10 (ND 27-10; SD 17-0), May 15, 1979.

94. S 586. State Department Authorization. Helms, R-N.C., amendment, as amended by the Byrd, D-W.Va., amendment *(see vote 93, above)*, to require the president to report to Congress on the U.S. sanctions against Rhodesia and to express the sense of Congress that the U.S. conditions for lifting them had been met. Adopted 74-21: R 39-1; D 35-20 (ND 18-20; SD 17-0), May 15, 1979.

95. HR 3363. State Department Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize $2,123,951 in fiscal 1980 for the State Department, the International Communication Agency and the Board for International Broadcasting. Passed 84-10: R 33-7; D 51-3 (ND 35-2; SD 16-1), May 15, 1979.

	96	97	98	99	100	101
ALABAMA						
Heflin	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ALASKA						
Gravel	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Stevens	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	N	Y	N	Y	?	N
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Hayakawa	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO						
Hart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Weicker	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE						
Biden	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
Roth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA						
Chiles	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
HAWAII						
Inouye	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
Matsunaga	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO						
Church	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
McClure	Y	X	Y	X	N	N
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Percy	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
INDIANA						
Bayh	N	?	?	?	?	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA						
Culver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
KANSAS						
Dole	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY						
Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	?	?	?	?	?	?
Long	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MAINE						
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA						
Baucus	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA						
Exon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEVADA						
Cannon	N	?	?	?	?	?
Laxalt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Williams	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	N	Y	N	Y	+	Y
Helms	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Young	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
OHIO						
Glenn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON						
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
Thurmond	Y	#	-	#	?	N
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
Pressler	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Baker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS						
Bentsen	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Tower	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
UTAH						
Garn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Hatch	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT						
Leahy	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	?	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WYOMING						
Simpson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

* Byrd elected as independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

96. S 7. Veterans' Health Care. Cranston, D-Calif., substitute amendment, to the Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment, to require a concurrent resolution of approval by both houses of Congress for major construction projects or leases for Veterans Administration (VA) medical facilities. Rejected 45-47: R 26-11; D 19-36 (ND 11-26; SD 8-10), May 16, 1979. The Proxmire amendment to delete from the bill a provision to require resolutions of approval from congressional veterans' committees for any VA facility costing more than $2 million or any medical facility lease of more than $500,000 a year was adopted subsequently by voice vote.

97. S 7. Veterans' Health Care. Cranston, D-Calif., amendment, to the Matsunaga, D-Hawaii, amendment, to provide limited authority to the Veterans Administration (VA) to contract with non-VA providers for mental health services for Vietnam-era veterans with readjustment problems. Adopted 93-0: R 37-0; D 56-0 (ND 38-0; SD 18-0), May 16, 1979. The Matsunaga amendment was subsequently adopted by voice vote.

98. S 7. Veterans' Health Care. Heinz, R-Pa., amendment, to the Pressler, R-S.D., amendment *(see vote 99, below)*, to authorize the Veterans Administration to reimburse or contract with non-VA providers for mental health services for Vietnam-era veterans with readjustment problems at the discretion of the VA administrator, if VA services are unavailable or inadequate. Rejected 42-53: R 26-13; D 16-40 (ND 13-25; SD 3-15), May 16, 1979.

99. S 7. Veterans' Health Care. Pressler, R-S.D., amendment to provide limited authority to the Veterans Administration to reimburse or contract with non-VA providers for mental health services for Vietnam-era veterans with readjustment problems. Adopted 94-0: R 38-0; D 56-0 (ND 38-0; SD 18-0), May 16, 1979.

100. S 918. Small Business Investment Act. Huddleston, D-Ky., motion to table (kill) the Cochran, R-Miss., amendment to reduce interest rates on Small Business Administration (SBA) homeowner disaster loans to 1 percent on the first $10,000 borrowed, 3 percent on the next $30,000 and the cost-of borrowing to the government (currently 7-3/8 percent) on amounts above $40,000; and to reduce the interest rate for SBA and Farmers Home Administration business disaster loans at the current cost-of-borrowing to the government for those borrowers able to obtain credit from private sources. Motion agreed to 46-38: R 11-26; D 35-12 (ND 25-6; SD 10-6), May 16, 1979.

101. S 662. International Development Banks. Passage of the bill to authorize $4 billion (of which $1.5 billion would result in outlays from the Treasury) over a four-year period (fiscal 1980-83) as the U.S. contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the African Development Fund. Passed 67-24: R 21-17; D 46-7 (ND 33-4; SD 13-3), May 17, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 102 - 109

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109

	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Goldwater	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	N
Roth	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Stone	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Matsunaga	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
IDAHO								
Church	?	?	?	?	?	?	–	?
McClure	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N	N
Percy	–	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Lugar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
IOWA								
Culver	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Jepsen	?	?	Y	Y	–	–	N	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Kassebaum	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?
MAINE								
Muskie	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
Tsongas	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Riegle	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Cochran	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Danforth	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Melcher	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Laxalt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
Humphrey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Schmitt	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Javits	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Bellmon	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	–	+	N	N	-	–	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	–	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
Baker	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Tower	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Hatch	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
Proxmire	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Wallop	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

**Byrd elected as Independent*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

102. S 241. Law Enforcement Assistance Reform. Passage of the bill to revamp the structure of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) and to extend its life through Sept. 30, 1984. Passed 67-8: R 26-4; D 41-4 (ND 27-3; SD 14-1), May 21, 1979.

103. S 584. Foreign Military Aid. Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to delete $45 million in the bill for Syria and to prohibit any aid to that nation. Rejected 34-58: R 14-25; D 20-33 (ND 10-24; SD 10-9), May 22, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

104. S 584. Foreign Military Aid. Byrd, D-W.Va., amendment, to the Chafee, R-R.I., amendment, to convert a $50 million arms sales loan for Turkey to a grant. Adopted 64-32: R 32-8; D 32-24 (ND 17-20; S 15-4), May 22, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Chafee amendment was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

105. S 584. Foreign Military Aid. DeConcini, D-Ariz., amendment to authorize $16.6 million for Colombian government programs to destroy the narcotics supply chain to the United States. Adopted 65-29: R 32-7; D 33-22 (ND 21-16; SD 12-6), May 22, 1979.

106. S 584. Foreign Military Aid. Byrd, Ind-Va., amendment to reduce the total authorizations in the bill by $56 million. Rejected 43-49: R 16-21; D 27-28 (ND 12-25; SD 15-3), May 22, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

107. HR 3173. Foreign Military Aid. Passage of the bill to authorize $2,887,200,000 for foreign military assistance programs for fiscal 1980. Passed 69-21: R 29-8; D 40-13 (ND 28-8; SD 12-5), May 22, 1979.

108. S Res 163. International Wheat Conference. Adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that because of the collapse of the International Wheat Agreement talks the president should work toward convening a conference of wheat exporting nations to reach agreement on equitable prices for producers while assuring adequate supplies for consumers. Adopted 80-15: R 27-12; D 53-3 (ND 36-1; SD 17-2), May 23, 1979.

109. S 292. Supplemental Food Program. McGovern, D-S.D., motion to table (kill) the Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment *(see vote 110, p. 21-S)*. Motion rejected 31-62: R 4-34; D 27-28 (ND 18-19; SD 9-9), May 23, 1979.

	110	111	112	113
ALABAMA				
Heflin	N	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA				
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA				
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS				
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO				
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff	Y	Y	?	?
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE				
Biden	Y	Y	Y	?
Roth	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA				
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA				
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII				
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO				
Church	?	?	?	?
McClure	Y	?	?	?
ILLINOIS				
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA				
Bayh	Y	+	?	?
Lugar	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA				
Culver	Y	+	+	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	Y
KANSAS				
Dole	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY				
Ford	N	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA				
Johnston	N	Y	Y	?
Long	N	Y	Y	?
MAINE				
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND				
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	?	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy	Y	?	?	Y
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN				
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	?	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA				
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI				
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI				
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA				
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	?
Melcher	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA				
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA				
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Durkin	?	?	?	?
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY				
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO				
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK				
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
Morgan	N	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA				
Burdick	N	Y	Y	Y
Young	Y	?	?	?
OHIO				
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON				
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	N	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA				
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollings	N	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern	N	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE				
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	Y	?	?	Y
TEXAS				
Bentsen	Y	Y	?	Y
Tower	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH				
Garn	Y	Y	N	?
Hatch	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT				
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA				
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON				
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA				
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN				
Nelson	Y	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING				
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

110. S 292. Supplemental Food Program. Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment to authorize the agriculture secretary to withhold a state's school lunch and other child nutrition funds if the department found the state had failed to correct deficiencies in its operation of the programs. Adopted 77-19: R 35-5; D 42-14 (ND 31-6; SD 11-8), May 23, 1979.

111. S 292. Supplemental Food Program. Passage of the bill to reduce the fiscal 1980 authorization for the supplemental feeding program for women, infants and children to $750 million, from $800 million. Passed 91-0: R 37-0; D 54-0 (ND 35-0; SD 19-0), May 23, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

112. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Muskie, D-Maine, substitute amendment (for the conference version of the resolution) to revise binding fiscal 1979 budget totals and set fiscal 1980 targets as follows: for 1979 — $559.2 billion in budget authority, $494.45 billion in outlays, $461 billion in revenues, and a $33.45 billion deficit; for 1980 — $604.4 billion in budget authority, $532 billion in outlays, $509 billion in revenues, and a $23 billion deficit. Adopted 72-17: R 24-13; D 48-4 (ND 31-3; SD 17-1), May 23, 1979.

113. S 640. Maritime Administration. Passage of the bill to authorize $435 million in fiscal 1980 for certain maritime programs of the Commerce Department, including ship construction and operating subsidies and maritime training at the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N.Y., and other state maritime schools. Passed 85-2: R 35-1; D 50-1; (ND 33-1; SD 17-0), May 24, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 114 - 121

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121

	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Stevens	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	?	+	N	N	Y	#	Y	Y
Goldwater	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Pryor	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Hayakawa	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Weicker	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
Roth	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
Stone	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Matsunaga	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
IDAHO								
Church	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
McClure	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Percy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Lugar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA								
Culver	?	+	?	?	?	?	+	?
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Long	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Cohen	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Mathias	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	N
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Riegle	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Danforth	N	Y	N	N	P	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Melcher	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	N	X	Y	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Williams	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Javits	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	?	+	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	-	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
Packwood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	N	Y	N	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Chafee	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Pressler	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Baker	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH								
Garn	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hatch	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Stafford	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Magnuson	?	?	-	#	?	X	+	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Randolph	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Proxmire	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	N	Y	N	N	?	?	+	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

* *Byrd elected as independent.*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

114. S 1157. Justice Department Authorization. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to decrease the authorization for the civil rights division to $14.1 million from $16.1 million. Rejected 20-59: R 14-19; D 6-40 (ND 2-30; SD 4-10), June 4, 1979.

115. S 1157. Justice Department Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize $1.9 billion for the Department of Justice in fiscal 1980. Passed 77-2: R 32-1; D 45-1 (ND 31-1; SD 14-0), June 4, 1979.

116. S 1030. Energy Conservation. Weicker, R-Conn., amendment to establish a mandatory program to ration gasoline by prohibiting the use for at least one day a week of the primary private car in each household or for at least two days a week of any other vehicle in the same household. Rejected 10-79: R 4-34; D 6-45 (ND 6-29; SD 0-16), June 5, 1979.

117. S 1030. Energy Conservation. Javits, R-N.Y., motion to table the Helms, R-N.C., amendment to prohibit during a national energy emergency declared by the president the busing of school children to comply with voluntary desegregation plans. Motion agreed to 52-39: R 17-22; D 35-17 (ND 29-6; SD 6-11), June 5, 1979.

118. S 1030. Energy Conservation. Talmadge, D-Ga., motion to table the Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, amendment to bar from special consideration those involved in the production of chewing gum, malt beverages, distilled, blended and rectified liquors, tobacco, ornamental horticulture, confectionery or pet food. Motion agreed to 75-14: R 33-3; D 42-11 (ND 25-11; SD 17-0), June 5, 1979.

119. S 1030. Energy Conservation. Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment to allow either house of Congress to veto a finding by the president that an energy emergency existed, any action by the president to announce energy conservation targets for the states and any action by the president to carry out a federal energy conservation plan. Rejected 37-51: R 28-10; D 9-41 (ND 5-29; SD 4-12), June 5, 1979.

120. S 1030. Energy Conservation. Passage of the bill to authorize the president to establish a federal emergency energy conservation program, require states to submit emergency energy conservation plans and give the president the power to carry out the federal conservation plan in states that did not meet its approved targets. Passed 77-13: R 26-12; D 51-1 (ND 34-1; SD 17-0), June 5, 1979.

121. S Res 15. Termination of Mutual Defense Treaties. Byrd, Ind-Va., amendment stating the sense of the Senate that Senate approval is required to terminate any mutual defense treaty between the United States and another nation. Adopted 59-35: R 34-4; D 25-31 (ND 8-29; SD 17-2). June 6, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 122 - 129

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127 128, 129

	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Goldwater	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Hayakawa	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Armstrong	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	Y	-	Y	N	N
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Roth	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Stone	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
IDAHO								
Church	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
McClure	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Percy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
Culver	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N	N
Jepsen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Huddleston	Y	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Mathias	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	N	N	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
Cochran	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Danforth	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Zorinsky	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	N	Y	?	?	+	?	?
Laxalt	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Humphrey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-
Helms	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Young	Y	N	Y	N	+	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Packwood	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	Y	-	-	Y	N	N
Chafee	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	N
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Baker	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Tower	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hatch	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Warner	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Randolph	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	+	-	?
Wallop	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

* Byrd elected as independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

122. S 721. Civil Rights Commission. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to authorize a study by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and a report to Congress on discrimination against eastern and southern European ethnic groups. Adopted 91-1: R 36-0; D 55-1 (ND 36-1; SD 19-0), June 7, 1979.

123. S 721. Civil Rights Commission. Bayh, D-Ind., motion to table (kill) the Helms, R-N.C., amendment to prohibit court-ordered or voluntary school busing to achieve public school desegregation during any academic year following a calendar year in which oil imports are at least 40 percent of U.S. oil consumption. Adopted 49-46: R 15-23; D 34-23 (ND 30-9; SD 4-14), June 7, 1979.

124. S 721. Civil Rights Commission. Passage of the bill to authorize necessary funds for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for fiscal 1980. Adopted 91-5: R 35-3; D 56-2 (ND 39-0; SD 17-2), June 7, 1979.

125. S 428. Fiscal 1980 Defense Procurement. Hart, D-Colo., amendment to delete $1.328 billion earmarked for development of the F-18 Navy jet fighter and for purchase of 25 F-18 aircraft. Rejected 18-78: R 6-35; D 12-43 (ND 12-26; SD 0-17), June 12, 1979.

126. S 428. Fiscal 1980 Defense Procurement. Stennis, D-Miss., motion to table (kill) the Tsongas, D-Mass.,-Javits, R-N.Y., amendment to delete a provision in the bill to discontinue U.S. economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Motion agreed to 52-41: R 32-8; D 20-33 (ND 6-28; SD 14-5), June 12, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

127. S 428. Fiscal 1980 Defense Procurement. Passage of the bill to authorize $40,096,896,000 for the Defense Department for weapons procurement, military research and development and civil defense in fiscal 1980. Passed 89-7: R 38-1; D 51-6 (ND 32-6; SD 19-0), June 13, 1979.

128. S 1143. Endangered Species Act. Baker, R-Tenn., amendment to exempt the Tellico Dam and Reservoir Project in Tennessee from the provisions of the act. Rejected 43-52: R 23-17; D 20-35 (ND 4-32; SD 16-3), June 13, 1979.

129. S 1143. Endangered Species Act. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to limit protection under the act to only those species that the interior secretary determined had an economic or aesthetic value to man. Rejected 14-80: R 10-29; D 4-51 (ND 0-38; SD 4-13), June 13, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 130 - 131
Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 130, 131

	130	131
ALABAMA		
Heflin	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y
ALASKA		
Gravel	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	Y
ARIZONA		
DeConcini	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA		
Cranston	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y
COLORADO		
Hart	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT		
Ribicoff	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	Y
DELAWARE		
Biden	Y	?
Roth	Y	N
FLORIDA		
Chiles	Y	N
Stone	Y	Y
GEORGIA		
Nunn	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y
HAWAII		
Inouye	?	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y
IDAHO		
Church	Y	Y
McClure	Y	Y
ILLINOIS		
Stevenson	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y
INDIANA		
Bayh	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y

	130	131
IOWA		
Culver	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y
KANSAS		
Dole	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y
KENTUCKY		
Ford	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	Y
LOUISIANA		
Johnston	Y	Y
Long	Y	Y
MAINE		
Muskie	Y	N
Cohen	Y	Y
MARYLAND		
Sarbanes	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	Y	N
Tsongas	Y	Y
MICHIGAN		
Levin	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI		
Stennis	N	Y
Cochran	Y	N
MISSOURI		
Eagleton	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	N
MONTANA		
Baucus	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y
NEBRASKA		
Exon	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y
NEVADA		
Cannon	+	?
Laxalt	N	?

	130	131
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Durkin	Y	Y
Humphrey	N	Y
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y
NEW YORK		
Moynihan	Y	?
Javits	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA		
Morgan	+	Y
Helms	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y
OHIO		
Glenn	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA		
Boren	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	N
OREGON		
Hatfield	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND		
Pell	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Hollings	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	Y
TENNESSEE		
Sasser	Y	?
Baker	Y	?

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	130	131
TEXAS		
Bentsen	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y
UTAH		
Garn	N	Y
Hatch	N	Y
VERMONT		
Leahy	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	?
VIRGINIA		
Byrd*	Y	N
Warner	Y	Y
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	N
WYOMING		
Simpson	+	+
Wallop	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

130. Endangered Species Act. Passage of the bill to authorize $85.8 million to carry out the act in fiscal 1980-82. Passed 91-5: R 41-0; D 50-5 (ND 34-4; SD 16-1), June 13, 1979.

131. S 892. Rural Development. Lugar, R-Ind., amendment to increase from $180,000,000 to $500,000,000 the amount of new loan guarantees for pilot energy projects using agricultural commodities and forest products for the production of gasohol. Passed 82-10: R 33-4; D 49-6 (ND 33-4; SD 16-2), June 14, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 132 - 138

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138

	132	133	134	135	136	137	138
ALABAMA							
Heflin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	P	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA							
Gravel	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	?
Stevens	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Weicker	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
DELAWARE							
Biden	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Roth	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
FLORIDA							
Chiles	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	N	N	?	?	Y
GEORGIA							
Nunn	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
HAWAII							
Inouye	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO							
Church	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
McClure	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
Percy	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
INDIANA							
Bayh	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA							
Culver	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
KANSAS							
Dole	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Kassebaum	+	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY							
Ford	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE							
Muskie	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Cohen	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Mathias	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
Tsongas	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
MICHIGAN							
Levin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Riegle	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Cochran	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA							
Cannon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
Humphrey	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Schmitt	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Javits	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Young	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
Bellmon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Packwood	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Schweiker	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	+	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
Chafee	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Thurmond	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Baker	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH							
Garn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Hatch	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT							
Leahy	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stafford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Randolph	+	+	-	Y	Y	N	N
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING							
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Wallop	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

132. S 1039. Veterans Administration Health Programs. Cranston, D-Calif., amendment to modify cost-sharing requirements for veterans' travel expenses to medical facilities, to clarify eligibility for certain drug benefits and to revise a provision requiring the VA to staff medical facilities at levels set by appropriations bills. Adopted 73-5: R 32-1; D 41-4 (ND 28-1; SD 13-3), June 18, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

133. S 1039. Veterans Administration Health Programs. Humphrey, R-N.H., amendment to delete certain restrictions on travel reimbursement and drug and dental benefits for certain veterans. Rejected 40-52: R 21-18; D 19-34 (ND 10-27; SD 9-7), June 18, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

134. S 1039. Veterans Administration Health Programs. Simpson, R-Wyo., motion to table (kill) the Humphrey, R-N.H., motion to recommit (and thus kill) the bill to committee. Motion agreed to 73-19: R 28-11; D 45-8 (ND 33-4; SD 12-4), June 18, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

135. S 588. Foreign Aid. DeConcini, D-Ariz., amendment to delete Title II providing for an Institute for Technological Cooperation for research on development problems of underdeveloped areas. Adopted 58-42: R 29-12; D 29-30 (ND 15-25; SD 14-5), June 19, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

136. S 588. Foreign Aid. McGovern, D-S.D., amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the president urge the secretary general of the United Nations to call a special session of the General Assembly to deal with the needs of refugees fleeing from Indochina. Adopted 98-0: R 40-0; D 58-0 (ND 40-0; SD 18-0), June 19, 1979.

137. HR 3324. Foreign Aid. Passage of the bill to authorize $1.8 billion in foreign economic aid programs for fiscal 1980. Passed 70-25: R 25-15; D 45-10 (ND 34-5; SD 11-5), June 19, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

138. S 436. Tennessee Valley Authority. Ford, D-Ky., amendment to expand the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) board from three members to five members and to require that at least two of the five members be residents of the seven states that consume TVA power. Rejected 33-58: R 4-34; D 29-24 (ND 16-18; SD 13-6), June 20, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 139 - 140

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 139, 140

	139	140
ALABAMA		
Heflin	N	Y
Stewart	N	Y
ALASKA		
Gravel	?	?
Stevens	N	Y
ARIZONA		
DeConcini	N	N
Goldwater	Y	N
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers	N	Y
Pryor	N	Y
CALIFORNIA		
Cranston	N	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N
COLORADO		
Hart	N	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT		
Ribicoff	N	Y
Weicker	?	?
DELAWARE		
Biden	N	Y
Roth	Y	Y
FLORIDA		
Chiles	N	Y
Stone	N	Y
GEORGIA		
Nunn	N	Y
Talmadge	N	Y
HAWAII		
Inouye	N	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y
IDAHO		
Church	N	Y
McClure	Y	N
ILLINOIS		
Stevenson	N	Y
Percy	N	Y
INDIANA		
Bayh	N	Y
Lugar	Y	Y

	139	140
IOWA		
Culver	N	Y
Jepsen	?	?
KANSAS		
Dole	Y	?
Kassebaum	Y	Y
KENTUCKY		
Ford	N	Y
Huddleston	N	Y
LOUISIANA		
Johnston	N	Y
Long	N	Y
MAINE		
Muskie	N	Y
Cohen	N	Y
MARYLAND		
Sarbanes	N	Y
Mathias	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	?	?
Tsongas	?	?
MICHIGAN		
Levin	N	Y
Riegle	N	Y
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz	N	Y
Durenberger	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI		
Stennis	N	Y
Cochran	Y	Y
MISSOURI		
Eagleton	N	Y
Danforth	N	Y
MONTANA		
Baucus	N	Y
Melcher	N	?
NEBRASKA		
Exon	N	Y
Zorinsky	N	N
NEVADA		
Cannon	N	Y
Laxalt	Y	N

	139	140
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Durkin	N	Y
Humphrey	Y	N
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley	N	Y
Williams	N	Y
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y
NEW YORK		
Moynihan	Y	Y
Javits	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA		
Morgan	N	Y
Helms	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	N	Y
Young	N	N
OHIO		
Glenn	N	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y
OKLAHOMA		
Boren	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y
OREGON		
Hatfield	Y	Y
Packwood	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND		
Pell	-	+
Chafee	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Hollings	N	Y
Thurmond	Y	?
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	N	Y
Pressler	Y	Y
TENNESSEE		
Sasser	N	Y
Baker	Y	Y

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	139	140
TEXAS		
Bentsen	N	Y
Tower	Y	N
UTAH		
Garn	Y	N
Hatch	Y	N
VERMONT		
Leahy	N	Y
Stafford	N	Y
VIRGINIA		
Byrd*	Y	N
Warner	Y	N
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	N	Y
Randolph	N	Y
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	N	Y
Proxmire	N	Y
WYOMING		
Simpson	Y	N
Wallop	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as independent

139. S 239. ACTION Authorization. Humphrey, R-N.H., amendment to remove the Peace Corps from ACTION and establish it as an independent agency. Rejected 32-62: R 28-11; D 4-51 (ND 2-34; SD 2-17), June 20, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

140. S 239. ACTION Authorization. Passage of the bill to extend the authorization, which expired Oct. 1, 1978, for domestic volunteer programs of the ACTION agency - for fiscal 1979-81 for national volunteer anti-poverty programs, for fiscal 1979 for business volunteer programs, for fiscal 1979-80 for program administration and to establish a Commission on Volunteerism to study volunteerism and report to the president and Congress on the results. Passed 75-16: R 24-13; D 51-3 (ND 33-2; SD 18-1), June 20, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 141 - 148

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148

	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Stevens	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Goldwater	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO								
Hart	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Armstrong	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	?	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Weicker	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Roth	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Stone	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
IDAHO								
Church	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
McClure	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
Percy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
Lugar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IOWA								
Culver	?	?	?	?	-	?	?	?
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Kassebaum	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Huddleston	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Long	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MAINE								
Muskie	?	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	N
Cohen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	?	N	Y	N	N	?	N	N
Mathias	N	?	N	Y	N	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Tsongas	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Riegle	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Durenberger	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Cochran	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Danforth	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Melcher	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
Humphrey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Williams	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Schmitt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Javits	-	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Helms	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	?	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Young	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	?	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Packwood	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	N
Schweiker	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Chafee	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Pressler	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Tower	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
UTAH								
Garn	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Hatch	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Stafford	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Warner	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Wallop	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

141. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Johnston, D-La., amendment to delete $20 million in the bill for aid to the Virgin Islands to cover the U.S. territory's operating deficit for fiscal 1979. Rejected 35-43: R 4-31; D 31-12 (ND 16-9; SD 15-3), June 25, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

142. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Weicker, R-Conn., amendment to reduce by $13 million the $96 million proposed for the Economic Development Administration revolving fund (the amount sought for a loan guarantee by the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. to construct a new steel rail mill). Rejected 29-59: R 23-14; D 6-45 (ND 3-30; SD 3-15), June 25, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

143. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Boschwitz, R-Minn., amendment to delete $27.7 million for United Nations technical assistance programs and add $15.6 million for refugee assistance, to permit relocation of an additional 1,000 Indochinese refugees each month in the United States. Adopted 70-22: R 38-1; D 32-21 (ND 23-12; SD 9-9), June 25, 1979.

144. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Tower, R-Texas, motion to table (kill) the Riegle, D-Mich., amendment to require that funds in the bill, provided for the purchase of four destroyers canceled by the Iranian government, be restricted in the case of the one unfinished ship to work designed to make it an AEGIS guided missile destroyer. Motion agreed to 71-19: R 34-3; D 37-16 (ND 20-15; SD 17-1), June 25, 1979.

145. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to cut $328.7 million from the $988.8 million in the bill for the food stamp program. Rejected 22-66: R 17-19; D 5-47 (ND 2-32; SD 3-15), June 25, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

146. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Hayakawa, R-Calif., amendment to reduce by $188.7 million funds in the bill for the food stamp program. Rejected 28-62: R 21-18; D 7-44 (ND 3-30; SD 4-14), June 26, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

147. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Magnuson, D-Wash., motion to table (kill) the Jepsen, R-Iowa, amendment *(see vote 149, p. 28-S)* to express the sense of the Senate that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare should borrow from fiscal 1980 appropriations to complete federal payments to the states for social services programs for fiscal 1979, thereby precluding the department from cutting social services payments as a means of complying with fiscal 1979 appropriations act provisions that directed HEW to achieve a $1 billion reduction in budget authority by reducing waste, fraud and abuse. Rejected 36-55: R 4-34; D 32-21 (ND 18-17; SD 14-4), June 26, 1979.

148. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Chiles, D-Fla., substitute amendment, to the Jepsen, R-Iowa, amendment *(see vote 149, p. 28-S)* to express the sense of the Senate that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare should achieve required fiscal 1979 appropriation reductions by borrowing from fiscal 1980 appropriations for payments to states only "if necessary to make payment to eligible recipients." Rejected 41-52: R 5-34; D 36-18 (ND 20-16; SD 16-2), June 26, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 149 - 153

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 149, 150, 151, 152, 153

	149	150	151	152	153
ALABAMA					
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA					
Gravel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA					
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS					
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA					
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO					
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT					
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE					
Biden	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA					
Chiles	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA					
Nunn	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII					
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	?	?	?	?	?
IDAHO					
Church	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClure	N	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS					
Stevenson	?	Y	Y	?	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA					
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IOWA					
Culver	?	?	?	?	?
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS					
Dole	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY					
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA					
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
Long	?	?	?	Y	Y
MAINE					
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND					
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS					
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN					
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA					
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI					
Stennis	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI					
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA					
Baucus	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA					
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA					
Cannon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY					
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK					
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA					
Morgan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA					
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO					
Glenn	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA					
Boren	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	N	N	Y	N	Y
OREGON					
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND					
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Hollings	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA					
McGovern	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE					
Sasser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS					
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH					
Garn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Hatch	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT					
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA					
Byrd*	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON					
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA					
Byrd	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN					
Nelson	?	?	?	?	?
Proxmire	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING					
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	?	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

**Byrd elected as an independent.*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

149. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Jepsen, R-Iowa, amendment to express the sense of the Senate that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare should borrow from fiscal 1980 appropriations to complete federal payments to the states for social services programs for fiscal 1979, thereby precluding the department from cutting social services payments as a means of complying with 1979 appropriations act provisions that directed HEW to achieve a $1 billion reduction in budget authority by reducing waste, fraud and abuse. Adopted 67-24: R 36-3; D 31-21 (ND 25-10; SD 6-11), June 26.

150. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Weicker, R-Conn., point of order that the Stennis, D-Miss., amendment to reduce Small Business Administration disaster loans to homes and businesses to 3 percent on the first $55,000 was not germane. Amendment ruled germane 83-11: R 33-7; D 50-4 (ND 32-4; SD 18-0), June 26. (The point of order thus failed, and the Stennis amendment was subsequently adopted by voice vote.)

151. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Passage of the bill to appropriate $14,027,712,000 for operations of various departments and agencies for fiscal 1979. Passed 86-8: R 34-6; D 52-2 (ND 35-1; SD 17-1), June 26, 1979. The president had requested $16,921,679,900 in new budget authority.

152. S Res 191. Domestic Energy Summit. Adoption of the resolution calling for the president to convene an energy summit of government and industry leaders to assess information on energy supplies and then report to Congress and the public on whether there is an energy shortage and the reasons for it. Adopted 90-3: R 37-3; D 53-0 (ND 35-0; SD 18-0), June 26,1979.

153. Exec L, 96th Cong, 1st Sess. International Wheat Agreement Protocol. Adoption of the resolution of ratification to approve the protocol to extend the 1971 International Wheat Agreement. Adopted 89-6: R 34-6; D 55-0 (ND 36-0; SD 19-0), June 26, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (67 in this case) is required for approval of a resolution of ratification. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164

	154	155	156	157	158	159
ALABAMA						
Heflin	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
ALASKA						
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Stevens	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Goldwater	Y	N	N	?	?	?
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Pryor	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Hayakawa	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO						
Hart	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
Weicker	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
DELAWARE						
Biden	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Roth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA						
Chiles	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
Stone	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Talmadge	Y	N	N	?	N	Y
HAWAII						
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
IDAHO						
Church	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
McClure	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
Percy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
INDIANA						
Bayh	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Lugar	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y

	154	155	156	157	158	159
IOWA						
Culver	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Jepsen	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
KANSAS						
Dole	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
Ford	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Long	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MAINE						
Muskie	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Cohen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Mathias	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Tsongas	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN						
Levin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Riegle	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
Cochran	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Danforth	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA						
Baucus	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Melcher	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NEBRASKA						
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA						
Cannon	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

	154	155	156	157	158	159
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Williams	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Javits	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	Y	-	N	N	N	N
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Young	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
OHIO						
Glenn	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON						
Hatfield	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Packwood	?	?	+	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
Schweiker	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Chafee	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Pressler	?	?	N	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Baker	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?

Democrats *Republicans*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- . Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	154	155	156	157	158	159
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Tower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH						
Garn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hatch	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT						
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Stafford	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Randolph	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING						
Simpson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?

*Byrd elected as an Independent

154. Treaties. Adoption of the resolutions of ratification of the following: Convention with France for the avoidance of double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on estates, inheritances and gifts (Exec J, 96th Cong, 1st Sess); 1978 protocol to the convention with France with respect to income and property taxes (Exec K, 96th Cong, 1st Sess); Third protocol to the 1975 tax convention with the United Kingdom (Exec Q, 96th Cong, 1st Sess); Tax convention with the United Kingdom for the avoidance of double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to estate and gift taxes (Exec R, 96th Cong, 1st Sess); Tax convention with Korea (Exec P, 94th Cong, 2nd Sess); and Tax convention with Hungary for the avoidance of double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to income taxes (Exec X, 96th Cong, 1st Sess). Adopted 98-0: R 39-0; D 59-0 (ND 40-0; SD 19-0), July 9, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (66 in this case) is required for approval of a resolution of ratification. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

155. S Res 140. Foreign Aid Reorganization. Adoption of the resolution to disapprove President Carter's reorganization plan no. 2 to reorganize most foreign aid programs under a new International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA). Rejected 45-51: R 29-10; D 16-41 (ND 11-28; SD 5-13), July 9, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

156. S J Res 28. Direct Popular Elections. Adoption of the joint resolution to propose a constitutional amendment to abolish the electoral college and provide for direct popular election of the president and vice president. Rejected 51-48: R 12-28; D 39-20 (ND 31-9; SD 8-11), July 10, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (66 in this case) is required for passage of a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

157. S 1319. Military Construction Authorization. Tower, R-Texas, motion to refer the bill to the Committee on Labor and Human Relations with instructions to report back to the House by July 26, 1979. Motion rejected 35-63: R 29-11; D 6-52 (ND 2-38; SD 4-14), July 12, 1979.

158. S 1064. Rural Housing Amendments. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to reduce authorizations for Farmers' Home Administration housing programs by $7.5 million. Rejected 15-77: R 11-24; D 4-53 (ND 3-36; SD 1-17), July 12, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

159. S 1149. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment to restrict rental subsidies under the Section 8 housing program to "very low income" tenants with annual family incomes under $12,000 or 50 percent of the area median, whichever was less. Rejected 34-55: R 26-8; D 8-47 (ND 5-33; SD 3-14), July 12, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 160 - 167

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172

	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Stewart	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	?	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Goldwater	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Weicker	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
Stone	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Talmadge	N	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	?	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
McClure	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	N	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	N	N
Percy	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Long	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
MAINE								
Muskie	N	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Mathias	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
Riegle	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Durenberger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Cochran	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Danforth	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
Melcher	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
Zorinsky	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
Williams	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Javits	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO								
Glenn	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
Schweiker	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	N	?	?	Y	N	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Baker	Y	?	N	N	Y	?	?	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Tower	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	N	N
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Hatch	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
Stafford	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Randolph	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?

Democrats *Republicans*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

*Byrd elected as an Independent

160. S 1149. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Garn, R-Utah, amendment to exempt residential rehabilitation projects of non-profit neighborhood groups from Davis-Bacon Act journeyman-trainee ratios. Rejected 35-57: R 26-11; D 9-46 (ND 2-35; SD 7-11), July 13, 1979.

161. S 1149. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to reduce funding for assisted housing programs by $145 million, to $1.14 billion — the amount requested by the administration. Adopted 51-40: R 28-8; D 23-32 (ND 12-26; SD 11-6), July 13, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

162. S 1149. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Leahy, D-Vt., amendment to add $10 million to aid localities in hiring federal grant application experts. Adopted 49-42: R 11-26; D 38-16 (ND 30-7; SD 8-9), July 13, 1979.

163. S 1149. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Morgan, D-N.C., amendment to delete from the bill the section exempting federal loans, mortgages and advances from state usury laws. Rejected 20-62: R 11-23; D 9-39 (ND 2-31; SD 7-8), July 13, 1979.

164. S 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Passage of the bill to extend major federal housing programs, with authorizations of $32.6 billion. Passed 82-0: R 34-0; D 48-0 (ND 33-0; SD 15-0), July 13, 1979.

165. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Johnston, D-La., amendment to allow the NRC to impose an interim emergency nuclear evacuation plan on a state in order to avoid shutting down nuclear plants in states without approved evacuation plans. Rejected 37-40: R 18-17; D 19-23 (ND 6-21; SD 13-2), July 16, 1979.

166. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Hart, D-Colo., motion to table (kill) the McClure, D-Idaho, amendment to allow the NRC to impose an interim emergency evacuation plan on a state. Motion agreed to 41-40: R 15-21; D 26-19 (ND 24-7; SD 2-12), July 16, 1979.

167. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Simpson, R-Wyo., motion to table (kill) the McClure, D-Idaho, motion to reconsider the vote *(vote 166, above)* by which the McClure amendment was tabled. Motion agreed to 43-39: R 13-23; D 30-16 (ND 25-6; SD 5-10), July 16, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 168 - 175

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180

	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Stewart	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stevens	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Pryor	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Weicker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roth	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Stone	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Talmadge	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	X	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO								
Church	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
McClure	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Lugar	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
Culver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Huddleston	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Long	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Mathias	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MICHIGAN								
Levin	+	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Cochran	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Danforth	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	?	?	-	?	Y	Y	N	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	#	?
Schmitt	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Javits	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Helms	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Young	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
Bellmon	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Pressler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Baker	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Tower	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hatch	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Warner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Magnuson	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Randolph	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Wallop	?	-	-	-	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

168. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Simpson, R-Wyo., amendment to revise language in the bill requiring states to have approved emergency nuclear evacuation plans. Adopted 64-19: R 25-12; D 39-7 (ND 29-2; SD 10-5), July 16, 1979.

169. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commmission. Hart, D-Colo., amendment to defer issuance of any new construction permits for nuclear power plants in the first six months of fiscal 1980. Rejected 35-57: R 8-31; D 27-26 (ND 25-12; SD 2-14), July 17, 1979.

170. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Percy, R-Ill., motion to table (kill) the McGovern, D-S.D., amendment to give a state the right to veto a federal proposal for a nuclear waste disposal site within its boundaries. Motion agreed to 55-37: R 31-8; D 24-29 (ND 13-24; SD 11-5), July 17, 1979.

171. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Bayh, D-Ind., amendment to impose criminal penalties on anyone who knowingly violated safety standards for the construction and operation of nuclear facilities. Adopted 60-32: R 12-26; D 48-6 (ND 37-1; SD 11-5), July 17, 1979.

172. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Hart, D-Colo, motion to table (kill) the Heinz, R-Pa., amendment to require resident inspectors to live within three miles of the reactor to which they are assigned. Motion agreed to 90-8: R 34-6; D 56-2 (ND 37-2; SD 19-0), July 17, 1979.

173. S 562. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Passage of the bill to authorize $398.3 million for fiscal 1980 operations and programs of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Passed 97-1: R 40-0; D 57-1 (ND 38-1; SD 19-0), July 17, 1979.

174. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Cohen, R-Maine, amendment to delete $710,000 for the Dickey-Lincoln hydroelectric project in Maine. Rejected 46-51: R 35-5; D 11-46 (ND 9-29; SD 2-17), July 17, 1979.

175. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Culver, D-Iowa, amendment to delete language exempting the Tellico Dam project in Tennessee from the endangered species act. Adopted 53-45: R 14-26; D 39-19 (ND 34-5; SD 5-14), July 17, 1979. A "yea" vote was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 176 - 183

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186 187, 188

	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Stewart	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
Stevens	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Goldwater	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Pryor	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Weicker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
Roth	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Talmadge	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
McClure	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
Percy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Lugar	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
Culver	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Jepsen	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Kassebaum	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Long	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Mathias	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Tsongas	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Riegle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Cochran	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Danforth	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Melcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Humphrey	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	-	+	-	-	?	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Javits	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Helms	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Young	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Bellmon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Packwood	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Chafee	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Pressler	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Hatch	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Stafford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Magnuson	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Randolph	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
Proxmire	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

176. HR 4388. Energy/Water Appropriations, Fiscal 1980-Hart Office Building Funds. Johnston, D-La., amendment to appropriate $57,480,700 for construction of a third Senate office building and to place a ceiling of $142,627,700 on the total cost of construction of the building. Rejected 47-47: R 10-29; D 37-18 (ND 26-12; SD 11-6), July 18, 1979.

177. HR 4388. Energy/Water Appropriations, Fiscal 1980-Hart Office Building Funds. Chafee, R-R.I., motion to table (kill) the Dole, R-Kan., motion to reconsider vote 176 *(above)*. Rejected 45-50: R 29-10; D 16-40 (ND 11-27; SD 5-13), July 18, 1979.

178. HR 4388. Energy/Water Appropriations, Fiscal 1980-Hart Office Building Funds. Dole, R-Kan., motion to reconsider the vote *(see vote 176, above)* by which the Johnston, D-La., amendment was rejected. Motion agreed to 49-47: R 10-29; D 39-18 (ND 27-12; SD 12-6), July 18, 1979.

179. HR 4388. Energy/Water Appropriations, Fiscal 1980-Hart Office Building Funds. Johnston, D-La., amendment to appropriate $57,480,700 for construction of a third Senate office building and to place a ceiling of $142,627,700 on the total cost of construction of the building. Adopted 49-46: R 10-29; D 39-17 (ND 27-11; SD 12-6), July 18, 1979.

180. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $10,673,130,000 for fiscal 1980 operations of the Energy Department, Army Corps of Engineers, Interior Department Bureau of Reclamation and seven independent agencies and commissions and $57,480,700 for the Hart Senate office building. Passed 90-6: R 36-3; D 54-3 (ND 37-2; SD 17-1), July 18, 1979. The president had requested $11,012,110,000 in new budget authority for the energy and water development programs.

181. HR 4387. Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to delete $195.7 million in borrowing authority and $6 million in current spending for home ownership subsidies to low-income families. Adopted 60-36: R 32-7; D 28-29 (ND 17-22; SD 11-7), July 18, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

182. HR 4387. Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to reduce the federal subsidy for milk served to non-needy children under the Special Milk Program to 5 cents per half-pint from 7.8 cents and reduce total funding for the program by $40 million. Rejected 32-66: R 22-18; D 10-48 (ND 4-36; SD 6-12), July 18, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

183. HR 4387. Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Eagleton, D-Mo., motion to table (kill) the Leahy, D-Vt., amendment to add $1.5 million for rural development research. Motion agreed to 52-42: R 23-16; D 29-26 (ND 19-18; SD 10-8), July 18, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 184-190

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195

	184	185	186	187	188	189	190
ALABAMA							
Heflin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA							
Gravel	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Stevens	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	?	?	N	Y	N	N	N
Weicker	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
DELAWARE							
Biden	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Roth	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA							
Chiles	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA							
Nunn	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
Inouye	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	N
IDAHO							
Church	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
McClure	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Percy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA							
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Lugar	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
IOWA							
Culver	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Jepsen	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
KANSAS							
Dole	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
Ford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Long	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MAINE							
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Cohen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Mathias	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Tsongas	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN							
Levin	+	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Riegle	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Cochran	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Danforth	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Melcher	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEVADA							
Cannon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Javits	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Helms	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Young	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Packwood	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Chafee	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Pressler	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Tower	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH							
Garn	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Hatch	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VERMONT							
Leahy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	?
Proxmire	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING							
Simpson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Wallop	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

184. HR 4387. Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Eagleton, D-Mo., motion to table (kill) the Roth, R-Del., amendment for a general cut of $170 million to be achieved through greater program efficiency. Motion agreed to 65-26: R 20-19; D 45-7 (ND 33-2; SD 12-5), July 18, 1979.

185. HR 4387. Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bellmon, R-Okla., motion to table (kill) the Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to increase funding for the Soil Conservation Service to $272 million from $254.1 million. Rejected 23-68: R 7-32; D 16-36 (ND 11-24; SD 5-12), July 18, 1979. (The Melcher amendment was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

186. HR 4387. Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $16,658,651,000 in fiscal 1980 for the Agriculture Department and related agencies. Passed 90-7: R 37-3; D 53-4 (ND 35-3; SD 18-1), July 19, 1979. The president had requested $18,323,534,000 in new budget authority.

187. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Packwood, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Helms, R-N.C., amendment, to the Magnuson, D-Wash., amendment, to remove the provision for federal funding of "medically necessary" abortions. Motion rejected 46-53: R 17-24; D 29-29 (ND 25-14; SD 4-15), July 19, 1979.

188. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Helms, R-N.C., amendment, to the Magnuson, D-Wash., amendment, to remove the provision for federal funding of "medically necessary" abortions. Rejected 46-53: R 23-18; D 23-35 (ND 12-27; SD 11-8), July 19, 1979.

189. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bayh, D-Ind., amendment to allow federal funding of abortions to save the life of the mother, in cases of rape or incest or when two doctors found that continued pregnancy would result in severe and long-lasting damage to the physical health of the mother. Adopted 57-42: R 18-23; D 39-19 (ND 26-13; SD 13-6), July 19, 1979.

190. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Williams, D-N.J., substitute to the Bumpers, D-Ark., amendment, to reduce the initial training requirements for workers in the surface mining of sand, gravel, clay, collodial phosphate or limestone. Motion agreed to 59-35: R 33-7; D 26-28 (ND 12-25; SD 14-3), July 19, 1979. (The Bumpers amendment to exempt the sand, gravel, clay, collodial phosphate and limestone surface mining industries from the training requirements of the Federal Mine Safety and Health Act was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

CQ Senate Votes 191 - 198

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203

	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198
ALABAMA								
Heflin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Stewart	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Stevens	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
Pryor	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	-	-	+	+	?	?	-	+
Weicker	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Roth	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stone	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Talmadge	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Matsunaga	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
McClure	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Percy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
Culver	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Jepsen	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Cohen	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Mathias	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Tsongas	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Riegle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Durenberger	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
Cochran	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Danforth	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Melcher	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Williams	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Javits	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Helms	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Young	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
OHIO								
Glenn	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Packwood	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Chafee	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Pressler	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Tower	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hatch	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Stafford	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Warner	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Randolph	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	?	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

191. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Eagleton, D-Mo., motion to table (kill) the Tsongas, D-Mass., amendment to prohibit the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) from ordering busing of schoolchildren to achieve racial balance, but allow grade restructuring and school pairing and clustering. Motion agreed to 58-35: R 27-13; D 31-22 (ND 16-21; SD 15-1), July 20, 1979.

192. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Morgan, D-N.C., amendment to delete $30.3 million for improvement of basic education. Rejected 30-63: R 18-22; D 12-41 (ND 5-32; SD 7-9), July 20, 1979.

193. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Moynihan, D-N.Y., motion to table (kill) the Roth, R-Del., amendment to reduce the total HEW appropriation by $500 million, with the cut to come from reduction in waste, fraud and abuse. Motion agreed to 53-41: R 13-27; D 40-14 (ND 34-3; SD 6-11), July 20, 1979.

194. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Magnuson, D-Wash., motion to table (kill) the Chiles, D-Fla., amendment to reduce public service jobs funds by $505 million, thus bringing down to 100,000, from 200,000 in the committee bill, the number of countercyclical public service jobs at the end of fiscal 1980. Motion agreed to 50-43: R 11-29; D 39-14 (ND 33-4; SD 6-10), July 20, 1979.

195. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Judgment of the Senate on whether the Church, D-Idaho, amendment *(see vote 196, below)* to exempt from Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) inspection businesses employing 10 or fewer persons, if they were in industries that had low overall rates of occupational injury and illness, was germane. Ruled germane 54-38: R 30-9; D 24-29 (ND 10-27; SD 14-2), July 20, 1979.

196. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Church, D-Idaho, motion to table (kill) the Schweiker, R-Pa., substitute to the Church amendment *(see vote 195, above)*, to require each business to show evidence of its own low injury rate, in order to qualify for the exemption from OSHA inspections for businesses with 10 or fewer employees in industries with low overall injury rates; the amendment also stated the situations in which OSHA could continue to make inspections and provide consultation services. Motion rejected 31-61: R 15-24; D 16-37 (ND 5-32; SD 11-5), July 20, 1979. (Both the Schweiker substitute and the Church amendment were adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

197. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Helms, R-N.C., motion to table (kill) the Javits, R-N.Y., substitute *(see vote 198, below)*, to the Helms-Hayakawa, R-Calif., amendment, to prohibit enforcement of racial or sexual quotas in education, but allow timetables, goals, ratios or other numerical requirements. Motion rejected 18-70: R 14-23; D 4-47 (ND 1-36; SD 3-11), July 20, 1979.

198. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Javits, R-N.Y., amendment, to the Helms, R-N.C.-Hayakawa, R-Calif., amendment, to prohibit racial quotas in education, but allow timetables, goals, ratios or other numerical requirements. Adopted 72-17: R 25-13; D 47-4 (ND 36-1; SD 11-3), July 20, 1979. (The Helms-Hayakawa amendment, as amended, was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

CQ Senate Votes 199 - 205

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210

	199	200	201	202	203	204	205
ALABAMA							
Heflin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ALASKA							
Gravel	+	?	?	?	?	?	?
Stevens	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Goldwater	-	N	N	Y	N	N	N
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
Armstrong	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	+	?	?	?	?	?	?
Weicker	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
DELAWARE							
Biden	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
Roth	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
FLORIDA							
Chiles	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stone	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA							
Nunn	N	C	Y	N	N	N	Y
Talmadge	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
HAWAII							
Inouye	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO							
Church	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
McClure	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Percy	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
INDIANA							
Bayh	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	+
Lugar	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
IOWA							
Culver	Y	N	?	?	?	?	+
Jepsen	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
KANSAS							
Dole	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY							
Ford	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Huddleston	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Long	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
MAINE							
Muskie	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	?	+	?	?	?	?
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Cochran	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Danforth	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Melcher	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	+
NEBRASKA							
Exon	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Zorinsky	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA							
Cannon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	+	?	?	?	?	+
Helms	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	+	-	?	?	?	?	?
Young	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Bellmon	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	-	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Pressler	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
Tower	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
UTAH							
Garn	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Hatch	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
VERMONT							
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	+
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WYOMING							
Simpson	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Wallop	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

199. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $72,959,245,000 for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and related agencies in fiscal 1980. Passed 67-20: R 23-14; D 44-6 (ND 30-4; SD 14-2), July 20, 1979. The president had requested $73,783,751,000 in new budget authority.

200. S 737. Export Administration. Muskie, D-Maine, amendment to limit the export of animal hides and skins until the president determined that other hide-producing countries had resumed exporting at reasonable levels and domestic supplies were adequate to meet domestic needs. Rejected 38-46: R 12-24; D 26-22 (ND 21-13; SD 5-9), July 21, 1979.

201. S 737. Export Administration. Riegle, D-Mich., motion to table (kill) the Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment to relax restrictions on the president's authority to export Alaskan North Slope oil. Motion agreed to 52-30: R 9-25; D 43-5 (ND 31-2; SD 12-3), July 21, 1979.

202. S 737. Export Administration. Riegle, D-Mich., motion to table (kill) the Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment to substitute a two-house veto (for a one-house veto as in the bill) of any proposal to export Alaskan North Slope oil. Motion rejected 34-48: R 10-24; D 24-24 (ND 20-13; SD 4-11), July 21, 1979. (The Eagleton amendment was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

203. S 737. Export Administration. Stevenson, D-Ill., motion to table (kill) the McClure, R-Idaho, amendment to provide that either house could veto a presidential embargo on agricultural commodity exports, but that the veto could be overridden by an approval vote in the other house. Motion rejected 33-46: R 6-28; D 27-18 (ND 20-10; SD 7-8), July 21, 1979. (The McClure amendment was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

204. S 737. Export Administration. Stevenson, D-Ill., motion to table (kill) the Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to delete language in the bill directing the president, before resorting to commodity export controls, to consider using the Commodity Credit Corporation as the exclusive sales agent for sales to foreign governments in order to stabilize markets during periods when foreign purchases led to tight domestic supplies. Motion rejected 20-57: R 0-34; D 20-23 (ND 19-10; SD 1-13), July 21, 1979. (The Bellmon amendment was subsequently adopted by voice vote.)

205. S 737. Export Administration. Passage of the bill to authorize in fiscal 1980 $10.5 million for export control programs ($8 million for the Commerce Department and $2.5 million for the Defense Department) and extend for fiscal 1980-83 current authority to control exports in cases involving national security, foreign policy or short supplies. Passed 74-3: R 31-3; D 43-0 (ND 29-0; SD 14-0), July 21, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 206 - 212

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217

	206	207	208	209	210	211	212
ALABAMA							
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA							
Gravel	?	+	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO							
Hart	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE							
Biden	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
FLORIDA							
Chiles	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA							
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
Inouye	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO							
Church	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
McClure	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Percy	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
INDIANA							
Bayh	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA							
Culver	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KANSAS							
Dole	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE							
Muskie	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	-	?	?	Y
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
Levin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA							
Baucus	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA							
Cannon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Javits	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
OHIO							
Glenn	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
OREGON							
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	N	-	+	Y
Packwood	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Baker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH							
Garn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Hatch	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT							
Leahy	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
Proxmire	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING							
Simpson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

206. S 1309. Food Stamps. Helms, R-N.C., amendment, to the McGovern, D-S.D., substitute amendment *(see vote 208, below)* to the bill, to delete the section eliminating the existing ceiling on expenditures for the food stamp program in fiscal 1980-81. Rejected 37-57: R 24-15; D 13-42 (ND 4-32; SD 9-10), July 23, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

207. HR 4537. Trade Agreements Act. Passage of the bill to make changes in U.S. law to carry out multilateral trade agreements (MTN) limiting non-tariff barriers to trade, including export subsidies and customs valuation methods. Passed (thus cleared for the president) 90-4: R 38-1; D 52-3 (ND 34-3; SD 18-0), July 23, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

208. S 1309. Food Stamps. McGovern, D-S.D., substitute amendment, to the bill, to raise to $6,778,900,000, from $6,158,900,000, the ceiling on fiscal 1979 spending for the food stamp program; to allow persons 60 years and older to deduct, for purposes of computing food stamp benefits, from income medical expenses in excess of $35 a month, and shelter costs in excess of 50 percent of income; and to eliminate the existing ceiling on expenditures for the food stamp program in fiscal 1980-81. Adopted 75-20: R 22-17; D 53-3 (ND 36-2; SD 17-1), July 23, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

209. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to prohibit funds appropriated for the Justice Department to be used for busing schoolchildren to schools other than the one nearest their home. Rejected 37-60: R 23-18; D 14-42 (ND 6-31; SD 8-11), July 24, 1979.

210. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to prevent the Census Bureau from distributing certain census forms to small businesses engaged in agricultural services. Adopted 93-4: R 38-2; D 55-2 (ND 37-1; SD 18-1), July 24, 1979.

211. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $8,253,484,000 for the fiscal 1980 operations of the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary and related agencies. Passed 86-10: R 31-8; D 55-2 (ND 36-2; SD 19-0), July 24, 1979. The president had requested $8,526,868,000 in new budget authority.

212. Wald Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Patricia M. Wald of Maryland to be a U.S. judge in the District of Columbia circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals. Confirmed 77-21: R 21-19; D 56-2 (ND 38-1; SD 18-1), July 24, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225

	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stewart	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Stevens	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Goldwater	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Pryor	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Armstrong	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Weicker	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Roth	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Stone	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Talmadge	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
Matsunaga	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
McClure	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Percy	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Lugar	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Jepsen	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Huddleston	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
MAINE								
Muskie	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Cohen	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Mathias	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Riegle	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Cochran	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
Danforth	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Melcher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Laxalt	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Humphrey	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Williams	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Javits	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Young	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
Glenn	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Packwood	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Schweiker	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Chafee	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Thurmond	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Pressler	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Baker	?	+	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Tower	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hatch	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Stafford	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Warner	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Randolph	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Proxmire	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

213. Reiche Nomination. Humphrey, R-N.H., motion to recommit to the Rules Committee (and thus kill) President Carter's nomination of Frank P. Reiche of New Jersey to be a member of the Federal Election Commission. Rejected 28-70: R 24-16; D 4-54 (ND 1-38; SD 3-16), July 25, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

214. Reiche Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Frank P. Reiche of New Jersey to be a member of the Federal Election Commission for a term ending April 30, 1985. Confirmed 73-25: R 19-21; D 54-4 (ND 38-1; SD 16-3), July 25, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

215. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Mathias, R-Md., amendment to place employees of the Panama Canal Commission under Title VII (labor relations) of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978. Adopted 53-45: R 22-19; D 31-26 (ND 27-12; SD 4-14), July 26, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

216. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment to require congressional approval before any U.S.-owned Panama Canal property could be transferred to Panama. Rejected 41-56: R 27-13; D 14-43 (ND 6-33; SD 8-10), July 26, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

217. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Gravel, D-Alaska, amendment to establish an International Sea Level Canal Study Commission, to report on the feasibility of building a sea-level canal. Rejected 43-54: R 5-35; D 38-19 (ND 28-11; SD 10-8), July 26, 1979.

218. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Dole, R-Kan., amendment to prohibit treaty-mandated payments to Panama from canal revenues unless the United States had been reimbursed for its costs of implementing the 1978 treaties. Rejected 34-62: R 25-15; D 9-47 (ND 4-34; SD 5-13), July 26, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

219. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Dole, R-Kan., amendment to authorize the U.S. president to take any appropriate action to ensure that the canal remained secure and open, including overriding any action of the Panama Canal Commission. Rejected 46-50: R 34-6; D 12-44 (ND 5-33; SD 7-11), July 26, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

220. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to prohibit treaty-mandated payments to Panama from canal revenues if either the U.S. president or Congress determined that Panama was directly or indirectly interfering in the affairs of another nation. Rejected 22-73: R 18-21; D 4-52 (ND 1-37; SD 3-15), July 26, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 221 - 227

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232

	221	222	223	224	225	226	227
ALABAMA							
Heflin	N	?	?	?	?	?	Y
Stewart	N	?	?	?	?	?	Y
ALASKA							
Gravel	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Stevens	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Weicker	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?
DELAWARE							
Biden	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Roth	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
FLORIDA							
Chiles	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA							
Nunn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII							
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
IDAHO							
Church	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
McClure	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?
Percy	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
INDIANA							
Bayh	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Lugar	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
IOWA							
Culver	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
KANSAS							
Dole	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
Ford	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Huddleston	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	N	?	?	?	X	?
MAINE							
Muskie	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Cohen	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?
Mathias	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Tsongas	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN							
Levin	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Riegle	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	Y	?	Y	N	Y	#	?
Cochran	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Danforth	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Melcher	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA							
Cannon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Williams	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
Schmitt	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Javits	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Helms	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Young	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Bellmon	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Packwood	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Chafee	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Pressler	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Baker	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Tower	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
UTAH							
Garn	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Hatch	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT							
Leahy	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Warner	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Randolph	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING							
Simpson	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
Wallop	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

*Byrd elected as an Independent

221. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Passage of the bill to implement the 1978 Panama Canal treaties by establishing a Panama Canal Commission as a U.S. government corporation, setting rules and regulations for commission employees, setting standards for canal tolls and making other provisions for operation of the canal until the year 2000. Passed 64-30: R 17-21; D 47-9 (ND 34-4; SD 13-5), July 26, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

222. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to reduce general revenue sharing funds alloted to states by $684 million. Rejected 31-59: R 9-28; D 22-31 (ND 14-24; SD 8-7), July 27, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

223. HR 4580. District of Columbia Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to extend to locally raised revenue the prohibitions on abortion funding existing in the federal Medicaid program. Rejected 34-55: R 19-17; D 15-38 (ND 10-28; SD 5-10), July 27, 1979.

224. HR 4580. District of Columbia Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Roth, R-Del., amendment to reduce the federal payment for the District of Columbia budget by $57.8 million as reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee (thus reducing the federal payment to the House-passed amount). Rejected 28-60: R 16-19; D 12-41 (ND 5-33; SD 7-8), July 27, 1979.

225. HR 4580. District of Columbia Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $1,945,731,700 for fiscal 1980 (the appropriation was composed of $384,621,500 in federal funds and $1,561,110,200 in revenues raised by the city). Passed 77-12: R 26-10; D 51-2 (ND 36-2; SD 15-0), July 27, 1979. The president had requested $2,057,179,000 in new budget authority.

226. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to cut $700 million funds for the subsidized housing program. Rejected 36-52: R 18-19; D 18-33 (ND 9-28; SD 9-5), July 27, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

227. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $71,930,247,000 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and 20 independent agencies for fiscal 1980. Adopted 60-25: R 19-15; D 41-10 (ND 31-5; SD 10-5), July 27, 1979. The president had requested $72,722,746,750 in new budget authority.

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240

	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Percy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	Y	Y	N	Y	+	N	N
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	Y	-	?	?	?	?
Huddleston	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Long	N	+	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Humphrey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Javits	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Packwood	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Tower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hatch	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Stafford	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Warner	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans* *Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

228. S 1319. Military Construction. Exon, D-Neb., motion to table (kill) the Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to the Exon amendment to the bill *(see votes 229 and 230, below)*. Motion rejected 40-57: R 27-13; D 13-44 (ND 3-36; SD 10-8), July 30, 1979.

229. S 1319. Military Construction. Melcher, D-Mont., amendment, to the Exon, D-Neb., amendment, to waive requirements of the Davis-Bacon Act for government contracts up to $10,000 and for repair contracts up to $2,000 (the Exon amendment originally would have waived the requirements of the Davis-Bacon Act for all government contracts covered by the bill up to $50,000). Adopted 68-28: R 16-24; D 52-4 (ND 37-2; SD 15-2), July 30, 1979.

230. S 1319. Military Construction. Exon, D-Neb., amendment, as amended *(see vote 229, above)*, to waive requirements of the Davis-Bacon Act (to require payment of local wage rates for the construction trades) for all government contracts covered by the bill up to $10,000 and for repair contracts up to $2,000. Adopted 92-3: R 37-3; D 55-0 (ND 39-0; SD 16-0), July 30, 1979.

231. S 835. Regional Development. Simpson, R-Wyo., amendment to delete authorization for three new regional planning commissions and expanded commission authority. Rejected 47-51: R 36-5; D 11-46 (ND 8-32; SD 3-14), July 31, 1979.

232. S 835. Regional Development. Stafford, R-Vt., amendment to prohibit the Alaska regional commission from developing land use plans. Adopted 77-21: R 41-0; D 36-21 (ND 26-14; SD 10-7), July 31, 1979.

233. S 265. Equal Access to Justice. Passage of the bill to allow certain private litigants who win suits against the government to collect attorneys fees, expert witness fees and other court costs in some circumstances. Passed 94-3; R 40-1; D 54-2; (ND 38-1; SD 16-1), July 31, 1979.

234. H Con Res 168. Congressional Adjournment. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Weicker, R-Conn., amendment, to the Byrd amendment, to provide for a House recess from Aug. 2 to Sept. 5, and for a Senate recess from Aug. 31 to Sept. 5, 1979. Motion agreed to 85-13: R 31-10; D 54-3 (ND 37-3; SD 17-0), July 31, 1979. (The Byrd amendment to provide for a Senate recess from Aug. 2, 3 or 4 to Sept. 5, 1979, subsequently was adopted by voice vote.)

235. H Con Res 168. Congressional Adjournment. Adoption of the concurrent resolution to provide for a House recess from Aug. 2 until Sept. 5, 1979, and for a Senate recess from Aug. 2, 3 or 4 — depending on a motion by the majority leader — to Sept. 5, 1979. Adopted 89-9: R 35-6; D 54-3 (ND 37-3; SD 17-0), July 31, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 236-240

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 241, 242, 243, 244, 245

	236	237	238	239	240
ALABAMA					
Heflin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA					
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA					
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	Y	N	?
ARKANSAS					
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA					
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO					
Hart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT					
Ribicoff	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE					
Biden	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Roth	Y	N	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA					
Chiles	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA					
Nunn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII					
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO					
Church	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS					
Stevenson	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Percy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA					
Bayh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA					
Culver	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	N	Y	N	Y
KANSAS					
Dole	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY					
Ford	?	Y	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	?	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA					
Johnston	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Long	Y	Y	N	Y	?
MAINE					
Muskie	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND					
Sarbanes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS					
Kennedy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN					
Levin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA					
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI					
Stennis	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Cochran	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI					
Eagleton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA					
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA					
Exon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA					
Cannon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY					
Bradley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK					
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA					
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA					
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO					
Glenn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA					
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OREGON					
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
Heinz	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND					
Pell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Hollings	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA					
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE					
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS					
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Tower	+	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH					
Garn	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Hatch	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VERMONT					
Leahy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA					
Byrd*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON					
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA					
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN					
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING					
Simpson	Y	N	N	N	Y
Wallop	Y	N	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

**Byrd elected as an Independent*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

236. Duncan Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Charles W. Duncan Jr. of Texas to be Secretary of Energy. Confirmed 95-1: R 39-0; D 56-1 (ND 39-1; SD 17-0), July 31, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

237. S 914. Public Works and Economic Development. Passage of the bill to authorize $3.5 billion for fiscal 1980-1983 for public works and development financing programs and extend the Appalachian Regional Commission and 10 other regional commissions. Adopted 83-17: R 27-14; D 56-3 (ND 38-2; SD 18-1), Aug. 1, 1979.

238. S 712. Amtrak Reorganization. Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to put a one-year moratorium on any cuts in Amtrak passenger routes. Rejected 35-65: R 15-26; D 20-39 (ND 14-26; SD 6-13), Aug. 1, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

239. S 712. Amtrak Reorganization. Leahy, D-Vt., substitute amendment to authorize for Amtrak $1.1 billion in fiscal 1980 and $945 million for fiscal 1981 and set formulas for saving some trains scheduled for elimination. Passed 89-11: R 33-8; D 56-3 (ND 38-2; SD 18-1), Aug. 1, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

240. Civiletti Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Benjamin R. Civiletti of Maryland to be attorney general of the United States. Confirmed 94-1: R 39-1; D 55-0 (ND 39-0; SD 16-0), Aug. 1, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

	241	242
ALABAMA		
Heflin	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y
ALASKA		
Gravel	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	Y
ARIZONA		
DeConcini	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA		
Cranston	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y
COLORADO		
Hart	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT		
Ribicoff	Y	Y
Weicker	?	?
DELAWARE		
Biden	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y
FLORIDA		
Chiles	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y
GEORGIA		
Nunn	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y
HAWAII		
Inouye	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y
IDAHO		
Church	Y	Y
McClure	Y	Y
ILLINOIS		
Stevenson	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y
INDIANA		
Bayh	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y

	241	242
IOWA		
Culver	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y
KANSAS		
Dole	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y
KENTUCKY		
Ford	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	Y
LOUISIANA		
Johnston	Y	Y
Long	Y	Y
MAINE		
Muskie	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y
MARYLAND		
Sarbanes	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y
MICHIGAN		
Levin	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI		
Stennis	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	Y
MISSOURI		
Eagleton	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y
MONTANA		
Baucus	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y
NEBRASKA		
Exon	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y
NEVADA		
Cannon	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y

	241	242
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Durkin	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y
NEW YORK		
Moynihan	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA		
Morgan	+	+
Helms	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y
OHIO		
Glenn	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA		
Boren	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y
OREGON		
Hatfield	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND		
Pell	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Hollings	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	Y
TENNESSEE		
Sasser	Y	Y
Baker	Y	Y

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	241	242
TEXAS		
Bentsen	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y
UTAH		
Garn	Y	Y
Hatch	Y	Y
VERMONT		
Leahy	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	Y
VIRGINIA		
Byrd*	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	N
WYOMING		
Simpson	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

241. Volcker Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Paul A. Volcker of New Jersey to be chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Confirmed 98-0: R 40-0; D 58-0 (ND 40-0; SD 18-0), Aug. 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

242. Miller Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of G. William Miller of California to be Secretary of the Treasury. Confirmed 97-1: R 40-0; D 57-1 (ND 39-1; SD 18-0), Aug. 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 243 - 247

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 248, 249, 250, 251, 252

	243	244	245	246	247
ALABAMA					
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stewart	Y	N	N	Y	?
ALASKA					
Gravel	?	?	?	?	?
Stevens	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA					
DeConcini	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Goldwater	?	?	?	?	?
ARKANSAS					
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	N	?
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA					
Cranston	N	N	N	Y	N
Hayakawa	N	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO					
Hart	N	N	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT					
Ribicoff	N	N	N	Y	?
Weicker	N	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE					
Biden	?	?	N	Y	N
Roth	Y	Y	Y	N	N
FLORIDA					
Chiles	?	N	N	Y	?
Stone	?	?	?	?	?
GEORGIA					
Nunn	?	?	?	?	?
Talmadge	N	N	N	Y	?
HAWAII					
Inouye	N	N	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO					
Church	Y	N	N	Y	N
McClure	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS					
Stevenson	Y	?	N	Y	?
Percy	Y	N	N	Y	Y
INDIANA					
Bayh	Y	N	N	Y	N
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

	243	244	245	246	247
IOWA					
Culver	N	N	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS					
Dole	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY					
Ford	N	N	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	?	?	?	?	?
LOUISIANA					
Johnston	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Long	?	N	N	Y	Y
MAINE					
Muskie	Y	N	N	Y	?
Cohen	Y	N	N	Y	N
MARYLAND					
Sarbanes	N	N	N	Y	N
Mathias	N	N	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS					
Kennedy	?	N	N	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	N	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN					
Levin	N	N	N	Y	Y
Riegle	N	N	N	Y	N
MINNESOTA					
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	N	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI					
Stennis	?	?	?	?	?
Cochran	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI					
Eagleton	N	N	N	Y	?
Danforth	N	N	N	Y	Y
MONTANA					
Baucus	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Melcher	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA					
Exon	?	Y	N	N	N
Zorinsky	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEVADA					
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

	243	244	245	246	247
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Durkin	Y	N	N	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY					
Bradley	N	N	N	Y	?
Williams	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK					
Moynihan	N	N	N	Y	?
Javits	N	N	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA					
Morgan	N	N	N	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA					
Burdick	N	N	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO					
Glenn	N	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA					
Boren	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON					
Hatfield	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	N	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
Heinz	N	N	N	Y	?
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND					
Pell	?	N	N	Y	Y
Chafee	N	N	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Hollings	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA					
McGovern	?	?	?	?	?
Pressler	Y	N	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE					
Sasser	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Baker	Y	N	N	Y	Y

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	243	244	245	246	247
TEXAS					
Bentsen	Y	?	?	?	?
Tower	?	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH					
Garn	Y	Y	Y	N	?
Hatch	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT					
Leahy	Y	N	N	Y	N
Stafford	Y	N	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA					
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON					
Jackson	N	N	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	N	N	Y	?
WEST VIRGINIA					
Byrd	N	N	N	Y	Y
Randolph	N	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN					
Nelson	N	N	N	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING					
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Wallop	?	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as independent.

243. S 566. Anti-recession Aid. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to delete the fiscal 1979 authorization for targeted fiscal assistance to local governments in areas of severe unemployment. Adopted 51-34: R 30-8; D 21-26 (ND 11-23; SD 10-3), Aug. 3, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

244. S 566. Anti-recession Aid. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to delete the targeted fiscal assistance program from the bill. Rejected 31-59: R 22-18, D 9-41 (ND 3-33; SD 6-8), Aug. 3, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

245. S 566. Anti-recession Aid. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to raise to 7 percent from 6 percent the unemployment rate required to activate the targeted fiscal assistance program. Rejected 31-61: R 23-17; D 8-44 (ND 3-35; SD 5-9), Aug. 3, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

246. S 566. Anti-recession Aid. Passage of the bill to extend standby anti-recession aid to state and local governments through Sept. 30, 1980, to establish a program of targeted fiscal assistance to local governments in areas of severe unemployment, and to authorize up to $1 billion for the two programs in fiscal 1980. Passed 69-23: R 23-17; D 46-6 (ND 36-2; SD 10-4), Aug. 3, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

247. S Res 220. Senate Financial Disclosure. Adoption of the resolution to amend the standing rules of the Senate by substituting the disclosure requirements of the 1978 Ethics in Government Act (PL 95-521) for Senate rule 42. (The revision made three principal changes: 1) required less disclosure of information in most cases; 2) dropped all random audits of disclosure statements; and 3) reduced the number of Senate employees required to file disclosure statements to about 300 from about 1,600.) Adopted 50-29: R 23-15; D 27-14 (ND 19-12; SD 8-2), Aug. 3, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 248 - 251

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 253, 254, 255, 256

	248	249	250	251
ALABAMA				
Heflin	Y	N	Y	N
Stewart	N	N	Y	N
ALASKA				
Gravel	N	Y	Y	?
Stevens	Y	N	N	N
ARIZONA				
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	N
Goldwater	Y	N	N	N
ARKANSAS				
Bumpers	N	N	Y	N
Pryor	Y	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston	Y	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	Y	N
COLORADO				
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE				
Biden	Y	N	Y	N
Roth	Y	N	N	N
FLORIDA				
Chiles	N	Y	Y	N
Stone	N	Y	Y	?
GEORGIA				
Nunn	N	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	N	Y	Y	N
HAWAII				
Inouye	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO				
Church	Y	N	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	N	N
ILLINOIS				
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA				
Bayh	?	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	N	N	N
IOWA				
Culver	Y	Y	Y	?
Jepsen	?	?	?	?
KANSAS				
Dole	Y	N	N	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY				
Ford	N	Y	Y	N
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA				
Johnston	N	Y	Y	N
Long	N	Y	Y	N
MAINE				
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	N	N
MARYLAND				
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	?	?	?	?
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN				
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA				
Boschwitz	Y	N	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI				
Stennis	N	N	Y	N
Cochran	Y	N	N	N
MISSOURI				
Eagleton	N	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	N	N
MONTANA				
Baucus	N	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	N	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA				
Exon	Y	N	Y	N
Zorinsky	N	N	Y	N
NEVADA				
Cannon	N	Y	Y	N
Laxalt	?	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	N	N	N
NEW JERSEY				
Bradley	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO				
Domenici	Y	N	N	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK				
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
Morgan	Y	N	Y	N
Helms	Y	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA				
Burdick	N	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	N	?
OHIO				
Glenn	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
Boren	Y	N	Y	N
Bellmon	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON				
Hatfield	+	+	?	#
Packwood	Y	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA				
Heinz	Y	N	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND				
Pell	?	?	?	?
Chafee	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollings	N	Y	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern	?	?	?	?
Pressler	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE				
Sasser	N	Y	Y	N
Baker	Y	N	N	N
TEXAS				
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	N
Tower	Y	N	N	N
UTAH				
Garn	Y	N	Y	?
Hatch	+	?	?	X
VERMONT				
Leahy	Y	N	Y	N
Stafford	Y	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA				
Byrd*	N	N	Y	N
Warner	Y	N	N	N
WASHINGTON				
Jackson	N	Y	Y	N
Magnuson	-	?	+	?
WEST VIRGINIA				
Byrd	N	N	Y	N
Randolph	N	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN				
Nelson	N	N	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	N	Y	Y
WYOMING				
Simpson	Y	N	N	N
Wallop	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an Independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

248. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Schmitt, R-N.M., amendment to delete $1 million intended for an Internal Revenue Service (IRS) test program under which income tax refunds would be withheld from former students to offset defaults on their government student loans. Adopted 52-38: R 35-1; D 17-37 (ND 13-22; SD 4-15), Sept. 5, 1979.

249. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Appropriations Committee amendment to delete language prohibiting use of funds in the bill to collect taxes by the Internal Revenue Service unless IRS employees comply with provisions of the Fair Debt Collection Practices Act. Rejected 41-49: R 9-27; D 32-22 (ND 21-14; SD 11-8), Sept. 5, 1979.

250. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Chiles, D-Fla., motion to table (kill) the Humphrey, R-N.H., amendment to earmark $500,000 in Federal Election Commission funds for an investigation of possible violations of federal law in connection with the Carter peanut warehouse in Plains, Ga. Motion agreed to 61-29: R 7-29; D 54-0 (ND 35-0; SD 19-0), Sept. 5, 1979.

251. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Javits, R-N.Y., amendment to strike language prohibiting use of funds in the bill to implement proposed Internal Revenue Service rulings affecting the tax-exempt status of private schools. Rejected 31-54: R 8-26; D 23-28 (ND 23-10; SD 0-18), Sept. 5, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 252 - 259

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264

	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
Pryor	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
COLORADO								
Hart	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Roth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stone	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
McClure	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Percy	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
IOWA								
Culver	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
Jepsen	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	+
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Huddleston	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y
Long	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	?
Cohen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Mathias	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Tsongas	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Durenberger	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Cochran	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Danforth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Javits	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Young	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	#	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Bellmon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	X	-	+	?	?	?	-	N
Packwood	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
Schweiker	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	?	?	?	?	?	+	?	?
Chafee	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Pressler	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	?
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Baker	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	N
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Tower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
UTAH								
Garn	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
Hatch	#	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Stafford	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Magnuson	?	?	?	+	+	+	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Randolph	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	+	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Wallop	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

252. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to prohibit the Internal Revenue Service from formulating or carrying out any new rule or regulation that would cause the loss of tax exempt status of any private school. Adopted 47-43: R 23-12; D 24-31 (ND 6-30; SD 18-1), Sept. 6, 1979.

253. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to (kill) the Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, motion to reconsider the vote by which the Helms amendment *(vote 252, above)* was adopted. Motion rejected 45-45: R 24-11; D 21-34 (ND 3-33; SD 18-1), Sept. 6, 1979.

254. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, motion to reconsider the vote by which the Helms amendment *(vote 252, above)* was adopted. Motion rejected 43-47: R 11-24; D 32-23 (ND 31-5; SD 1-18), Sept. 6, 1979.

255. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $8,846,646,100 for the Treasury Department, Postal Service, Executive Office of the President and certain independent agencies for fiscal 1980. Passed 88-2: R 34-1; D 54-1 (ND 35-1; SD 19-0), Sept. 6, 1979. The president's amended budget request was $9,019,708,000.

256. S 1142. Kennedy Center Authorization. Domenici, R-N.M., amendment to restrict distribution of free tickets to the president and his family and authorize reduced rates for elderly, handicapped and disadvantaged persons at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Rejected 23-66: R 15-20; D 8-46 (ND 6-29; SD 2-17), Sept. 6, 1979.

257. S 643. Refugee and Immigration Act Amendments. Passage of bill to increase the annual number of refugees admitted to 50,000 from 17,400, to increase the number of immigrants allowed each year to 320,000 from 290,000 and to make permanent temporary funding programs and authorize continued aid to Indochinese refugees. Passed 85-0; R 33-0; D 52-0; (ND 34-0; SD 18-0), Sept. 6, 1979.

258. S 1477. Federal Courts Improvement Act. Culver, D-Iowa, motion to table (kill) the Bumpers, D-Ark., amendment to remove the legal presumption in federal courts that federal regulations are valid. Rejected 27-51: R 10-22; D 17-29 (ND 17-13; SD 0-16), Sept. 7, 1979. (The Bumpers amendment, easing legal requirements for challenging federal regulations, was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

259. S 1125. Federal Crop Insurance. Huddleston, D-Ky., motion to table (kill) the Jepsen, R-Iowa, amendment to exclude hail and fire insurance from the federal crop insurance program. Motion agreed to 46-43: R 5-30; D 41-13 (ND 28-8; SD 13-5), Sept. 10, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 260 - 267

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272

	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stewart	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pryor	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
Weicker	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Roth	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stone	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Talmadge	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
McClure	Y	Y	N	N	Y	+	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Percy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA								
Culver	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Huddleston	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Long	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Cohen	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Mathias	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Riegle	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	?	?	?	?	-	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Cochran	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Melcher	Y	N	N	?	N	N	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Williams	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Javits	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Young	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Packwood	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Pressler	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Baker	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Tower	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Hatch	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Stafford	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Magnuson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Randolph	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

260. S 1125. Federal Crop Insurance. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to allow federal subsidies for crop insurance premiums only for coverage up to 50 percent of a farmer's average yield, instead of up to 75 percent of yield as provided in the bill. Rejected 43-47: R 31-5; D 12-42 (ND 8-28; SD 4-14), Sept. 10, 1979.

261. S 1125. Federal Crop Insurance. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to rule out federal disaster payments in the 1981 crop year to producers in counties where federal crop insurance was generally offered, rather than giving producers the option of being eligible for disaster payments or buying crop insurance as provided in the bill. Rejected 33-58: R 24-13; D 9-45 (ND 4-32; SD 5-13), Sept. 10, 1979.

262. S 1125. Federal Crop Insurance. Huddleston, D-Ky., motion to table (kill) the Dole, R-Kan., amendment to exclude hail insurance from the federal crop insurance program. Motion agreed to 47-45: R 6-32; D 41-13 (ND 28-8; SD 13-5), Sept. 10, 1979.

263. S 1125. Federal Crop Insurance. Passage of the bill to expand the operations of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation (FCIC) into a nationwide, comprehensive all-risk crop insurance program with the federal government paying from 20 to 40 percent of the cost of premiums; and to retain the federal disaster payments program through the 1981 crop year, but give farmers the option of buying crop insurance or being eligible for disaster payments in 1981. Passed 64-27: R 17-21; D 47-6 (ND 31-4; SD 16-2), Sept. 10, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

264. HR 4388. Energy and Water Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Johnston, D-La., motion to recede from the Senate amendment to remove from the bill a House-passed provision to allow completion of the Tellico Dam in Tennessee by exempting the project from the Endangered Species Act and other federal laws and instead to agree to the House position. Motion agreed to (thus clearing the bill for the president) 48-44: R 28-10; D 20-34 (ND 7-29; SD 13-5), Sept. 10, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

265. S1403. Strip Mining Amendments. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to give states primary authority to inspect mines up until the state's surface mining plan is submitted for Department of Interior approval; and to give states federal personnel to assist in the inspections. Adopted 73-20: R 38-1; D 35-19 (ND 17-19; SD 18-0), Sept. 11, 1979.

266. S1403. Strip Mining Amendments. Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to extend the Aug. 3, 1979, deadline for submitting state mining plans for seven months and extend the deadline for implementing mining programs on federal coal lands to coincide with state implementation. Rejected 29-66: R 4-36; D 25-30 (ND 24-13; SD 1-17), Sept. 11, 1979.

267. S1403. Strip Mining Amendments. Passage of a bill to exempt states from Office of Surface Mining regulations; extend for one year the deadlines for state plan submittal and OSM final action on state plans; and delay implementation of surface mining programs on federal coal lands until the state had an approved plan. Passed 68-26: R 36-3; D 32-23 (ND 15-22; SD 17-1), Sept. 11, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 268 - 273

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278

	268	269	270	271	272	273
ALABAMA						
Heflin	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
ALASKA						
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	-	-	-	+
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Pryor	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
COLORADO						
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE						
Biden	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Roth	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
FLORIDA						
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
Talmadge	?	?	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII						
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO						
Church	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
McClure	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Percy	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
INDIANA						
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Lugar	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y

	268	269	270	271	272	273
IOWA						
Culver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
KANSAS						
Dole	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY						
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Huddleston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Long	?	Y	?	?	?	?
MAINE						
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Mathias	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN						
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
Cochran	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Danforth	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MONTANA						
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA						
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA						
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y

	268	269	270	271	272	273
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Javits	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Young	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO						
Glenn	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
OREGON						
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Chafee	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Baker	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	268	269	270	271	272	273
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Tower	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
UTAH						
Garn	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Hatch	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
VERMONT						
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Randolph	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WYOMING						
Simpson	Y	Y	N	N	-	+
Wallop	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

268. Janis Nomination. Confirmation of Jay Janis of Florida to be a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. Confirmed 95-0: R 41-0; D 54-0 (ND 37-0; SD 17-0), Sept. 12, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

269. Landrieu Nomination. Confirmation of Moon Landrieu of Louisiana to be secretary of housing and urban development. Confirmed 97-0: 41-0; D 56-0 (ND 38-0; SD 18-0), Sept. 12, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

270. S 14. Water Reclamation. Church, D-Idaho, motion to table (kill) the Morgan, D-N.C., substitute amendment, to the Hatfield, R-Ore., amendment *(see vote 271, below)*, to assess a surcharge for federally supplied irrigation for farmers who exceed the 160-acre landholding limit. Motion agreed to 52-43: R 9-30; D 43-13 (ND 36-3; SD 7-10), Sept. 13, 1979.

271. S 14. Water Reclamation. Hatfield, R-Ore., amendment to delete the provision in the bill allowing short-term leasing of unlimited amounts of federally irrigated land in excess of the 1,280-acre ownership limit. Adopted 59-36: R 10-29; D 49-7 (ND 38-1; SD 11-6), Sept. 13, 1979.

272. S 14. Water Reclamation. Hatfield, R-Ore., amendment to delete the exemption from the 160-acre limit for federal water if the landowner paid for his share of the water project either in a lump sum or faster than his contract required. Adopted 47-46: R 9-29; D 38-17 (ND 33-6; SD 5-11), Sept. 13, 1979.

273. S 14. Water Reclamation. Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to reconsider the vote *(vote 272, above)* by which the Hatfield amendment was adopted. Motion rejected 44-47: R 29-8; D 15-39 (ND 4-35; SD 11-4), Sept. 13, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 274 - 281

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286

	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281
ALABAMA								
Heflin	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y
Stewart	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ALASKA								
Gravel	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Goldwater	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Hayakawa	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	+	-	?	-	-	?	+	+
Weicker	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Roth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
Stone	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	N	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClure	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	+
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Percy	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?	?
Lugar	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
IOWA								
Culver	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?	?
Jepsen	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	?	N	N	Y	?	?	?
Huddleston	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	#
Long	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MAINE								
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Mathias	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?	?
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Riegle	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Cochran	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Humphrey	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Schmitt	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Javits	?	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	+
Helms	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	X
Young	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	?	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Bellmon	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
Schweiker	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	+
Chafee	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	?
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Pressler	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Baker	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Tower	N	Y	N	Y	+	-	-	+
UTAH								
Garn	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hatch	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Warner	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
Wallop	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

274. S 14. Water Reclamation. Hatfield, R-Ore., amendment to provide for a limited lottery in disposing of excess lands, over the 1,280-acre per family limit, receiving federal irrigation water. Rejected 25-54: R 6-28; D 19-26 (ND 19-16; SD 0-10), Sept. 14, 1979.

275. S 14. Water Reclamation. Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Nelson, D-Wis., amendment to reduce to 640 acres, from the 1,280 acres in the bill, the amount of land per farm receiving federal reclamation project water. Motion agreed to 65-18: R 36-0; D 29-18 (ND 19-18; SD 10-0), Sept. 14, 1979.

276. S 14. Water Reclamation. Nelson, D-Wis., motion to table (kill) a Cranston, D-Calif., amendment to require the interior secretary to study the cost of storing irrigation water behind the Pine Flat Dam on the Kings River and behind the Isabella Dam on the Kern River, both in California. Motion rejected 24-60: R 2-33; D 22-27 (ND 20-18; SD 2-9), Sept. 14, 1979. (The Cranston amendment subsequently was adopted by voice vote.)

277. S 14. Water Reclamation. Nelson, D-Wis., motion to table (kill) the Cranston, D-Calif., amendment to exempt the Imperial Valley irrigation district in California from the acreage limitation provisions of the bill. Motion rejected 39-44: R 27-8; D 12-36 (ND 12-25; SD 0-11), Sept. 14, 1979. (The Cranston amendment subsequently was adopted by voice vote.)

278. S 14. Water Reclamation. Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the McGovern, D-S.D., amendment to reduce to 960 acres the amount of land a farmer would be able to irrigate with federal water. Motion agreed to 50-28: R 30-2; D 20-26 (ND 11-26; SD 9-0), Sept. 14, 1979.

279. S 14. Water Reclamation. Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Cranston, D-Calif., amendment to permit growers to lease land in excess of the acreage limitation if they paid full cost for the federal water provided to irrigate the leased land. Motion agreed to 42-33: R 7-25; D 35-8 (ND 29-3; SD 6-5), Sept. 14, 1979.

280. S 14. Water Reclamation. Hatfield, R-Ore., motion to table (kill) the Dole, R-Kan., amendment to allow additional irrigated lands to be leased, up to 1,280 acres above the limitation in the bill. Motion agreed to 39-33: R 6-24; D 33-9 (ND 28-3; SD 5-6), Sept. 14, 1979.

281. S 14. Water Reclamation. Passage of the bill to amend the 1902 reclamation law by increasing the acreage limitation to 1,280 acres per family for land irrigated by federal projects, from 160 acres per adult owner, and to abolish the residency requirement of the existing law. Passed 47-23: R 23-6; D 24-17 (ND 15-16; SD 9-1), Sept. 14, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 282 - 289

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294

	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Stevens	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
Pryor	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	Y	N	-	+	N	Y	N
Weicker	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
Roth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
IDAHO								
Church	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
McClure	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Percy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
Culver	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	N	N	N	Y	Y	-	+	+
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Long	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Cohen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Mathias	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Tsongas	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Riegle	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Durenberger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Cochran	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Danforth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Melcher	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Williams	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Young	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Packwood	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Chafee	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Pressler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Baker	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TEXAS								
Bentsen	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Tower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Hatch	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Stafford	-	-	-	+	+	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

282. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Muskie, D-Maine, motion to table (kill) the McGovern, D-S.D., amendment to the Muskie amendment *(see vote 286, below)*, to delete the reconciliation instruction requiring the Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee to recommend a $100 million reduction in spending under its jurisdiction. Motion agreed to 69-18: R 32-3; D 37-15 (ND 26-11; SD 11-4), Sept. 17, 1979.

283. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Muskie, D-Maine, motion to table (kill) the Cranston, D-Calif., amendment to the Muskie amendment *(see vote 286, below)*, to increase spending for veterans programs by $300 million in budget authority and $400 million in outlays, and to delete the reconciliation instruction requiring the Veterans Affairs Committee to recommend a $100 million reduction in spending under its jurisdiction. Motion agreed to 49-39: R 25-11; D 24-28 (ND 16-21; SD 8-7), Sept. 17, 1979.

284. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Schweiker, R-Pa., amendment, to the Muskie amendment *(see vote 286, below)*, to set 1980 budget totals as follows: budget authority, $630 billion; outlays, $540.9 billion; revenues, $510.2 billion; deficit, $30.7 billion (the amendment also set new budget totals for fiscal 1981 and 1982). Rejected 28-60: R 22-14; D 6-46 (ND 2-35; SD 4-11), Sept. 17, 1979.

285. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Domenici, R-N.M., amendment, to the Muskie amendment *(see vote 286, below)*, to require that appropriations bills not yet passed be held in Congress until all were completed and some spending was rescinded so as to assure that supplemental appropriations approved in calendar 1980 did not breach the budget resolution's spending totals. Rejected 37-59: R 33-7; D 4-52 (ND 1-37; SD 3-15), Sept. 18, 1979.

286. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Muskie, D-Maine, amendment, as amended, to reduce the reconciliation instructions requiring the Finance Committee to recommend savings from $1.7 billion to $1.4 billion, and reducing the Veterans' Affairs Committee's required savings from $200 million to $100 million. Adopted 90-6: R 35-5; D 55-1 (ND 37-1; SD 18-0), Sept. 18, 1979.

287. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Exon, D-Neb., amendment, to part one of the Hollings, D-S.C., amendment *(see vote 288, below)*, to set 1980 defense totals at $139.8 billion in budget authority and $128.9 billion in outlays, an increase of $3 billion and $1.5 billion respectively over the levels recommended by the Senate Budget Committee. Rejected 12-85: R 2-36; D 10-49 (ND 8-32; SD 2-17), Sept. 18, 1979.

288. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Part one of the Hollings, D-S.C., amendment to increase 1980 defense spending to $141.2 billion in budget authority and $130.6 billion in outlays (an increase of $4.4 billion and $3.2 billion respectively over the Budget Committee recommendation). Adopted 78-19: R 34-4; D 44-15 (ND 26-14; SD 18-1), Sept. 18, 1979.

289. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Part two of the Hollings, D-S.C., amendment to increase the 1981 defense spending target to $159.8 billion in budget authority and $145.6 billion in outlays (an increase of $12.5 billion and $7.3 billion respectively over the Budget Committee recomendation) and to increase the 1982 defense spending target to $180.4 billion in budget authority and $163.3 billion in outlays ($21.4 billion and $15.4 billion over the Budget Committee recommendation). Adopted 55-42: R 31-7; D 24-35 (ND 9-31; SD 15-4), Sept. 18, 1979.

	290	291	292	293	294	295
ALABAMA						
Heflin	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stewart	N	N	N	N	N	Y
ALASKA						
Gravel	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Goldwater	N	N	N	N	?	?
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	N	N	N	N	N	N
Pryor	N	N	N	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO						
Hart	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Weicker	N	N	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE						
Biden	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
FLORIDA						
Chiles	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Stone	N	N	N	N	N	Y
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Talmadge	N	N	N	N	N	Y
HAWAII						
Inouye	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO						
Church	N	N	N	N	N	Y
McClure	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Percy	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
INDIANA						
Bayh	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

	290	291	292	293	294	295
IOWA						
Culver	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
KANSAS						
Dole	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
Ford	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	N	N	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Long	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE						
Muskie	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Mathias	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
Levin	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Riegle	N	N	N	N	Y	N
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MONTANA						
Baucus	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Melcher	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
Exon	N	N	N	N	N	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NEVADA						
Cannon	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

	290	291	292	293	294	295
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Javits	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Young	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
OHIO						
Glenn	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Bellmon	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON						
Hatfield	N	N	N	N	N	N
Packwood	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Chafee	N	N	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
Pressler	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Baker	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	290	291	292	293	294	295
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Tower	#	Y	N	Y	N	Y
UTAH						
Garn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hatch	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
VERMONT						
Leahy	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Stafford	X	-	-	-	+	+
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Randolph	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
WYOMING						
Simpson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Wallop	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

290. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Roth, R-Del., amendment to set 1980 budget totals as follows: budget authority, $614.5 billion; outlays, $527 billion; revenues, $500 billion; deficit, $27 billion; and providing for a $12.7 billion fiscal year tax cut (the amendment also set new budget totals for fiscal 1981 and 1982). Rejected 36-61: R 30-9; D 6-52 (ND 2-37; SD 4-15), Sept. 19, 1979.

291. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Armstrong, R-Colo., to set 1980 budget totals as follows: budget authority, $614.1 billion; outlays, $529.3 billion; revenues, $500.9 billion; deficit, $28 billion; and to provide for an $11.5 billion fiscal year tax cut (the amendment also set new budget totals for fiscal 1981 and 1982). Rejected 38-61: R 30-10; D 8-51 (ND 3-37; SD 5-14), Sept. 19, 1979.

292. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to increase revenues $1.6 billion in 1980, $3.6 billion for 1981 and 1982, representing taxes that would be raised by eliminating the law allowing U.S. corporations to defer taxes on income earned abroad and by imposing a 15 percent minimum tax on them. Rejected 9-90: R 0-40; D 9-50 (ND 9-31; SD 0-19), Sept. 19, 1979.

293. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Kassebaum, R-Kan., amendment to reduce revenues by $2 billion and outlays by $400 million, representing elimination of the Budget Committee's assumptions about a windfall profits tax on oil and spending for new energy initiatives. Rejected 35-64: R 27-13; D 8-51 (ND 3-37; SD 5-14), Sept. 19, 1979.

294. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Muskie, D-Maine, motion to table (kill) the Bumpers, D-Ark., amendment to reduce budget authority $3.5 billion and outlays $2.5 billion, representing a 2.[illegible] percent reduction in all budget areas except defense, health, income security and interest. Motion agreed to 57-41: R 16-23; D 41-18 (ND 35-5; SD 6-13), Sept. 19, 1979.

295. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Adoption of the amended resolution to set binding fiscal 1980 budget totals as follows: budget authority, $632.2 billion; outlays $543.1 billion; revenues, $514.7 billion; and deficit, $28.4 billion (the resolution also set budget targets for 1981 and 1982). Adopted 62-36: R 17-22; D 45-14 (ND 28-12; SD 17-2), Sept. 19, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 296 - 297

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 301, 302

	296	297
ALABAMA		
Heflin	N	N
Stewart	N	N
ALASKA		
Gravel	Y	Y
Stevens	N	N
ARIZONA		
DeConcini	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	N
ARKANSAS		
Bumpers	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA		
Cranston	?	?
Hayakawa	Y	Y
COLORADO		
Hart	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	N
CONNECTICUT		
Ribicoff	Y	Y
Weicker	?	?
DELAWARE		
Biden	?	?
Roth	N	N
FLORIDA		
Chiles	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y
GEORGIA		
Nunn	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y
HAWAII		
Inouye	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y
IDAHO		
Church	Y	Y
McClure	N	N
ILLINOIS		
Stevenson	Y	Y
Percy	N	Y
INDIANA		
Bayh	Y	Y
Lugar	N	N

	296	297
IOWA		
Culver	Y	Y
Jepsen	N	N
KANSAS		
Dole	N	N
Kassebaum	N	Y
KENTUCKY		
Ford	N	N
Huddleston	Y	Y
LOUISIANA		
Johnston	N	N
Long	Y	Y
MAINE		
Muskie	Y	Y
Cohen	N	N
MARYLAND		
Sarbanes	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y
MICHIGAN		
Levin	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y
MINNESOTA		
Boschwitz	N	N
Durenberger	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI		
Stennis	Y	Y
Cochran	N	Y
MISSOURI		
Eagleton	Y	Y
Danforth	N	Y
MONTANA		
Baucus	Y	Y
Melcher	N	N
NEBRASKA		
Exon	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y
NEVADA		
Cannon	N	N
Laxalt	N	N

	296	297
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Durkin	Y	Y
Humphrey	N	N
NEW JERSEY		
Bradley	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO		
Domenici	N	N
Schmitt	N	N
NEW YORK		
Moynihan	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA		
Morgan	Y	Y
Helms	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	N	N
Young	N	N
OHIO		
Glenn	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA		
Boren	N	N
Bellmon	Y	Y
OREGON		
Hatfield	Y	Y
Packwood	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA		
Heinz	N	Y
Schweiker	N	N
RHODE ISLAND		
Pell	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Hollings	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	Y	Y
Pressler	N	N
TENNESSEE		
Sasser	N	Y
Baker	N	Y

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	296	297
TEXAS		
Bentsen	?	?
Tower	N	N
UTAH		
Garn	N	N
Hatch	N	N
VERMONT		
Leahy	Y	Y
Stafford	?	?
VIRGINIA		
Byrd*	N	N
Warner	N	N
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	Y	Y
Randolph	N	N
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y
WYOMING		
Simpson	N	N
Wallop	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as independent.

296. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Levin, D-Mich., motion to table (kill) the Dole, R-Kan., motion to recommit the bill implementing the 1978 Panama Canal treaties to a House-Senate conference committee with instructions to include language that would stop all payments and property transfers to Panama under the treaties if the president determined that Soviet, Cuban or other foreign troops were located in Panama and were a threat to the national security of the United States or any Latin American ally of the United States. Motion agreed to 50-45: R 6-33; D 44-12 (ND 33-5; SD 11-7), Sept. 20, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

297. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to implement the Panama Canal treaties by establishing a Panama Canal Commission and providing for the operation and maintenance of the canal through 1999. Adopted 60-35: R 14-25; D 46-10 (ND 34-4; SD 12-6), Sept. 20, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 298 - 305

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310

	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
ALASKA								
Gravel	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
Goldwater	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Pryor	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	
Hayakawa	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Armstrong	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	
Weicker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
DELAWARE								
Biden	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
Roth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Stone	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Talmadge	N	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
McClure	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Percy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Lugar	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Jepsen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
KANSAS								
Dole	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	
Kassebaum	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
Huddleston	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	
Long	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
MAINE								
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	
Cohen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Mathias	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	
Riegle	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	
Cochran	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	
Danforth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
MONTANA								
Baucus	-	+	+	+	N	Y	Y	
Melcher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
Zorinsky	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Laxalt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
Humphrey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
Schmitt	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	
Javits	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	X	
Helms	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Young	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
OHIO								
Glenn	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
Packwood	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Chafee	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Thurmond	+	-	+	+	Y	N	Y	
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Pressler	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Tower	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-	+	
Hatch	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Stafford	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	
Warner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	-	#	
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Proxmire	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Wallop	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

298. S 109. Draft Registration. The Senate went into closed session Sept. 21, 1979, to consider classified material on the bill to reinstitute registration procedures for the military draft. A vote was taken in closed session. The Senate did not publish the results of the roll call.

299. Sam Brown Nomination. Humphrey, R-N.H., motion to recommit the nomination of Sam W. Brown Jr. (currently director of ACTION) with instructions to the Banking Committee that it consider an adverse report on Brown's administration of ACTION. Motion rejected 25-60: R 20-14; D 5-46 (ND 3-32; SD 2-14), Sept. 21, 1979.

300. Sam Brown Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Sam W. Brown Jr. to be a member of the board of directors of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank. Confirmed 61-23: R 14-20; D 47-3 (ND 34-1; SD 13-2), Sept. 21, 1979. A " yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

301. McHenry Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Donald F. McHenry of Illinois to be the U.S. representative at the United Nations. Confirmed 83-0: R 34-0; D 49-0 (ND 34-0; SD 15-0), Sept. 21, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

302. Goldschmidt Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Neil Goldschmidt of Oregon to be secretary of the Department of Transportation. Confirmed 83-0: R 34-0; D 49-0 (ND 34-0; SD 15-0), Sept. 21, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

303. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Schweiker, R-Pa., motion that the Senate recede to the House position on Medicaid-funded abortions, which allowed payment for abortions only if the life of the mother was endangered if the fetus were carried to term. Motion rejected 33-54: R 20-14; D 13-40 (ND 7-29; SD 6-11), Sept. 24, 1979.

304. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Magnuson, D-Wash., motion that the Senate insist on its position on Medicaid-funded abortions, which allowed payment for abortions to save the life of the mother, in cases of rape or incest, or when two doctors found that continued pregnancy would result in severe and long-lasting damage to the physical health of the mother. Motion agreed to 57-31: R 15-18; D 42-13 (ND 30-7; SD 12-6), Sept. 24, 1979.

305. S 210. Education Department. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to establish a separate cabinet-level Department of Education. Adopted 69-22: R 18-17; D 51-5 (ND 34-4; SD 17-1), Sept. 24, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 306 - 313

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318

	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	Y	X	?	?	?	?	?
Goldwater	N	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Weicker	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Roth	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO								
Church	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
McClure	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Lugar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
Culver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Huddleston	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Cohen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
Mathias	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	#	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Melcher	X	?	#	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	X	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Humphrey	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Schmitt	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	?	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Helms	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	Y	#	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
Schweiker	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Pressler	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	-
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Hatch	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Warner	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	X	Y	Y	N	N	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

306. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to implement the Panama Canal treaties, by establishing a Panama Canal Commission and providing for the operation and maintenance of the canal through 1999. Adopted 63-32: R 16-23; D 47-9 (ND 34-3; SD 13-6),, Sept. 25, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

307. Bailey Brown Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Bailey Brown of Tennessee to be a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit. Confirmed 83-12: R 32-7; D 51-5 (ND 33-5; SD 18-0), Sept. 25, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

308. Mikva Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Rep. Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., to be a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. Confirmed 58-31: R 17-22; D 41-9 (ND 28-3; SD 13-6), Sept. 25, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

309. H J Res 404. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to instruct the sergeant at arms to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 89-1: R 37-1; D 52-0 (ND 34-0; SD 18-0), Sept. 27, 1979.

310. H J Res 404. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Stevens, R-Alaska, motion to table (kill) the Helms, R-N.C., amendment to require that the federal budget be balanced before any pay increase would be allowed for federal workers, and to decrease pay for federal workers by the percentage that outlays exceeded revenues, beginning in fiscal 1981. Adopted 63-32: R 15-23; D 48-9 (ND 33-5; SD 15-4), Sept. 27, 1979.

311. H J Res 404. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Stevens, R-Alaska, motion to table (kill) the Morgan, D-N.C., amendment to eliminate a 5.5 percent pay increase for federal judges and other top-level federal workers. Adopted 67-30: R 28-11; D 39-19 (ND 29-10; SD 10-9), Sept. 27, 1979.

312. H J Res 404. Continuing Appropriations/Breeder Reactor, Fiscal 1980. Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Bumpers, D-Ark., amendment to delete authority and continuing funds available until Oct. 31, 1979, to continue work on the Clinch River breeder reactor project. Adopted 64-33: R 33-6; D 31-27 (ND 15-24; SD 16-3), Sept. 27, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

313. H J Res 404. Continuing Appropriations/Abortions, Fiscal 1980. Magnuson, D-Wash., motion to table (kill) the Jepsen, R-Iowa, amendment to delete language allowing government-funded abortions in cases in which the mother's life would be endangered, or in cases of rape or incest, or when two physicians certify that the continued pregnancy would cause severe and lasting physical damage to the mother. Adopted 55-36: R 15-22; D 40-14 (ND 29-7; SD 11-7), Sept. 27, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 314 - 321

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326

	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
Stevens	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
Goldwater	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
Armstrong	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	?
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
Roth	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	?
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Talmadge	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Church	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
McClure	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
Percy	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
Lugar	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	?	-	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Long	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Cohen	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
Cochran	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	?	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Danforth	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Laxalt	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	Y	+	?	N	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	?	+	N	Y	?	?	-	Y
Helms	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	-	Y
Young	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Bellmon	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
Chafee	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	N	-	+	-	-	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	?	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
Pressler	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Baker	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
Tower	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y
UTAH								
Garn	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Hatch	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
Stafford	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Warner	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	+	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	+	+	+	+	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
Proxmire	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	?	-	?	?	?	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	-	?	?	?	?	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

314. H J Res 404. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Ruling of the Senate on the germaneness of Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to direct the Transportation Department to retain five existing train routes that were eliminated by Amtrak authorizing legislation. Ruled not germane 44-44: R 18-18; D 26-26 (ND 18-16; SD 8-10), Sept. 27, 1979.

315. H J Res 404. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the joint resolution to continue funds until Oct. 31, 1979, for federal agencies that had not received their regular appropriations by Oct. 1, the beginning of fiscal 1980, and to freeze pay at fiscal 1978 levels for members of Congress. Passed 76-11: R 26-8; D 50-3 (ND 33-2; SD 17-1), Sept. 27, 1979.

316. S 1398. Industrial Energy Efficiency Act. Passage of the bill to require mandatory energy efficiency standards for industrial equipment if voluntary compliance failed. Passed 43-39: R 5-28; D 38-11 (ND 26-5; SD 12-6), Sept. 28, 1979.

317. HR 5369. Public Debt Limit. Passage of the bill to increase the public debt limit to $879 billion through May 31, 1980. Passed (thus clearing the bill for the president) 49-29: R 15-19; D 34-10 (ND 27-3; SD 7-7), Sept. 28, 1979.

318. HR 4394. HUD/Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Mathias, R-Md., motion to concur in the House amendment to the Senate amendment with a substitute to delete language requiring appropriations committee approval of certain National Aeronautics and Space Administration projects, and cut expenditures $13 million. Motion agreed to 49-20: R 29-1; D 20-19 (ND 12-15; SD 8-4), Sept. 28, 1979.

319. HR 4394. HUD/Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Weicker, R-Conn., motion that the Senate insist on its amendment to provide $3 million for the livable cities program. Motion agreed to 35-30: R 19-9; D 16-21 (ND 15-11; SD 1-10), Sept. 28, 1979.

320. H J Res 404. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the conference report on the joint resolution to continue funding until Nov. 20, 1979, for most federal agencies that had not received their regular fiscal 1980 appropriations by Oct. 1 — except Labor-HEW funds that were to continue until Oct. 31, to provide a 5.5 percent increase for members of Congress, and to permit federally funded abortions only when required to save the mother's life. Rejected 9-55: R 2-23; D 7-32 (ND 7-21; SD 0-11), Sept. 28, 1979.

321. H J Res 404. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to instruct the sergeant at arms to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 81-1: R 31-1; D 50-0 (ND 32-0; SD 18-0), Oct. 1, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 322 - 329

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334

	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Stevens	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Goldwater	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	?	?	N	Y	?	?	?	?
Roth	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Stone	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Talmadge	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
IDAHO								
Church	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?	?
McClure	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Percy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Lugar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
IOWA								
Culver	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Kassebaum	?	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Huddleston	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Riegle	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Durenberger	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Cochran	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Melcher	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Laxalt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Williams	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Schmitt	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	N
Javits	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Helms	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Young	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Packwood	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	-	?	?	Y	Y	N
Schweiker	N	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	+	+	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Chafee	?	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Thurmond	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Pressler	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Baker	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Tower	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Hatch	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	+	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Warner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Randolph	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

*Byrd elected as an independent.

322. H J Res 402. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Melcher, D-Mont., amendment to provide additional criteria to the Transportation Department to save several train routes that were eliminated by Amtrak authorizing legislation. Motion agreed to 51-35: R 23-13; D 28-22 (ND 16-16; SD 12-6), Oct. 1, 1979.

323. H J Res 402. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the joint resolution to continue funding until Oct. 31, 1979, for agencies that had not received their regular appropriations by Oct. 1, the beginning of fiscal 1980; to freeze pay at fiscal 1978 levels for members of Congress; and to permit federally funded abortions when required to save the life of the mother, in cases of rape or incest, or when two physicians certified that the continued pregnancy would cause severe or lasting damage to the mother. Passed 77-9: R 30-6; D 47-3 (ND 30-2; SD 17-1), Oct. 1, 1979.

324. S 1308. Energy Mobilization Board. Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Ribicoff, D-Conn.-Muskie, D-Maine, substitute amendment to limit powers of the proposed Energy Mobilization Board to speed construction of priority energy projects. Motion agreed to 58-39: R 19-20; D 39-19 (ND 20-19; SD 19-0), Oct. 3, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

325. S 1308. Energy Mobilization Board. Muskie, D-Maine, amendment to delete the proposed board's authority to make decisions in place of local, state and federal agencies that missed deadlines set by the board. Rejected 34-60: R 17-20; D 17-40 (ND 17-21; SD 0-19), Oct. 3, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

326. S 1308. Energy Mobilization Board. Huddleston, D-Ky., amendment to authorize the president, on the board's recommendation, to waive any substantive federal law that impeded construction of a priority energy project. Rejected 37-56: R 16-21; D 21-35 (ND 8-29; SD 13-6), Oct. 3, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

327. S 1308. Energy Mobilization Board. Glenn, D-Ohio, amendment to limit to 36 the number of projects given special status and to give the Energy Department authority to select energy projects for board consideration. Rejected 28-65: R 9-27; D 19-38 (ND 17-21; SD 2-17), Oct. 4, 1979.

328. S 1308. Energy Mobilization Board. Randolph, D-W.Va., amendment to spread authority among five full-time board members, instead of giving most powers to a full-time chairman who was aided by three part-time members. Rejected 43-50: R 16-21 D 27-29 (ND 21-16; SD 6-13), Oct. 4, 1979.

329. S 1308. Energy Mobilization Board. Hart, D-Colo., amendment to require that agency decisions be made within a year, instead of two years as in the bill, after applications for permits had been completed for a project that had received priority status from the proposed board. Rejected 31-62: R 12-25; D 19-37 (ND 18-19; SD 1-18), Oct. 4, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 330 - 337

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342

	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Stewart	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	?	+	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Goldwater	N	Y	?	?	N	N	N	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Pryor	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	?	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Roth	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Talmadge	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
McClure	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
Culver	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	?	?	N	N	N	N	N	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Kassebaum	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Long	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?
Cochran	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Danforth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Laxalt	?	?	N	N	N	N	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Schmitt	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Helms	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Young	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	Y	+	+	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	N	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Tower	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Hatch	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Warner	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Randolph	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
Wallop	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

330. S 1308. Energy Mobilization Board. Schmitt, R-N.M., amendment to delay board actions until the board had filed a report listing all federal laws and regulations that would delay a priority project. Rejected 39-54: R 24-12; D 15-42 (ND 13-25; SD 2-17), Oct. 4, 1979.

331. S 1308. Energy Mobilization Board. Passage of the bill to set up a special board to cut red tape for priority energy projects. Passed 68-25: R 21-15; D 47-10 (ND 28-10; SD 19-0), Oct. 4, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

332. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Apppropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the committee amendment to appropriate $825,777,153 for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), rather than the $163 million approved by the House. Adopted 53-41: R 18-22; D 35-19 (ND 28-8; SD 7-11), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

333. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the committee amendment to delete a House-passed prohibition on the International Development Association's use of U.S. contributions to aid Vietnam. Adopted 54-41: R 19-21; D 35-20 (ND 27-10; SD 8-10), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

334. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the committee amendment to appropriate $371,077,301 for the Asian Development Bank, rather than the $355.5 million approved by the House. Adopted 52-45: R 18-23; D 34-22 (ND 28-10; SD 6-12), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

335. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the committee amendment to delete a House-passed prohibition on the Asian Development Bank's use of U.S. contributions unless Taiwan remained a member of that bank. Adopted 58-39: R 16-24; D 42-15 (ND 34-5; SD 8-10), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

336. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the committee amendment to delete a House-passed prohibition on direct (bilateral) U.S. assistance to Mozambique, unless the president determined that such aid would be in the national interest. Rejected 39-58: R 12-28; D 27-30 (ND 23-15; SD 4-15), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

337. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the committee amendment to delete a House-passed prohibition on direct (bilateral) and indirect (multilateral) U.S. aid to Angola, the Central African Republic, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Adopted 49-46: R 19-21; D 30-25 (ND 25-12; SD 5-13), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 338 - 341

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 343, 344, 345, 346

	338	339	340	341
ALABAMA				
Heflin	N	N	N	Y
Stewart	N	Y	N	Y
ALASKA				
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	N	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA				
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS				
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	N	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston	N	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO				
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE				
Biden	?	?	?	Y
Roth	N	N	?	Y
FLORIDA				
Chiles	N	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	N	N	N
GEORGIA				
Nunn	N	Y	N	Y
Talmadge	N	N	N	Y
HAWAII				
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	?
Matsunaga	?	?	?	N
IDAHO				
Church	?	?	?	N
McClure	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS				
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA				
Bayh	N	Y	N	Y
Lugar	Y	N	Y	N
IOWA				
Culver	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	N	N	N	N
KANSAS				
Dole	N	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY				
Ford	N	N	N	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA				
Johnston	N	Y	N	Y
Long	N	Y	N	Y
MAINE				
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	N	N	N	Y
MARYLAND				
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN				
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA				
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	N
Durenberger	N	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI				
Stennis	N	Y	N	Y
Cochran	N	?	?	N
MISSOURI				
Eagleton	N	Y	Y	?
Danforth	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA				
Baucus	N	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	N	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA				
Exon	N	N	N	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	N	N
NEVADA				
Cannon	N	N	N	Y
Laxalt	?	?	?	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Durkin	N	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY				
Bradley	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO				
Domenici	N	N	N	Y
Schmitt	N	N	N	Y
NEW YORK				
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
Morgan	N	Y	N	?
Helms	N	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA				
Burdick	N	N	N	Y
Young	N	N	N	Y
OHIO				
Glenn	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
Boren	N	N	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON				
Hatfield	N	N	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA				
Heinz	N	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollings	N	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	N	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	?
Pressler	N	N	N	N
TENNESSEE				
Sasser	N	Y	Y	Y
Baker	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS				
Bentsen	N	N	Y	Y
Tower	N	Y	N	Y
UTAH				
Garn	N	N	N	Y
Hatch	N	N	N	N
VERMONT				
Leahy	N	Y	N	Y
Stafford	N	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA				
Byrd*	N	N	N	Y
Warner	N	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON				
Jackson	N	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA				
Byrd	N	Y	N	Y
Randolph	N	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN				
Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	N	N	N
WYOMING				
Simpson	N	N	N	Y
Wallop	N	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

338. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the committee amendment to delete a House-passed prohibition on direct and indirect U.S. aid to Cuba. Rejected 20-76: R 11-29; D 9-47 (ND 9-28; SD 0-19), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

339. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the committee amendment to delete a House-passed prohibition on U.S. aid to Panama, except for food and medical programs. Adopted 56-39: R 15-24; D 41-15 (ND 30-7; SD 11-8), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

340. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Tsongas, D-Mass., amendment to delete a prohibition on indirect U.S. aid to Cuba from language in the bill prohibiting all aid to Cuba. Adopted 50-44: R 18-20; D 32-24 (ND 25-12; SD 7-12), Oct. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

341. H J Res 412. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the joint resolution to continue funding until Nov. 20, 1979, for agencies that had not received their regular appropriations by Oct. 1, the beginning of fiscal 1980; to prohibit a pay raise for members of Congress but allow a 5.5 percent increase for top-level executive branch employees; and to permit federally funded abortions when required to save the life of the mother, in cases of rape or incest, or when two physicians certified that the continued pregnancy would cause severe or long-lasting damage to the mother. Passed 81-15: R 31-10; D 50-5 (ND 33-4; SD 17-1), Oct. 10, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 342 - 345

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 347, 348, 349, 350

	342	343	344	345
ALABAMA				
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA				
Gravel	Y	N	Y	N
Stevens	N	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA				
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	?
Goldwater	Y	Y	Y	?
ARKANSAS				
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston	Y	N	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO				
Hart	Y	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff	N	N	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE				
Biden	Y	N	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA				
Chiles	Y	N	N	Y
Stone	Y	N	N	Y
GEORGIA				
Nunn	P	Y	Y	?
Talmadge	P	Y	Y	?
HAWAII				
Inouye	N	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO				
Church	Y	N	N	Y
McClure	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS				
Stevenson	Y	N	N	N
Percy	Y	N	N	Y
INDIANA				
Bayh	Y	N	N	+
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA				
Culver	Y	N	N	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS				
Dole	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY				
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	P	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA				
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE				
Muskie	Y	N	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND				
Sarbanes	Y	N	N	Y
Mathias	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy	Y	N	N	Y
Tsongas	Y	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN				
Levin	Y	N	N	Y
Riegle	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA				
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI				
Stennis	N	Y	Y	?
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI				
Eagleton	Y	Y	N	Y
Danforth	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA				
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y
Melcher	N	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA				
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA				
Cannon	Y	?	?	?
Laxalt	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Durkin	Y	N	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY				
Bradley	Y	N	N	Y
Williams	N	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO				
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK				
Moynihan	Y	N	N	Y
Javits	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
Morgan	Y	N	Y	?
Helms	Y	Y	Y	?
NORTH DAKOTA				
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	N
Young	N	Y	Y	?
OHIO				
Glenn	Y	N	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
Boren	Y	Y	Y	?
Bellmon	Y	N	Y	N
OREGON				
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	N
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA				
Heinz	Y	?	?	+
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
Pell	Y	N	N	+
Chafee	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollings	N	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern	P	N	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE				
Sasser	N	N	Y	Y
Baker	Y	N	Y	?
TEXAS				
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	?
Tower	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH				
Garn	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hatch	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT				
Leahy	Y	N	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA				
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON				
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA				
Byrd	Y	N	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN				
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING				
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

342. S Res 249. Sen. Herman E. Talmadge Investigation. Adoption of the resolution to "denounce" Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., for "reprehensible" conduct and "gross neglect of his duty" to supervise his office and employees as a result of the submission of vouchers for reimbursement of $43,435.83 in official Senate expenses that were not incurred, failure to sign and properly supervise the preparation of those vouchers, filing of inaccurate financial disclosure reports, filing inaccurate or not filing timely campaign expenditure reports and expenditure of campaign funds deposited in a secret Washington, D.C., bank account for non-campaign uses. Adopted 81-15: R 34-7; D 47-8 (ND 35-4; SD 12-4), Oct. 11, 1979.

343. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. H. Byrd, Ind-Va., amendment to reduce the amount of the bill by 5 percent, from $8.365 billion to $7.945 billion. Rejected 48-50: R 26-14; D 22-36 (ND 9-30; SD 13-6), Oct. 11, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Senate subsequently adopted, by voice vote, a Byrd amendment to reduce the amount of the bill by 3 percent.)

344. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. DeConcini, D-Ariz., amendment to prohibit the Agency for International Development or any other agency from using any funds in the bill to plan for the establishment of the Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. Adopted 76-22: R 36-4; D 40-18 (ND 23-16; SD 17-2), Oct. 11, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

345. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Inouye, D-Hawaii, motion to table (kill) the Hatfield, R-Ore., amendment to reduce the grant to Israel for arms purchases to $400 million from $500 million. Motion agreed to 78-7: R 33-3; D 45-4 (ND 32-4; SD 13-0), Oct. 11, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 346 - 353

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358

	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Stevens	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	Y
Goldwater	Y	N	-	-	?	?	?	?
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	P	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
Weicker	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Roth	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Matsunaga	N	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Church	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
Percy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	N	?	?	?	+	?
Jepsen	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
Kassebaum	?	?	-	-	-	-	?	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Long	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?
MAINE								
Muskie	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Mathias	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
Tsongas	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Riegle	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	?	?	?	?	?	-	?	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	?	X	?	-	?	+	+	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
Javits	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	-	-	?	?	+	Y
Helms	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Packwood	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
Thurmond	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	+
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	?	?	?	?	?	?	+	Y
Baker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Hatch	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
Stafford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Wallop	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

346. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to prohibit U.S. voluntary contributions to the United Nations from being used for the Institute for Namibia. Rejected 42-50: R 30-8; D 12-42 (ND 4-33; SD 8-9), Oct. 12, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

347. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $8.1 billion for foreign economic and military assistance for fiscal 1980. Passed 53-38: R 17-22; D 36-16 (ND 26-9; SD 10-7), Oct. 12, 1979. The president had requested $9,342,089,386 in new budget authority.

348. H J Res 412. Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the conference report on H J Res 412 to provide continuing funds through Nov. 20, 1979, for federal agencies whose regular annual appropriations had not cleared Congress by Oct. 1 — the beginning of fiscal 1980, to provide a 5.5 percent pay raise for Congress, federal judges and top-level executive branch employees and to restrict the use of federal funds to pay for abortions. Rejected 26-62: R 11-27; D 15-35 (ND 12-23; SD 3-12), Oct. 12, 1979.

349. H J Res 412. Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the conference report, following adoption of a motion to reconsider vote 348 *(see above)*, on H J Res 412 to provide continuing funds through Nov. 20, 1979, for federal agencies whose regular annual appropriations had not cleared Congress by Oct. 1 — the beginning of fiscal 1980, to provide a 5.5 percent pay raise for Congress, federal judges and top-level executive branch employees and to restrict the use of federal funds to pay for abortions. Adopted 44-42: R 20-18; D 24-24 (ND 19-15; SD 5-9), Oct. 12, 1979.

350. H J Res 412. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Byrd, D-W. Va., motion to table (kill) the Weicker, R-Conn., amendment to prevent any fiscal 1980 pay raise for members of Congress. (The Weicker amendment was an attempt to revise one provision of H J Res 412 that had to be voted on separately after the conference report itself was adopted.) Motion agreed to 43-42: R 20-17; D 23-25 (ND 20-14; SD 3-11), Oct. 12, 1979.

351. H J Res 412. Abortion/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Magnuson, D-Wash., motion to concur in House language on abortion to permit departments and agencies funded under the defense, District of Columbia, foreign aid and Labor-HEW appropriation bills to use continuing appropriations for federally funded abortions only when required to save the mother's life or in cases of promptly reported rape or incest. Motion agreed to 43-41: R 14-23; D 29-18 (ND 18-15; SD 11-3), Oct. 12, 1979.

352. S J Res 113. Congressional Pay Raise. Passage of the joint resolution to deny members of Congress any pay increase during fiscal 1980. Passed 72-12: R 30-7; D 42-5 (ND 28-5; SD 14-0), Oct. 12, 1979.

353. HR 4930. Interior, Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion that the Senate adjourn for 30 minutes. Motion agreed to 52-22: R 8-22; D 44-0 (ND 29-0; SD 15-0), Oct. 15, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 354 - 359

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364

	354	355	356	357	358	359
ALABAMA						
Heflin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA						
Gravel	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Stevens	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Goldwater	?	?	N	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Pryor	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
COLORADO						
Hart	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Armstrong	N	N	N	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Weicker	N	N	N	Y	N	+
DELAWARE						
Biden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roth	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA						
Chiles	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Stone	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?
Talmadge	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII						
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?	?
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO						
Church	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClure	N	N	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	Y	N	?	?	?	Y
Percy	N	N	N	N	N	Y
INDIANA						
Bayh	?	?	?	?	?	?
Lugar	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
IOWA						
Culver	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Jepsen	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
KANSAS						
Dole	?	?	N	Y	N	Y
Kassebaum	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY						
Ford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Long	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE						
Muskie	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Cohen	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Mathias	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
Levin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Riegle	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Durenberger	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Cochran	N	N	N	Y	N	N
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA						
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Melcher	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEBRASKA						
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA						
Cannon	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	N	N	Y	N	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Humphrey	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Schmitt	N	N	N	N	N	Y
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Helms	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
OHIO						
Glenn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Bellmon	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
OREGON						
Hatfield	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Packwood	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	+	-	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Pressler	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Tower	N	N	N	Y	N	N
UTAH						
Garn	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Hatch	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
VERMONT						
Leahy	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Stafford	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	N	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING						
Simpson	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Wallop	N	N	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

354. HR 4930. Interior, Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Ruling of the Senate on whether the Byrd, D-W.Va., amendment *(see vote 358, below)* to establish an Energy Security Reserve to stimulate commercial production of alternative fuels was germane. Ruled germane 56-34: R 7-29; D 49-5 (ND 32-4; SD 17-1), Oct. 15, 1979.

355. HR 4930. Interior, Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Javits, R-N.Y., amendment, to the Byrd, D-W Va., amendment *(see vote 358, below)*, to allocate $1.35 billion in emergency fuel assistance funds for low-income families. Rejected 43-47: R 19-17; D 24-30 (ND 22-14; SD 2-16), Oct. 15, 1979.

356. HR 4930. Interior, Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Ruling of the Senate on whether a Magnuson, D-Wash., amendment to require the Department of Energy to share information with the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission was germane. Ruled not germane 35-62: R 1-40; D 34-22 (ND 28-9; SD 6-13), Oct. 16, 1979.

357. HR 4930. Interior, Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Roth, R-Del., amendment to provide for a 5 percent cut in regulatory and administrative costs of the Department of Energy. Rejected 48-49: R 31-10; D 17-39 (ND 10-27; SD 7-12). Oct. 16, 1979.

358. HR 4930. Interior, Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Byrd, D-W. Va., amendment to appropriate $20 billion, $1.5 billion to be transferred from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, to establish a Energy Security Reserve in the Treasury for development of synthetic fuels. Adopted 59-38: R 11-30; D 48-8 (ND 31-6; SD 17-2), Oct. 16, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

359. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to provide for creation of a standby gasoline rationing plan and to give the president authority to require energy conservation in emergencies. Adopted 77-18: R 28-11; D 49-7 (ND 32-6; SD 17-1), Oct. 17, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 360 - 362

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 365, 366, 367

	360	361	362
ALABAMA			
Heflin	N	N	Y
Stewart	N	N	Y
ALASKA			
Gravel	N	Y	Y
Stevens	N	N	Y
ARIZONA			
DeConcini	N	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS			
Bumpers	N	N	Y
Pryor	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA			
Cranston	N	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	Y
COLORADO			
Hart	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT			
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y
Weicker	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE			
Biden	N	N	Y
Roth	N	N	N
FLORIDA			
Chiles	N	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA			
Nunn	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	N	Y	Y
HAWAII			
Inouye	?	?	?
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y
IDAHO			
Church	N	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS			
Stevenson	N	Y	Y
Percy	N	?	?
INDIANA			
Bayh	-	?	?
Lugar	N	Y	N
IOWA			
Culver	N	N	Y
Jepsen	N	N	Y
KANSAS			
Dole	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY			
Ford	N	N	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA			
Johnston	N	Y	Y
Long	Y	Y	Y
MAINE			
Muskie	N	Y	Y
Cohen	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND			
Sarbanes	N	N	Y
Mathias	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS			
Kennedy	N	?	Y
Tsongas	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN			
Levin	N	Y	Y
Riegle	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA			
Boschwitz	N	N	Y
Durenberger	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI			
Stennis	N	N	Y
Cochran	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI			
Eagleton	N	Y	Y
Danforth	N	N	Y
MONTANA			
Baucus	N	N	Y
Melcher	N	?	Y
NEBRASKA			
Exon	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	Y
NEVADA			
Cannon	N	N	Y
Laxalt	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Durkin	N	N	Y
Humphrey	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY			
Bradley	N	N	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO			
Domenici	N	N	Y
Schmitt	N	N	Y
NEW YORK			
Moynihan	N	Y	Y
Javits	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA			
Morgan	Y	N	Y
Helms	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA			
Burdick	N	Y	Y
Young	N	N	Y
OHIO			
Glenn	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA			
Boren	N	N	Y
Bellmon	N	Y	Y
OREGON			
Hatfield	N	Y	Y
Packwood	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA			
Heinz	N	N	Y
Schweiker	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND			
Pell	N	N	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Hollings	N	N	Y
Thurmond	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA			
McGovern	N	N	Y
Pressler	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE			
Sasser	N	N	Y
Baker	N	N	Y
TEXAS			
Bentsen	N	Y	Y
Tower	Y	N	Y
UTAH			
Garn	N	N	N
Hatch	N	N	N
VERMONT			
Leahy	N	N	Y
Stafford	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA			
Byrd*	Y	Y	N
Warner	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON			
Jackson	N	N	Y
Magnuson	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA			
Byrd	N	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN			
Nelson	N	N	Y
Proxmire	N	Y	N
WYOMING			
Simpson	?	?	+
Wallop	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

360. HR 4930. Interior, Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Javits, R-N.Y., motion to reconsider the vote by which the Javits amendment (adopted Oct. 16 by voice vote) to transfer $1.2 billion from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve account to be used for emergency fuel assistance for low-income families was adopted. Motion rejected 11-85: R 7-32; D 4-53 (ND 1-37; SD 3-16), Oct. 18, 1979.

361. HR 4930. Interior, Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Huddleston, D-Ky., motion to table (kill) the Pressler, R-S.D., amendment to increase funding by $15.5 million for the Rural Fire Protection and Control fund. Rejected 38-55: R 8-30; D 30-25 (ND 21-15; SD 9-10), Oct. 18, 1979. The Pressler amendment was adopted subsequently by voice vote.

362. HR 4930. Interior, Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $29,571,147,000 for the Departments of Interior and Energy and related agencies in fiscal 1980. Passed 86-9: R 31-7; D 55-2 (ND 37-1; SD 18-1), Oct. 18, 1979. The president had requested $29,882,038,000 in new budget authority.

CQ Senate Votes 363 - 368

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373

	363	364	365	366	367	368
ALABAMA						
Heflin	?	?	N	N	Y	N
Stewart	?	?	N	N	N	N
ALASKA						
Gravel	Y	Y	-	?	?	?
Stevens	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Goldwater	N	N	N	Y	?	?
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Pryor	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Hayakawa	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO						
Hart	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Armstrong	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Weicker	N	N	Y	N	?	?
DELAWARE						
Biden	?	?	?	N	N	N
Roth	N	N	N	N	Y	N
FLORIDA						
Chiles	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Stone	Y	N	N	N	N	N
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
HAWAII						
Inouye	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
Matsunaga	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
IDAHO						
Church	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
McClure	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	?	?	N	N	N	N
Percy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
INDIANA						
Bayh	?	?	N	N	N	N
Lugar	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y

	363	364	365	366	367	368
IOWA						
Culver	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Jepsen	N	N	N	N	?	?
KANSAS						
Dole	?	+	N	N	N	N
Kassebaum	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
Ford	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Huddleston	Y	Y	?	?	?	N
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	Y	N	N	?	N	N
Long	Y	N	?	N	N	N
MAINE						
Muskie	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Cohen	N	Y	N	N	N	N
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Mathias	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	Y	?	Y	N	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN						
Levin	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Riegle	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Durenberger	N	Y	N	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
Cochran	N	N	N	Y	?	?
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Danforth	?	?	?	?	?	?
MONTANA						
Baucus	?	?	-	?	?	?
Melcher	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NEBRASKA						
Exon	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA						
Cannon	Y	Y	-	N	N	N
Laxalt	N	N	N	N	Y	Y

	363	364	365	366	367	368
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Humphrey	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	Y	Y	N	?	-	-
Williams	?	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Schmitt	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	?	?	N	N	N	N
Javits	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
Helms	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Young	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
OHIO						
Glenn	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Bellmon	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OREGON						
Hatfield	+	+	N	-	-	-
Packwood	N	N	N	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Schweiker	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Chafee	?	?	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Thurmond	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Pressler	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	?	?	?	?	?	?
Baker	?	?	N	Y	N	Y

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	363	364	365	366	367	368
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Tower	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH						
Garn	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Hatch	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT						
Leahy	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Stafford	N	Y	N	N	N	N
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Magnuson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Randolph	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING						
Simpson	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Wallop	N	Y	N	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

363. Krueger Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Robert Krueger of Texas to be ambassador at large and coordinator for Mexican Affairs. Confirmed 48-35: R 3-31; D 45-4 (ND 31-3; SD 14-1), Oct. 22, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

364. HR 4580. District of Columbia Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate $374,200,000 in federal funds and establish a fiscal 1980 budget for the District of Columbia of $1,541,634,200. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 64-19: R 20-14; D 44-5 (ND 32-2; SD 12-3), Oct. 22, 1979. The president had requested $487,391,700 in federal funds and a budget of $1,657,046,000.

365. HR 4249. Surface Transportation Assistance Amendments. Weicker, R-Conn., amendment to abolish the Highway Trust Fund. Rejected 9-82: R 4-36; D 5-46 (ND 5-31; SD 0-15), Oct. 24, 1979.

366. HR 3434. Child Welfare and Social Services. McClure, R-Idaho, amendment to delete provisions authorizing federal payments to parents adopting children, taken from their low-income families by court order, who had special problems that made unassisted adoption unlikely. Rejected 13-77: R 12-26; D 1-51 (ND 0-36; SD 1-15), Oct. 25, 1979.

367. HR 3434. Child Welfare and Social Services. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to limit federal matching payments for state social service programs to $2.9 billion a year in fiscal 1982-85. Rejected 37-50: R 23-12; D 14-38 (ND 6-29; SD 8-9), Oct. 25, 1979.

368. HR 3434. Child Welfare and Social Services. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to consolidate the programs of federal payments for state social service programs, and federal payments for state social service training, into one program; and to consolidate federal programs for child welfare services, foster care and adoption assistance into one program. Rejected 26-61: R 22-13; D 4-48 (ND 2-33; SD 2-15), Oct. 25, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 369 - 376

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381

	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376
ALABAMA								
Heflin	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Stewart	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stevens	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Pryor	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
Hayakawa	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
Roth	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Stone	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
Talmadge	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
Matsunaga	N	N	Y	?	?	?	+	+
IDAHO								
Church	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
McClure	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Percy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
IOWA								
Culver	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Mathias	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Tsongas	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Riegle	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Cochran	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Danforth	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Melcher	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
Laxalt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
Humphrey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Javits	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Helms	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	+	-	+	-	+	+	?	+
Packwood	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Chafee	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Pressler	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Baker	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
Hatch	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Randolph	Y	N	+	N	N	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?	?
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

369. HR 3434. Child Welfare and Social Services. Levin, D-Mich., amendment to delete the provision in the bill limiting adoption assistance to parents with incomes at or below 125 percent of the median income in their state. Adopted 60-25: R 25-8; D 35-17 (ND 29-8; SD 6-9), Oct. 29, 1979.

370. HR 3434. Child Welfare and Social Services. Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to reduce foster care funds to states whose average monthly spending for each foster care child exceeded the national average by more than 50 percent, or whose percentage of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) children in foster care exceeded the national average by more than 50 percent. Rejected 31-57: R 20-14; D 11-43 (ND 7-30; SD 4-13), Oct. 29, 1979.

371. HR 4986. Banking Regulation/NOW Accounts. Cochran, R-Miss., amendment to provide for a temporary exemption from state usury limitations for certain business and agricultural loans, in addition to residential mortgage loans. Adopted 73-13: R 30-4; D 43-9 (ND 30-5; SD 13-4), Oct. 29, 1979.

372. S 1871. Oil Company Antitrust Exemption. Johnston, D-La., motion to concur in a House amendment with a Senate amendment to extend until June 30, 1980, the exemption from antitrust laws for oil companies participating in the International Energy Agency, and to provide that a resolution by both houses could block a presidential plan to impose oil import quotas. Motion agreed to 70-23: R 33-6; D 37-17 (ND 28-7; SD 9-10), Oct. 30, 1979.

373. S 1873. Judicial Conduct and Disability Act. Nunn, D-Ga., substitute amendment to provide a procedure for both disciplining and removing from office federal judges. Rejected 30-60: R 12-26; D 18-34 (ND 6-27; SD 12-7), Oct. 30, 1979.

374. S 1873. Judicial Conduct and Disability Act. Passage of the bill to provide a procedure for disciplining federal judges short of removal from office. Passed 56-33: R 22-15; D 34-18 (ND 19-14; SD 15-4), Oct. 30, 1979.

375. HR 4986. Banking Regulation/NOW Accounts. Proxmire, D-Wis., motion to table (kill) the Morgan, D-N.C., substitute, to the bill reported by the Senate Banking Committee, to authorize depository institutions to offer share drafts, automatic transfer service and remote service units; increase maximum federal deposit insurance; simplify truth-in-lending laws; and temporarily override certain state usury laws (the substitute omitted Banking Committee provisions to authorize nationwide NOW accounts, phase out interest rate ceilings on time and savings deposits and decrease the minimum denomination of certificates of deposit whose interest rate is tied to that on U.S. Treasury notes). Motion agreed to 57-38: R 30-9; D 27-29 (ND 23-14; SD 4-15), Oct. 31, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

376. HR 4986. Banking Regulation/NOW Accounts. Stewart, D-Ala., substitute, to the Stevenson, D-Ill., amendment, to prohibit state-chartered, as well as nationally chartered, trust companies from operating across state lines. Adopted 61-32: R 19-20; D 42-12 (ND 24-12; SD 18-0), Oct. 31, 1979. (The Stewart substitute superseded the Stevenson amendment, which would have deleted from the bill the entire section dealing with interstate trust operations.)

CQ Senate Votes 377 - 380

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 382, 383, 384, 385

	377	378	379	380
ALABAMA				
Heflin	N	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA				
Gravel	Y	?	?	?
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA				
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	Y	?	?
ARKANSAS				
Bumpers	Y	N	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston	Y	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	?	?	?	?
COLORADO				
Hart	N	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff	Y	N	N	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE				
Biden	N	N	Y	Y
Roth	N	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA				
Chiles	N	Y	Y	?
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA				
Nunn	N	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	Y	Y	?	?
HAWAII				
Inouye	Y	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO				
Church	Y	N	Y	Y
McClure	Y	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS				
Stevenson	Y	N	N	Y
Percy	N	N	Y	Y
INDIANA				
Bayh	Y	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA				
Culver	Y	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS				
Dole	Y	N	Y	Y
Kassebaum	N	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY				
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA				
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	N	?	+
MAINE				
Muskie	N	N	N	Y
Cohen	N	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND				
Sarbanes	Y	N	N	Y
Mathias	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy	Y	?	?	Y
Tsongas	Y	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN				
Levin	Y	N	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA				
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI				
Stennis	N	Y	?	N
Cochran	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI				
Eagleton	Y	N	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA				
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA				
Exon	N	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA				
Cannon	+	?	?	?
Laxalt	N	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Durkin	Y	N	Y	Y
Humphrey	N	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY				
Bradley	Y	N	N	Y
Williams	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO				
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK				
Moynihan	Y	N	N	Y
Javits	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	N
Helms	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA				
Burdick	Y	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO				
Glenn	Y	?	?	?
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
Boren	Y	N	Y	Y
Bellmon	N	?	?	?
OREGON				
Hatfield	+	+	+	+
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA				
Heinz	Y	?	?	?
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
Pell	Y	N	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollings	Y	Y	Y	N
Thurmond	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern	Y	N	Y	Y
Pressler	N	?	?	?
TENNESSEE				
Sasser	Y	N	Y	Y
Baker	Y	?	?	?
TEXAS				
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	Y
Tower	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH				
Garn	N	N	Y	Y
Hatch	N	N	Y	Y
VERMONT				
Leahy	Y	-	+	+
Stafford	Y	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA				
Byrd*	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON				
Jackson	Y	N	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA				
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN				
Nelson	Y	N	N	Y
Proxmire	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING				
Simpson	N	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

377. HR 4440. Department of Transportation Appropriations, Fiscl 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $9,663,446,939 for fiscal 1980 operations of the Transportation Department and related agencies. Passed 71-26: R 23-16; D 48-10 (ND 34-5; SD 14-5), Nov. 1, 1979. The president had requested $9,985,582,782.

378. HR 4986. Banking Regulation/NOW Accounts. Morgan, D-N.C., amendment to permit states to determine whether to allow interest-bearing NOW checking accounts. Rejected 37-51: R 16-19; D 21-32 (ND 7-27; SD 14-5), Nov. 1, 1979.

379. HR 4986. Banking Regulation/NOW Accounts. Morgan, D-N.C., amendment to delete a provision allowing the Federal Reserve to require reserves from non-member banks. Adopted 66-18: R 31-3; D 35-15 (ND 20-14; SD 15-1), Nov. 1, 1979.

380. HR 4986. Banking Regulation/NOW Accounts. Passage of the bill to authorize banks, credit unions and savings and loan associations to offer interest-bearing checking accounts, phase out interest rate ceilings on savings accounts, override state usury limits and reduce the minimum denomination for "money market" certificates. Passed 76-9: R 30-4; D 46-5 (ND 35-0; SD 11-5), Nov. 1, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 381 - 387

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392

	381	382	383	384	385	386	387
ALABAMA							
Heflin	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Stewart	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
ALASKA							
Gravel	?	?	?	?	#	?	?
Stevens	Y	N	N	N	X	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	N
Pryor	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Hayakawa	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Armstrong	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	+	N	Y	N	Y	-	?
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE							
Biden	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	Y
Roth	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
FLORIDA							
Chiles	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
Stone	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
Nunn	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	?	N	N	N	N	?	?
HAWAII							
Inouye	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO							
Church	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	?	Y	+	?	N	Y	?
Percy	Y	N	?	?	Y	N	Y
INDIANA							
Bayh	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
Lugar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA							
Culver	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
KANSAS							
Dole	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY							
Ford	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Long	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MAINE							
Muskie	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Cohen	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
Mathias	?	N	Y	?	N	?	?
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	Y	?	?	?	?	?	+
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN							
Levin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Melcher	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA							
Cannon	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	N	?	?	X	#	N
Humphrey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Williams	Y	N	Y	N	#	N	Y
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Javits	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	N
Bellmon	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Packwood	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Chafee	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Pressler	?	N	N	?	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Tower	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
UTAH							
Garn	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Hatch	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT							
Leahy	+	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Stafford	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Warner	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	Y	N	N	N	N	X	Y
Randolph	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING							
Simpson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Wallop	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

*Byrd elected as an independent.

381. HR 4955. Cambodian Refugee Assistance. Danforth, R-Mo., amendment to authorize $30 million toward international relief efforts in Cambodia and for Cambodian refugees in fiscal 1980. Adopted 76-0: R 32-0; D 44-0 (ND 30-0; SD 14-0), Nov. 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

382. HR 5359. Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to delete $2.1 billion for a fourth *Nimitz*-class nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. Rejected 20-72: R 4-34; D 16-38 (ND 16-20; SD 0-18), Nov. 6, 1979.

383. HR 5359. Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Moynihan, D-N.Y., amendment to allow the Defense Department to allocate certain contracts to firms in areas of high unemployment. Rejected 29-59: R 7-30; D 22-29 (ND 21-12; SD 1-17), Nov. 6, 1979.

384. HR 5359. Defense Department Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to prohibit the use of appropriated funds for abortions except where the life of the mother would otherwise be endangered. Rejected 38-47: R 22-13; D 16-34 (ND 9-25; SD 7-9), Nov. 6, 1979.

385. S 932. Defense Production Act/Synthetic Fuels. Proxmire, D-Wis., amendment to substitute the Banking Committee version of title I to provide $3 billion for synthetic fuels production, but which did not establish a special corporation to administer the funds and barred government-owned plants for the Energy Committee version of title I of the bill. Rejected 37-57: R 24-15; D 13-42 (ND 11-25; SD 2-17), Nov. 7, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

386. S 932. Defense Production Act/Synthetic Fuels. Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Tsongas, D-Mass., amendment to provide $14 billion for synthetic fuels production, but no special corporation to administer the funds and no government-owned plants. Motion agreed to 55-37: R 17-22; D 38-15 (ND 22-13; SD 16-2), Nov. 7, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

387. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Muskie, D-Maine, motion to approve binding fiscal 1980 budget levels recommended by Senate-House conferees, as well as Senate reconciliation instructions — rejected by House conferees — that directed various committees to achieve $3.6 billion in spending cuts (the conference version of the resolution set the following budget levels: budget authority, $638 billion; outlays, $547.6 billion; revenues, $517.8 billion; and deficit, $29.8 billion). Motion agreed to 65-27: R 26-13; D 39-14 (ND 26-9; SD 13-5), Nov. 7, 1979.

	388	389	390	391
ALABAMA				
Heflin	Y	N	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA				
Gravel	N	N	Y	?
Stevens	N	N	N	X
ARIZONA				
DeConcini	Y	?	?	+
Goldwater	N	?	?	?
ARKANSAS				
Bumpers	Y	N	?	?
Pryor	Y	N	Y	?
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston	N	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	N	N	N	Y
COLORADO				
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff	-	-	-	+
Weicker	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE				
Biden	?	?	?	?
Roth	N	N	N	Y
FLORIDA				
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA				
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII				
Inouye	Y	N	N	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO				
Church	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClure	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS				
Stevenson	Y	Y	N	?
Percy	N	?	N	Y
INDIANA				
Bayh	Y	N	?	+
Lugar	N	N	Y	N
IOWA				
Culver	Y	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	N	N	N	N
KANSAS				
Dole	N	N	N	N
Kassebaum	N	N	?	N
KENTUCKY				
Ford	Y	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	Y	?	Y
LOUISIANA				
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE				
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	N	N	?	?
MARYLAND				
Sarbanes	Y	N	N	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN				
Levin	Y	N	N	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA				
Boschwitz	N	Y	N	N
Durenberger	N	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI				
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	N	N	Y	N
MISSOURI				
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	N	N	N	Y
MONTANA				
Baucus	N	N	Y	N
Melcher	N	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA				
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA				
Cannon	?	?	?	?
Laxalt	N	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Durkin	Y	N	N	Y
Humphrey	N	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY				
Bradley	Y	N	N	Y
Williams	Y	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO				
Domenici	Y	N	N	Y
Schmitt	N	N	N	N
NEW YORK				
Moynihan	?	Y	N	Y
Javits	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	N	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA				
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young	N	N	Y	Y
OHIO				
Glenn	N	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
Boren	N	N	Y	Y
Bellmon	N	Y	Y	Y
OREGON				
Hatfield	Y	N	N	Y
Packwood	N	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA				
Heinz	N	N	N	Y
Schweiker	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
Pell	Y	N	N	Y
Chafee	?	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollings	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	N	-	+	#
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern	Y	N	N	Y
Pressler	?	?	?	Y
TENNESSEE				
Sasser	?	?	?	?
Baker	?	?	?	?
TEXAS				
Bentsen	Y	N	+	Y
Tower	N	N	N	N
UTAH				
Garn	N	N	Y	N
Hatch	N	N	Y	N
VERMONT				
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA				
Byrd*	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	N	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON				
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA				
Byrd	Y	N	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN				
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	N	Y	N
WYOMING				
Simpson	N	N	N	N
Wallop	N	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

388. S 932. Defense Production Act/Synthetic Fuels. Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Percy, R-Ill., amendment to delete authority of the proposed Synthetic Fuels Corporation to own synthetic fuels plants. Motion agreed to 47-44: R 4-34; D 43-10 (ND 27-8; SD 16-2), Nov. 8, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

389. S 932. Defense Production Act/Synthetic Fuels. Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Dole, R-Kan., amendment to require the president to put 100,000 barrels of oil a day in underground storage in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. Motion rejected 36-53: R 8-28; D 28-25 (ND 18-17; SD 10-8), Nov. 8, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Dole amendment was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

390. S 932. Defense Production Act/Synthetic Fuels. Johnston, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Javits, R-N.Y., amendment to delete the provision limiting loans and grants for conservation to landlords of buildings with four or fewer units. Motion agreed to 45-39: R 13-22; D 32-17 (ND 18-16; SD 14-1), Nov. 8, 1979.

391. S 932. Defense Production Act/Synthetic Fuels. Johnston, D-La., motion to concur in the House amendment to the Senate bill with an amendment — in effect passing the bill, as amended by the Senate, to provide $34 billion for synthetic fuels, gasohol, conservation, solar energy and other energy programs. Motion agreed to 65-19: R 19-17; D 46-2 (ND 30-2; SD 16-0), Nov. 8, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 392 - 399

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404

	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399
ALABAMA								
Heflin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Stevens	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	-	?	?	?	+	?	N	N
Goldwater	?	?	X	?	?	Y	N	?
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
Pryor	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Hayakawa	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Armstrong	N	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	-	+	?	?	+	?	N	N
Weicker	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
Roth	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
Stone	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	Y	Y	?	+	Y	N	Y
Talmadge	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Matsunaga	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
IDAHO								
Church	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
McClure	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	+	?	?	?	Y	N	N
Percy	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
Lugar	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Jepsen	N	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Long	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Cohen	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
Mathias	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Durenberger	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Cochran	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Danforth	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MONTANA								
Baucus	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
Melcher	N	Y	Y	N	Y	+	-	-
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	-	+	?	?	+	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N
Humphrey	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Williams	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Schmitt	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
Javits	N	Y	#	?	?	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Helms	N	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Young	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
Glenn	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Bellmon	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Packwood	N	Y	N	?	?	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Schweiker	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	Y	N	+	Y	Y	N
Chafee	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Pressler	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Tower	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH								
Garn	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hatch	N	Y	N	-	?	Y	Y	?
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stafford	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Warner	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Randolph	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
WYOMING								
Simpson	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Wallop	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

392. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Hatfield, R-Ore., amendment to eliminate $670 million for development of the M-X mobile missile and include instead $20 million for conversion of existing Minuteman missiles to be carried by submarines. Rejected 11-77: R 2-36; D 9-41 (ND 9-26; SD 0-15), Nov. 9, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

393. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment to ensure that funds authorized for M-X missile development did not commit the program to any specific launching system. Adopted 89-0: R 38-0; D 51-0 (ND 34-0; SD 17-0), Nov. 9, 1979.

394. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Armstrong, R-Colo., appeal of the Chair's ruling that the Stennis, D-Miss., point of order that the Armstrong amendment to give military personnel a 10.41 percent pay raise, instead of 7 percent as recommended by the administration, was not germane and thus out of order. Tabling motion agreed to 44-40: R 3-34; D 41-6 (ND 25-5; SD 16-1), Nov. 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

395. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment to delete $104 million for three submarine surveillance ships. Rejected 11-65: R 2-30; D 9-35 (ND 9-21; SD 0-14), Nov. 9, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

396. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $131,660,159,000 for military programs and operations of the Department of Defense in fiscal 1980. Passed 72-3: R 31-1; D 41-2 (ND 27-2; SD 14-0), Nov. 9, 1979. The president had requested $132,320,565,000 in new budget authority.

397. HR 4391. Military Construction Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $3,888,743,000 for military construction projects of the Defense Department in fiscal 1980. Passed 91-2: R 40-1; D 51-1 (ND 32-1; SD 19-0), Nov. 13, 1979. The president had requested $3,872,061,000 in new budget authority.

398. S 1724. Home Energy Assistance. Schweiker, R-Pa., amendment to remove from the bill assistance for the air conditioning costs of eligible households which established that such cooling was medically necessary. Rejected 27-68: R 20-21; D 7-47 (ND 7-28; SD 0-19), Nov. 13, 1979.

399. S 1724. Home Energy Assistance. Bentsen, D-Texas, amendment to define families eligible for fuel aid as those with incomes at or below 125 percent of the federal poverty level as defined by the Office of Management and Budget rather than the lower poverty figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Rejected 33-56: R 11-25; D 22-31 (ND 5-30; SD 17-1), Nov. 13, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 400 - 403

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 405, 406, 407, 408

	400	401	402	403
ALABAMA				
Heflin	N	Y	Y	N
Stewart	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA				
Gravel	N	Y	?	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA				
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	N
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS				
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	N
Pryor	N	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA				
Cranston	N	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO				
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT				
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	N
Weicker	N	Y	N	N
DELAWARE				
Biden	N	Y	Y	N
Roth	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA				
Chiles	N	Y	Y	N
Stone	N	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA				
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	N	Y	Y	N
HAWAII				
Inouye	N	Y	Y	N
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y	N
IDAHO				
Church	N	Y	Y	Y
McClure	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS				
Stevenson	N	Y	Y	Y
Percy	N	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA				
Bayh	?	Y	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA				
Culver	N	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y
KANSAS				
Dole	?	?	Y	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY				
Ford	?	Y	Y	N
Huddleston	N	Y	Y	?
LOUISIANA				
Johnston	N	Y	Y	N
Long	N	Y	Y	N
MAINE				
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	N	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND				
Sarbanes	?	Y	Y	N
Mathias	?	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS				
Kennedy	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN				
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA				
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI				
Stennis	N	Y	?	N
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI				
Eagleton	N	Y	Y	N
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA				
Baucus	N	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	-	Y	Y	?
NEBRASKA				
Exon	N	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA				
Cannon	N	Y	Y	N
Laxalt	?	Y	?	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	Y	?
NEW JERSEY				
Bradley	N	Y	Y	N
Williams	N	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO				
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK				
Moynihan	?	?	?	?
Javits	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
Morgan	N	Y	Y	-
Helms	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA				
Burdick	N	Y	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	?	Y
OHIO				
Glenn	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
Boren	Y	Y	Y	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON				
Hatfield	N	Y	Y	N
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	?
PENNSYLVANIA				
Heinz	N	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	?	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
Pell	N	Y	Y	N
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Hollings	N	Y	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA				
McGovern	N	Y	Y	?
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE				
Sasser	N	Y	Y	N
Baker	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS				
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	N
Tower	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH				
Garn	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hatch	+	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT				
Leahy	N	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA				
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	?
Warner	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON				
Jackson	N	Y	Y	N
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA				
Byrd	N	Y	Y	N
Randolph	N	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN				
Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING				
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

400. S 1724. Home Energy Assistance. Humphrey, R-N.H., amendment to reduce the number of requirements that state plans would have to meet in order to receive block grants for fuel aid to low-income families. Rejected 34-55: R 29-7; D 5-48 (ND 2-33; SD 3-15), Nov. 13, 1979.

401. S Res 274. Senate Rules Revision. Adoption of the resolution to revise and bring up to date without substantive change the standing rules of the Senate. Adopted 97-0: R 40-0; D 57-0 (ND 38-0; SD 19-0), Nov. 14, 1979.

402. S 1724. Home Energy Assistance. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion that the sergeant at arms be instructed to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 91-3: R 36-3; D 55-0 (ND 37-0; SD 18-0), Nov. 14, 1979.

403. S 1724. Home Energy Assistance. Muskie, D-Maine, motion to table (kill) the Dole, R-Kan., amendment, to the Boschwitz, R-Minn., amendment, to allocate heating assistance to the states according to a formula based half on heating degree days and half on residential energy expenditures, and establishing a minimum level for state allocations. Motion rejected 41-50: R 20-19; D 21-31 (ND 21-15; SD 0-16), Nov. 14, 1979. The Dole and Boschwitz amendments were ruled out of order on technical points and a compromise offered by Williams, D-N.J., was adopted *(see vote 408, p. 68-S)*.

CQ Senate Votes 404 - 408

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 409, 410, 411, 412, 413

	404	405	406	407	408
ALABAMA					
Heflin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA					
Gravel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	N	Y	N	Y	N
ARIZONA					
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS					
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA					
Cranston	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO					
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT					
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	Y	+
Weicker	?	?	?	?	?
DELAWARE					
Biden	N	N	Y	Y	?
Roth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA					
Chiles	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Stone	Y	N	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA					
Nunn	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	?	?	?	?	?
HAWAII					
Inouye	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO					
Church	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS					
Stevenson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA					
Bayh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IOWA					
Culver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	N	Y	N	Y
KANSAS					
Dole	Y	N	Y	Y	?
Kassebaum	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY					
Ford	Y	N	?	?	?
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA					
Johnston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE					
Muskie	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND					
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y	Y	?
Mathias	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS					
Kennedy	N	Y	?	Y	?
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y	?
MICHIGAN					
Levin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	N	Y	Y	Y	?
MINNESOTA					
Boschwitz	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI					
Stennis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	?	?	?	?	?
MISSOURI					
Eagleton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA					
Baucus	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	?	?	?	+	?
NEBRASKA					
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA					
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Durkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY					
Bradley	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
Domenici	Y	N	N	?	Y
Schmitt	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK					
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA					
Morgan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA					
Burdick	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	Y	Y	?
OHIO					
Glenn	N	Y	Y	Y	?
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA					
Boren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON					
Hatfield	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Packwood	N	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
Heinz	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schweiker	?	?	?	?	?
RHODE ISLAND					
Pell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Hollings	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA					
McGovern	?	?	?	?	Y
Pressler	Y	N	?	?	Y
TENNESSEE					
Sasser	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Baker	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS					
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Tower	N	Y	N	Y	N
UTAH					
Garn	Y	N	N	N	Y
Hatch	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VERMONT					
Leahy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA					
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	N	?
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON					
Jackson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA					
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN					
Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING					
Simpson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

404. H J Res 440. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Exon, D-Neb., amendment, to the Magnuson, D-Wash., amendment *(see vote 405, below)* to prohibit the use of federal funds for abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term, or in cases of rape or incest. Rejected 44-49: R 24-13; D 20-36 (ND 10-28; SD 10-8), Nov. 15, 1979.

405. H J Res 440. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Magnuson, D-Wash., amendment to prohibit the use of federal funds for abortion except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term, in cases of rape or incest, or where two physicians determine severe and long-standing physical health damage to the mother would result if the pregnancy were carried to term. Adopted 57-36: R 18-19; D 39-17 (ND 29-9; SD 10-8), Nov. 15, 1979.

406. H J Res 440. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Committee amendment to provide an additional $4,456,000 for the restructured Office of Special Trade Representative. Adopted 71-19: R 20-16; D 51-3 (ND 35-2; SD 16-1), Nov. 15, 1979.

407. H J Res 440. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the joint resolution to provide continuing appropriations through Sept. 30, 1980, for the Departments of Interior, Defense, Transportation, Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and foreign assistance and military construction programs; and through March 15, 1980, for the Federal Trade Commission. Passed 80-10: R 27-8; D 53-2 (ND 37-1; SD 16-1), Nov. 15, 1979.

408. S 1724. Home Energy Assistance. Williams, D-N.J., amendment to replace the existing formula in the bill for distributing fuel aid to states with the following formula: 50 percent based on residential energy expenditures in each state and 50 percent based on the square of the number of heating degree days in each state, multiplied by the number of low-income households; each state was guaranteed an amount equal to $120 times its number of low-income households. Adopted 69-14: R 30-5; D 39-9 (ND 30-2; SD 9-7), Nov. 15, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 409 - 415

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420

	409	410	411	412	413	414	415
ALABAMA							
Heflin	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
ALASKA							
Gravel	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
Pryor	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	+	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	+	-	?	?	?	-	?
Weicker	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE							
Biden	+	?	?	?	N	N	N
Roth	Y	N	?	?	Y	N	N
FLORIDA							
Chiles	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Stone	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
Nunn	Y	N	?	?	Y	N	N
Talmadge	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
HAWAII							
Inouye	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
IDAHO							
Church	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
McClure	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Percy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
INDIANA							
Bayh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA							
Culver	?	?	?	?	+	?	?
Jepsen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
KANSAS							
Dole	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
Ford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Huddleston	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE							
Muskie	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Cohen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Mathias	?	?	?	?	+	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	Y	N	Y	Y	X	N	?
Tsongas	?	-	?	?	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN							
Levin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Riegle	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Cochran	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Danforth	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Melcher	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA							
Cannon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Javits	Y	N	Y	+	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Helms	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	N	N	Y	+	-	?
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	Y	N	N	+	Y	N	Y
Chafee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	-	+	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Pressler	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Baker	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH							
Garn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Hatch	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
VERMONT							
Leahy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Stafford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	Y	N	Y	Y	#	N	Y
Randolph	Y	-	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
WYOMING							
Simpson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Wallop	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

409. S Res 277. Cambodian Aid. Adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that all nations, including the Soviet Union and Vietnam, share responsibility for averting a famine in Cambodia. Adopted 89-0: R 38-0; D 51-0 (ND 35-0; SD 16-0), Nov. 16, 1979.

410. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Boren, D-Okla., amendment to reduce to 50 percent, instead of 60 percent as in the House-passed bill, the tax rate on the difference between the per barrel price of controlled and decontrolled oil. Rejected 32-53: R 24-13; D 8-40 (ND 1-33; SD 7-7), Nov. 16, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

411. S Con Res 53. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Adoption of the resolution to set fiscal 1980 binding budget levels as previously approved by the Senate and House in the conference version of S Con Res 36 (budget authority, $638 billion; outlays, $547.6 billion; revenues, $517.8 billion; and deficit, $29.8 billion) and to state the sense of Congress that there shall be no third fiscal 1980 budget resolution, except to meet unforeseen emergencies, and calling upon committees to make budget cuts originally ordered in the Senate version of S Con Res 36. Adopted 57-20: R 17-13; D 40-7 (ND 29-5; SD 11-2), Nov. 16, 1979.

412. H J Res 440. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the conference report on the joint resolution to provide appropriations (until regular appropriations legislation was enacted) through Sept. 30, 1980, for the Departments of Interior, Defense, Transportation, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare and foreign assistance and military construction programs, and through March 15, 1980, for the Federal Trade Commission. Adopted 51-23: R 20-8; D 31-15 (ND 22-11; SD 9-4), Nov. 16, 1979.

413. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax/Carryover Basis. Byrd, Ind-Va., amendment, to the Long, D-La., amendment, to repeal the "carry-over basis" rule, governing the taxation of inherited property established by the 1976 Tax Reform Act. Adopted 81-4: R 35-0; D 46-4 (ND 29-4; SD 17-0), Nov. 19, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Long amendment, as amended, was subsequently adopted by voice vote.)

414. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Dole, R-Kan., substitute amendment, to the Finance committee substitute, to reduce the tax on "old" oil (from wells producing as of 1973) to 60 percent, from 75 percent. Rejected 32-58: R 23-13; D 9-45 (ND 1-35; SD 8-10), Nov. 19, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

415. HR 4440. Transportation Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate $9,561,312,439 in fiscal 1980 for the Transportation Department and related agencies. Adopted (thus clearing the measure for the president) 67-20: R 23-12; D 44-8 (ND 32-3; SD 12-5), Nov. 19, 1979. The president had requested $9,983,319,782 in new budget authority.

CQ Senate Votes 416 - 418

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 421, 422, 423

	416	417	418
ALABAMA			
Heflin	N	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y
ALASKA			
Gravel	?	?	?
Stevens	Y	N	N
ARIZONA			
DeConcini	N	Y	Y
Goldwater	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS			
Bumpers	N	Y	Y
Pryor	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA			
Cranston	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	N
COLORADO			
Hart	N	N	Y
Armstrong	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT			
Ribicoff	?	?	?
Weicker	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE			
Biden	N	Y	Y
Roth	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA			
Chiles	?	?	?
Stone	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA			
Nunn	N	Y	?
Talmadge	?	?	?
HAWAII			
Inouye	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	?	?	?
IDAHO			
Church	N	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS			
Stevenson	N	Y	Y
Percy	N	Y	Y
INDIANA			
Bayh	N	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	N	N
IOWA			
Culver	?	?	?
Jepsen	?	?	?
KANSAS			
Dole	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY			
Ford	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA			
Johnston	N	Y	Y
Long	N	Y	Y
MAINE			
Muskie	N	Y	Y
Cohen	N	N	Y
MARYLAND			
Sarbanes	N	Y	Y
Mathias	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS			
Kennedy	N	Y	Y
Tsongas	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN			
Levin	N	Y	Y
Riegle	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA			
Boschwitz	N	Y	Y
Durenberger	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI			
Stennis	?	?	?
Cochran	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI			
Eagleton	N	Y	Y
Danforth	N	Y	Y
MONTANA			
Baucus	N	Y	Y
Melcher	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA			
Exon	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	Y
NEVADA			
Cannon	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Durkin	N	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY			
Bradley	N	Y	Y
Williams	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO			
Domenici	Y	N	N
Schmitt	Y	N	N
NEW YORK			
Moynihan	N	Y	Y
Javits	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA			
Morgan	N	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA			
Burdick	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	N
OHIO			
Glenn	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA			
Boren	N	Y	Y
Bellmon	?	?	?
OREGON			
Hatfield	?	?	?
Packwood	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA			
Heinz	N	Y	Y
Schweiker	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND			
Pell	N	Y	Y
Chafee	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Hollings	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA			
McGovern	N	Y	Y
Pressler	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE			
Sasser	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	?
TEXAS			
Bentsen	N	Y	Y
Tower	Y	N	N
UTAH			
Garn	Y	N	N
Hatch	Y	Y	N
VERMONT			
Leahy	N	Y	Y
Stafford	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA			
Byrd*	?	?	?
Warner	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON			
Jackson	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA			
Byrd	N	Y	Y
Randolph	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN			
Nelson	N	N	Y
Proxmire	N	N	Y
WYOMING			
Simpson	Y	N	N
Wallop	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

416. S 2009. Idaho Wilderness Lands. McClure, R-Idaho, amendment to allow multiple use management on all Idaho roadless areas (RARE II) not designated as part of the Central Idaho Wilderness. Rejected 21-67: R 21-16; D 0-51 (ND 0-36; SD 0-15), Nov. 20, 1979.

417. S 2009. Idaho Wilderness Lands. Church, D-Idaho, amendment to restrict all mining in the proposed Idaho wilderness areas to underground operations. Adopted 58-30: R 9-28; D 49-2 (ND 34-2; SD 15-0), Nov. 20, 1979.

418. S 2009. Idaho Wilderness Lands. Passage of the bill to designate 2.2 million acres of land in central Idaho as the River of No Return Wilderness and designate 125 miles of the Salmon River as part of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. Passed 69-18: R 19-18; D 50-0 (ND 36-0; SD 14-0), Nov. 20, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 419 - 426

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431

	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stevens	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Goldwater	?	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Pryor	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	?	+	+	?	?	?
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Weicker	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Roth	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Stone	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
Nunn	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Talmadge	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
Inouye	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
Matsunaga	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
IDAHO								
Church	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
McClure	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	?	?	?	N	N	Y	?	Y
Percy	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	?	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Lugar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426
IOWA								
Culver	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Jepsen	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Kassebaum	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	Y	X	N	N	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Mathias	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Tsongas	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	?	-	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Riegle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	Y	?	#	?	?	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Melcher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	?	-	?	N	N	N	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Williams	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Javits	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Schweiker	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	?	-	+	N	N	N	Y	N
Chafee	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Pressler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426
TEXAS								-
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Tower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Hatch	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Warner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Magnuson	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Randolph	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

419. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion that the sergeant at arms be instructed to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 72-1: R 32-1; D 40-0 (ND 26-0; SD 14-0), Nov. 26, 1979.

420. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Bumpers, D-Ark., amendment to substitute the House-passed version of the tax bill, in effect doubling the size of the oil tax. Motion agreed to 50-32: R 32-5; D 18-27 (ND 10-21; SD 8-6), Nov. 26, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

421. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Moynihan, D-N.Y., motion to table (kill) the Boren, D-Okla., amendment *(see votes 422 and 423, below)*, to exempt all stripper wells from the windfall profits tax. Motion rejected 32-52: R 10-27; D 22-25 (ND 19-11; SD 3-14), Nov. 26, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

422. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Bentsen, D-Texas, substitute amendment, to the Boren, D-Okla., amendment *(see vote 423, below)*, to exempt from the tax the first 1,000 barrels a day of oil production by independent producers. Adopted 53-41: R 26-10; D 27-31 (ND 14-26; SD 13-5), Nov. 27, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

423. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Boren, D-Okla., amendment, as amended *(see vote 422, above)*, to exempt from the tax the first 1,000 barrels a day of oil production by independent producers. Adopted 53-42: R 26-11; D 27-31 (ND 14-26; SD 13-5), Nov. 27, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

424. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the McGovern, D-S.D., amendment to reserve $10 billion in windfall profits tax revenues for railroad system improvements. Motion agreed to 54-41: R 20-17; D 34-24 (ND 19-21; SD 15-3), Nov. 27, 1979.

425. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to direct the sergeant at arms to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 94-1: R 37-1; D 57-0 (ND 39-0; SD 18-0), Nov. 27, 1979.

426. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Bellmon, R-Okla., motion to table (kill) the McGovern, D-S.D., amendment to reserve $1 billion in windfall profits tax revenues for railroad system improvements. Motion rejected 28-67: R 14-23; D 14-44 (ND 6-34; SD 8-10), Nov. 27, 1979. (The McGovern amendment was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

CQ Senate Votes 427 - 432

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439

	427	428	429	430	431	432
ALABAMA						
Heflin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA						
Gravel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Goldwater	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO						
Hart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Weicker	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
DELAWARE						
Biden	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Roth	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
FLORIDA						
Chiles	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Talmadge	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII						
Inouye	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
IDAHO						
Church	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
McClure	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
INDIANA						
Bayh	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

	427	428	429	430	431	432
IOWA						
Culver	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	?	?	?	?	?	?
KANSAS						
Dole	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
Ford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE						
Muskie	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Tsongas	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
Levin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Riegle	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
Cochran	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Danforth	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA						
Baucus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
Exon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA						
Cannon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

	427	428	429	430	431	432
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
OHIO						
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON						
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Packwood	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Chafee	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Baker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	427	428	429	430	431	432
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH						
Garn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hatch	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT						
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	?	?	?	?	?	?
Warner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING						
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

**Byrd elected as an independent.*

427. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Magnuson, D-Wash., amendment, part 1, to eliminate the $40 billion trust fund for low-income fuel assistance and the $15 billion trust fund for transportation. Adopted 81-14: R 34-3; D 47-11 (ND 30-10; SD 17-1), Nov. 27, 1979.

428. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Javits, R-N.Y., amendment to authorize $1 billion in tax revenues for a program to encourage development of oil sources in countries outside of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Rejected 19-79: R 7-33; D 12-46 (ND 11-29; SD 1-17), Nov. 28, 1979.

429. Treaties. Adoption of the resolutions of ratification of the following: **Exec K, 95th Cong, 2nd Sess:** Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental [weather] Modification Techniques; **Exec L, 94th Cong., 2nd Sess:** Convention Abolishing the Requirement of Legalization for Foreign Public Documents; **Exec AA, 96th Cong, 1st Sess:** Extradition and Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters with Turkey. Adopted (en bloc) 98-0: R 40-0; D 58-0 (ND 40-0; SD 18-0), Nov. 28, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (66 in this case) is required for approval of a resolution of ratification. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

430. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Bradley, D-N.J., amendment to increase to 75 percent, from 60 percent, the tax rate on oil discovered between 1973 and 1979. Motion rejected 39-58: R 26-14; D 13-44 (ND 5-34; SD 8-10), Nov. 28, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. The Bradley amendment was subsequently adopted. *(See vote 438, p. 73-S.)*

431. S Res 292. Release of U.S. Hostages in Iran. Adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the people and the U.S. Congress insist that the Ayatollah Khomeini and the government of Iran release the American citizens held captive in the U.S. Embassy in Iran. Adopted 98-0: R 40-0; D 58-0 (ND 40-0; SD 18-0), Nov. 28, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

432. S 1871. Oil Company Antitrust. Adoption of the conference report to extend until March 15, 1981, the exemption from antitrust laws for oil companies participating in programs of the International Energy Agency. Adopted 83-0: R 33-0; D 50-0 (ND 35-0; SD 15-0), Nov. 28, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

orresponding to Congressional Record Votes 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452

	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	+	+	+	?	?	Y	N	Y
Goldwater	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	?	Y
Roth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	?	+	?	?	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Church	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
McClure	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
IOWA								
Culver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Huddleston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	+	#	+	+	Y	N	Y
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	N	Y	+	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Tower	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hatch	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	N
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	+	X	+	+	N	N	N
Wallop	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

433. Treaties. Adoption of the resolutions of ratification for: **Exec I, 95th Cong, 1st Sess:** Extradition Treaty with Finland; and **Exec A, 96th Cong, 1st Sess:** Extradition Treaty with Federal Republic of Germany. Adopted (en bloc) 93-0: R 40-0; D 53-0 (ND 36-0; SD 17-0), Nov. 29, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (62 in this case) is required for adoption of resolutions of ratification. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

434. Treaties. Adoption of the resolutions of ratification for: **Exec M, 96th Cong, 1st Sess:** Extradition Treaty with the United Mexican States; **Exec P, 96th Cong, 1st Sess:** Extradition Treaty with Japan; **Exec CC, 96th Cong, 1st Sess:** Extradition Treaty with Norway; **Exec BB, 96th Cong, 1st Sess:** Treaty with Turkey on the Enforcement of Penal Judgments; and **Exec Z, 96th Cong, 1st Sess:** Treaty with Panama on the Execution of Penal Sentences. Adopted (en bloc) 91-0: R 37-0; D 54-0 (ND 36-0; SD 18-0), Nov. 30, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (61 in this case) is required for adoption of resolutions of ratification. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

435. Exec A, 95th Cong, 2nd Sess. International Sugar Agreement. Adoption of the resolution of ratification of the International Sugar Agreement establishing an international system of quotas and stockpiling to maintain sugar prices for participating nations at 11 cents to 21 cents a pound. Adopted 80-11: R 30-7; D 50-4 (ND 35-1; SD 15-3), Nov. 30, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (61 in this case) is required for adoption of resolutions of ratification. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

436. S 1918. Military Officers' Personnel Management. Passage of the bill to revise the U.S. Code to provide uniform laws for promotions, separations and retirement of active duty armed services officers; to provide for equal treatment of male and female officers and to establish ceilings on the total numbers of officers for each service. Passed 87-0: R 36-0; D 51-0 (ND 33-0; SD 18-0), Nov. 30, 1979.

437. Hufstedler Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Shirley Mount Hufstedler of California to be secretary of education. Confirmed 81-2: R 33-2; D 48-0 (ND 34-0; SD 14-0), Nov. 30, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

438. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Bradley, D-N.J., amendment to increase to 75 percent from 60 percent the tax rate on oil discovered between 1973 and 1978, thus increasing expected windfall tax revenues by an estimated $22.5 billion by 1990. Adopted 58-35: R 14-25; D 44-10 (ND 33-4; SD 11-6), Dec. 4, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

439. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, amendment to delete the requirement that the tax be phased out when 90 percent of the anticipated revenues had been collected. Rejected 39-54: R 1-38; D 38-16 (ND 30-7; SD 8-9), Dec. 4, 1979.

440. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Moynihan, D-N.Y., amendment to phase out the tax when 90 percent of $210 billion had been collected. Adopted 68-26: R 20-19; D 48-7 (ND 37-1; SD 11-6), Dec. 4, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 441 - 443

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 453, 454, 455

	441	442	443
ALABAMA			
Heflin	N	Y	Y
Stewart	N	Y	Y
ALASKA			
Gravel	?	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA			
DeConcini	N	N	Y
Goldwater	?	?	?
ARKANSAS			
Bumpers	N	N	Y
Pryor	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA			
Cranston	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	?	Y	?
COLORADO			
Hart	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT			
Ribicoff	N	N	Y
Weicker	N	Y	N
DELAWARE			
Biden	N	N	Y
Roth	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA			
Chiles	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	N
GEORGIA			
Nunn	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	?	?	?
HAWAII			
Inouye	N	?	Y
Matsunaga	?	N	Y
IDAHO			
Church	N	Y	Y
McClure	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS			
Stevenson	N	N	Y
Percy	N	N	N
INDIANA			
Bayh	N	N	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	N

	441	442	443
IOWA			
Culver	N	N	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	N
KANSAS			
Dole	N	Y	N
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY			
Ford	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA			
Johnston	N	Y	Y
Long	N	Y	Y
MAINE			
Muskie	N	N	Y
Cohen	N	N	N
MARYLAND			
Sarbanes	N	N	Y
Mathias	?	?	N
MASSACHUSETTS			
Kennedy	?	N	?
Tsongas	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN			
Levin	N	N	Y
Riegle	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA			
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N
Durenberger	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI			
Stennis	?	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI			
Eagleton	N	N	Y
Danforth	N	N	N
MONTANA			
Baucus	N	Y	Y
Melcher	N	Y	N
NEBRASKA			
Exon	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	N	Y	N
NEVADA			
Cannon	N	N	Y
Laxalt	N	Y	N

	441	442	443
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
Durkin	N	N	Y
Humphrey	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY			
Bradley	N	N	Y
Williams	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO			
Domenici	N	Y	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK			
Moynihan	N	N	Y
Javits	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA			
Morgan	-	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA			
Burdick	N	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	N
OHIO			
Glenn	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	N	N	?
OKLAHOMA			
Boren	?	Y	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	N
OREGON			
Hatfield	Y	Y	N
Packwood	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA			
Heinz	N	Y	N
Schweiker	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND			
Pell	N	N	Y
Chafee	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Hollings	N	N	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA			
McGovern	?	?	?
Pressler	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE			
Sasser	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	?

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	441	442	443
TEXAS			
Bentsen	N	Y	Y
Tower	Y	Y	N
UTAH			
Garn	N	Y	N
Hatch	N	Y	N
VERMONT			
Leahy	N	N	Y
Stafford	N	N	N
VIRGINIA			
Byrd*	N	N	N
Warner	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON			
Jackson	N	N	Y
Magnuson	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA			
Byrd	N	N	Y
Randolph	-	Y	Y
WISCONSIN			
Nelson	N	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	N
WYOMING			
Simpson	Y	Y	N
Wallop	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

441. HR 3236. Disability Insurance. Wallop, R-Wyo., amendment to eliminate Social Security benefits for the college student children, aged 18 to 21, of retired, disabled or deceased workers. Rejected 22-65: R 18-19; D 4-46 (ND 2-33; SD 2-13), Dec. 5, 1979.

442. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Dole, R-Kan., motion to table (kill) the Leahy, D-Vt., amendment to deny independent producers a percentage depletion allowance for income in excess of $15.30 a barrel. Motion agreed to 57-37: R 31-7; D 26-30 (ND 11-27; SD 15-3), Dec. 5, 1979.

443. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Roth, R-Del., motion to waive Budget Committee consideration of the Roth amendment to limit federal tax receipts to 20.5 percent of the gross national product in 1981; 20 percent in 1982; and 19.5 percent in 1983. Motion agreed to 49-44: R 0-38; D 49-6 (ND 34-3; SD 15-3), Dec. 5, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 444 - 449

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461

	444	445	446	447	448	449
ALABAMA						
Heflin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA						
Gravel	?	?	?	?	?	?
Stevens	+	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	Y	N	Y	+	?	?
Pryor	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	-	N	N	Y
COLORADO						
Hart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Weicker	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE						
Biden	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Roth	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
FLORIDA						
Chiles	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Talmadge	Y	?	?	?	?	?
HAWAII						
Inouye	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Matsunaga	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
IDAHO						
Church	Y	?	?	?	?	?
McClure	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Percy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
INDIANA						
Bayh	Y	N	?	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
IOWA						
Culver	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Jepsen	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
KANSAS						
Dole	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY						
Ford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Long	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
MAINE						
Muskie	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Cohen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Mathias	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	?	?	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN						
Levin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
Cochran	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Danforth	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MONTANA						
Baucus	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
Exon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA						
Cannon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Laxalt	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Williams	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Javits	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Helms	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Young	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
OHIO						
Glenn	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Bellmon	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
OREGON						
Hatfield	+	+	-	#	#	?
Packwood	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Chafee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	-	X	X	+
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pressler	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	Y	?	?	?	?	?
Baker	+	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
Tower	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
UTAH						
Garn	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Hatch	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
VERMONT						
Leahy	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
Stafford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Magnuson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Randolph	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
WYOMING						
Simpson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

444. S 2076. Sanctions on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Passage of the bill directing President Carter to lift economic sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia upon the arrival in Salisbury of the British governor, or by Jan. 31, 1980, whichever came earlier, unless he determined that it was in the U.S. national interest not to do so. Passed 90-0: R 35-0; D 55-0 (ND 36-0; SD 19-0), Dec. 6, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

445. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment to adjust individual income tax brackets and personal exemptions to reflect the rate of inflation, a process known as "indexing." Rejected 41-47: R 30-5; D 11-42 (ND 9-27; SD 2-15), Dec. 6, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

446. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Mathias, R-Md., motion to reconsider the vote by which the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment *(see vote 445, above)* was adopted. Motion agreed to 49-38: R 5-30; D 44-8 (ND 29-6; SD 15-2), Dec. 6, 1979.

447. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Weicker, R-Conn., amendment to require mandatory state conservation targets and to authorize the federal government to impose conservation measures on a state not meeting its target. Rejected 26-60: R 12-24; D 14-36 (ND 13-22; SD 1-14), Dec. 6, 1979.

448. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Ribicoff, D-Conn., motion to table (kill) the Bellmon, R-Okla., amendment to allow oil producers a credit against the windfall profits tax of 75 percent for the first 3 percent of increased production compared to the previous year. Motion agreed to 50-35: R 6-29; D 44-6 (ND 34-1; SD 10-5), Dec. 6, 1979. A " yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

449. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Helms, R-N.C., amendment to permit personal income tax deductions for state and local gasoline and motor fuel taxes. Rejected 39-40: R 25-7; D 14-33 (ND 8-25; SD 6-8), Dec. 6, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 450 - 456

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468

	450	451	452	453	454	455	456
ALABAMA							
Heflin	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	N
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
ALASKA							
Gravel	?	?	?	+	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Goldwater	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
Weicker	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE							
Biden	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N
Roth	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
FLORIDA							
Chiles	Y	N	Y	N	N	#	N
Stone	Y	N	Y	N	N	X	?
GEORGIA							
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Talmadge	?	?	?	Y	N	N	N
HAWAII							
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
Matsunaga	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
IDAHO							
Church	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
McClure	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Percy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
INDIANA							
Bayh	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Lugar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA							
Culver	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N
Jepsen	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
KANSAS							
Dole	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY							
Ford	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	N
Huddleston	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Long	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE							
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Cohen	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Mathias	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N
MICHIGAN							
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Durenberger	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Cochran	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Danforth	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
Melcher	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Zorinsky	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA							
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	X
Laxalt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Schmitt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Helms	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Young	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	#
Bellmon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	N	N	+	-	-	?
Packwood	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	Y	N	N	?	?	N	N
Schweiker	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Chafee	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Thurmond	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
Pressler	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
Tower	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH							
Garn	+	-	-	Y	Y	N	Y
Hatch	+	-	-	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT							
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
Stafford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Warner	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
WYOMING							
Simpson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Wallop	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

**Byrd elected as an independent.*

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

450. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Hart, D-Colo., amendment to provide a tax credit of up to $2,000 to homebuilders for constructing houses with passive solar energy equipment. Adopted 82-1: R 35-0; D 47-1 (ND 31-1; SD 16-0), Dec. 7, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

451. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Bentsen, D-Texas, motion to table (kill) the Muskie, D-Maine, motion to reconsider the vote by which the Helms, R-N.C., amendment to restore the personal income tax deduction for state and local gasoline taxes was rejected *(see vote 449, p. 75-S)*. Motion to table agreed to 44-42: R 8-27; D 36-15 (ND 26-7; SD 10-8), Dec. 7, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

452. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Bumpers, D-Ark., substitute, to the Armstrong, R-Colo., amendment, to require the president to give Congress 30 days notice before he modified the procedure for phasing out oil price controls. Adopted 42-40: R 1-33; D 41-7 (ND 31-1; SD 10-6), Dec. 7, 1979. (The original Armstrong amendment would have ended the windfall profits tax if the president changed the decontrol rate. The Armstrong amendment, as amended, was subsequently adopted by voice vote.)

453. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment to reclassify oil from Cook Inlet in Alaska as tier two oil, thus lowering the tax on the oil. Adopted 61-19: R 32-1; D 29-18 (ND 15-15; SD 14-3), Dec. 10, 1979.

454. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. McClure, R-Idaho, amendment to tax at 90 percent oil industry income that exceeded the average rate of return on capital investments enjoyed by all manufacturers and that had not been reinvested in oil exploration. Rejected 29-56: R 25-10; D 4-46 (ND 2-30; SD 2-16), Dec. 10, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

455. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to table (kill) the Roth, R-Del., motion to waive the Budget Act on the Roth amendment to limit federal spending to a percentage of the gross national product. Motion to table agreed to 43-40: R 1-34; D 42-6 (ND 28-4; SD 14-2), Dec. 10, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

456. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Stevens, R-Alaska, amendment to allow producers a tax credit against the windfall profits tax equal to the amount spent on oil and gas exploration in Alaska. Rejected 31-51: R 29-6; D 2-45 (ND 2-30; SD 0-15), Dec. 10, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 457 - 462

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474

	457	458	459	460	461	462
ALABAMA						
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA						
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA						
DeConcini	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	?	?	Y	N	?	?
ARKANSAS						
Bumpers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA						
Cranston	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO						
Hart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT						
Ribicoff	Y	?	N	Y	?	?
Weicker	N	Y	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE						
Biden	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA						
Chiles	Y	?	N	Y	?	?
Stone	?	?	X	?	?	?
GEORGIA						
Nunn	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	Y	?	N	Y	?	?
HAWAII						
Inouye	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
IDAHO						
Church	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
McClure	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
ILLINOIS						
Stevenson	Y	?	N	Y	Y	?
Percy	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
INDIANA						
Bayh	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA						
Culver	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	+	N	Y	Y
KANSAS						
Dole	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
Ford	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA						
Johnston	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
Long	Y	?	Y	N	Y	?
MAINE						
Muskie	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
MARYLAND						
Sarbanes	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
Kennedy	?	?	N	Y	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
Levin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
Boschwitz	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
Stennis	Y	?	N	N	Y	?
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI						
Eagleton	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA						
Baucus	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
Exon	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
NEVADA						
Cannon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	?	Y	N	Y	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Durkin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY						
Bradley	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
Domenici	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK						
Moynihan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA						
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
Burdick	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Young	Y	?	Y	N	Y	?
OHIO						
Glenn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA						
Boren	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON						
Hatfield	?	+	N	Y	Y	?
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA						
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
Pell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Hollings	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
SOUTH DAKOTA						
McGovern	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
TENNESSEE						
Sasser	Y	?	N	Y	?	?
Baker	?	?	Y	N	?	?
TEXAS						
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
Tower	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH						
Garn	?	?	Y	N	N	N
Hatch	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
VERMONT						
Leahy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA						
Byrd*	Y	Y	#	N	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
Jackson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	?	Y	N	Y	?	?
WEST VIRGINIA						
Byrd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN						
Nelson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING						
Simpson	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- . Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

457. HR 3919 Windfall Profits Tax. Long, D-La., motion that the sergeant at arms be directed to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 80-3: R 34-2; D 46-1 (ND 30-1; SD 16-0), Dec. 11, 1979.

458. HR 3919 Windfall Profits Tax. Stevens, R-Alaska, motion to table (kill) the DeConcini, D-Ariz., amendment to direct the Internal Revenue Service to disclose information about taxpayers when requested by federal law enforcement agencies and to report to those agencies when tax returns indicated criminal activity. Motion agreed to 65-8: R 30-1; D 35-7 (ND 27-4; SD 8-3), Dec. 11, 1979.

459. HR 3919 Windfall Profits Tax. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Ribicoff, D-Conn., amendment to set a 20 percent tax on three types of oil: 1) newly discovered, 2) tertiary and 3) heavy oil. Motion rejected 44-53: R 34-6; D 10-47 (ND 4-36; SD 6-11), Dec. 12, 1979.

460. HR 3919 Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to invoke cloture and end debate on the substitute amendment to the bill to impose a tax on excess profits of oil companies. Motion rejected 53-46: R 5-36; D 48-10 (ND 36-4; SD 12-6), Dec. 12, 1979. A three-fifths vote of the total Senate (60) is required to invoke cloture.

461. HR 3919 Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to instruct the sergeant at arms to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 77-6: R 28-5; D 49-1 (ND 35-0; SD 14-1), Dec. 12, 1979.

462. HR 3919 Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to direct the sergeant at arms to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 67-6: R 22-6; D 45-0 (ND 33-0; SD 12-0), Dec. 12, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 463 - 467

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 475, 476, 477, 478, 479

	463	464	465	466	467
ALABAMA					
Heflin	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ALASKA					
Gravel	?	?	?	?	N
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARIZONA					
DeConcini	?	?	?	?	Y
Goldwater	?	?	?	?	N
ARKANSAS					
Bumpers	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA					
Cranston	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO					
Hart	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT					
Ribicoff	?	?	?	?	Y
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE					
Biden	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	Y	N	N
FLORIDA					
Chiles	?	N	N	Y	Y
Stone	?	?	?	?	?
GEORGIA					
Nunn	?	?	?	?	Y
Talmadge	?	?	?	?	Y
HAWAII					
Inouye	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO					
Church	Y	N	N	Y	Y
McClure	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS					
Stevenson	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Percy	?	?	?	?	N
INDIANA					
Bayh	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IOWA					
Culver	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KANSAS					
Dole	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Kassebaum	?	?	?	?	N
KENTUCKY					
Ford	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	N	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA					
Johnston	?	?	?	?	N
Long	?	?	?	?	N
MAINE					
Muskie	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND					
Sarbanes	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS					
Kennedy	?	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN					
Levin	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Riegle	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA					
Boschwitz	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI					
Stennis	?	?	?	?	Y
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI					
Eagleton	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MONTANA					
Baucus	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Melcher	?	N	N	Y	N
NEBRASKA					
Exon	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Zorinsky	?	N	N	N	Y
NEVADA					
Cannon	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Laxalt	?	?	?	?	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Durkin	?	?	?	?	Y
Humphrey	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY					
Bradley	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Williams	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Schmitt	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK					
Moynihan	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA					
Morgan	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Helms	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA					
Burdick	?	N	N	Y	Y
Young	?	?	?	?	N
OHIO					
Glenn	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA					
Boren	?	?	?	?	N
Bellmon	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON					
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Packwood	?	?	?	?	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
Heinz	?	?	?	?	?
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND					
Pell	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Hollings	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA					
McGovern	?	?	?	Y	Y
Pressler	?	?	?	?	N
TENNESSEE					
Sasser	?	?	?	?	Y
Baker	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS					
Bentsen	?	N	N	Y	N
Tower	Y	Y	Y	N	N
UTAH					
Garn	N	Y	Y	N	N
Hatch	?	+	+	-	N
VERMONT					
Leahy	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Stafford	?	?	?	?	N
VIRGINIA					
Byrd*	Y	N	N	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON					
Jackson	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Magnuson	?	?	?	?	Y
WEST VIRGINIA					
Byrd	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN					
Nelson	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WYOMING					
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Wallop	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

463. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to direct the sergeant at arms to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 68-1: R 29-1; D 39-0 (ND 30-0; SD 9-0), Dec. 13, 1979.

464. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Helms, R-N.C., motion to table (kill) the Byrd, D-W.Va., point of order *(see vote 466, below)*. Motion rejected 30-44: R 30-0; D 0-44 (ND 0-33; SD 0-11), Dec. 13, 1979.

465. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Helms, R-N.C., motion that the Senate stand in recess. Motion rejected 30-44: R 30-0; D 0-44 (ND 0-33; SD 0-11), Dec. 13, 1979.

466. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., point of order that because the Senate had not recessed or adjourned since 10 a.m., Dec. 12, the motion to invoke cloture was not in order under rule 22. Point of order upheld 43-32: R 0-30; D 43-2 (ND 33-1; SD 10-1), Dec. 13, 1979. (Votes 463-466 were taken after 1 a.m. Dec. 13.)

467. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to invoke cloture (thus limiting debate) on the bill to tax excess profits of oil companies. Motion rejected 56-40: R 5-34; D 51-6 (ND 37-2; SD 14-4), Dec. 13, 1979. A three-fifths vote of the total Senate (60) is necessary to invoke cloture. (This vote was taken at 11 a.m., Dec. 13.)

	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Gravel	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
Goldwater	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
Hart	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Armstrong	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Weicker	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE								
Biden	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
Roth	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
FLORIDA								
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
HAWAII								
Inouye	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Church	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
McClure	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Percy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
Lugar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
IOWA								
Culver	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
KANSAS								
Dole	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Huddleston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Mathias	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Durenberger	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	+	Y
Cochran	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Williams	Y	Y	+	+	?	?	?	?
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N
Schmitt	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	?	+	?	Y	Y	Y
Helms	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	N	?	#	+	?
Young	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y
Chafee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thurmond	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
Pressler	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	?
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tower	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hatch	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VERMONT								
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Warner	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Proxmire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N
Wallop	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

468. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion that the sergeant at arms be instructed to compel the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 91-4: R 35-4; D 56-0 (ND 38-0; SD 18-0), Dec. 14, 1979.

469. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to invoke cloture (and thus limit debate) on the bill to impose a tax on the excess profits of oil companies. Motion rejected 56-39: R 4-35; D 52-4 (ND 37-1; SD 15-3), Dec. 14, 1979. A three-fifths vote of the total Senate (60) is necessary to invoke cloture.

470. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., substitute amendment, to the Ribicoff, D-Conn., amendment *(see vote 459, p. 77-S)*, to reduce the tax rate on newly discovered oil to 10 percent, from 20 percent, and to increase the base price for newly discovered oil to $19.30 a barrel, from $16.30. Adopted 78-13: R 28-12; D 50-1 (ND 33-1; SD 17-0), Dec. 14, 1979.

471. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Ribicoff, D-Conn., amendment, as amended *(see vote 470, above)*, to set a 10 percent tax on newly discovered oil and a 20 percent tax on tertiary and heavy oil. Adopted 52-38: R 11-28; D 41-10 (ND 29-5; SD 12-5), Dec. 14, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

472. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion that the sergeant at arms be instructed to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 70-2: R 28-2; D 42-0 (ND 27-0; SD 15-0), Dec. 15, 1979.

473. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Long, D-La., motion to table (kill) the Danforth, R-Mo., amendment to remove the bill's tax exemption for royalties paid to states for oil production on state-owned lands. Motion agreed to 65-28: R 27-13; D 38-15 (ND 21-14; SD 17-1), Dec. 15, 1979.

474. S Res 315. Release of U.S. Hostages in Iran. Adoption of the resolution calling upon Moslems worldwide to prevail upon the Iranians to release hostages held at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and to permit, while in captivity, the hostages to worship according to their beliefs. Adopted 93-0: R 40-0; D 53-0 (ND 36-0; SD 17-0), Dec. 15, 1979.

475. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Muskie, D-Maine, motion to table (kill) the Percy, R-Ill., amendment *(see vote 476, p. 80-S)* to increase to 20 percent, from 10 percent, and extend to 1984, from 1982, the existing tax credit for investment in coal-burning boilers and other equipment. Motion rejected 45-47: R 7-31; D 38-16 (ND 25-11; SD 13-5), Dec. 15, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 476 - 483

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495

	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483
ALABAMA								
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
Gravel	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
DeConcini	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Goldwater	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
Bumpers	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
Cranston	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hayakawa	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
Hart	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Armstrong	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
Ribicoff	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Weicker	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Biden	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Roth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
Chiles	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
Nunn	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Talmadge	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
Inouye	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
Matsunaga	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
Church	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
McClure	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
Stevenson	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Percy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
Bayh	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Lugar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA								
Culver	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Jepsen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KANSAS								
Dole	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
LOUISIANA								
Johnston	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Long	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
Muskie	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Mathias	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
Kennedy	?	?	?	Y	N	N	?	?
Tsongas	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Riegle	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
Boschwitz	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Durenberger	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
Stennis	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Cochran	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
Eagleton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Danforth	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
Baucus	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
Exon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Zorinsky	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
Cannon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Humphrey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
Bradley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Williams	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
Domenici	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Schmitt	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK								
Moynihan	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Helms	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
Burdick	?	+	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
Glenn	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
Boren	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Bellmon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
Hatfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Packwood	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
Heinz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chafee	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
Hollings	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Thurmond	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
McGovern	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Pressler	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS								
Bentsen	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Tower	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH								
Garn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hatch	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
Leahy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Stafford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
Byrd*	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
Jackson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Magnuson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
Byrd	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Proxmire	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
Simpson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Wallop	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?

Democrats *Republicans*

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

476. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Percy, R-Ill, amendment to increase to 20 percent, from 10 percent, and extend to 1984, from 1982, the existing tax credit for investment in coal-burning boilers and other equipment. Rejected 42-49: R -22-16; D 20-33 (ND 12-24; SD 8-9), Dec. 15, 1979.

477. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. McClure, R-Idaho, amendment to increase to 20 percent, from 10 percent, the energy tax credit for investment in facilities that produced alcohol fuels. Adopted 74-16: R 36-4; D 38-12 (ND 25-8; SD 13-4), Dec. 17, 1979.

478. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion that the sergeant at arms be instructed to request the attendance of absent senators. Motion agreed to 93-2: R 38-2; D 55-0 (ND 37-0; SD 18-0), Dec. 17, 1979.

479. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Byrd, D-W.Va., motion to invoke cloture (and thus limit debate) on the bill to impose a tax on the excess profits of oil companies. Motion agreed to 84-14: R 28-12; D 56-2 (ND 38-2; SD 18-0), Dec. 17, 1979. A three-fifths vote of the total Senate (60) is necessary to invoke cloture.

480. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Schmitt, R-N.M., motion to table (kill) the Bentsen, D-Texas, amendment *(see vote 481, below)* to exempt from personal income taxes $201 ($400 for couples) of interest earned on savings or dividends from stock. Motion rejected 41-57: R 38-2; D 3-55 (ND 3-37; SD 0-18), Dec. 17, 1979.

481. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Bentsen, D-Texas, amendment, to exempt from personal income taxes $201 ($400 for couples) of interest earned on savings or dividends from stock. Adopted 94-4: R 40-0; D 54-4 (ND 36-4; SD 18-0), Dec. 17, 1979.

482. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Tower, R-Texas, motion appealing the ruling of the chair that the Tower amendment (to authorize exemptions from the tax in hardship cases, where levying the tax would lead to shutting in of wells) was not germane to the bill and thus out of order. Ruling of the presiding officer upheld 61-36: R 8-32; D 53-4 (ND 39-0; SD 14-4), Dec. 17, 1979.

483. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Bumpers, D-Ark., motion appealing the ruling of the presiding officer that the Bumpers amendment (to provide a $300 tax credit for converting a motor vehicle to burn alcohol fuels) was not germane to the bill and thus out of order. Ruling of the presiding officer upheld 69-26: R 32-7; D 37-19 (ND 24-14; SD 13-5), Dec. 17, 1979.

CQ Senate Votes 484 - 490

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502

	484	485	486	487	488	489	490
ALABAMA							
Heflin	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ALASKA							
Gravel	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Stevens	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Goldwater	N	N	Y	N	N	N	-
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hayakawa	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Armstrong	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Weicker	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE							
Biden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Roth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA							
Chiles	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Stone	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Talmadge	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
Inouye	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
Matsunaga	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO							
Church	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
McClure	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA							
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Lugar	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA							
Culver	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Jepsen	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
KANSAS							
Dole	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY							
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Huddleston	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE							
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Cohen	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Mathias	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Durenberger	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
Cochran	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Danforth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Zorinsky	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA							
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Laxalt	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Humphrey	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Schmitt	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Helms	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Young	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Bellmon	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Schweiker	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Chafee	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
Thurmond	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Pressler	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS							
Bentsen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Tower	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH							
Garn	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Hatch	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
VERMONT							
Leahy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Stafford	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Warner	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
WYOMING							
Simpson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Wallop	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

484. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Passage of the bill to tax excess profits on crude oil production of oil companies. Passed 74-24: R 22-18; D 52-6 (ND 37-3; SD 15-3), Dec. 17, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

485. S 2094. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment *(see vote 486, below)* to require a $400 million contribution by Chrysler Corp. workers in lieu of the wage freeze required (in the reported bill) as a condition for federal loan guarantees. Adopted 54-43: R 6-33; D 48-10 (ND 32-7; SD 16-3), Dec. 19, 1979.

486. S 2094. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Stevens, R-Alaska, motion to reconsider the vote by which the Eagleton, D-Mo., amendment *(see vote 485, above)* was adopted. Motion agreed to 94-3: R 39-0; D 55-3 (ND 36-3; SD 19-0), Dec. 19, 1979. (The Eagleton amendment was withdrawn subsequently.)

487. S 2094. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Lugar, R-Ind., amendment to authorize $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees, to be matched by $2.1 billion from other sources (including $525 million from unionized Chrysler workers and $150 million from other employees), and to establish a $175 million employee stock ownership plan. Adopted 69-28: R 17-22; D 52-6 (ND 34-5; SD 18-1), Dec. 19, 1979.

488. S 2094. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Levin, D-Mich., amendment to authorize federal guarantees of $500 million in short-term loans to Chrysler pending development of the financing plan required by the bill. Rejected 33-64: R 7-33; D 26-31 (ND 20-20; SD 6-11), Dec. 19, 1979.

489. S 2094. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Heinz, R-Pa., amendment to require Chrysler, as a condition of federal loan guarantees, to issue 1.04 shares of common stock for every share currently outstanding, to be sold when market conditions permitted. Adopted 50-45: R 35-4; D 15-41 (ND 10-29; SD 5-12), Dec. 19, 1979.

490. HR 5860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Passage of the bill to authorize $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees, to be matched by $2.1 billion from other sources, and to establish a $175 million employee stock ownership plan. Passed 53-44: R 12-27; D 41-17 (ND 30-10; SD 11-7), Dec. 19, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

CQ Senate Votes 491 - 497

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509

	491	492	493	494	495	496	497
ALABAMA							
Heflin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA							
Gravel	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Stevens	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
DeConcini	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
Goldwater	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARKANSAS							
Bumpers	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Pryor	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
CALIFORNIA							
Cranston	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Hayakawa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO							
Hart	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
Armstrong	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT							
Ribicoff	Y	Y	Y	?	-	-	?
Weicker	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
DELAWARE							
Biden	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Roth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
FLORIDA							
Chiles	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Stone	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA							
Nunn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Talmadge	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
HAWAII							
Inouye	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Matsunaga	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO							
Church	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
McClure	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS							
Stevenson	Y	?	?	+	-	?	?
Percy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA							
Bayh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Lugar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

	491	492	493	494	495	496	497
IOWA							
Culver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Jepsen	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
KANSAS							
Dole	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kassebaum	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?
KENTUCKY							
Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Huddleston	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
LOUISIANA							
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Long	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE							
Muskie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cohen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MARYLAND							
Sarbanes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Mathias	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS							
Kennedy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Tsongas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN							
Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Riegle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
MINNESOTA							
Boschwitz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Durenberger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI							
Stennis	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Cochran	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MISSOURI							
Eagleton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Danforth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA							
Baucus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Melcher	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
NEBRASKA							
Exon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Zorinsky	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEVADA							
Cannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Laxalt	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y

	491	492	493	494	495	496	497
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
Durkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Humphrey	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY							
Bradley	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Williams	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO							
Domenici	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Schmitt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW YORK							
Moynihan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Javits	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA							
Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Helms	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
Burdick	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Young	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
OHIO							
Glenn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Metzenbaum	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA							
Boren	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Bellmon	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
OREGON							
Hatfield	Y	+	?	?	?	?	?
Packwood	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA							
Heinz	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Schweiker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND							
Pell	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
Chafee	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Hollings	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Thurmond	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
McGovern	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
Pressler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE							
Sasser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Baker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	491	492	493	494	495	496	497
TEXAS							
Bentsen	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
Tower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH							
Garn	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hatch	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
VERMONT							
Leahy	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
Stafford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
VIRGINIA							
Byrd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON							
Jackson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
WEST VIRGINIA							
Byrd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN							
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Proxmire	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
WYOMING							
Simpson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Wallop	N	N	Y	?	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

*Byrd elected as an independent.

491. Linowitz Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Sol M. Linowitz to ambassador-level rank during his tenure as personal representative of the president for Middle East negotiations. Confirmed 80-13: R 24-13; D 56-0 (ND 38-0; SD 18-0), Dec. 20, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

492. HR 3951. Washington, D.C., Metro. Passage of the bill to authorize $1.7 billion for fiscal 1982-87 to complete the remaining 41 miles of the 101-mile rail transit system for the metropolitan Washington, D.C., area. Passed 66-23: R 19-16; D 47-7 (ND 34-4; SD 13-3), Dec. 20, 1979.

493. S Res 316. Cambodian Refugees. Adoption of the resolution commending Thailand for providing food, shelter and other aid for Indochinese refugees. Adopted 90-0: R 35-0; D 55-0 (ND 38-0; SD 17-0), Dec. 20, 1979.

494. Klutznick Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of Philip M. Klutznick of Illinois to be secretary of commerce. Confirmed 74-0: R 33-0; D 41-0 (ND 28-0; SD 13-0), Dec. 20, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

495. HR 5860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees, to be matched by $1.43 billion from other sources, and to establish a $162.5 million employee stock ownership plan. Adopted (thus clearing the measure for the president) 43-34: R 12-22; D 31-12 (ND 25-6; SD 6-6), Dec. 21, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

496. H J Res 467. Chrysler Loan Guarantee Appropriation, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the joint resolution to appropriate $1,518,000 in administrative expenses for the Chrysler Corp. loan guarantee program and commit up to $1,500,000,000 in loan guarantees in fiscal 1980. Passed (thus clearing the bill for the president) 41-35: R 10-23; D 31-12 (ND 25-6; SD 6-6), Dec. 21, 1979. The president had requested $1.5 billion in loan guarantees.

497. Senter Nomination. Confirmation of President Carter's nomination of L.T. Senter Jr. to be a U.S. district judge in the Northern District of Mississippi. Confirmed 43-25: R 22-9; D 21-16 (ND 10-15; SD 11-1), Dec. 21, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

HOUSE ROLL-CALL VOTES

CQ

1. Election of Speaker. For election of the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the 96th Congress the nominees were Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., Speaker since 1977, and Rep. John J. Rhodes, R-Ariz., minority leader since 1973. O'Neill was elected 268-152: R 0-152; D 268-0 (ND 184-0; SD 84-0), Jan. 15, 1979. A "Y" on the chart represents a vote for O'Neill, an "N" a vote for Rhodes.

2. H Res 5. House Rules. Wright, D-Texas, motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate) on the House rules proposed by the Democratic Caucus at its meeting in early December 1978. Motion agreed to 241-156: R 0-151; D 241-5 (ND 161-4; SD 80-1), Jan. 15, 1979. The rules were adopted subsequently by voice vote.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea)
- ✓ Paired for
- † Announced for
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against
- - Announced against
- P Voted "present"
- ● Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

	1	2
ALABAMA		
1 *Edwards*	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	N	N
3 Nichols[1]	?	
4 Bevill[1]	?	
5 Flippo	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*[1]	?	
7 Shelby	Y	Y
ALASKA		
AL *Young*	N	N
ARIZONA		
1 *Rhodes*	C	N
2 Udall	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	N	N
ARKANSAS		
1 Alexander	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA		
1 Johnson	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	?
4 Fazio	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	Y	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y
11 Vacancy[2]		
12 *McCloskey*	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	N	N
18 *Thomas*	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	N	N
21 Corman	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	N	N
27 *Dornan*	N	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	?
30 Danielson	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	N	N
34 *Lungren*	N	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N
40 *Badham*	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	N
COLORADO		
1 Schroeder	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	?
4 *Johnson*	N	N
5 *Kramer*	N	N
CONNECTICUT		
1 Cotter	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*[1]	?	
5 Ratchford	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y
DELAWARE		
AL *Evans*	N	N
FLORIDA		
1 Hutto	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	N
6 *Young*	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	N
11 Mica	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	?
13 Lehman	Y	?
14 Pepper	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y
GEORGIA		
1 Ginn	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y
HAWAII		
1 Heftel	?	Y
2 Akaka	?	Y
IDAHO		
1 *Symms*	N	N
2 *Hansen*	N	N
ILLINOIS		
1 Stewart	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	?
3 Russo	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	N
5 Fary	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	N
7 Collins	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	N	N
13 *McClory*	N	N
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N
15 *Corcoran*	N	N
16 *Anderson*	N	N
17 *O'Brien*	N	N
18 *Michel*	N	N
19 *Railsback*	N	N
20 *Findley*	N	N
21 *Madigan*	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y
INDIANA		
1 Benjamin	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	N
5 *Hillis*	N	N
6 Evans	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	N
8 *Deckard*	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N
IOWA		
1 *Leach*	N	N
2 *Tauke*	N	N
3 *Grassley*	N	N
4 Smith	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	?

Democrats *Republicans*

	1	2
KANSAS		
1 *Sebelius*	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	N	N
3 *Winn*	N	N
4 Glickman	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	N	N
KENTUCKY		
1 Hubbard	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	N	N
5 *Carter*	N	N
6 *Hopkins*	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y
LOUISIANA		
1 *Livingston*	N	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	N	N
4 Leach	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y
6 *Moore*	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y
MAINE		
1 *Emery*	N	N
2 *Snowe*	N	N
MARYLAND		
1 *Bauman*	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	?
6 Byron	Y	?
7 Mitchell[1]	?	
8 Barnes	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS		
1 *Conte*	N	N
2 Boland	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	?
7 Markey	Y	Y
8 O'Neill	C	
9 Moakley	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y
MICHIGAN		
1 Conyers	Y	Y
2 *Pursell*	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	N	N
6 Carr	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	N	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	N	N
MINNESOTA		
1 *Erdahl*	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	N	N
3 *Frenzel*	N	N
4 Vento	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y
7 *Stangeland*	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI		
1 Whitten	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	N	N
5 *Lott*	N	N
MISSOURI		
1 Clay	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y
6 *Coleman*	N	N
7 *Taylor*	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y
MONTANA		
1 Williams	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	N	N
NEBRASKA		
1 *Bereuter*	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	N	N
NEVADA		
AL Santini	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
1 D'Amours	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	N	N
NEW JERSEY		
1 Florio	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	N
10 Rodino	Y	?
11 Minish	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	N	N
13 *Courter*	N	?
14 Guarini	Y	?
15 Patten	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO		
1 *Lujan*	N	N
2 Runnels	Y	N
NEW YORK		
1 *Carney*	N	N
2 Downey	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	N
4 *Lent*	N	N
5 *Wydler*	N	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	?
13 Solarz[1]	?	
14 Richmond	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y
18 *Green*	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	N	N
26 *Gilman*	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	N	N
30 *McEwen*	N	N
31 *Mitchell*	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	N	N
34 *Horton*	N	N
35 *Conable*	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA		
1 Jones	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	N	N
10 *Broyhill*	N	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA		
AL *Andrews*	N	N
OHIO		
1 *Gradison*	N	N
2 Luken	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	N	N
5 *Latta*	N	N
6 *Harsha*	N	N
7 *Brown*	N	N
8 *Kindness*	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	?
10 *Miller*	N	N
11 *Stanton*	N	N
12 *Devine*	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	N	N
16 *Regula*	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	?
19 *Williams*	N	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA		
1 Jones	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	N	N
6 English	Y	Y
OREGON		
1 AuCoin	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA		
1 Myers	Y	?
2 Gray	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	?
4 *Dougherty*	N	N
5 *Schulze*	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y
9 *Shuster*	N	N
10 *McDade*	N	N
11 Flood	Y	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	?
15 *Ritter*	N	N
16 *Walker*	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y
23 *Clinger*	N	N
24 *Marks*[1]	?	
25 Atkinson	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND		
1 St Germain	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA		
1 Davis	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	N	N
5 Holland	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA		
1 Daschle	Y	?
2 *Abdnor*	N	N
TENNESSEE		
1 *Quillen*	N	N
2 *Duncan*	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	N	N
7 Jones	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y
TEXAS		
1 Hall	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	?
19 Hance	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	N	N
22 *Paul*	N	?
23 Kazen	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y
UTAH		
1 McKay	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	N	N
VERMONT		
AL *Jeffords*	N	N
VIRGINIA		
1 *Trible*	N	N
2 *Whitehurst*	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	N	N
7 *Robinson*	N	N
8 Harris	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y
WASHINGTON		
1 *Pritchard*[1]	?	
2 Swift	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	?
4 McCormack	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA		
1 Mollohan	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y
WISCONSIN		
1 Aspin	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier[1]	?	
3 Baldus	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y
6 Vacancy		
7 Obey	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	N
WYOMING		
AL *Cheney*	N	N

All members-elect are eligible to vote on election of the Speaker.

[1] *Not sworn in and therefore not eligible for CQ vote 2.*
[2] *Rep. Leo J. Ryan, D-Calif., died Nov. 18, 1978.*
[3] *Rep. William A. Steiger, R-Wis., died Dec. 4, 1978.*

Democrats ***Republicans***

3. H Res 35. Veterans' Affairs Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $400,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 267-100: R 48-90; D 219-10 (ND 140-9; SD 79-1), Feb. 26, 1979.

4. H Res 45. Small Business Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $752,650 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Small Business Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 266-94: R 50-85; D 216-9 (ND 138-8; SD 78-1), Feb. 26, 1979.

5. H Res 60. Armed Services Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $677,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Armed Services Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 256-103: R 48-86; D 208-17 (ND 131-15; SD 77-2), Feb. 26, 1979.

6. H Res 85. Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $2,444,600 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 249-121: R 40-98; D 209-23 (ND 138-14; SD 71-9), Feb. 26, 1979.

7. H Res 87. House Administration Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $845,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Administration Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 253-119: R 40-99; D 213-20 (ND 140-12; SD 73-8), Feb. 26, 1979.

8. H Res 88. Ways and Means Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $2 million for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Ways and Means Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 242-122: R 35-101; D 207-21 (ND 133-16; SD 74-5), Feb. 26, 1979.

9. H Res 91. Public Works and Transportation Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $1,870,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Public Works and Transportation Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 267-98: R 53-85; D 214-13 (ND 137-11; SD 77-2), Feb. 26, 1979.

10. H Res 92. Education and Labor Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $2,250,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Education and Labor Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 201-171: R 13-126; D 188-45 (ND 125-29; SD 63-16), Feb. 26, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Vacancy								
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
18 *Thomas*	N	N	?	N	N	N	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
23 Beilenson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
24 Waxman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Anderson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
33 *Grisham*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
34 *Lungren*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
40 *Badham*	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Kramer*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Dodd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *McKinney*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Kelly*	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
6 *Young*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
7 McDonald	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 *Hansen*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *O'Brien*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 *Michel*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
19 *Railsback*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 *Findley*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
6 Evans	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 *Myers*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	?	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Glickman	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 *Whittaker*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Snowe*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Boland	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Donnelly	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Traxler	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 *Vander Jagt*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Albosta	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 *Davis*	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
16 Dingell	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 *Frenzel*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Stangeland*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Coleman*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MONTANA								
1 Williams	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Marlenee*	N	N	N	N	N	?	N	N
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Smith*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	N	N	?	N	N	N	?	N
6 *Forsythe*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 *Courter*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
14 Guarini	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Patten	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Wydler*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
18 *Green*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
30 *McEwen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31 *Mitchell*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
32 Hanley	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
33 *Lee*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
35 *Conable*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Martin*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
10 *Broyhill*	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Luken	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Latta*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Brown*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
8 *Kindness*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 *Miller*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 *Regula*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 Applegate	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
19 *Williams*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
20 Oakar	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Ullman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Gray	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 *Shuster*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
16 *Walker*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
19 *Goodling*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 *Clinger*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 *Archer*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
22 *Paul*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Whitehurst*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Butler*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 McCormack	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Vacancy								
7 Obey	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

11. H Res 96. Select Intelligence Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $927,401 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence during calendar 1979. Adopted 272-101: R 56-84; D 216-17 (ND 141-13; SD 75-4), Feb. 26, 1979.

12. H Res 98. Foreign Affairs Committee Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $1,745,779 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 239-135: R 32-107; D 207-28 (ND 138-17; SD 69-11), Feb. 26, 1979.

13. S 37. Financial Institutions Regulations. St. Germain, D-R.I., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to repeal a provision of PL 95-630 requiring that financial institutions inform all their customers of their rights under the act. Motion agreed to 362-5: R 138-0; D 224-5 (ND 147-5; SD 77-0), Feb. 27, 1979. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (247 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

14. HR 1894. Public Debt Limit. Bolling, D-Mo., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate) on the adoption of the rule (H Res 133) providing for House floor consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 222-197: R 1-153; D 221-44 (ND 167-15; SD 54-29), Feb. 28, 1979.

15. HR 1894. Public Debt Limit. Passage of the bill to increase the public debt limit to $836 billion from $798 billion through Sept. 30, 1979. Rejected 194-222: R 3-149; D 191-73 (ND 142-39; SD 49-34), Feb. 28, 1979.

16. H Res 142. Diggs Expulsion. Butler, R-Va., motion that a portion of the testimony of Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., at Diggs' trial on charges of illegally diverting his congressional employees' salaries to his personal use be read on the House floor. Motion agreed to 353-53: R 150-0; D 203-53 (ND 129-46; SD 74-7), March 1, 1979.

17. H Res 142. Diggs Expulsion. Wright, D-Texas, motion that the resolution to expel from the House of Representatives Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., be referred to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. Motion agreed to 322-77: R 80-62; D 242-15 (ND 170-9; SD 72-6), March 1, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
ALABAMA							
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
ALASKA							
AL *Young*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
1 *Rhodes*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?
2 *Bethune*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	N	Y	N	X	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Vacancy							
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	N	N	Y	N	N	?	P
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Beilenson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
27 *Dornan*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
29 Hawkins	?	?	?	#	#	?	?
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Anderson	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	+	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	?
4 *McKinney*	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
DELAWARE							
AL *Evans*	N	N	Y	N	N	?	+
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	?	?	#	#	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO							
1 *Symms*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Evans	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	N	C	N	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA							
1 *Leach*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
KANSAS							
1 *Sebelius*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	C	N	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	Y	N	?	N	N	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	P
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE							
1 *Emery*	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 *Snowe*	N	N	?	N	N	Y	N
MARYLAND							
1 *Bauman*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Holt*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 *Conte*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Pursell*	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	Y	?	#	?	?
9 *Vander Jagt*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Albosta	?	?	?	Y	N	?	Y
11 *Davis*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Dingell	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
1 *Erdahl*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Stangeland*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 *Lott*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Young	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Coleman*	N	N	Y	N	X	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
NEBRASKA							
1 *Bereuter*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	N	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	?	?	?	N	N	Y	P
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	+	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO							
1 *Lujan*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW YORK							
1 *Carney*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	+	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 Holtzman	+	+	+	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Green*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 *Fish*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
32 Hanley	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
35 *Conable*	N	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	N	N	+	+
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL *Andrews*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OHIO							
1 *Gradison*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Guyer*	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Harsha*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 *Kindness*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Ashley	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Miller*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
12 *Devine*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	N	?	N	X	?	?
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 *McDade*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 *Coughlin*	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
16 *Walker*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	+	+	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	N	Y	N	N	?	?
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	P
3 Derrick	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE							
1 *Quillen*	N	N	C	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS							
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?
3 *Collins*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 White	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 *Paul*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH							
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VERMONT							
AL *Jeffords*	?	?	Y	N	N	?	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 *Trible*	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 *Pritchard*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Vacancy							
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	P
WYOMING							
AL *Cheney*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

18. HR 2439. Budget Rescission, Fiscal 1979. Staggers, D-W.Va., amendment to restore appropriations totaling $37 million for capitation grants to medical schools and certain nurse training programs. Adopted 262-139: R 73-69; D 189-70 (ND 135-44; SD 54-26), March 6, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

19. HR 2439. Budget Rescission, Fiscal 1979. Glickman, D-Kan., amendment to rescind $37 million for construction of new facilities for the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. Adopted 290-114: R 129-16; D 161-98 (ND 101-78; SD 60-20), March 6, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

20. H Res 111. Standards of Official Conduct Committee Funds. Adoption of the resolution to provide $500,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct during calendar 1979. Adopted 353-53: R 101-45; D 252-8 (ND 174-6; SD 78-2), March 7, 1979.

21. H Res 130. Rules Committee Funds. Adoption of the resolution to provide $519,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Rules Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 249-163: R 17-132; D 232-31 (ND 170-13; SD 62-18), March 7, 1979.

22. H Res 112. District of Columbia Committee Funds. Adoption of the resolution to provide $315,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Committee on the District of Columbia during calendar 1979. Adopted 222-187: R 10-137; D 212-50 (ND 158-24; SD 54-26), March 7, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	18	19	20	21	22
ALABAMA					
1 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	?	?	?	?	?
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA					
AL *Young*	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ARIZONA					
1 *Rhodes*	?	?	Y	N	N
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS					
1 Alexander	?	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA					
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Vacancy					
12 *McCloskey*	N	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	N	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	?	Y	N	?	?
18 *Thomas*	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	?	N	N	N
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	N	?	?	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	N	Y	Y	N	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	N	N	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	N	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	N	N	N
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	?	N	N	N
40 *Badham*	N	Y	N	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	Y	?
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	N	N	N
COLORADO					
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	Y	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT					
1 Cotter	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	?	?	?	?	?
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE					
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
FLORIDA					
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Young*	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ireland	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Bafalis*	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	Y	?	?	?
14 Pepper	?	?	?	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA					
1 Ginn	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	N	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 McDonald	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII					
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO					
1 *Symms*	N	Y	N	N	N
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	N	N	N
ILLINOIS					
1 Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	N	N	N
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	Y	N	N	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	N	Y	N	N
18 *Michel*	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Findley*	N	Y	N	N	?
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA					
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	N	N	N
5 *Hillis*	?	?	Y	N	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA					
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Grassley*	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Smith	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	18	19	20	21	22
KANSAS					
1 *Sebelius*	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Jeffries*	N	Y	N	N	N
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	N	N	N
KENTUCKY					
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	?	?
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Carter*	Y	N	?	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA					
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	Y	N	?	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Leach	Y	?	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE					
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND					
1 *Bauman*	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Long	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	?	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS					
1 *Conte*	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Boland	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	N	N	N	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill					
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN					
1 Conyers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Pursell*	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Traxler	?	?	?	?	?
9 *Vander Jagt*	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Albosta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	?	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA					
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	?	?	?	?	?
3 *Frenzel*	?	Y	Y	N	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI					
1 Whitten	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	N	Y	N	N	N
5 *Lott*	?	?	?	?	?
MISSOURI					
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 *Coleman*	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Taylor*	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	Y	?
MONTANA					
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA					
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA					
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	?	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY					
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
4 Thompson	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	N	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	N	?	N	N
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Runnels	N	N	?	?	?
NEW YORK					
1 *Carney*	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	+	Y	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	?	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Green*	Y	N	N	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	N	N	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	N	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	N	N	N
30 *McEwen*	N	Y	Y	Y	?
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	N	N	N
34 *Horton*	Y	N	?	Y	N
35 *Conable*	N	Y	N	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	N	Y	Y	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA					
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Broyhill*	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 Gudger	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA					
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO					
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 *Brown*	N	Y	N	N	N
8 *Kindness*	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	N	Y	N	N	N
11 *Stanton*	N	N	Y	N	N
12 *Devine*	N	Y	Y	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	N	N	N
16 *Regula*	N	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	N	Y	?	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	N	N
19 *Williams*	?	Y	?	?	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	N	N
OKLAHOMA					
1 Jones	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	?	?	Y	N	N
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	?	?	N	N	N
6 English	?	?	Y	N	N
OREGON					
1 AuCoin	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Schulze*	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	?	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Shuster*	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 *McDade*	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	?	?	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	N	Y	N	N	N
16 *Walker*	N	Y	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Goodling*	N	Y	N	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	N	Y	Y	N	N
24 *Marks*	Y	N	?	?	?
25 Atkinson	N	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND					
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA					
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA					
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE					
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS					
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wilson, C.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Wright	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Paul*	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH					
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	N	N	N
VERMONT					
AL *Jeffords*	Y	N	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA					
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Butler*	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Robinson*	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON					
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	?	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA					
1 Mollohan	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN					
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Vacancy					
7 Obey	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING					
AL *Cheney*	?	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

23. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Kramer, R-Colo., amendment to retain language from the 1955 mutual defense treaty with Taiwan regarding U.S. response to hostile action toward Taiwan. Rejected 149-221: R 107-27; D 42-194 (ND 15-148; SD 27-46), March 8, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

24. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Lagomarsino, R-Calif., amendment to state that the United States would consider withdrawing recognition of the People's Republic of China if it were to attack Taiwan. Rejected 169-197: R 120-14; D 49-183 (ND 18-142; SD 31-41), March 8, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

25. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Quayle, R-Ind., amendment to conduct relations with Taiwan through a government "liaison office," rather than through the unofficial American Institute in Taiwan proposed by the administration. Rejected 172-181: R 113-13; D 59-168 (ND 27-131; SD 32-37), March 8, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea)
- # Paired for
- + Announced for
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against
  Announced against
- P Voted "present"
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

	23	24	25
ALABAMA			
1 *Edwards*	?	?	?
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	N	N	N
5 Flippo	?	?	?
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA			
AL *Young*	#	#	#
ARIZONA			
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	N
2 Udall	?	?	?
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS			
1 Alexander	N	N	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA			
1 Johnson	N	N	?
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	N
4 Fazio	N	N	N
5 Burton, J	N	?	N
6 Burton, P	N	N	N
7 Miller	N	N	N
8 Dellums	?	?	X
9 Stark	N	N	N
10 Edwards	?	?	?
11 Vacancy			
12 *McCloskey*	N	N	N
13 Mineta	N	N	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	N	N
16 Panetta	N	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	?	?	?
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	X	?	X
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	N
24 Waxman	N	N	N
25 Roybal	?	?	X
26 *Rousselot*	#	#	#
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	N	N
29 Hawkins	N	N	N
30 Danielson	N	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	?	X
32 Anderson	N	N	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	?	?	?
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO			
1 Schroeder	?	?	?
2 Wirth	?	N	N
3 Kogovsek	N	N	N
4 *Johnson*	N	N	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT			
1 Cotter	N	N	N
2 Dodd	N	N	N
3 Giaimo	N	?	N
4 *McKinney*	?	?	?
5 Ratchford	N	N	N
6 Moffett	N	N	N
DELAWARE			
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA			
1 Hutto	?	?	?
2 Fuqua	X	X	X
3 Bennett	N	N	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	?
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	N	Y	?
8 Ireland	?	X	N
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	X	?	?
12 Stack	N	N	N
13 Lehman	N	N	N
14 Pepper	?	X	X
15 Fascell	N	N	N
GEORGIA			
1 Ginn	Y	N	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y
8 Evans	?	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII			
1 Heftel	N	N	N
2 Akaka	N	N	Y
IDAHO			
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS			
1 Stewart	N	N	N
2 Murphy	N	N	N
3 Russo	N	N	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	N	N	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	N	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	#
9 Yates	N	N	N
10 Mikva	N	N	N
11 Annunzio	N	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	#	#	#
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N	Y
15 Corcoran	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	?	?	#
19 *Railsback*	?	?	?
20 *Findley*	N	N	N
21 *Madigan*	?	?	?
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	#
23 Price	N	N	N
24 Simon	N	N	N
INDIANA			
1 Benjamin	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	N	N	N
3 Brademas	N	N	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	?	?	?
6 Evans	N	N	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	N	N	N
10 Sharp	?	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y
IOWA			
1 *Leach*	N	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	N	N	N
5 Harkin	N	N	N
6 Bedell	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

	23	24	25
KANSAS			
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y
3 *Winn*	?	?	?
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY			
1 Hubbard	N	N	N
2 Natcher	N	N	N
3 Mazzoli	N	N	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	N	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	N	N
LOUISIANA			
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	N	N
3 *Treen*	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	?	?	?
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	#	#	#
8 Long	N	Y	Y
MAINE			
1 *Emery*	N	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND			
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	?
3 Mikulski	N	N	N
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	N	?	N
6 Byron	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	N
8 Barnes	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS			
1 *Conte*	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	N	N
3 Early	N	N	X
4 Drinan	N	N	N
5 Shannon	N	N	N
6 Mavroules	N	N	N
7 Markey	N	N	N
8 O'Neill			
9 Moakley	N	N	N
10 *Heckler*	N	Y	N
11 Donnelly	N	N	Y
12 Studds	N	N	N
MICHIGAN			
1 Conyers	N	N	?
2 *Pursell*	?	X	?
3 Wolpe	N	N	N
4 *Stockman*	?	Y	Y
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	N
7 Kildee	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	X
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	N	N	N
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	N
13 Diggs	N	?	X
14 Nedzi	N	N	N
15 Ford	N	N	N
16 Dingell	?	?	?
17 Brodhead	N	N	N
18 Blanchard	N	N	N
19 *Broomfield*	N	N	N
MINNESOTA			
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	N	N	Y
4 Vento	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	N	N	N
6 Nolan	N	N	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI			
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	N	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	N	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI			
1 Clay	Y	?	N
2 Young	N	N	N
3 Gephardt	N	N	N
4 Skelton	N	N	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	N	N	N
10 Burlison	N	N	N
MONTANA			
1 Williams	?	?	X
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA			
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	N
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA			
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
1 D Amours	N	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY			
1 Florio	N	N	N
2 Hughes	N	N	N
3 Howard	Y	N	Y
4 Thompson	N	N	N
5 *Fenwick*	N	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	N	N	Y
7 Maguire	N	N	N
8 Roe	N	N	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	N	N	N
11 Minish	N	N	N
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	N	N	N
15 Patten	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO			
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK			
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	N	N
3 Ambro	N	Y	N
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	N	N
7 Addabbo	N	N	N
8 Rosenthal	N	N	N
9 Ferraro	N	N	N
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	?	?	?
12 Chisholm	N	?	N
13 Solarz	N	N	N
14 Richmond	N	N	N
15 *Zeferetti*	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	N	N	Y
17 Murphy	N	N	N
18 *Green*	N	N	N
19 Rangel	N	N	N
20 Weiss	?	X	X
21 Garcia	N	N	N
22 Bingham	N	N	N
23 Peyser	N	N	N
24 Ottinger	N	N	N
25 *Fish*	N	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	N
28 Stratton	N	N	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y
30 *McEwen*	N	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	?	#	#
32 Hanley	N	N	N
33 *Lee*	?	?	?
34 *Horton*	?	?	#
35 *Conable*	?	#	#
36 LaFalce	X	X	X
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	?	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA			
1 Jones	?	?	?
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	N	N
4 Andrews	N	N	N
5 Neal	N	N	N
6 Preyer	N	N	N
7 Rose	?	X	?
8 Hefner	N	N	N
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	?
11 *Gudger*	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA			
AL *Andrews*	?	?	?
OHIO			
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	N	N	N
3 Hall	N	N	N
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	N	Y	#
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	N	N	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y
11 *Stanton*	N	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	#
13 Pease	?	N	N
14 Seiberling	N	N	N
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	#
16 *Regula*	N	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	#
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	?	?	?
20 Oakar	Y	N	N
21 Stokes	?	?	X
22 Vanik	N	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA			
1 Jones	N	Y	N
2 Synar	N	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	N	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y
OREGON			
1 AuCoin		N	N
2 Ullman	N	N	N
3 Duncan	N	N	N
4 Weaver	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA			
1 Myers	N	N	Y
2 Gray	N	N	N
3 Lederer	N	N	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	N	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	N
8 Kostmayer	N	N	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	?	#	#
11 Flood	?	X	X
12 Murtha	N	N	N
13 *Coughlin*	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	N	N
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	N	N
18 Walgren	N	N	N
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	N	N	N
21 Bailey	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	N	N	N
25 Atkinson	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND			
1 St Germain	N	N	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA			
1 Davis	N	N	N
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	N	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA			
1 Daschle	N	N	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	#
TENNESSEE			
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	#
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	N	?
5 Boner	N	N	N
6 *Beard*	#	#	#
7 Jones	N	N	N
8 Ford	N	N	N
TEXAS			
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson C	N	?	N
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	N	N	Y
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	N	N
9 Brooks	N	N	N
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	N	N
13 Hightower	N	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	X
16 White	Y	Y	#
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	N	N	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzales	N	N	?
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	N	N	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	Y
UTAH			
1 McKay	N	Y	?
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT			
AL *Jeffords*	Y	?	?
VIRGINIA			
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	N	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y
4 *Daniel R W*	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel D	Y	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	N	N
9 *Wampler*	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	N
WASHINGTON			
1 *Pritchard*	N	N	N
2 Swift	?	N	N
3 Bonker	N	N	N
4 McCormack	N	N	X
5 Foley	N	N	N
6 Dicks	N	?	N
7 Lowry	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA			
1 Mollohan	N	N	N
2 Staggers	N	N	N
3 Slack	N	N	N
4 Rahall	X	?	X
WISCONSIN			
1 Aspin	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	N
3 Baldus	N	N	?
4 Zablocki	N	N	N
5 Reuss	N	N	N
6 Vacancy			
7 Obey	?	?	?
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING			
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

26. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to make employees of the American Institute in Taiwan employees of the U.S. government. Rejected 171-239: R 135-14; D 36-225 (ND 11-167; SD 25-58), March 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

27. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Edwards, R-Okla., amendment to add the islands of Quemoy and Matsu to the definition of Taiwan. Rejected 146-256: R 100-44; D 46-212 (ND 18-159; SD 28-53), March 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

28. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Solomon, R-N.Y., amendment to establish relations with Taiwan on a consular basis. Rejected 179-225: R 124-21; D 55-204 (ND 24-153; SD 31-51), March 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

29. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Zablocki, D-Wis. motion to end all debate on the bill at 5 p.m., in an attempt to cut off further amendments. Motion agreed to 204-193: R 14-132; D 190-61 (ND 137-35; SD 53-26), March 13, 1979.

30. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Bauman, R-Md., motion to strike the enacting clause (thus killing the bill). Motion rejected 110-295: R 98-51; D 12-244 (ND 5-171; SD 7-73), March 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

31. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Dannemeyer, R-Calif., amendment to conduct relations with Taiwan through a quasi-governmental agency titled the "U.S. Commission in Taiwan." Rejected 182-221: R 134-16; D 48-205 (ND 20-155; SD 28-50), March 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

32. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Edwards, R-Okla., amendment to require approval by both houses of Congress before the president could notify Taiwan that a treaty or agreement between the United States and Taiwan would be terminated. Rejected 141-264: R 118-32; D 23-232 (ND 7-168; SD 16-64), March 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

33. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to require the authorization and appropriation by Congress of any U.S. government funds for the American Institute in Taiwan. Adopted 226-174: R 144-4; D 82-170 (ND 36-138; SD 46-32), March 13, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Flippo	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Fazio	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Burton, J.	N	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Miller	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Dellums	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 Stark	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Edwards	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
11 Vacancy								
12 *McCloskey*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Mineta	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
16 Panetta	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Waxman	N	?	N	?	?	N	N	N
25 Roybal	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
28 Dixon	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
29 Hawkins	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
30 Danielson	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Anderson	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
36 Brown	N	?	N	?	N	N	N	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Wirth	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Kogovsek	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Johnson*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Dodd	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Giaimo	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y
4 *McKinney*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Ratchford	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Moffett	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ireland	Y	N	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Stack	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Lehman	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Pepper	N	?	N	Y	N	?	?	?
15 Fascell	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Akaka	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Murphy	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Russo	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Yates	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Mikva	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Annunzio	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
21 *Madigan*	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Simon	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Fithian	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Brademas	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Sharp	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Harkin	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Bedell	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37

	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Mikulski	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Barnes	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Early	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Drinan	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Shannon	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Mavroules	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Markey	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 *Heckler*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?
2 *Pursell*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Wolpe	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Traxler	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Diggs	?	N	N	?	N	N	N	N
14 Nedzi	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Ford	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
16 Dingell	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N
17 Brodhead	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
18 Blanchard	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
19 *Broomfield*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Sabo	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Nolan	N	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?
2 Bowen	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Young	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Gephardt	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Skelton	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
10 Burlison	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 *Smith*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Hughes	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 Thompson	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 *Fenwick*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Maguire	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Rodino	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Minish	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Patten	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Ambro	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Addabbo	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Rosenthal	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Ferraro	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Biaggi	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
12 Chisholm	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Solarz	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Richmond	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
15 Zeferetti	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
17 Murphy	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
18 *Green*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?
20 Weiss	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
21 Garcia	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
22 Bingham	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Peyser	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Ottinger	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
25 *Fish*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
33 *Lee*	Y	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Horton*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
37 Nowak	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Andrews	N	N	N	?	?	?	N	N
5 Neal	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 Preyer	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Rose	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Hefner	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 *Martin*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Hall	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	?	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 *Wylie*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	?
20 Oakar	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
21 Stokes	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
22 Vanik	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Synar	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 English	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Ullman	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Duncan	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N
4 Weaver	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Gray	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Lederer	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Kostmayer	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
13 *Coughlin*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
24 *Marks*	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	Y
25 Atkinson	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Beard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	N	N	N	Y	N	?	?	?
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Jenrette	N	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Gore	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Boner	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Beard*	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ford	N	N	N	?	N	N	N	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Brooks	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Pickle	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Swift	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Bonker	N	?	N	Y	N	?	N	N
4 McCormack	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Foley	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Dicks	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Lowry	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Staggers	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Slack	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Rahall	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Baldus	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Zablocki	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Reuss	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Vacancy								
7 Obey	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

34. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Passage of the bill to continue U.S. relations with Taiwan on an unofficial basis, provide security assurances to the people of Taiwan and continue in force nearly 60 treaties and agreements on trade and other matters. Passed 345-55: R 104-41; D 241-14 (ND 171-5, SD 70-9), March 13, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

35. H Res 114. Pension Task Force Funding. Adoption of the resolution to provide $167,500 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Education and Labor Committee's task force on welfare and pension plans during calendar 1979. Adopted 136-73: R 95-57; D 241-16 (ND 171-7, SD 70-9), March 15, 1979.

36. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Bolling, D-Mo., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate) on the adoption of the rule (H Res 157) providing for House floor consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 201-199: R 1-145; D 200-54 (ND 162-14; SD 38-40), March 15, 1979.

37. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Passage of the bill to increase the public debt limit to $830 billion from $798 billion through Sept. 30, 1979. Passed 212-195: R 3-142; D 209-53 (ND 155-25; SD 54-28), March 15, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea)
- # Paired for
- + Announced for
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against
- – Announced against
- P Voted "present"
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

	34	35	36	37
ALABAMA				
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	N	N	N	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	N
4 Bevill	?	?	?	?
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	N
ALASKA				
AL *Young*	Y	Y	N	N
ARIZONA				
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	N	N
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	N	N	N	N
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS				
1 Alexander	?	?	?	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	?	Y
CALIFORNIA				
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	P	Y	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	#	#
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Vacancy				
12 *McCloskey*	?	?	X	X
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	N	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	N	N	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	N	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	N	Y	N	?
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	N	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	#	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	N	Y	N	N
27 *Dornan*	?	?	X	#
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	?	N
33 *Grisham*	N	N	N	N
34 *Lungren*	N	N	N	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	N	N
40 *Badham*	N	Y	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	N	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	N	N	N
COLORADO				
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kramer*	N	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT				
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	?	#	#
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	?	?	X	?
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	?	Y	Y
DELAWARE				
AL *Evans*	?	Y	N	N
FLORIDA				
1 Hutto	?	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	?	N
5 *Kelly*	N	N	N	N
6 *Young*	N	N	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	N	N	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	+	+	#	#
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA				
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	N	N
3 Brinkley	Y	N	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	?	N
7 McDonald	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	?	N	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII				
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO				
1 *Symms*	N	N	N	N
2 *Hansen*	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS				
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	N	N
7 Collins	?	Y	#	#
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	N	X	X
13 *McClory*	N	N	N	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	N	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	X	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	N	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N	?	?
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA				
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	N	N	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	N	N
6 Evans	Y	N	N	N
7 *Myers*	Y	N	N	N
8 *Deckard*	?	N	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N	N
IOWA				
1 *Leach*	Y	N	N	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	N	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	N
4 Smith	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	–	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	34	35	36	37
KANSAS				
1 *Sebelius*	Y	N	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	N	N	N	N
3 *Winn*	Y	N	N	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	N	N	N
KENTUCKY				
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Hopkins*	Y	N	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA				
1 *Livingston*	N	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	N	N
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Moore*	Y	N	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE				
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND				
1 *Bauman*	N	N	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	N	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	?	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	N
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS				
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill				
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN				
1 Conyers	?	?	Y	Y
2 *Pursell*	?	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	N	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	N	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	?	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA				
1 *Erdahl*	Y	N	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	N	N	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	N	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI				
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	?	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	N	N	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Lott*	Y	N	N	N
MISSOURI				
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	N	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA				
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	N	N	N
NEBRASKA				
1 *Bereuter*	Y	N	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	N	N	N
NEVADA				
AL Santini	Y	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY				
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	N	Y	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	N	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO				
1 *Lujan*	Y	N	N	N
2 Runnels	Y	N	N	N
NEW YORK				
1 *Carney*	N	N	N	N
2 Downey	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	Y	Y	N
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	N	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Braggi	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	#	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Zeferetti*	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Green*	Y	N	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	N	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	X	X
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	N	N	N	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	N	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	N	N	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	N	N
35 *Conable*	Y	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	?	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	?	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	?	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	#	#
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	N	N	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	N	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA				
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO				
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	N	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	#	#
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Latta*	N	N	N	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Kindness*	P	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	?	?	Y
10 *Miller*	N	Y	N	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	N	N
12 *Devine*	N	Y	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	N	Y	X	X
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	?	?	X	X
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	?	X	X
OKLAHOMA				
1 Jones	Y	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	N	Y	N	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Edwards*	N	Y	N	N
6 English	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON				
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	?	Y
4 *Weaver*	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA				
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	N	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	N
7 Edgar	Y	?	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	N	N
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	#	#
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	N	N	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	Y	N	N
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N
23 Clinger	Y	Y	N	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	?
RHODE ISLAND				
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA				
1 Davis	?	Y	N	N
2 Spence	N	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	N	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	?	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA				
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE				
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	N	N
2 Duncan	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	N	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS				
1 Hall	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wilson, C	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	N	N	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	N	N	X
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	N	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	N	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	N
16 White	Y	Y	N	N
17 Stenholm	N	N	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	N	N	N	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	N	N	N	N
22 *Paul*	N	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH				
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	N	Y	N	N
VERMONT				
AL *Jeffords*	?	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA				
1 *Trible*	?	N	N	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	N	Y	N	N
4 *Daniel, R W*	N	N	N	N
5 Daniel, D	N	Y	N	N
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Robinson*	N	Y	N	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON				
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA				
1 Mollohan	?	Y	Y	#
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN				
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Zeuliff				
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roth	N	Y	N	N
9 Sensenbrenner	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING				
AL Cheney	Y	Y	?	N

Democrats *Republicans*

38. HR 1301. Lottery Materials Shipment. Danielson, D-Calif., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to allow shipment of lottery tickets and other lottery materials by American manufacturers to foreign countries where lotteries are permitted. Motion rejected 270-140: R 69-80; D 201-60 (ND 158-21; SD 43-39), March 20, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (274 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

39. H Res 118. Select Committee on Committees. Adoption of the resolution to establish in the House a Select Committee on Committees, to study the structure, jurisdiction, rules, procedures, staffing and facilities of the House committees and to report its recommendations to the House by Feb. 1, 1980. Adopted 208-200: R 21-126; D 187-74 (ND 142-38; SD 45-36), March 20, 1979.

40. HR 2283. Wage-Price Council Reauthorization. Adoption of the resolution (H Res 156) providing for House floor consideration of the bill. Adopted 305-102: R 60-86; D 245-16 (ND 173-6; SD 72-10), March 20, 1979.

41. HR 2283. Wage-Price Council Reauthorization. Banking Committee amendment to require the Council on Wage and Price Stability to hold regional hearings and enlist voluntary individual and group participation from the public to help monitor wage and price guidelines. Rejected 128-282: R 1-150; D 127-132 (ND 116-60; SD 11-72), March 20, 1979.

42. HR 2283. Wage-Price Council Reauthorization. Kelly, R-Fla., amendment to reauthorize the Council on Wage and Price Stability for one year (through Sept. 30, 1980) rather than two years. Adopted 252-159: R 150-3; D 102-156 (ND 45-133; SD 57-23), March 20, 1979.

43. HR 2283. Wage-Price Council Reauthorization. Passage of the bill to reauthorize the Council on Wage and Price Stability for one year (through Sept. 30, 1980), and to increase its authorization to $6,952,000 for fiscal 1979 and to $8,483,000 for fiscal 1980. Passed 242-175: R 26-128; D 216-47 (ND 165-14; SD 51-33), March 21, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

44. H Res 13. Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse. Adoption of the resolution to establish a Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control for the 96th Congress. Adopted 338-75: R 126-26; D 212-49 (ND 137-41; SD 75-8), March 21, 1979.

45. H Res 38. Select Committee on Population. Adoption of the resolution to establish in the House a Select Committee on Population for the 96th Congress. Rejected 187-214: R 53-94; D 134-120 (ND 101-72; SD 33-48), March 21, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea)
- # Paired for
- + Announced for
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against
- - Announced against
- P Voted "present"
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	?
3 Stump	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 *Rudd*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Bethune*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
7 Miller	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Vacancy								
12 *McCloskey*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
37 *Lewis*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
40 *Badham*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	?	Y	?	N	?	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Dodd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Kelly*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Young*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Gibbons	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Mica	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	+	+
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Brinkley	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?
9 Jenkins	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	X	?	X	?	?
13 *McClory*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	?
22 *Crane, D.*	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 *Myers*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	?
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49

	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	?
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	X	?	?	X	#	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Breaux	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	N
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	+	Y	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	#	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
2 ***Pursell***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Bonior	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
14 Nedzi	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
16 Dingell	#	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	?	?	?	N	?	N	N
7 ***Stangeland***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Bowen	?	?	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
3 Montgomery	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	X	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	-
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ichord	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	-	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	#	?	?	#	#	X	?	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***Lent***	N	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	#	+	+	+	X	#	+	+
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	#	X	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fountain	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Brown***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
16 ***Regula***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Watkins	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Edwards***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 English	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Duncan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Yatron	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	#	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
16 ***Walker***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
24 ***Marks***	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Roberts	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 White	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
17 Stenholm	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	N	Y	P	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Satterfield	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Staggers	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Vacancy								
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 ***Roth***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

46. HR 2774. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Passage of the bill to authorize $19,276,000 for the operations of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during fiscal 1980. Passed 296-100: R 70-75; D 226-25 (ND 165-6; SD 61-19), March 22, 1979.

47. H Res 86. Judiciary Committee Funds. Adoption of the resolution to provide $1,432,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Judiciary Committee during calendar 1979. Adopted 285-100: R 57-85; D 228-15 (ND 158-11; SD 70-4, March 22, 1979.

48. H Res 134. Science and Technology Committee Funds. Adoption of the resolution to provide $1,600,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Committee on Science and Technology during calendar 1979. Adopted 286-109: R 53-92; D 233-17 (ND 160-14; SD 73-3), March 22, 1979.

49. H Res 139. Interior Committee Funds. Adoption of the resolution to provide $1,200,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs during calendar 1979. Adopted 257-138: R 33-112; D 224-26 (ND 154-19; SD 70-7), March 22, 1979.

50. H Res 140. Government Operations Committee Funds. Adoption of the resolution to provide $2,093,500 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Committee on Government Operations during calendar 1979. Adopted 268-127: R 34-109; D 234-18 (ND 161-13; SD 73-5), March 22, 1979.

51. H Res 123. Post Office and Civil Service Committee Funds. Adoption of the resolution to provide $850,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service during calendar 1979. Adopted 249-147: R 29-114; D 220-33 (ND 155-20; SD 65-13), March 22, 1979.

52. HR 3091. State Legislators Tax Treatment. Cotter, D-Conn., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to extend for one year, through Dec. 31, 1978, a 1976 tax law provision allowing state legislators to designate their place of residence within their legislative district as their tax home and to claim tax deductions for travel expenses according to a formula based on the number of days their legislature was in session and the per diem payment for federal employees for the city in which the legislature was located. Motion agreed to 364-4: R 130-1; D 234-3 (ND 167-1; SD 67-2), March 27, 1979. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (260 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

53. HR 2439. Budget Rescission, Fiscal 1979. Whitten, D-Miss., motion to order the previous question (thus ending further debate and the possibility for amendment) on the Smith, R-Neb., motion to recommit to the conference committee the report on the bill to rescind fiscal 1979 appropriations totaling $723.6 million. Motion agreed to 225-177: R 111-36; D 114-141 (ND 75-102; SD 39-39), March 27, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Smith motion to recommit was rejected subsequently by voice vote.)

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Stump	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Vacancy								
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	C	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	C	Y
38 Patterson	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	N	N	N	N	C	Y
40 *Badham*	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Kelly*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Young*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	#
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	N	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *O'Brien*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	N	N	N	N	N	N	C	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	C	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
4 Leach	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X
8 Long	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	C	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	C	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	#
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	N
7 ***Stangeland***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	C	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	#
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ferraro	+	+	+	+	+	+	Y	N
10 Biaggi	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	N	N	N	N	?	C	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
33 ***Lee***	N	N	N	N	?	?	C	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
23 Mottl	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X
5 ***Schulze***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Spence***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	C	Y
5 Holland	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	Y
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Wilson,C	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	N
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	C	N
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	C	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
5 Daniel, D.	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	=
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
6 Vacancy								
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	N	N	N	N	N	C	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	N	N	N	N	N	C	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

54. HR 2729. National Science Foundation. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to cut $14 million from the $172.1 million committee recommendation for the biological, behavorial and social science research programs. Adopted 219-174: R 126-16; D 93-158 (ND 43-131; SD 50-27), March 27, 1979.

55. HR 2729. National Science Foundation. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to include language prohibiting use of funds to transfer any science education programs in NSF to any other existing or proposed agency. Rejected 175-218: R 135-10; D 40-208 (ND 23-150; SD 17-58), March 28, 1979.

56. HR 2479. Taiwan Relations. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to provide for unofficial relations between the United States and Taiwan and to provide security assurances to Taiwan. Adopted 339-50: R 105-37; D 234-13 (ND 164-4; SD 70-9), March 28, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

57. HR 1787. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Fiscal 1979 Supplemental. Passage of the bill to authorize $185 million in fiscal 1979 for the space shuttle program. Passed 354-39: R 140-5; D 214-34 (ND 138-31; SD 76-3), March 28, 1979.

58. HR 1786. National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Weiss, D-N.Y., to cut $22.7 million from the $308.3 million committee recommendation for the aeronautical research and technology program and to prohibit the use of appropriated funds for supersonic transport research. Rejected 137-246: R 18-123; D 119-123 (ND 102-61; SD 17-62), March 28, 1979.

59. HR 1786. National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Passage of the bill to authorize $4.8 billion for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in fiscal 1980. Passed 323-57: R 128-12; D 195-45 (ND 120-43; SD 75-2), March 28, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea)
- # Paired for
- + Announced for
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against
- - Announced against
- P Voted "present"
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

	54	55	56	57	58	59
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	N	P	N	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	N	N	P	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	N	N	P	N	Y	N
9 Stark	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Vacancy						
12 *McCloskey*	?	#	?	?	?	?
13 Mineta	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	N	N	?	?	?	?
30 Danielson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Anderson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	?	#	N	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	N	N	Y	?	?	?
3 Giaimo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	?	?	?	?	?	?
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	X	X	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	?	?	?	?
14 Pepper	X	X	+	-	+	?
15 Fascell	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	N	N	?	?	?	?
2 Murphy	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Russo	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Mikva	-	-	+	-	+	-
11 Annunzio	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Anderson*	N	Y	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	#	?	?	?	?
19 *Railsback*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Simon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	N	?	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Bedell	N	N	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65

	54	55	56	57	58	59
KANSAS						
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Winn*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	N	?	?	?	?
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Leach	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	#	#	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE						
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND						
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
2 Long	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	N	X	Y	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 *Conte*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Early	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Drinan	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Studds	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
9 *Vander Jagt*	?	#	?	?	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	X	X	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	X	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA						
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Frenzel*	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	#	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Young	N	N	Y	+	-	+
3 Gephardt	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA						
1 *Bereuter*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA						
AL Santini	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Howard	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Thompson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Forsythe*	?	#	?	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Roe	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
10 Rodino	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	X	X	?	?	?	?
15 Patten	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	#	#	?	?	?	?
NEW YORK						
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Wydler*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Chisholm	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
17 Murphy	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Green*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	N	N	P	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
22 Bingham	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Ottinger	-	-	Y	Y	Y	N
25 *Fish*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	-	Y	N	Y
34 *Horton*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
35 *Conable*	?	#	?	?	?	?
36 LaFalce	N	N	Y	?	?	?
37 Nowak	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 *Martin*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO						
1 *Gradison*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Hall	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Kindness*	#	Y	P	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Oakar	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
21 Stokes	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	?	?	?	?	?	?
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Synar	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Duncan	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
4 Weaver	N	N	?	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	?	X	?	?	?	?
4 *Dougherty*	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	+	+	+	+
8 Kostmayer	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	X	X	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 *Coughlin*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Ritter*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	N	?	?	?	?
21 Bailey	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Beard	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE						
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Boner	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
2 Wilson,C.	Y	?	Y	?	?	?
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	#	X	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Brooks	N	N	?	?	?	?
10 Pickle	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	N	?	?	?	?
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VERMONT						
AL *Jeffords*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA						
1 *Trible*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	?	#	N	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	-	-	+	+	+	+
WASHINGTON						
1 *Pritchard*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Foley	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	#	X	?	?	?	?
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	?	?	Y	Y	?	N
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
5 Reuss	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Vacancy						
7 Obey	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING						
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

60. HR 3173. Foreign Military Aid. Bauman, R-Md., amendment to delete the $2.5 million in the bill for finanacing arms sales to Panama. Adopted 272-117: R 140-6; D 132-111 (ND 71-98; SD 61-13), March 29, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

61. HR 3173. Foreign Military Aid. Studds, D-Mass., amendment to authorize appropriations only for fiscal 1980 instead of for fiscal 1980 and 1981. Adopted 201-179: R 96-47; D 105-132 (ND 71-94; SD 34-38), March 29, 1979. (The amendment subsequently was rejected by voice vote after it was determined that it had been inaccurately summarized by House officials before the roll-call vote.)

62. H Res 53. Outer Continental Shelf Select Committee. Adoption of the resolution to extend the life of the House Select Committee on the Outer Continental Shelf through June 30, 1980. Adopted 194-172: R 83-53; D 111-119 (ND 69-92; SD 42-27), March 29, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for yea
- # Paired for
- + Announced for
- N Voted against nay
- X Paired against
- Announced against
- P Voted present
- C Voted present to avoid possible conflict of interest
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known

	60	61	62
ALABAMA			
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	?
6 *Buchanan*	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y
ALASKA			
AL *Young*	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA			
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	N	N	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	?
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS			
1 Alexander	?	?	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA			
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	N
3 Matsui	N	N	N
4 Fazio	N	N	N
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	N	N	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	N
8 Dellums	N	Y	N
9 Stark	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	N	Y	N
11 Vacancy			
12 *McCloskey*	N	Y	N
13 Mineta	N	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	N	N
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	?	Y
21 Corman	N	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	N
24 Waxman	N	N	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	N	N
29 Hawkins	X	?	?
30 Danielson	N	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	N	N
36 Brown	N	N	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	N	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	N
COLORADO			
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	N	N
4 *Johnson*	N	Y	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT			
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	N	Y	N
3 Giaimo	N	N	N
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	#	Y	N
DELAWARE			
AL *Evans*	#	?	?
FLORIDA			
1 Hutto	?	?	?
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	?	?	?
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	N
12 Stack	N	Y	N
13 Lehman	X	N	N
14 Pepper	X	X	+
15 Fascell	N	N	N
GEORGIA			
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	?	?	?
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y
HAWAII			
1 Heftel	N	N	Y
2 Akaka	N	N	Y
IDAHO			
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS			
1 Stewart	?	?	?
2 Murphy	N	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	N	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	N	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	N	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	Y
9 Yates	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	-	-	-
11 Annunzio	N	N	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	Y	N	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	#	?	?
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	Y
20 *Findley*	N	N	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	N	N
23 Price	N	N	N
24 Simon	N	N	N
INDIANA			
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N
2 Fithian	Y	N	N
3 Brademas	N	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	?
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	N	N	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N
IOWA			
1 *Leach*	Y	N	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	?	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

	60	61	62
KANSAS			
1 *Sebelius*	Y	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	N
3 *Winn*	Y	N	N
4 Glickman	Y	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY			
1 Hubbard	#	#	X
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	#	?	?
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	?
7 Perkins	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA			
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	?
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y
MAINE			
1 *Emery*	#	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND			
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	N	N
5 Spellman	N	N	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	N	N	N
8 Barnes	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS			
1 *Conte*	Y	N	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	N	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	?
8 O'Neill			
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN			
1 Conyers	X	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N
4 *Stockman*	?	?	?
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	N	N	N
7 Kildee	N	N	N
8 Traxler	N	N	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	#	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	X	?	?
14 Nedzi	N	N	N
15 Ford	N	N	N
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	N	N	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA			
1 *Erdahl*	Y	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	#	?	?
4 Vento	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	N	N	N
6 Nolan	N	Y	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI			
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	N	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI			
1 Clay	N	?	Y
2 Young	+	+	#
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	N	N	N
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	?	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	N	Y	N
MONTANA			
1 Williams	N	Y	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA			
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA			
AL Santini	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY			
1 Florio	Y	N	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	N	#
4 Thompson	X	X	#
5 *Fenwick*	N	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	Y	Y	Y
7 Maguire	#	#	X
8 Roe	N	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	N	?
10 Rodino	N	N	X
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	X	X	X
15 Patten	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO			
1 *Lujan*	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	X	#	X
NEW YORK			
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	N	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	N	?
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	N	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y
10 Biaggi	X	X	?
11 Scheuer	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y
18 *Green*	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	Y
20 Weiss	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	N	N	N
23 Peyser	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	N	N	N
25 *Fish*	?	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	N	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	N	N	N
33 *Lee*	Y	N	?
34 *Horton*	Y	N	Y
35 *Conable*	?	?	?
36 LaFalce	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	N	Y	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	?	Y
39 Lundine	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA			
1 Jones	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	?	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	N
7 Rose	Y	N	N
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	?
10 *Broyhill*	Y	N	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	?
NORTH DAKOTA			
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	N
OHIO			
1 *Gradison*	Y	N	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	N	N	N
4 *Guyer*	Y	N	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	?	?
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	N	N	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	N	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	N	Y	N
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	N
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	N
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	?	?	?
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA			
1 Jones	?	?	?
2 Synar	Y	N	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	N	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y
OREGON			
1 AuCoin	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	?	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	?	N
4 Weaver	N	?	N
PENNSYLVANIA			
1 Myers	N	N	Y
2 Gray	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	?	?	=
4 *Dougherty*	Y	N	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	N
10 *McDade*	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	X	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	N
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	N	N	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	?	?
17 Ertel	Y	+	-
18 Walgren	N	N	N
19 *Goodling*	Y	?	?
20 Gaydos	?	?	?
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	N	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	?
25 Atkinson	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND			
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA			
1 Davis	Y	?	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA			
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE			
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	?
4 Gore	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	=	=	=
8 Ford	N	N	N
TEXAS			
1 Hall	Y	?	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	N	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	N	N
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	N
9 Brooks	?	?	?
10 Pickle	Y	N	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	N	N	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	N
24 Frost	Y	N	N
UTAH			
1 McKay	?	?	?
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	N
VERMONT			
AL *Jeffords*	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA			
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	?
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	?
6 *Butler*	Y	N	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	N	N
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	-	-	-
WASHINGTON			
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	Y	N	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	?
5 Foley	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA			
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N
2 Staggers	=	?	?
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN			
1 Aspin	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	N	N
4 Zablocki	N	N	?
5 Reuss	Y	N	N
6 Vacancy			
7 Obey	N	N	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	N
WYOMING			
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

63. HJ Res 199. Santa Ana Pueblo Indian Land. Udall, D-Ariz., motion to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution to correct technical errors in PL 95-498 that placed in trust 16,000 acres in New Mexico for the Pueblo of Santa Ana. Motion agreed to 336-0: R 123-0; D 213-0 (ND 146-0; SD 67-0), April 2, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (224 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

64. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Bolling, D-Mo., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate) on the resolution (H Res 183) providing for House concurrence in Senate amendments to the bill providing for a temporary increase in the public debt limit. Motion agreed to 216-160: R 1-133; D 215-27 (ND 155-10; SD 60-17), April 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

65. HR 2534. Public Debt Limit. Adoption of the resolution (H Res 183) providing for House concurrence in Senate amendments to the bill to increase the public debt limit to $830 billion through Sept. 30, 1979, and to require the Senate and House Budget committees to submit balanced budgets for fiscal 1981 and 1982 on April 15, 1979, and balanced first budget resolutions for fiscal 1981 and 1982. Adopted (thus cleared for the president) 209-165: R 6-128; D 203-37 (ND 146-18; SD 57-19), April 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

66. HR 595. Tin Stockpile. Passage of the bill to sell 35,000 long tons of tin from the national and supplemental stockpile, 5,000 long tons of that amount to be contributed to the international tin buffer stock, and to provide a special fund in the Treasury from the proceeds to be used to acquire in the future materials for the national stockpile. Passed 371-16: R 128-9; D 243-7 (ND 165-5; SD 78-2), April 3, 1979.

67. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Minish, D-N.J., substitute amendment, to the Harsha, R-Ohio, amendment, to prohibit use of appropriated funds for development aid to Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries nations. Rejected 175-222: R 91-60; D 84-162 (ND 46-124; SD 38-38), April 4, 1979. Subsequently, the Harsha amendment to prohibit development aid to Nigeria, unless the president deemed it in the national interest, was withdrawn.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	63	64	65	66	67
ALABAMA					
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	?	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	?	N	N	Y	Y
ALASKA					
AL *Young*	Y	N	N	Y	N
ARIZONA					
1 *Rhodes*	?	X	?	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Stump	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS					
1 Alexander	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	N	?	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA					
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	Y	N	Y	?
6 Burton, P.	?	Y	Y	Y	?
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	?	#	#	?	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Vacancy					
12 *McCloskey*	?	?	X	?	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	N	?	Y
15 Coelho	?	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	N	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	X	X	?	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	?	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	?	X	X	?	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	N	N	?	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	?	?
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
30 Danielson	?	Y	Y	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	?	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	N	?	Y
40 *Badham*	?	?	X	?	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	N	N	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	?	Y	Y	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	N	N	?	Y
COLORADO					
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	Y	Y	?
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	N	?	Y
CONNECTICUT					
1 Cotter	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *McKinney*	?	?	#	?	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE					
AL *Evans*	Y	N	N	Y	N
FLORIDA					
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	?	X	X	?	?
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Young*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ireland	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	?	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Pepper	?	#	#	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	?	N
GEORGIA					
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	?	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Evans	?	Y	?	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	?	#	#	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII					
1 Heftel	?	?	#	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO					
1 *Symms*	Y	N	N	?	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS					
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	?	N
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	?	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	N	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	?	X	X	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	?	X	X	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	?	?	?	?	N
20 *Findley*	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	?	X	X	N	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA					
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	?	N	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA					
1 *Leach*	Y	N	N	Y	?
2 *Tauke*	?	X	X	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Harkin	+	+	-	Y	N
6 Bedell	?	#	?	?	?

Democrats *Republicans*

	63	64	65	66	67
KANSAS					
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Whittaker***	?	X	X	Y	Y
KENTUCKY					
1 Hubbard	Y	N	N	Y	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	N	N	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA					
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 ***Treen***	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Breaux	?	?	?	Y	N
8 Long	?	Y	Y	Y	N
MAINE					
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	N	Y	N
MARYLAND					
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Long	?	?	?	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Spellman	?	Y	Y	?	N
6 Byron	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS					
1 ***Conte***	?	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Early	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill					
9 Moakley	?	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN					
1 Conyers	?	#	#	Y	N
2 ***Pursell***	?	N	N	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	?	?	?	?	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	X	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	-
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Albosta	?	Y	+	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	Y	Y	Y	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
16 Dingell	?	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA					
1 ***Erdahl***	?	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	?	#	#	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI					
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	?	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI					
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	?	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	?	#	#	Y	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Coleman***	?	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	?	X	X	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA					
1 Williams	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA					
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	N	+	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA					
AL Santini	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY					
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	?	#	#	?	?
5 ***Fenwick***	?	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Maguire	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	N	N	Y	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	?	X	X	?	?
NEW YORK					
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	?	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	?	N	N	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	?	#	#	?	?
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	?	?	?	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	?	Y	Y	?	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	?	X	?	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	N	Y	N
27 McHugh	?	#	#	Y	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	N	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	N	?	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	N	Y	?
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	N	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	N	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	N	?	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA					
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	?	?	?	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	N	?	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA					
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OHIO					
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	?	#	Y	Y	?
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	?	X	N	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	?	?	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 ***Kindness***	?	N	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	N	N	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	?	X	X	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	?	X	X	N	Y
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	?	X	X	Y	N
20 Oakar	?	#	#	?	N
21 Stokes	?	=	=	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	?	X	X	N	Y
OKLAHOMA					
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	?	N	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 English	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON					
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Edgar	+	=	+	+	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Flood	?	#	#	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	?	=	=	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	?	X	?	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	N	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	?	X	X	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND					
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA					
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA					
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE					
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	?	N	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
TEXAS					
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	?	?	?	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	N	N	?	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
14 Wyatt	?	N	Y	Y	?
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
16 White	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Hance	?	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	?	Y	Y	N	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH					
1 McKay	?	=	=	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	N	Y	?
VERMONT					
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	N	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA					
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Satterfield	?	?	?	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON					
1 ***Pritchard***	?	?	?	Y	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA					
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Staggers	?	=	=	?	?
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	?	=	=	Y	N
WISCONSIN					
1 Aspin	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	?	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Vacancy					
7 Obey	?	Y	Y	Y	?
8 ***Roth***	?	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WYOMING					
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

68. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Quayle, R-Ind., amendment to authorize funds for one year only, thus eliminating fiscal 1981 authorizations for international development programs. Adopted 239-157: R 125-24; D 114-133 (ND 62-108; SD 52-25), April 5, 1979.

69. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Bauman, R-Md., amendment to prohibit economic assistance to Panama. Adopted 246-150: R 133-15; D 113-135 (ND 51-123; SD 62-12), April 5, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

70. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Solarz, D-N.Y., amendment to eliminate a Food for Peace Title I concessional rice sales program for Zaire and replace it with a Title II program for that nation. Rejected 101-246: R 20-111; D 81-135 (ND 74-71; SD 7-64), April 5, 1979.

71. H Res 195. Select Committee on the Outer Continental Shelf. Adoption of the resolution to provide $290,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the Select Committee on the Outer Continental Shelf during calendar 1979. Adopted 210-110: R 80-42; D 130-68 (ND 86-50; SD 44-18), April 5, 1979.

72. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Hamilton, D-Ind., amendment, to the Derwinski, R-Ill., amendment, to authorize the president to waive the prohibition on aid to Syria if he determined that it would be in the U.S. national interest to do so. Adopted 193-177: R 34-100; D 159-77 (ND 109-52; SD 50-25), April 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Derwinski amendment, as amended, was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

73. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Solarz, D-N.Y., amendment, to the Bauman, R-Md., amendment *(see vote 75, below)*, to delete provisions that 1) allowed the president to send observers to elections in southern Africa and 2) required the United States to grant Rhodesia $20 million in aid once elections were held in that country. Adopted 233-146: R 26-112; D 207-34 (ND 155-11; SD 52-23), April 9, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

74. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Rousselot, R-Calif., amendment, to the Bauman, R-Md., amendment *(see vote 75, below)*, to authorize the president to send observers to elections in southern Africa and to authorize the president to grant Rhodesia $20 million in aid once elections were held in that country. Adopted 191-184: R 122-12; D 69-172 (ND 21-144; SD 48-28), April 9, 1979.

75. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Bauman, R-Md., amendment, as amended *(see votes 73 and 74, above)*, to authorize a $68 million economic support fund for southern Africa; to authorize the president to send observers to elections in southern Africa; and to authorize the president to grant Rhodesia $20 million in aid once elections were held in that country. Rejected 180-190: R 122-12; D 58-178 (ND 15-149; SD 43-29), April 9, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	?	N	?	?	?
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	#	?
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Udall	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Miller	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	N	#	?	?	?	?	?
9 Stark	Y	N	#	?	?	?	?	?
10 Edwards	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Royer**					Y	N	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Mineta	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
16 Panetta	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	#	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
21 Corman	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
25 Roybal	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	X	?	?
28 Dixon	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
29 Hawkins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 Danielson	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	X	#	?
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	N	N	#	?	?	?	?	?
3 Kogovsek	N	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 Dodd	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	N	N	Y	N	?	#	X	X
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Chappell	?	#	X	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
14 Pepper	X	X	-	+	?	#	X	X
15 Fascell	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	?
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 Akaka	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Murphy	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	?	Y
5 Fary	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	X	#	?
7 Collins	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
10 Mikva	N	N	Y	?	Y	?	?	?
11 Annunzio	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	Y	N	Y	?	X	#	#
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	#	#
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	N
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	N	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	?	?	?	X	#	#
23 Price	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Fithian	N	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brademas	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Hamilton	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Sharp	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Bedell	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85

	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y	N	N	?	X	?	#
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	?	X	X	?	?	#	?	?
3 ***Treen***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Long	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	#	#	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Long	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boland	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Early	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	#
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	X	?	N	Y	N	N
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	X	?	#	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Pursell***	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
7 Kildee	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Traxler	N	N	N	N	?	?	?	?
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Albosta	N	Y	X	?	N	Y	N	N
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
14 Nedzi	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 Dingell	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
3 ***Frenzel***	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Sabo	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	N	N	?	X	?	?
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	N	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
4 Thompson	X	X	X	?	?	#	X	X
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Maguire	?	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	N	N	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	N	N	?	?	?	#	X	X
11 Minish	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
15 Patten	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	#	#	#	?	?	?	?	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
6 Wolff	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	N	Y	#	?	N	Y	N	N
8 Rosenthal	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ferraro	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
10 Biaggi	?	X	X	?	N	Y	Y	N
11 Scheuer	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
13 Solarz	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	#	?	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Murphy	N	N	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
18 ***Green***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
22 Bingham	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	-
25 ***Fish***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
33 ***Lee***	#	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
37 Nowak	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
7 Rose	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	X	#	?
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	?	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Duncan	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	X	#	X	?	Y	#	?	?
12 Murtha	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	N	N	?	X	?	?
14 Moorhead	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	N	?	-	-	-
18 Walgren	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N	N
21 Bailey	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	#	?	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	#	X	#	?	Y	Y	N	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Pickle	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	-	-	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
19 Hance	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
20 Gonzalez	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	N	Y	?	#	X	X
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	-	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	#	#	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	#
10 Fisher	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 McCormack	X	X	X	?	?	#	X	?
5 Foley	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Dicks	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Lowry	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	X	X	X	?	?	#	X	X
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Zablocki	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Petri****				N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y

** Bill Royer, R-Calif., and Tom Petri, R-Wis., elected in special elections April 3, were sworn in on April 9, 1979. The first vote for which they were eligible to vote was CQ 72.*

Democrats ***Republicans***

76. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Bauman, R-Md., amendment to delete Title IV creating an Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. Rejected 136-236: R 81-54; D 55-182 (ND 26-135; SD 29-47), April 9, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

77. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Zablocki, D-Wis., motion that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the fiscal 1980 foreign economic aid bill. Motion agreed to 367-1: R 140-0; D 227-1 (ND 155-1; SD 72-0), April 10, 1979.

78. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Zablocki, D-Wis., amendment to remove the Peace Corps from ACTION and place it within the proposed International Development Cooperation Agency. Adopted 276-116: R 133-13; D 143-103 (ND 87-84; SD 56-19), April 10, 1979.

79. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Broomfield, R-Mich., substitute amendment, to the Bauman, R-Md., amendment *(see vote 80, below)*, to reduce by 5 percent (instead of by 10 percent as proposed by Bauman) all authorizations in the bill, except Food for Peace, American schools and hospitals abroad and Middle East aid programs. Adopted 259-135: R 61-84; D 198-51 (ND 145-25; SD 53-26), April 10, 1979.

80. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Bauman, R-Md., amendment, as amended *(see vote 79, above)*, to reduce by 5 percent all authorizations in the bill, except for Food for Peace, American schools and hospitals abroad and Middle East aid programs. Adopted 318-77: R 139-4; D 179-73 (ND 107-67; SD 72-6), April 10, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

81. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Passage of the bill to authorize $4 billion in fiscal 1980 (less 5 percent, or about $123 million, for most aid programs) for international development and economic assistance programs and for the Peace Corps. Passed 220-173: R 47-96; D 173-77 (ND 151-22; SD 22-55), April 10, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	76	77	78	79	80	81
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Matsui	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	N	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Dellums	?	?	N	N	N	Y
9 Stark	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Edwards	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 *Royer*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Corman	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 Beilenson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Roybal	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	?	N	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
40 *Badham*	?	?	?	?	?	X
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *Johnson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	?	Y	N	?	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Gibbons	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Mica	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	Y	P	Y	N	Y
14 Pepper	-	?	#	+	+	#
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Levitas	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Evans	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	?	Y	Y	Y	?	X
7 Collins	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Mikva	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	?	?	#	?	?	?
14 *Erlenborn*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *O'Brien*	?	?	#	?	?	?
18 *Michel*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Railsback*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Price	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fithian	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91

	76	77	78	79	80	81
KANSAS						
1 *Sebelius*	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Winn*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Carter*	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Perkins	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA						
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Boggs	?	?	X	?	?	?
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	N	?	X
8 Long	?	?	?	?	?	?
MAINE						
1 *Emery*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Snowe*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND						
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Mitchell	N	?	?	?	N	Y
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 *Conte*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Shannon	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Mavroules	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	N	?	N	N	N	Y
2 *Pursell*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Stockman*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Carr	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 *Vander Jagt*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 *Davis*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Bonior	?	?	N	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	Y	?	?	Y
14 Nedzi	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	N	?	Y	N	N	Y
17 Brodhead	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	N	Y	N	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	N	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA						
1 *Bereuter*	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA						
AL Santini	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Forsythe*	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N
7 Maguire	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Roe	N	P	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 *Lujan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW YORK						
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Downey	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	N	?	?	?	?	?
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Wolff	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	N	?	X	?	?	#
8 Rosenthal	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Ferraro	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	N	?	N	?	N	Y
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 Murphy	?	Y	?	Y	N	N
18 *Green*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	N	P	N	Y	N	Y
21 Garcia	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	?	N	Y	N	#
25 *Fish*	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	?	?	?	?	?	?
31 *Mitchell*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
34 *Horton*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 *Conable*	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
36 LaFalce	?	?	?	?	?	?
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	?	Y	Y	N	?	Y
39 Lundine	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Martin*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL *Andrews*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
OHIO						
1 *Gradison*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Brown*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Ashley	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Pease	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Oakar	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
21 Stokes	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 *McDade*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Murtha	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 *Coughlin*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 Ertel	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	?	?	?	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 *Campbell*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	N	?	?	Y	N	X
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE						
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Beard*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Jones	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ford	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	N	N	Y	N
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Pickle	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Wright	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Hightower	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 White	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 Stenholm	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	N	?	?	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	?	?	X	?	?	=
UTAH						
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT						
AL *Jeffords*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Whitehurst*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 *Pritchard*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING						
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

82. **HR 3363. State Department Authorization.** Adoption of the rule (H Res 217) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $2.1 billion for fiscal 1980 and $2.3 billion for fiscal 1981 for the State Department and related agencies and to provide a fiscal 1979 supplemental authorization of $105 million for migration and refugee assistance. Adopted 360-8: R 127-6; D 233-2 (ND 161-0; SD 72-2), April 10, 1979.

83. **HR 3363. State Department Authorization.** Fascell, D-Fla., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 334-15: R 115-12; D 219-3 (ND 149-2; SD 70-1), April 10, 1979.

84. **HR 1301. Lottery Materials Shipment.** Passage of the bill to allow shipment of lottery tickets and other lottery materials by American manufacturers to foreign countries where lotteries were permitted. Passed 269-121: R 77-70; D 192-51 (ND 149-15; SD 43-36), April 24, 1979.

85. **HR 3363. State Department Authorization.** Rousselot, R-Calif., amendment to prohibit the United States' mandatory contribution to the United Nations to be used for technical assistance programs. Rejected 187-214: R 118-32; D 69-182 (ND 23-147; SD 46-35), April 24, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

86. **HR 3363. State Department Authorization.** Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to require a 10 percent across-the-board cut in the bill's authorizations *(see vote 87, below)*. Adopted 207-196: R 115-33; D 92-163 (ND 40-133; SD 52-30), April 24, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

87. **HR 3363. State Department Authorization.** Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to make a 10 percent across-the-board cut in the bill's authorizations (amendment previously adopted, *see vote 86, above*). Rejected 199-203: R 118-33; D 81-170 (ND 35-136; SD 46-34), April 24, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

88. **HR 3363. State Department Authorization.** Ordering the previous question (thus ending debate and the possibility of amending) the Broomfield, R-Mich., motion to recommit (kill) the bill to the Foreign Affairs Committee. Ordered 265-138: R 21-130; D 244-8 (ND 169-2; SD 75-6), April 24, 1979. (The Broomfield motion to recommit the bill subsequently was rejected by voice vote.)

89. **HR 3363. State Department Authorization.** Passage of the bill to authorize $2.1 billion for fiscal 1980 and $2.3 billion for fiscal 1981 for the State Department and related agencies and to authorize a fiscal 1979 supplemental of $105 million for migration and refugee assistance. Passed 256-146: R 53-95; D 203-51 (ND 147-26; SD 56-25), April 24, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Udall	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	?	#	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?
9 Stark	Y	Y	?	X	X	?	?	?
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	?	#	?	#	?	X
18 ***Thomas***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
25 Roybal	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
28 Dixon	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	?	?	X	X	?	?
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	?	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	?	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	X	N	N	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Brinkley	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Hansen***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?	?	#	#	#	?	X
13 ***McClory***	?	?	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
17 ***O'Brien***	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Hillis***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Evans	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 ***Deckard***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99

	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Carter***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	?	?	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Long	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	X	X	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	Y
17 Brodhead	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	?	?	#	#	?	#
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	?	#	#	#	?	?
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	?	?	?	X	X	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	?	?	?	X	X	X	?	?
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	-	+	#
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Runnels	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Downey	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	?	?	?	X	?	?
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	+	-	X	-	+	+
21 Garcia	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	?	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
36 LaFalce	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	Y	#	Y	N	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	–	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	Y	#	Y	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 English	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	?	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	?	Y	Y	#	Y	N	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Wright	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 ***Paul***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 McCormack	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	?	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

90. HR 2283. Wage-Price Council Reauthorization. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to reauthorize the Council on Wage and Price Stability for one year, through Sept. 30, 1980, and increase its authorization to $6,952,000 for fiscal 1979 and $8,483,000 in fiscal 1980. Adopted 240-168: R 29-121; D 211-47 (ND 158-19; SD 53-28), April 25, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

91. HR 3354. Naval Petroleum Reserve. Passage of the bill to authorize $85.2 million in fiscal 1980 for conservation, exploration, development and use of the naval petroleum and oil shale reserves. Passed 394-12: R 148-2; D 246-10 (ND 167-10; SD 79-0), April 25, 1979.

92. H Res 234. Select Committee on Committees. Adoption of the resolution to provide $525,000 for investigations and studies to be conducted by the House Select Committee on Committees during calendar 1979. Adopted 212-180: R 30-112; D 182-68 (ND 138-36; SD 44-32), April 26, 1979.

93. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. C. Wilson, D-Calif., amendment to the Simon, D-Ill., amendment *(see vote 100, p. 34-H)* to add $800 million to the proposed increase in fiscal 1979 defense budget authority, for a total increase of $1.4 billion. Rejected 183-229: R 104-48; D 79-181 (ND 28-150; SD 51-31), May 1, 1979.

94. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Mattox, D-Texas, amendment to the Simon, D-Ill., amendment *(see vote 100, p. 34-H)* to eliminate the proposed $250 million increase in fiscal 1979 budget authority and outlays for targeted fiscal assistance ("countercyclical revenue sharing"). Adopted 212-198: R 125-26; D 87-172 (ND 27-150; SD 60-22), May 1, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	90	91	92	93	94
ALABAMA					
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA					
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
ARIZONA					
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Stump	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Rudd***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS					
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Bethune***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA					
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Dellums	#	?	?	N	N
9 Stark	#	?	?	N	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 ***Royer***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	N	Y	Y	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 ***Shumway***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 ***Pashayan***	X	?	?	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	X	Y	N	#	#
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 ***Moorhead***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	?	?	Y	N	N
25 Roybal	Y	?	Y	N	N
26 ***Rousselot***	N	Y	N	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	+	+	N	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	Y	Y	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	N	N
33 ***Grisham***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	N	Y	N	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	N	N
37 ***Lewis***	X	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	N	N
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
40 ***Badham***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	N	N
43 ***Burgener***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO					
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Johnson***	N	Y	N	?	?
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT					
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Dodd	?	Y	Y	?	?
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	?	N	N
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	N	N	Y	N	N
DELAWARE					
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	?	Y	N
FLORIDA					
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA					
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	?	N	Y	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fowler	?	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Gingrich***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 McDonald	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	?	?	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII					
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IDAHO					
1 ***Symms***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hansen***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS					
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Derwinski***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	X	X
11 Annunzio	#	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	N	Y	?	#	#
13 ***McClory***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	#	Y	N	N	N
17 ***O'Brien***	X	?	?	#	?
18 ***Michel***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	N	N
INDIANA					
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Quayle***	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	N	Y	N	Y
IOWA					
1 ***Leach***	N	Y	N	N	?
2 ***Tauke***	N	Y	?	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

	90	91	92	93	94
KANSAS					
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY					
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA					
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Treen***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Leach	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	#	Y
8 Long	?	?	?	?	X
MAINE					
1 ***Emery***	?	?	N	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND					
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Holt***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS					
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	-	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 O'Neill					
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN					
1 Conyers	N	?	Y	N	N
2 ***Pursell***	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Stockman***	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	?	?	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Diggs	?	?	?	X	X
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Ford	?	Y	Y	N	N
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA					
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	X	?	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Nolan	N	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI					
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	N	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	?	Y	Y
MISSOURI					
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA					
1 Williams	N	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA					
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA					
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
1 D'Amours	?	?	Y	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY					
1 Florio	Y	Y	?	N	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Thompson	#	?	?	N	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y	?	X	X
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	N	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	?	N	Y
NEW MEXICO					
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	N	N	?
NEW YORK					
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	?	N	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Chisholm	?	?	?	N	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	N	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	N	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	?	X	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	N	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	?	?	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	#	Y	N	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	?	N	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	N	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	Y	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	N	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	N	N
33 ***Lee***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	Y	Y	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	X	?	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	N	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 ***Kemp***	N	?	?	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	?	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA					
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	?	N	Y
7 Rose	?	?	Y	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA					
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO					
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	?	N	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Miller***	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	?	?
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	?	Y	Y
18 Applegate	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA					
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 English	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON					
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Duncan	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Weaver	N	N	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	#	?	Y	N	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	?	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	?	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	Y	Y	Y	X	X
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	?	?	?	#
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 ***Ritter***	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	?	N	N	?
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	N	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 Bailey	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	N	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND					
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA					
1 Davis	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Jenrette	X	?	?	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA					
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE					
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	?	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	N	#	#
7 Jones	N	Y	?	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TEXAS					
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	N	Y	N	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	?	N	N
19 Hance	N	Y	N	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	Y	?	#
22 ***Paul***	N	N	N	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	N	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH					
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VERMONT					
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	?	N	Y
VIRGINIA					
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	?	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON					
1 ***Pritchard***	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA					
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	N	N
WISCONSIN					
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	N	N	Y
WYOMING					
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

95. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Giaimo, D-Conn., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole to consider the resolution to revise the fiscal 1979 budget and set fiscal 1980 budget targets. Motion agreed to 392-5: R 145-1; D 247-4 (ND 173-4; SD 74-0), May 2, 1979.

96. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Solarz, D-N.Y., amendment to the Simon, D-Ill., amendment *(see vote 100, below)*, to increase fiscal 1979 budget authority and outlays by $200 million for targeted fiscal assistance, and by $25 million in budget authority and $20 million in outlays for disaster loans. Adopted 224-197: R 30-123; D 194-74 (ND 163-22; SD 31-52), May 2, 1979.

97. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Symms, D-Idaho, amendment to the Simon, D-Ill., amendment *(see vote 100, below)*, to reduce the proposed increase for food stamps to $515 million in budget authority from $650 million and to $465 million in outlays from $600 million, representing continuation of the "cap" on food stamp expenditures. Rejected 146-276: R 121-34; D 25-242 (ND 8-177; SD 17-65), May 2, 1979.

98. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Volkmer, D-Mo., amendment to the Simon, D-Ill., amendment *(see vote 100, below)*, to eliminate the proposed $628 million in budget authority and $315 million in outlays for the purchase of two destroyers originally ordered by the government of Iran. Rejected 88-325: R 8-144; D 80-181 (ND 70-110; SD 10-71), May 2, 1979.

99. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Edwards, R-Ala., substitute to the Simon, D-Ill., amendment *(see vote 100, below)*, to increase fiscal 1979 budget authority for defense by $1.4 billion, enough to purchase two destroyers and various other items in the administration's 1979 defense supplemental request. Rejected 141-269: R 106-45; D 35-224 (ND 7-171; SD 28-53), May 2, 1979.

100. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Simon, D-Ill., amendment, as amended, to increase fiscal 1979 budget authority by $2.2 billion and outlays by $1.5 billion so as to provide funds for the purchase of two destroyers, for targeted fiscal assistance, for unexpected increases in the cost of disaster loans and food stamps and several other 1979 supplemental appropriations. Adopted 235-177: R 42-110; D 193-67 (ND 143-39; SD 50-28), May 2, 1979.

101. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. C. Wilson, D-Calif., substitute to the Holtzman, D-N.Y., amendment *(see vote 102, below)*, to increase the fiscal 1980 level of defense spending recommended by the Budget Committee by $2.6 billion in budget authority and $1.1 billion in outlays — to $137.8 billion in budget authority and $125.1 billion in outlays. Rejected 188-209: R 122-25; D 66-184 (ND 15-157; SD 51-27), May 2, 1979.

102. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Holtzman, D-N.Y., amendment to reduce fiscal 1980 budget authority by $8.1 billion and outlays by $2.7 billion, an amount equal to 15 percent of unobligated balances excluding funds set aside for pensions and loan guarantee programs. Rejected 79-317: R 8-139; D 71-178 (ND 67-104; SD 4-74), May 2, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
2 Udall	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Bethune***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	P	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	X	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?
8 Dellums	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
22 ***Moorhead***	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	?
37 ***Lewis***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	P	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
43 ***Burgener***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Wirth	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Johnson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Dodd	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***McKinney***	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	P	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
3 Bennett	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Young***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
13 Lehman	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	?
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Evans	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	#	?	?	?	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
10 Mikva	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	X	#	?	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 ***Anderson***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
20 ***Findley***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Price	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Quayle***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
5 ***Hillis***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	?	?	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
2 ***Tauke***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114

	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Long	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Long	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Byron	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	#	X	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	Y	N	?	N	Y	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
15 Ford	?	Y	N	?	?	Y	?	?
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
4 Vento	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Nolan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?
2 Young	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	P	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
13 ***Courter***	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Scheuer	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
12 Chisholm	?	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	?
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Fountain	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Rose	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Hall	P	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Ashley	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
19 ***Williams***	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
2 Synar	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 Watkins	P	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 English	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Dougherty***	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	P	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Flood	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
13 ***Coughlin***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
20 Gaydos	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Boner	P	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson, C.	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Mattox	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
13 Hightower	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
16 White	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 Leland	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	X	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N
4 McCormack	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Foley	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?
3 Slack	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?	?
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
3 Baldus	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

103. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Panetta, D-Calif., amendment to reduce budget authority and outlays by $1.1 billion, representing cuts in government travel, film-making, paperwork and overtime. Adopted 403-3: R 150-1; D 253-2 (ND 172-2; SD 81-0), May 3, 1979.

104. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Wylie, R-Ohio, amendment, to the Rousselot, R-Calif., substitute amendment *(see vote 105, below)*, to "balance the budget" in fiscal 1980 with budget authority of $582.8 billion, outlays of $507.1 billion, revenues of $507.8 billion and a surplus of $656 million. Rejected 134-275: R 113-40; D 21-235 (ND 11-167; SD 10-68), May 3, 1979.

105. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Rousselot, R-Calif., amendment to "balance the budget" in fiscal 1980 with budget authority of $593.8 billion, outlays of $515 billion, and revenues of $515 billion. Rejected 186-214: R 128-21; D 58-193 (ND 21-152; SD 37-41), May 3, 1979.

106. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Obey, D-Wis., amendment to "balance the budget" in fiscal 1980 with budget authority of $513.8 billion, outlays of $494.6 billion, revenues of $513.8 billion, and a $70 million surplus. Rejected 2-376: R 0-142; D 2-234 (ND 1-158; SD 1-76), May 3, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	103	104	105	106
ALABAMA				
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	?	?
4 Bevill	Y	N	N	N
5 Flippo	Y	N	?	?
6 *Buchanan*	Y	N	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA				
AL *Young*	Y	N	Y	N
ARIZONA				
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	?	N	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	?
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	?
ARKANSAS				
1 Alexander	Y	N	N	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA				
1 Johnson	Y	N	N	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Matsui	Y	N	N	N
4 Fazio	Y	N	N	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	P	?
6 Burton, P.	?	N	N	?
7 Miller	Y	N	N	N
8 Dellums	Y	N	N	N
9 Stark	Y	N	X	?
10 Edwards	Y	N	N	N
11 *Royer*	Y	N	Y	?
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	N	N	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	N	N
16 Panetta	Y	N	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	N	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	Y	N	N	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	N	N
25 Roybal	Y	N	N	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y	P
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	Y	N	N	N
29 Hawkins	Y	N	N	N
30 Danielson	Y	N	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	Y	N	Y	?
36 Brown	Y	N	N	?
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	N	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	N	Y	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO				
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Wirth	Y	N	N	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	N	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT				
1 Cotter	Y	N	N	N
2 Dodd	Y	N	N	N
3 Giaimo	Y	N	N	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	N	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	N	N	N
DELAWARE				
AL *Evans*	Y	N	Y	N
FLORIDA				
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	N	N	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	N
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	N	N
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	N	N	N
12 Stack	Y	N	N	N
13 Lehman	Y	N	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	N	N	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	N	N
GEORGIA				
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	N	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII				
1 Heftel	Y	N	N	N
2 Akaka	Y	N	X	?
IDAHO				
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS				
1 Stewart	Y	N	?	N
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	N	N	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	N	N	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	N	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	N	N
9 Yates	Y	N	N	N
10 Mikva	Y	N	N	N
11 Annunzio	Y	N	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	Y	#	?
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	N	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	Y	N	?	N
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	?	?
18 *Michel*	Y	#	#	?
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	N
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y	?
23 Price	Y	N	N	N
24 Simon	Y	N	X	N
INDIANA				
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N	N
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	N	N	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y	?
5 *Hillis*	?	Y	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	N	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	N	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA				
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	N	N	N
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	N
6 Bedell	Y	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

	103	104	105	106
KANSAS				
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY				
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	N	N	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Carter*	Y	X	#	?
6 *Hopkins*	Y	N	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	N	N	N
LOUISIANA				
1 *Livingston*	Y	#	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	X	N	N
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	#	Y	N
8 Long	?	?	?	?
MAINE				
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND				
1 *Bauman*	Y	N	Y	N
2 Long	Y	N	N	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	N	N
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	N	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	Y	N	N	N
8 Barnes	Y	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS				
1 *Conte*	Y	N	N	N
2 Boland	Y	N	N	N
3 Early	Y	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	?	?	?	?
5 Shannon	Y	N	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	N	N	N
7 Markey	Y	N	N	N
8 O'Neill				
9 Moakley	Y	N	N	N
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	N	N
12 Studds	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN				
1 Conyers	?	X	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	N	N	N
4 *Stockman*	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	?	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	N	N
8 Traxler	Y	N	N	?
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	?
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	P	N	N	N
13 Diggs	N	N	N	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	N	N
15 Ford	Y	N	N	N
16 Dingell	?	N	N	N
17 Brodhead	Y	N	N	N
18 Blanchard	Y	N	N	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA				
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	N	N	N
4 Vento	Y	N	N	N
5 Sabo	Y	N	N	N
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI				
1 Whitten	Y	N	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	?	Y	Y	N
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI				
1 Clay	Y	N	N	N
2 Young	Y	N	N	-
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	N
4 Skelton	Y	N	N	N
5 Bolling	Y	N	N	N
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	N	N	N
MONTANA				
1 Williams	Y	N	N	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA				
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	N
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA				
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
1 D'Amours	Y	N	N	N
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY				
1 Florio	Y	N	N	N
2 Hughes	Y	N	N	N
3 Howard	Y	N	N	N
4 Thompson	Y	N	N	N
5 *Fenwick*	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Forsythe*	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Maguire	Y	N	N	N
8 Roe	Y	N	N	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	Y	N	N	N
11 Minish	Y	N	N	N
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	N	N	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	N	N	N
15 Patten	Y	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO				
1 *Lujan*	?	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	?	N	Y	N
NEW YORK				
1 *Carney*	Y	N	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	N	?	?
3 Ambro	?	Y	Y	P
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Wydler*	?	#	#	?
6 Wolff	Y	N	N	N
7 Addabbo	Y	N	N	?
8 Rosenthal	?	X	X	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	N	N
10 Biaggi	Y	N	N	N
11 Scheuer	Y	N	N	?
12 Chisholm	Y	N	N	N
13 Solarz	Y	N	N	N
14 Richmond	Y	N	N	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	N	?
16 Holtzman	Y	N	N	N
17 Murphy	Y	N	N	N
18 *Green*	N	N	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	N	N
20 Weiss	N	N	N	N
21 Garcia	?	N	N	N
22 Bingham	Y	N	N	N
23 Peyser	Y	N	N	N
24 Ottinger	Y	N	N	N
25 *Fish*	Y	N	N	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	N	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	N	N	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	N	N	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	N	N
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	N	N
35 *Conable*	Y	N	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	N	N	N
37 Nowak	Y	N	N	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	N	Y	N
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA				
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	N
4 Andrews	Y	N	N	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	N	N
7 Rose	?	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	?	?	?	?
11 Gudger	Y	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA				
AL *Andrews*	Y	N	?	?
OHIO				
1 *Gradison*	Y	N	N	N
2 Luken	Y	N	N	?
3 Hall	Y	N	N	N
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	?	Y	Y	N
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	N
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	?	N	N
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Regula*	Y	N	Y	N
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	Y	?
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Williams*	?	?	#	?
20 Oakar	Y	N	?	N
21 Stokes	Y	N	N	N
22 Vanik	Y	N	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N
2 Synar	Y	N	N	N
3 Watkins	Y	?	?	?
4 Steed	Y	N	N	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N
6 English	Y	N	Y	N
OREGON				
1 AuCoin	Y	N	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	N	N	N
3 Duncan	Y	N	N	?
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA				
1 Myers	Y	N	N	N
2 Gray	?	N	N	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	N	N
4 *Dougherty*	Y	N	N	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	N	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	N	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *McDade*	Y	N	N	N
11 Flood	Y	N	N	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	N	N
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	Y	N	X	?
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	N	N	N
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	N	?	?
21 Bailey	Y	N	N	N
22 Murphy	Y	N	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y	N
24 *Marks*	?	N	N	N
25 Atkinson	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND				
1 St Germain	Y	N	N	?
2 Beard	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA				
1 Davis	Y	N	N	N
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	Y	N	N	?
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	N
6 Jenrette	?	?	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA				
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE				
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	N	N	N
5 Boner	Y	N	N	N
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	N	N	N
TEXAS				
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	N
2 Wilson,	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	N	N
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	N	N
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	N	N	N
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	N
16 White	Y	N	Y	N
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	N	N	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	P	?	N	N
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	N
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	N	N
24 Frost	Y	N	N	N
UTAH				
1 McKay	Y	N	N	N
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	N
VERMONT				
AL *Jeffords*	Y	?	N	N
VIRGINIA				
1 *Trible*	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	N	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	N	N	N
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	N	N
WASHINGTON				
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	N	N
2 Swift	Y	N	N	N
3 Bonker	?	?	?	N
4 McCormack	Y	N	N	N
5 Foley	Y	N	N	N
6 Dicks	Y	N	N	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA				
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N	N
2 Staggers	Y	N	N	N
3 Slack	Y	N	N	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	N	N
WISCONSIN				
1 Aspin	Y	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	N	N
3 Baldus	Y	N	N	N
4 Zablocki	Y	N	N	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	N	N
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	N	N	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	N
WYOMING				
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

107. HR 39. Alaska Lands. Adoption of the rule (H Res 243) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to designate certain areas in Alaska as public lands to be placed in use for the park, recreation and conservation systems. Adopted 236-18: R 70-17; D 166-1 (ND 110-0; SD 56-1), May 4, 1979.

108. HR 3404. Treasury Draw Authority. Mitchell, D-Md., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize the Treasury, for a five-year period, to meet short-term cash needs by borrowing securities from Federal Reserve banks and selling them in the open market, and to permit the Treasury to obtain cash by selling securities to the Federal Reserve only in unusual and exigent circumstances. Motion rejected 175-195: R 18-119; D 157-76 (ND 120-42; SD 37-34), May 7, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (247 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

109. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Jones, D-Okla., amendment to reduce 1980 budget authority by $500 million and outlays by $50 million, representing elimination of funds for President Carter's proposed new Economic Development Administration initiatives. Rejected 140-245: R 95-45; D 45-200 (ND 18-153; SD 27-47), May 7, 1979.

110. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Snowe, R-Maine, substitute amendment to the Conable, R-N.Y., amendment *(see vote 111, below)*, to include in the budget $2.3 billion for general revenue sharing for states and to cut categorical grant programs by $2.5 billion. Rejected 147-237: R 126-13; D 21-224 (ND 10-160; SD 11-64), May 7, 1979.

111. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Conable, R-N.Y., amendment to add $2.3 billion in budget authority and outlays, restoring funds for general revenue sharing for state governments eliminated by the House Budget Committee. Rejected 190-195: R 94-45; D 96-150 (ND 85-85; SD 11-65), May 7, 1979.

112. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Giaimo, D-Conn., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole to consider the resolution to revise the fiscal 1979 budget and set fiscal 1980 budget targets. Motion agreed to 396-5: R 152-2; D 244-3 (ND 167-2; SD 77-1), May 8, 1979.

113. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Glickman, D-Kan., amendment to increase 1980 budget authority by $83 million and outlays by $73 million, restoring half of the cuts in Amtrak funding recommended by the Carter administration. Rejected 196-227: R 48-109; D 148-118 (ND 115-71; SD 33-47), May 8, 1979.

114. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Gephardt, D-Mo., amendment to reduce 1980 budget authority by $497 million and outlays by $95 million, assuming a four-year phase-out of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Rejected 104-316: R 48-107; D 56-209 (ND 33-151; SD 23-58), May 8, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Nichols	?	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	N	N
5 Flippo	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Buchanan*	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	?	?	?	#	X	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Clausen*	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Matsui	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	N	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	?	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
11 *Royer*	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *McCloskey*	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
14 *Shumway*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
16 Panetta	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
21 Corman	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N
25 Roybal	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	Y	?	N	N	N	?	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	#	?	X	?	+	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	#	?	?	?	Y	N	N
32 Anderson	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 *Lungren*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	N
36 Brown	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
40 *Badham*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	X	?	?	?	N	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	?	N	N	N	N	?	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 *Kramer*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Giaimo	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 *McKinney*	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	?	?	#	X	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	?	X	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ireland	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 Mica	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	N	N
3 Brinkley	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	?	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	?	#	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Murphy	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Russo	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
13 *McClory*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Anderson*	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	?	N	N	?	?	Y	N	N
18 *Michel*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Findley*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	?	?	#	?	Y	N	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Fithian	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 *Quayle*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Evans	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Harkin	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127

	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Jeffries*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Winn*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Mazzoli	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 *Snyder*	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 *Carter*	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Hopkins*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
4 Leach	Y	?	?	#	?	Y	N	N
5 Huckaby	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Moore*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	X	?	#	?	?	?	?
8 Long	?	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Holt*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Early	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	#	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Heckler*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	#	?	X	X	?	N	Y
2 *Pursell*	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Stockman*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Sawyer*	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Carr	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Traxler	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Albosta	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 *Davis*	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	?	#	?	X	X	?	Y	N
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	?	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	N
16 Dingell	Y	N	N	N	N	?	N	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	?	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Frenzel*	?	X	+	+	+	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?
7 *Stangeland*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Lott*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	?	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
2 Young	?	#	?	X	?	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Skelton	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Marlenee*	?	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	#	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	P	N	N
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Forsythe*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	#
7 Maguire	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	#	?	X	#	Y	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 *Courter*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	?	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	N
4 *Lent*	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Wydler*	?	X	?	?	?	Y	N	N
6 Wolff	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	?	#	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Biaggi	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 Scheuer	?	#	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	?	#	N	N	Y	?	Y	N
13 Solarz	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	?	#	?	X	?	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
18 *Green*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
20 Weiss	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
25 *Fish*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
26 *Gilman*	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	-	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
30 *McEwen*	?	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
33 *Lee*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 *Horton*	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
35 *Conable*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
38 *Kemp*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Preyer	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Rose	?	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N
8 Hefner	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
9 *Martin*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	?	X	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Luken	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Guyer*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Latta*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 *Brown*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	?
8 *Kindness*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 *Miller*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 *Stanton*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *Devine*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	?	#	?	?	#	Y	N	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 *Edwards*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	N	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	Y	?	?	#	#	Y	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *McDade*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 *Coughlin*	?	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Walker*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Goodling*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
20 Gaydos	?	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
23 *Clinger*	+	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
2 *Spence*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Campbell*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Beard*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	X	N	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Ford	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Collins*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Mattox	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 *Archer*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
13 Hightower	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
15 de la Garza	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
16 White	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	?	+	-	-	N	Y	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 *Loeffler*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 *Paul*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Marriott*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Robinson*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 *Wampler*	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Foley	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Petri*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 *Roth*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

115. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Weiss, D-N.Y., amendment to reduce the Budget Committee's recommendation for defense spending by $1 billion in budget authority and $355 million in outlays; and to increase funds for the Young Adult Conservation Corps, youth jobs programs, and a jobs tax credit for employing persons age 16-18. Rejected 92-321: R 8-144; D 84-177 (ND 80-101; SD 4-76), May 8, 1979.

116. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Holtzman, D-N.Y., amendment, as amended, to increase 1980 revenues by $1.2 billion, by recommending curtailment of foreign tax credits for oil companies and requiring that royalties paid for foreign oil be treated as a deductible business expense instead (the original Holtzman amendment would have provided $1 billion of the increased revenues for energy conservation and research, mass transit, older Americans' jobs and nutrition and fiscal relief to states for welfare costs). Adopted 355-66: R 114-41; D 241-25 (ND 172-14; SD 69-11), May 8, 1979.

117. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to "transfer" $2.3 billion from foreign assistance programs to general revenue sharing for the states. Rejected 199-214: R 127-24; D 72-190 (ND 30-153; SD 42-37), May 8, 1979.

118. H Res 106. German Statute of Limitations on Nazi War Crimes. Adoption of the resolution urging the Federal Republic of Germany to abolish or extend beyond Dec. 31, 1979, the statute of limitations governing the prosecution of Nazi war crimes. Adopted 401-0: R 146-0; D 255-0 (ND 176-0; SD 79-0), May 9, 1979.

119. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Shuster, R-Pa., amendment to increase budget authority and outlays by $1.1 billion, roughly half the amount of general revenue sharing for state governments, which the Budget Committee recommended eliminating. Rejected 203-216: R 110-41; D 93-175 (ND 77-107; SD 16-68), May 9, 1979.

120. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Coleman, R-Mo., amendment to cut budget authority and outlays by $650 million, representing a reduction in spending for food stamps. Rejected 147-276: R 121-32; D 26-244 (ND 5-182; SD 21-62), May 9, 1979.

121. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. John Burton, D-Calif., amendment, to the Latta, R-Ohio, substitute *(see vote 122, below)*, to "balance the budget" in 1980 by reducing outlays by the amount of unobligated balances in the defense budget, Department of Energy overhead costs and uranium enrichment programs; and to increase revenues by $3 billion by recommending repeal of the foreign tax credit for oil companies; thus setting the following spending aggregates: budget authority, $585.2 billion; outlays, $509.9 billion; and revenues, $510.8 billion. Rejected 45-371: R 0-151; D 45-220 (ND 44-139; SD 1-81), May 9, 1979.

122. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Latta, R-Ohio, substitute amendment to set 1980 budget authority at $593.8 billion; outlays at $523.4 billion; revenues at $508.2 billion (a $6.5 billion reduction); and the deficit at $15.2 billion. Rejected 191-228: R 148-6; D 43-222 (ND 19-163; SD 24-59), May 9, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Buchanan*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Stump	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 *Clausen*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Fazio	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 *Royer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *McCloskey*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Mineta	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Thomas*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Waxman	N	N	N	Y	N	N	?	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	X
30 Danielson	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
36 Brown	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
40 *Badham*	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Wirth	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Dodd	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Giaimo	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Ratchford	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Gibbons	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ireland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 *Bafalis*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 Stack	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Lehman	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Pepper	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Fascell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Levitas	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Fowler	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Gingrich*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	N
9 Jenkins	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Akaka	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	N	Y	Y	#	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	-
2 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Russo	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
4 *Derwinski*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Hyde*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Yates	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Mikva	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Annunzio	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	N	N	Y	?	X	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	#	?	N	Y
17 *O'Brien*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Railsback*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 *Findley*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Price	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Simon	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Brademas	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Hillis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Sharp	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135

	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Jeffries*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Winn*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Glickman	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Whittaker*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	Y	N	?	?	?
2 Natcher	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Snyder*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Carter*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Hopkins*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
4 Leach	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Huckaby	?	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Moore*	N	N	Y	+	?	?	N	Y
7 Breaux	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	?	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Snowe*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long	N	Y	N	Y	X	N	N	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Holt*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Boland	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 *Heckler*	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Pursell*	N	Y	N	Y	#	N	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Stockman*	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Sawyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Traxler	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 *Davis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Diggs	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
14 Nedzi	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
16 Dingell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
19 *Broomfield*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Frenzel*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Nolan	?	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N
7 *Stangeland*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Hinson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 *Lott*	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Young	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
3 Gephardt	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Coleman*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Taylor*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Burlison	N	Y	N	Y	X	N	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Marlenee*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 *Smith*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Cleveland*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Hughes	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Howard	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	?	#	N	N	N
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Forsythe*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Rodino	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 Minish	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 *Rinaldo*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 *Courter*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
15 Patten	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Ambro	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?
4 *Lent*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 *Wydler*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Ferraro	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 Murphy	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
18 *Green*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
25 *Fish*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
26 *Gilman*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
28 Stratton	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
29 *Solomon*	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 *Mitchell*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
32 Hanley	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
33 Lee	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 *Horton*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
35 *Conable*	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
37 Nowak	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
38 *Kemp*	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Andrews	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Neal	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Preyer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Rose	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N	N
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 *Martin*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Broyhill*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Hall	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 *Guyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Latta*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Harsha*	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Brown*	?	N	Y	?	X	?	?	?
8 *Kindness*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N	N
10 *Miller*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 *Stanton*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 *Devine*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 *Wylie*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 *Regula*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 *Williams*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Mottl	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Synar	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Watkins	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 *Edwards*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Ullman	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Duncan	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 *Dougherty*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 *Schulze*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *McDade*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Flood	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
12 Murtha	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 *Coughlin*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
14 Moorhead	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 *Ritter*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Walker*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	N	N
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	?	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
21 Bailey	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	P	Y	N	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 *Marks*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Beard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	N	N	N	N
2 *Spence*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
4 *Campbell*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	N	Y	N	Y	X	N	N	N
6 Jenrette	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Abdnor*	N	Y	Y	?	#	?	?	#
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Duncan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Boner	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Beard*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 *Collins*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 *Archer*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Pickle	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
12 Wright	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Hightower	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 Stenholm	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
20 Gonzalez	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 *Loeffler*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	N	Y	P	N	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
24 Frost	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 *Marriott*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Butler*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Robinson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 *Wampler*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Swift	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Bonker	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 McCormack	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Foley	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Dicks	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Lowry	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Staggers	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Slack	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Zablocki	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Petri*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
7 Obey	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 *Roth*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

123. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Holt, R-Md., amendment to set 1980 budget authority at $600 billion; outlays at $526.9 billion; revenues at $508.2 billion (a $6.5 billion reduction); and the deficit at $18.7 billion. Rejected 198-218: R 150-4; D 48-214 (ND 24-155; SD 24-59), May 9, 1979.

124. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Mitchell, D-Md., substitute amendment, as amended, to reduce tax expenditures by $1 billion in 1979 and by $4 billion in 1980; to increase 1980 budget authority by $2.3 billion and outlays by $1.5 billion for various domestic social programs; and to reduce the deficit by $2.5 billion. Rejected 130-277: R 4-148; D 126-129 (ND 114-60; SD 12-69), May 10, 1979.

125. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Giaimo, D-Conn., motion that all debate on and amendments to the resolution end immediately. Rejected 197-208: R 19-131; D 178-77 (ND 123-50; SD 55-27), May 10, 1979.

126. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Kemp, R-N.Y., amendment to reduce 1979 revenues by $400 million and 1980 revenues by $7.8 billion; and to reduce 1979 budget authority and outlays by $1.4 billion, and 1980 budget authority and outlays by $6.1 billion. Rejected 182-229: R 149-4; D 33-225 (ND 15-163; SD 18-62), May 10, 1979.

127. H Res 212/H Res 266. Gasoline Rationing Plan. Adoption of the rule (H Res 262) providing for House floor consideration of the Carter administration's standby gasoline rationing plan and amendment thereto. Adopted 227-190: R 7-146; D 220-44 (ND 156-25; SD 64-19), May 10,1979.

128. H Res 212/H Res 266. Adoption of the resolutions to approve the standby gasoline rationing plan which, during an emergency, would require that special ration coupons be used to purchase gasoline. Rejected 159-246: R 7-140; D 152-106 (ND 104-72; SD 48-34), May 10, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	123	124	125	126	127	128
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	#	N	N	Y	N	N
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	N	Y	N	X
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	N	N	?	?	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Matsui	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	N	?	?	?	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Dellums	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Stark	?	#	N	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	N	Y	N	N	N	N
11 *Royer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	N	?	?	N	Y	N
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	N	N	N	Y	N	?
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
25 Roybal	X	?	?	X	?	?
26 *Rousselot*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	X	+	?	X	?	X
30 Danielson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	Y	?	N	N
32 Anderson	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	X	?	?	X	?	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
40 *Badham*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Dodd	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	#	?	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Fuqua	N	N	Y	N	Y	X
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Young*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
9 Nelson	N	N	Y	N	N	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Fascell	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Levitas	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Evans	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Hansen*	#	N	N	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	N	Y	#
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Collins	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Mikva	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	X	?	#	?	?
13 *McClory*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	?	?	#	N	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
16 *Anderson*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Michel*	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
20 *Findley*	Y	N	N	N	N	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
23 Price	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Smith	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
5 Harkin	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Bedell	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141

	123	124	125	126	127	128
KANSAS						
1 *Sebelius*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 *Winn*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Glickman	N	N	N	N	N	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	?	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Natcher	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 *Carter*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Hopkins*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA						
1 *Livingston*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Moore*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	X	N	Y	N	N
8 Long	?	?	?	?	?	?
MAINE						
1 *Emery*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MARYLAND						
1 *Bauman*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Long	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Holt*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Spellman	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 *Conte*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boland	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	N	Y	Y	N	Y	#
2 *Pursell*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Carr	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Albosta	N	N	N	N	Y	N
11 *Davis*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	N	#	?	N	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Dingell	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA						
1 *Erdahl*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Vento	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	N	Y	N	N	Y	#
7 *Stangeland*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 *Lott*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Young	N	X	Y	N	N	N
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
9 Volkmer	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA						
1 *Bereuter*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	-	+	N
3 *Smith*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Maguire	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	N	Y	Y	N	Y	#
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
13 *Courter*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 *Lujan*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Runnels	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK						
1 *Carney*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Downey	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Ambro	N	N	N	N	N	N
4 *Lent*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Wolff	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	N	Y	Y	N	Y	X
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 Holtzman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	?	N	Y	X	N	N
18 *Green*	N	N	N	N	N	N
19 Rangel	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 Weiss	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	#	+	N	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	N	N	N	Y	N
33 *Lee*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
34 *Horton*	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
35 *Conable*	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
36 LaFalce	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
39 Lundine	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Whitley	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	+
6 Preyer	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	N	N	Y	?	N
11 Gudger	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL *Andrews*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
OHIO						
1 *Gradison*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Luken	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 *Latta*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Brown*	#	X	?	#	?	?
8 *Kindness*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
12 *Devine*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
13 Pease	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	N	N	N	N	N
16 *Regula*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Synar	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Steed	N	N	Y	N	N	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 English	Y	N	Y	N	?	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Ullman	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	N	N	Y	N	?	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	Y	N	N	N	N	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Edgar	-	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 *McDade*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Flood	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Murtha	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
16 *Walker*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	?	?	?	?	?	X
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	N	N	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Beard	N	Y	N	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Holland	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Abdnor*	#	?	?	#	?	?
TENNESSEE						
1 *Quillen*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Ford	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson, C.	N	N	N	Y	Y	#
3 *Collins*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	N	?	?	?	?	Y
5 Mattox	N	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	N	?	?	?	Y	Y
9 Brooks	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Pickle	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	N	N	N	N	N	N
12 Wright	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
16 White	N	N	N	Y	N	N
17 Stenholm	N	N	N	N	N	N
18 Leland	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
22 *Paul*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
UTAH						
1 McKay	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Marriott*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT						
AL *Jeffords*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA						
1 *Trible*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Harris	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Slack	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Rahall	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Obey	N	?	?	?	?	?
8 *Roth*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING						
AL *Cheney*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

129. HR 2805. Ethics in Government Act Amendments. Danielson, D-Calif., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to allow waivers of disclosure requirements for part-time federal employees and government consultants and to make other technical modifications to the 1978 Ethics in Government Act (PL 95-521). Motion agreed to 338-49: R 111-30; D 227-19 (ND 154-16; SD 73-3), May 14, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (258 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

130. HR 3577. Oceans and Atmospheres National Advisory Committee. Murphy, D-N.Y., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize $550,000 in fiscal 1980 for the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmospheres, which provides independent advice on the nation's marine and atmospheric programs. Motion agreed to 340-36: R 121-19; D 219-17 (ND 154-8; SD 65-9), May 14, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (251 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

131. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Bennett, D-Fla., amendment to set fiscal 1980 defense spending at $137 billion in budget authority and $124.2 billion in outlays ($1.7 billion in budget authority and $59 million in outlays more than supported by the Budget Committee). Rejected 188-209: R 114-29; D 74-180 (ND 26-151; SD 48-29), May 14, 1979.

132. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Dodd, D-Conn., amendment to increase fiscal 1980 budget authority by $210 million and outlays by $164 million by recommending increases in funds for emergency fuel assistance for low-income families. Rejected 179-222: R 38-103; D 141-119 (ND 115-65; SD 26-54), May 14, 1979.

133. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Fisher, D-Va., amendment to cut pending fiscal 1980 budget authority and outlays $2.5 billion, or .5 percent, across the board — thus providing $605.1 billion in budget authority and $529.9 billion in outlays. Adopted 255-144: R 131-10; D 124-134 (ND 66-112; SD 58-22), May 14, 1979.

134. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Giaimo, D-Conn., amendment to prorate among the various budget functions the $2.5 billion in cuts authorized by the Fisher, D-Va., amendment *(see vote 133, above)*. Adopted 272-128: R 135-9; D 137-119 (ND 77-99; SD 60-20), May 14, 1979.

135. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Adoption of the resolution revising binding fiscal 1979 budget totals and setting fiscal 1980 targets as follows: for 1979 — $557.9 billion in budget authority, $494.3 billion in outlays, $458.5 billion in revenues, and a $35.9 billion deficit; for 1980 — $605.1 billion in budget authority, $529.9 billion in outlays, $509 billion in revenues and a $20.9 billion deficit. Adopted 220-184: R 9-134; D 211-50 (ND 147-33; SD 64-17), May 14, 1979.

136. Procedural Motion. Sensenbrenner, R-Wis., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Monday, May 14, 1979. Motion agreed to 362-9: R 141-4; D 221-5 (ND 154-4; SD 67-1), May 15, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	X	N	N	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Anthony	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	P	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
21 Corman	?	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
32 Anderson	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	?	#	#	?	?	X	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	?	?	X	#	?	?	#	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?
5 ***Kelly***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Young***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	?	?	X	X	?	#	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 ***Gingrich***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
7 McDonald	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	?
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hansen***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	?	?	X	N	N	N	Y	?
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	N	Y	X	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
17 ***O'Brien***	N	Y	Y	N	#	Y	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	?	?	#	X	?	?	?	?
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
5 ***Hillis***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	?	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 Bedell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 142, 143, 144, 145 146, 147, 148, 149

	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Glickman	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	?
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	X	#	X	?	X	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y	?	Y	X	?	N	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
6 Nolan	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
5 Bolling	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
2 Hughes	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	?	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
10 Rodino	?	?	X	#	X	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	N	Y	-	-	-	?
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	?	?	X	#	X	?	?	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	?	?	-	Y	N	N	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	P
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	#	N	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	X	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	?	?	#	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	?	?	X	#	?	?	?	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
4 Weaver	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?
5 ***Schulze***	N	N	Y	N	#	?	?	Y
6 Yatron	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
5 Holland	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	?	?	#	#	#	?	X	?
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	?	?	#	X	#	?	?	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	+	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	?	?	?	?	#	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Baldus	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

137. Procedural Motion. Bereuter, R-Neb., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Tuesday, May 15, 1979. Motion agreed to 328-5: R 126-2; D 202-3 (ND 130-3; SD 72-0), May 16, 1979.

138. HR 39. Alaska Lands. Breaux, D-La., amendment, to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries substitute amendment, that combined the substitute bills drafted by the Interior and Merchant Marine committees, including the amendments adopted on the House floor. Adopted 416-0: R 157-0; D 259-0 (ND 180-0; SD 79-0), May 16, 1979.

139. HR 39. Alaska Lands. Udall, D-Ariz., substitute amendment (HR 3651) to create 125.4 million acres of national parks, wildlife refuges and forests in Alaska. Adopted 268-157: R 66-90; D 202-67 (ND 154-32; SD 48-35), May 16, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

140. HR 39. Alaska Lands. Passage of the bill to create 125.4 million acres of national parks, wildlife refuges and national forests in Alaska. Passed 360-65: R 117-39; D 243-26 (ND 178-7; SD 65-19), May 16, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

141. HR 10. Rights of the Institutionalized. Adoption of the rule (H Res 241) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize the U. S. attorney general to initiate lawsuits in federal courts to safeguard the rights of persons confined in state prisons, mental institutions and nursing homes. Adopted 398-4: R 147-2; D 251-2 (ND 170-0; SD 81-2), May 16, 1979.

142. S 869. Ethics in Government Act Amendments. Adoption of the rule (H Res 273) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to clarify certain provisions in the 1978 Ethics in Government Act. Adopted 411-1: R 152-0; D 259-1 (ND 177-1, SD 82-0), May 16, 1979.

143. Procedural Motion. Loeffler, R-Texas, motion to approve the House *Journal* of Wednesday, May 16, 1979. Adopted 351-11: R 138-4; D 213-7 (ND 144-7; SD 69-0), May 17, 1979.

144. HR 111. Panama Canal. Adoption of the rule (H Res 274) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal through the year 1999 and to implement the provisions of the Panama Canal Treaty. Adopted 200-198: R 19-131; D 181-67 (ND 143-31; SD 38-36), May 17, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
3 Matsui	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
4 Fazio	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Dellums	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
10 Edwards	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
11 *Royer*	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Coelho	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
22 *Moorhead*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
24 Waxman	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
27 *Dornan*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
29 Hawkins	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Anderson	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
37 *Lewis*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	P	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
9 Nelson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 150, 151, 152, 153 154, 155, 157, 158

	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	?	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Long	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 Byron	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	+	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?	?
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 *Coleman*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
10 Rodino	?	?	#	#	?	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	?	?	#	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
12 Chisholm	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Green*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	P	Y	N	N	Y	Y	P	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
39 Lundine	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
8 Hefner	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 *Ashbrook*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	X	X	?	?	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Gray	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Walker*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
25 Atkinson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Ford	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
8 Eckhardt	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
9 Brooks	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
14 Wyatt	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

145. Procedural Motion. Kramer, R-Colo., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Thursday, May 17, 1979. Motion agreed to 243-7: R 99-2; D 144-5 (ND 91-4; SD 53-1), May 21, 1979.

146. HR 4011. Small Business Administration. Adoption of the rule (H Res 279) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $5.3 billion for Small Business Administration programs for fiscal 1980-1982. Adopted 380-7: R 131-6; D 249-1 (ND 170-0; SD 79-1), May 22, 1979.

147. HR 4011. Small Business Administration. Marriott, R-Utah, amendment to limit applications for the Small Business Development Center pilot program to states or state agencies; require existing SBDC's to refer applicants to private consultants when applicable; and establish state advisory boards to monitor the program. Rejected 192-216: R 134-12; D 58-204 (ND 30-150; SD 28-54), May 22, 1979.

148. HR 4011. Small Business Administration. Hinson, R-Miss., amendment to lower interest rates on homeowner loans to 1 percent on the first $10,000 borrowed and 3 percent on amounts between $10,000 and $55,000. Rejected 174-232: R 113-31; D 61-201 (ND 39-140; SD 22-61), May 22, 1979.

149. HR 4011. Small Business Administration. Passage of the bill to authorize $5.3 billion for Small Business Administration programs for fiscal 1980-82. Passed 398-5: R 139-3; D 259-2 (ND 179-1; SD 80-1), May 22, 1979.

150. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Targets. Giaimo, D-Conn., motion to approve the conference version of the resolution revising binding fiscal 1979 budget totals and setting fiscal 1980 targets as follows: for 1979 — $559.2 billion in budget authority, $494.45 billion in outlays, $461 billion in revenues, and a $33.45 billion deficit; for 1980 — $604.05 billion in budget authority, $532 billion in outlays, $509 billion in revenues, and a $23 billion deficit. Motion rejected 144-260: R 36-108; D 108-152 (ND 50-130; SD 58-22), May 23, 1979.

151. HR 10. Rights of the Institutionalized. Passage of the bill to authorize the U.S. attorney general to initiate lawsuits in federal courts to safeguard the rights of persons confined in state prisons, mental institutions and nursing homes. Passed 342-62: R 103-44; D 239-18 (ND 174-5; SD 65-13), May 23, 1979.

152. HR 3914. D.C. Metro Construction. Passage of the bill to remove the authorization ceiling for funding the District of Columbia share of construction costs for the capital area subway system, Metro. Passed 357-48: R 111-38; D 246-10; (ND 170-6; SD 76-4), May 23, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	?	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
8 Dellums	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
25 Roybal	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
27 *Dornan*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
30 Danielson	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Anderson	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
6 *Young*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	?	?	X	?	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	Y	?	N	Y	Y	?	?
3 Brinkley	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 McDonald	?	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
9 Jenkins	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Russo	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fary	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Mikva	?	+	N	N	+	N	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	N	?	Y
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fithian	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166

	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Boggs	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Early	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	?	?	N	N	Y	N	?	?
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	Y
2 *Pursell*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Albosta	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	N	N	Y	?	Y	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Coleman*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
8 Ichord	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	#	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Minish	?	?	?	X	?	N	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	?	#	#	?	N	Y	N
6 Wolff	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
11 Scheuer	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Green*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	?	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	#	?	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	?	?	?	#	?	N	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	N	?	Y	#	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	Y
8 Hefner	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
7 *Brown*	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Pease	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	N	Y	?
19 *Williams*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
21 Stokes	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 English	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	?	?	X	?	?	N	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y
14 Moorhead	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
16 *Walker*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
25 Atkinson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
7 *Archer*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Eckhardt	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	N	Y	#	?	?
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	X	?	?
12 Wright	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Paul*	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
23 Kazen	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	?	?	#	?	?	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Foley	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	?	Y	N	Y	Y	#	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	?	Y	N	Y	Y	X	?	?
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	?	Y	N	N	Y	X	?	?
4 Zablocki	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 *Sensenbrenner*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	?	X	?	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

153. HR 3404. Treasury Draw Authority. Adoption of the rule (H Res 275) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to extend the authority of the Treasury to obtain cash to meet short-term needs. Adopted 377-13: R 135-10; D 242-3 (ND 167-2; SD 75-1), May 23, 1979.

154. HR 3404. Treasury Draw Authority. Passage of the bill to extend for two years the authority of the Treasury to obtain cash to meet short-term needs. Passed 316-75: R 94-49; D 222-26 (ND 161-10; SD 61-16), May 23, 1979.

155. H Con Res 107. Fiscal 1980 Budget Target. Giaimo, D-Conn., motion to concur in the Senate amendment to the budget resolution to revise binding fiscal 1979 budget totals and set fiscal 1980 targets as follows: for 1979 — $559.2 billion in budget authority, $494.45 billion in outlays, $461 billion in revenues, and a $33.45 billion deficit; for 1980 — $604.4 billion in budget authority, $532 billion in outlays, $509 billion in revenues, and a $23 billion deficit. Motion agreed to (thus completing congressional action) 202-196: R 28-116; D 174-80 (ND 103-70; SD 71-10), May 24, 1979.

156. S 869. Ethics in Government Act Amendments. Adoption of the rule (H Res 281) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to provide certain clarifications of the 1978 Ethics in Government Act. Adopted 375-18: R 131-14; D 244-4 (ND 169-3; SD 75-1), May 24, 1979.

157. S 869. Ethics in Government Act Amendments. Eckhardt, D-Texas, substitute amendment, to the Kindness, R-Ohio, amendment, to restrict former high-level federal employees for two years from assisting in representing anyone before their previous agencies and to limit the automatic coverage of the one-year ban on contacting a former agency to former executive-level employees. Rejected 88-292: R 24-116; D 64-176 (ND 51-116; SD 13-60), May 24, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Kindness amendment to limit automatic coverage of post-employment restrictions to certain high-level civilian and military officials was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

158. S 869. Ethics in Government Act Amendments. Passage of the bill to clarify and soften restrictions on post-federal-government employment. Passed 327-48: R 122-15; D 205-33 (ND 135-29; SD 70-4), May 24, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	153	154	155	156	157	158
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	?	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	Y	?	?	N	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	?	?	?	?	?
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	#	?	?	?
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	N	?	N	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	Y	#	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	?	?	?	?	?
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Dodd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Giaimo	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Pepper	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Mathis	?	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
2 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Yates	Y	?	?	?	?	?
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	N	Y	N	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	Y	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173

	153	154	155	156	157	158
KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Leach	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	?	Y	?	?	?
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Early	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	?	Y	#	Y	N	Y
16 Dingell	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	N	?	?	?	?
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Biaggi	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	X	?	N	?
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	X	?	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
24 Ottinger	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Stratton	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	#	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	?	?	N	Y	N	Y
3 Hall	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	X	?	?	?
6 ***Harsha***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	?	?	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	?	N	Y	?	?
20 Oakar	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	+	+	-	+
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	X	?	?	?
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	N	N	N	Y	?	?
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	Y	?	Y	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 Jenrette	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
11 Leath	?	?	X	?	?	?
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	#	?	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
8 ***Roth***	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

159. S 7. Veterans' Health Care. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to establish a new program of psychological counseling and other readjustment assistance for Vietnam-era veterans, make changes in other veterans' health care programs and require approval of congressional Veterans' Affairs Committees before funds could be appropriated for major Veterans Administration medical facility construction, renovation or leasing. Adopted 342-0: R 123-0; D 219-0 (ND 153-0; SD 66-0), May 30, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

160. HR 4035. Special Egyptian-Israeli Aid. Passage of the bill to authorize $4.8 billion for fiscal 1979 in special economic and military assistance to help Egypt and Israel implement the Middle East peace treaty. Passed 347-28: R 114-21; D 233-7 (ND 158-6; SD 75-1), May 30, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

161. HR 2575. Department of Defense Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Authorization. Dellums, D-Calif., amendment to prohibit further development of the M-X missile and of its basing system. Rejected 89-311: R 7-139; D 82-172 (ND 78-95; SD 4-77), May 31, 1979.

162. HR 2575. Department of Defense Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Authorization. Bedell, D-Iowa, amendment to prohibit further development of a specific basing system for the M-X missile (called MPS) unless the secretary of defense certified to Congress that it was "consistent with national security interests." Rejected 100-291: R 10-131; D 90-160 (ND 87-83; SD 3-77), May 31, 1979.

163. HR 2575. Department of Defense Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Authorization. Passage of the bill authorizing $1,321,900,000 in supplemental funds for programs of the Department of Defense in fiscal 1979. Passed 314-72: R 131-6; D 183-66 (ND 105-66; SD 78-0), May 31, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	159	160	161	162	163
ALABAMA					
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ALASKA					
AL ***Young***	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA					
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	N	N	?
2 Udall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***Rudd***	?	Y	N	?	?
ARKANSAS					
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	?	?
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	N	N	?	?
4 Anthony	?	Y	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA					
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	?	?
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	N	N	?
3 Matsui	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	?	?	?	?	?
7 Miller	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	?	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	?	?	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
28 Dixon	?	?	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	N	Y
36 Brown	?	?	N	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	?	?	N	N	?
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	?
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	N	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
COLORADO					
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	?	Y	Y	?	?
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT					
1 Cotter	?	?	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	N	N	Y
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE					
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
FLORIDA					
1 Hutto	?	Y	N	N	+
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	Y	N	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N	N	Y
GEORGIA					
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	?	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	N	Y
HAWAII					
1 Heftel	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Akaka	?	?	?	?	?
IDAHO					
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS					
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Murphy	+	+	?	?	?
3 Russo	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	+	N	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	?	?	N	N	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Mikva	Y	+	Y	Y	N
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	N	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	Y	N	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	?	?	N	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	?	?	N	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	?	?	N	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	N	N	?
23 Price	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA					
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA					
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	?	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

	159	160	161	162	163
KANSAS					
1 ***Sebelius***	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY					
1 Hubbard	?	?	N	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	-	-	+
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA					
1 ***Livingston***	?	+	N	?	?
2 Boggs	?	?	N	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	?	?	N	N	Y
7 Breaux	?	Y	N	N	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MAINE					
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MARYLAND					
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	?	Y	N	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	P	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	+	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS					
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill					
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN					
1 Conyers	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Traxler	?	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	?	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	N	?
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	Y	Y	Y	?	N
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA					
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	?	?	?
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	?	Y	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	?	N	N	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI					
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Bowen	?	?	N	N	Y
3 Montgomery	+	+	N	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	?	?	N	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	?	?	N	N	Y
MISSOURI					
1 Clay	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	N	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA					
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	?	?	?	?	?
NEBRASKA					
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA					
AL Santini	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY					
1 Florio	?	?	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO					
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW YORK					
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	?	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	?	Y	N	N	Y
6 Wolff	?	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ferraro	+	Y	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	?	Y	N	N	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	?	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	?	?	Y	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	?	?	N	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	?	?	N	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA					
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	?	?	?	?	?
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA					
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO					
1 ***Gradison***	?	Y	N	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	?	N	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	?	?	N	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	?	?	N	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	?	?	?
23 Mottl	Y	N	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA					
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	?	Y	N	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OREGON					
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Duncan	?	Y	N	N	Y
4 Weaver	?	?	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA					
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Edgar	?	Y	?	?	?
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	?	Y	N	N	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	?	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND					
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA					
1 Davis	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	?	N	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Holland	?	Y	N	N	Y
6 Jenrette	?	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA					
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE					
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ford	?	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS					
1 Hall	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	N	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	?	?	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Pickle	?	Y	N	N	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	?	?
12 Wright	Y	Y	N	N	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Wyatt	?	Y	N	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 Leland	?	?	?	?	?
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	?	N	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	?	?	?	?	?
24 Frost	Y	Y	N	N	Y
UTAH					
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
VERMONT					
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA					
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON					
1 ***Pritchard***	?	?	?	?	?
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	?	?	?	?
4 McCormack	?	?	N	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA					
1 Mollohan	?	?	N	N	Y
2 Staggers	?	?	?	?	?
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	?	?	?
WISCONSIN					
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	?	N	N	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	?	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING					
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

164. HR 4015. Veterans Senior Citizen Health Care Act. Satterfield, D-Va., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to establish demonstration centers of geriatric research, education and clinical operations within the Veterans Administration. Motion agreed to 406-0: R 151-0; D 255-0 (ND 171-0; SD 84-0), June 5, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (271 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

165. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Ritter, R-Pa., amendment to transfer $200 million from the authorization for the urban development action grant program to the community development block grant program. Rejected 159-263: R 127-29; D 32-234 (ND 16-164; SD 16-70), June 5, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

166. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Neal, D-N.C., amendment to make up to 20 percent of urban development action grant funds available to cities and urban counties that have at least one area of severe poverty. Adopted 312-102: R 148-8; D 164-94 (ND 83-91; SD 81-3), June 5, 1979.

167. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Boner, D-Tenn., amendment to extend eligibility for urban development action grants to any urban county that contains at least one area of severe poverty and had a population of at least 50,000 persons prior to 1960. Rejected 48-357: R 10-140; D 38-217 (ND 16-158; SD 22-59), June 5, 1979.

168. HR 3464. SSI Disability Benefits. Passage of the bill to provide incentives to encourage disabled recipients of Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits to return to work. Passed 374-3: R 138-2; D 236-1 (ND 160-0; SD 76-1), June 6, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

169. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Fish, R-N.Y., amendment to provide an additional $125 million for discretionary capital grants for urban mass transportation. Rejected 127-270: R 24-122; D 103-148 (ND 90-84; SD 13-64), June 6, 1979.

170. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Ashley, D-Ohio, motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole to consider the bill to amend and extend various federal housing programs. Motion agreed to 390-2: R 145-0; D 245-2 (ND 170-2; SD 75-0), June 6, 1979.

171. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Hansen, R-Idaho, amendment to eliminate Davis-Bacon prevailing wage requirements for Indian housing and for residential housing rehabilitation projects carried out by neighborhood nonprofit organizations. Rejected 155-244: R 107-40; D 48-204 (ND 11-163; SD 37-41), June 6, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	?	X	?	?	?	X	?	X
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 *Royer*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	X
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	X	?	?
21 Corman	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	N	?	?	?	#	?	-
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
36 Brown	Y	N	?	N	?	N	?	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Dodd	?	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N
3 Giaimo	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	?
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	N	?	X	?	#
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Young*	?	#	?	?	?	X	?	?
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	X	+	#
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fowler	?	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y	-	-	X	?	#
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Russo	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Mikva	Y	N	N	-	Y	Y	?	N
11 Annunzio	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	X	?	?
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186

	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Treen*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	N	?	X	?	#
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Early	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	+	-
5 Shannon	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 *Heckler*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	#	?	?
2 *Pursell*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	N	+	N	Y	N
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Nedzi	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 Dingell	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N
17 Brodhead	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
2 Young	Y	N	Y	N	+	+	+	-
3 Gephardt	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Bolling	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	?	?	?	#	?	X
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	#	?	?
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ferraro	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	N	N	N	+	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	?	#	?	?
18 *Green*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	N	+	Y	Y	N
25 *Fish*	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	N	Y	N	+	#	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
28 Stratton	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	#	Y	N
35 *Conable*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
22 Vanik	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
6 English	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
14 Moorhead	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 *Marks*	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	N	?	?	?	?	Y	N
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?	?
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Wampler*	Y	#	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

172. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Ashley, D-Ohio, motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole to consider the bill to amend and extend various federal housing programs. Motion agreed to 356-5: R 141-3; D 215-2 (ND 143-1; SD 72-1), June 7, 1979.

173. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Panetta, D-Calif., amendment to reduce paperwork by compiling, and subsequently consolidating and simplifying, forms used in federal housing programs. Adopted 366-16: R 144-3; D 222-13 (ND 148-12; SD 74-1), June 7, 1979.

174. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Duncan, R-Tenn., amendment to prevent Social Security cost-of-living increases from being counted as income when calculating rent in assisted housing. Adopted 311-79: R 101-47; D 210-32 (ND 150-17; SD 60-15), June 7, 1979.

175. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Campbell, R-S.C., amendment to delete language authorizing the secretary of housing and urban development to issue cease and desist orders prohibiting the sale or lease of property by a developer who violated the anti-fraud provisions of the Interstate Land Sales Act. Adopted 245-145: R 139-7; D 106-138 (ND 44-125; SD 62-13), June 7, 1979.

176. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development Amendments. Passage of the bill to amend and extend various federal housing programs. Passed 355-36: R 117-31; D 238-5 (ND 164-3; SD 74-2), June 7, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

177. HR 2444. Department of Education. Adoption of the rule (H Res 299) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to establish a Cabinet-level Department of Education. Adopted 293-73: R 82-58; D 211-15 (ND 142-10; SD 69-5), June 7, 1979.

178. HR 2641. Civil Rights Commission. Adoption of the rule (H Res 272) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $14 million for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in fiscal 1980. Adopted 279-0: R 105-0; D 174-0 (ND 116-0; SD 58-0), June 8, 1979.

179. HR 3347. Treasury Department International Affairs. Adoption of the rule (H Res 284) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $22.4 million for international affairs functions in the Treasury Department in fiscal 1980. Adopted 287-3: R 105-2; D 182-1 (ND 123-0; SD 59-1), June 8, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	?	?	?	#	Y	Y	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	?
3 Matsui	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	Y	N	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
8 Dellums	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
10 Edwards	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
13 Mineta	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
29 Hawkins	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
30 Danielson	P	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?
35 Lloyd	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
36 Brown	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
40 ***Badham***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Giaimo	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	+	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	+	+	+	#	+	+	+	+
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	N
8 Evans	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Hansen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Fary	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	Y	?	?	Y	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Price	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
24 Simon	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 Harkin	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194

	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	-	-
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	P	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
12 Bonior	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
13 Diggs	?	Y	?	X	Y	Y	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
16 Dingell	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 ***Frenzel***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	?	Y	Y	X	?	?	?	?
2 Young	+	+	+	#	+	?	+	+
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	?	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 Runnels	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
5 ***Wydler***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
11 Scheuer	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	?	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
15 Zeferetti	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 ***Green***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	+	+	+
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
35 ***Conable***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
21 Stokes	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
2 Ullman	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 ***Schulze***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
7 Edgar	?	?	?	?	+	?	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
11 Flood	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Bouquard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
10 Pickle	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Bonker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?

Democrats ***Republicans***

180. HR 2641. Civil Rights Commission. Sensenbrenner, R-Wis., amendment to reduce authorizations for fiscal 1980 for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to $11,372,000 from $14,000,000. Rejected 130-168: R 92-19; D 38-149 (ND 10-118; SD 28-31), June 8, 1979.

181. HR 2641. Civil Rights Commission. Passage of the bill to authorize $14 million for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for fiscal 1980. Passed 276-14: R 95-11; D 181-3 (ND 126-1; SD 55-2), June 8, 1979.

182. HR 2374. Olmstead National Historic Site. Passage of the bill to authorize the establishment of the Frederick Law Olmstead National Historic Site in Massachusetts and for other acquisitions in the national park system. Passed 243-41: R 79-28; D 164-13 (ND 112-8; SD 52-5), June 8, 1979.

183. HR 3347. Treasury Department International Affairs. Passage of the bill to authorize $22,375,000 for international affairs functions of the Treasury Department for fiscal 1980. Passed 179-96: R 40-61; D 139-35 (ND 103-16; SD 36-19), June 8, 1979.

184. Procedural Motion. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, motion to approve the House *Journal* of Friday, June 8, 1979. Motion agreed to 305-8: R 122-4; D 183-4 (ND 117-4; SD 66-0), June 11, 1979.

185. HR 2444. Education Department. Brooks, D-Texas, motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill to establish a Cabinet-level department of education. Motion agreed to 308-28: R 109-26; D 199-2 (ND 130-1; SD 69-1), June 11, 1979.

186. HR 2444. Education Department. Erlenborn, R-Ill., amendment to change the name of the proposed department to the Department of Public Education (DOPE). Rejected 52-310: R 47-91; D 5-219 (ND 1-151; SD 4-68), June 11, 1979.

187. HR 2444. Education Department. McCloskey, R-Calif., amendment to establish an independent Office of Education instead of a Cabinet-level department. Rejected 114-257: R 88-51; D 26-206 (ND 14-146; SD 12-60), June 11, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
4 Bevill	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Udall	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 Stump	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	#	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Anthony	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
2 *Clausen*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	X
3 Matsui	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Miller	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
8 Dellums	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
9 Stark	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
10 Edwards	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 *McCloskey*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	#	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
21 Corman	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	N
25 Roybal	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
26 *Rousselot*	#	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	X
28 Dixon	N	Y	?	Y	?	?	N	N
29 Hawkins	X	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	Y	+	+	-	-
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
33 *Grisham*	#	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	#	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	#	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
4 *Johnson*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
2 Dodd	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	Y	?	N	N
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
5 Ratchford	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	N
6 Moffett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fuqua	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
9 Nelson	+	+	+	+	?	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Stack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Lehman	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Mathis	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Brinkley	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 Russo	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fary	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Hyde*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Mikva	N	Y	Y	+	Y	Y	+	N
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	#	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Price	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
24 Simon	?	?	?	?	Y	?	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fithian	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Sharp	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Smith	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Bedell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	#	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	#	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	#	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
8 Long	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	+	-	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Long	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	?
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boland	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 Early	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Shannon	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Heckler***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
12 Studds	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	N
5 ***Sawyer***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Kildee	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Traxler	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
11 ***Davis***	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
16 Dingell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Sabo	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	#
4 ***Hinson***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	X
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 Young	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Bolling	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	N	N
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	P	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	N	?	Y	N	?	?	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 ***Cleveland***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Thompson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Patten	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Runnels	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	#
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Ambro	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
4 ***Lent***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
6 Wolff	X	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
7 Addabbo	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
8 Rosenthal	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	N
9 Ferraro	-	+	+	+	Y	Y	N	N
10 Biaggi	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Chisholm	N	Y	?	?	?	?	N	N
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Richmond	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
15 Zeferetti	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	N	Y	?	?	?	?	N	N
17 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
18 ***Green***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	X	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
20 Weiss	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Garcia	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
22 Bingham	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	Y	+	+	N	N
25 ***Fish***	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
26 ***Gilman***	X	+	+	+	Y	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	X	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Andrews	N	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
5 Neal	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Preyer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Rose	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Martin***	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Luken	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
7 ***Brown***	N	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?	#
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	Y	?	N	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	N
14 Seiberling	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Williams***	?	?	?	?	Y	?	N	N
20 Oakar	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
21 Stokes	N	Y	?	Y	?	?	N	N
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
OKLAHOM								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	N	N
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Duncan	?	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	N
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Lederer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	X	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
5 ***Schulze***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
6 Yatron	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
7 Edgar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	X	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
15 ***Ritter***	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Walgren	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Bailey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 Murphy	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
2 Beard	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	Y	?	N	N
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	X
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	N	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	#	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Boner	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Jones	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 Mattox	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
7 ***Archer***	#	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Brooks	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Leath	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Hightower	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Frost	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	?	?	?	?	P	Y	N	N
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Foley	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Dicks	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	N
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Staggers	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Rahall	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	N
7 Obey	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

188. HR 2444. Education Department. Walker, R-Pa., amendment to make one of the purposes of the proposed education department to permit daily opportunities for voluntary prayer and meditation in public schools. Adopted 255-122: R 125-14; D 130-108 (ND 71-93; SD 59-15), June 11, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

189. HR 2444. Education Department. Kramer, R-Colo., amendment to state the intent of Congress to limit future budget authority of the proposed department to the existing funding for the programs transferred into it, with allowance for annual increases related to rises in the Consumer Price Index. Rejected 184-187: R 123-15; D 61-172; (ND 23-137; SD 38-35), June 11, 1979.

190. HR 2444. Education Department. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to state that no provision of law would authorize the proposed department to require a school district to undertake busing of schoolchildren to achieve racial balance as a condition for receiving federal assistance. Adopted 227-135: R 117-17; D 110-118 (ND 59-97; SD 51-21), June 11, 1979.

191. HR 2444. Education Department. Brademas, D-Ind., motion that the House adjourn and meet at 11 a.m. on June 12. Motion agreed to 234-67: R 50-63; D 184-4 (ND 124-1; SD 60-3), June 11, 1979.

192. Procedural Motion. Sensenbrenner, R-Wis., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Monday, June 11, 1979. Motion agreed to 352-8: R 130-5; D 222-3 (ND 144-3; SD 78-0), June 12, 1979.

193. H Res 198. Parren J. Mitchell Election Challenge. Adoption of the resolution to dismiss the election challenge brought against Rep. Parren J. Mitchell, D-Md. Adopted 378-0: R 141-0; D 237-0 (ND 160-0; SD 77-0), June 12, 1979.

194. HR 2444. Education Department. Brooks, D-Texas, motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill to establish a department of education. Motion agreed to 362-19: R 126-17; D 236-2 (ND 161-1; SD 75-1), June 12, 1979.

195. HR 2444. Education Department. Walker, R-Pa., amendment to add to the purposes of the bill the goal of ensuring that no one be denied access to education opportunities because of racial or sexual ratios or quotas. Adopted 277-126: R 139-10; D 138-116 (ND 71-99; SD 67-17), June 12, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Rudd***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	X	X	X	?	?	?	?	X
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	?	N
6 Burton, P.	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	N	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	N
9 Stark	N	?	X	?	?	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	N	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	N
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
13 Mineta	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
21 Corman	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	N	N	N	?	Y	?	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	#	?	#	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	N
29 Hawkins	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
30 Danielson	-	-	+	Y	Y	Y	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
32 Anderson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
36 Brown	N	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
40 ***Badham***	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	?	N
4 ***Johnson***	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Dodd	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Giaimo	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?
4 ***McKinney***	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Pepper	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Fascell	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	Y
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hansen***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Russo	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	#	X	#	?	?	?	?	#
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
10 Mikva	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	#	#	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
20 ***Findley***	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	?	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
24 Simon	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Deckard***	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	#	#	#	?	?	?	?	Y
8 Long	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Long	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?	N
8 Barnes	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Early	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	X	X	X	?	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	X	X	X	?	?	?	?	X
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	?	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	X	X	X	?	?	Y	?	?
14 Nedzi	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	N	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
16 Dingell	?	?	#	?	?	?	?	?
17 Brodhead	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 ***Frenzel***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Sowen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	#	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Young	+	-	+	?	+	+	?	+
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	Y	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	N	N	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	?
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	?	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Hughes	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	#
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	#	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	Y
6 Wolff	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rosenthal	N	N	N	?	?	?	?	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
12 Chisholm	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Solarz	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	N	N	N	?	?	?	?	N
17 Murphy	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Rangel	N	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	N	X	X	?	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	N
22 Bingham	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	+	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	?	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	N	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	?	Y
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	#	#	#	?	?	?	?	?
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	#	#	#	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	X	X	?	?	?	?	X
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	?	N	?	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 Gore	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	X	X	X	?	?	?	?	N
9 Brooks	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Pickle	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
UTAH								
1 McKay	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	#
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

196. HR 2444. Education Department. Erlenborn, R-Ill., amendment to delete from the bill the transfer of Defense Department overseas dependent schools to the proposed department. Rejected 178-230: R 115-34; D 63-196 (ND 28-146; SD 35-50), June 12, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

197. HR 2444. Education Department. De la Garza, D-Texas, substitute amendment, to the Garcia, D-N.Y., amendment *(see vote 198, below)*, to establish an Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs in the proposed department. Adopted 396-22: R 136-18; D 260-4 (ND 175-4; SD 85-0), June 12, 1979.

198. HR 2444. Education Department. Garcia, D-N.Y., amendment, as amended *(see vote 197, above)*, to establish an Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs. Adopted 290-124: R 70-82; D 220-42 (ND 164-16; SD 56-26), June 12, 1979.

199. HR 2444. Education Department. Marlenee, R-Mont., amendment to provide that the assistant secretary for vocational and adult education of the proposed department establish a unified rural family education program. Adopted 403-3: R 148-2; D 255-1 (ND 172-1; SD 83-0), June 12, 1979.

200. HR 2444. Education Department. Miller, D-Calif., amendment to delete from the bill the transfer of the Rehabilitation Services Administration and National Institute of Handicapped Research to the proposed education department and to establish within the department of health and human services (currently the Department of Health, Education and Welfare) an assistant secretary for the handicapped. Rejected 148-265: R 47-104; D 101-161 (ND 77-101; SD 24-60), June 12, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

201. HR 2444. Education Department. Walker, R-Pa., amendment to require that each executive level official appointed in the proposed department have been a school teacher or administrator for at least 18 of the 24 months preceding his or her nomination. Rejected 28-374: R 26-122; D 2-252 (ND 1-170; SD 1-82), June 12, 1979.

202. HR 2444. Education Department. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to delete the authority of the assistant secretary for civil rights to collect data relating to civil rights laws, to select employees and to enter into contracts. Rejected 65-342: R 50-98; D 15-244 (ND 6-170; SD 9-74), June 12, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

203. HR 2444. Education Department. Erlenborn, R-Ill., amendment to delete from the bill language authorizing the proposed department to provide information about education and related opportunities directly to students, parents and communities. Rejected 149-243: R 116-30; D 33-213 (ND 12-155; SD 21-58), June 12, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Rudd***	#	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	?	N
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	X	?	?	?	X	?	?	X
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Matsui	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Burton, J.	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Miller	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Dellums	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Stark	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Edwards	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Mineta	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	#	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Beilenson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
24 Waxman	X	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	#
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
29 Hawkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
40 ***Badham***	#	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	#	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
43 ***Burgener***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Wirth	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 ***Johnson***	N	N	?	?	N	N	?	?
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Dodd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
5 Ratchford	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Moffett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	#
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
12 Stack	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Lehman	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Levitas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Fowler	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Barnard	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hansen***	Y	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fary	X	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Collins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Mikva	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Price	#	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Fithian	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Evans	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Sharp	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Tauke***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Smith	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Bedell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 220

	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Huckaby	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Spellman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Early	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Drinan	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Shannon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Mavroules	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	X	?	?	?	#	?	?	X
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Wolpe	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 ***Stockman***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Kildee	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Traxler	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Albosta	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Diggs	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
14 Nedzi	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
16 Dingell	X	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
18 Blanchard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	#	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Nolan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Young	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Burlison	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N
2 Hughes	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Thompson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 ***Fenwick***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	N
10 Rodino	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Guarini	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
2 Runnels	#	?	?	?	#	?	?	X
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Ambro	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Addabbo	#	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Biaggi	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
12 Chisholm	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
15 Zeferetti	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 Weiss	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	-
25 ***Fish***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
26 ***Gilman***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
32 Hanley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	?	Y	?	N	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
39 Lundine	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Andrews	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Neal	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Preyer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Gudger	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Mottl	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Ullman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Dougherty***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Schulze***	X	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Edgar	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 Flood	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
14 Moorhead	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	#
17 Ertel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
25 Atkinson	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Beard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Holland	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	N
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Gore	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Boner	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Wyatt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
19 Hance	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 Frost	N	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Bonker	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Staggers	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Obey	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

204. HR 2444. Education Department. Quayle, R-Ind., amendment to delete language in the bill providing for five officers in the proposed education department with duties to be assigned by the secretary. Rejected 170-220: R 128-20; D 42-200 (ND 23-142; SD 19-58), June 12, 1979.

205. HR 4390. Legislative Branch Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Moakley, D-Mass., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate) on adoption of the rule (H Res 312) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to appropriate $952,878,400 for the House and related congressional agencies in fiscal 1980. Rejected 126-292: R 9-145; D 117-147 (ND 93-86; SD 24-61), June 13, 1979.

206. S 429. Defense Department Fiscal 1979 Supplemental. Price, D-Ill., motion that the conference committee meetings between the House and Senate on the fiscal 1979 Defense Department supplemental authorization bill be closed when classified information was discussed, but that any member of Congress would be eligible to attend meetings of the conference. Motion agreed to 397-16: R 151-1; D 246-15 (ND 164-13; SD 82-2), June 13, 1979.

207. HR 4390. Legislative Branch Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Murtha, D-Pa., amendment to lower to 5.5 percent from 7 percent the ceiling provided in the bill on any salary increase that could be paid during fiscal 1980 to any employee of the federal or District of Columbia governments whose salary was $47,500 or more as of Sept. 30, 1978. Adopted 396-15: R 146-3; D 250-12 (ND 168-10; SD 82-2), June 13, 1979.

208. HR 4390. Legislative Branch Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Erlenborn, R-Ill., amendment to reduce to $37,448,260 from $39,418,800 the fiscal 1980 appropriation for House members' official expenses. Rejected 204-213: R 132-21; D 72-192 (ND 37-142; SD 35-50), June 13, 1979.

209. HR 4390. Legislative Branch Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $952,878,400 for the House and related congressional agencies in fiscal 1980. Rejected 186-232: R 27-124; D 159-108 (ND 124-59; SD 35-49), June 13, 1979. The president had requested $1,034,974,600 in new budget authority.

210. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the rule (H Res 311) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $10.7 billion for energy and water development programs in fiscal 1980. Adopted 386-34: R 138-16; D 248-18 (ND 167-14; SD 81-4), June 13, 1979.

211. HR 2444. Education Department. Brooks, D-Texas, motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill to create a department of education. Motion agreed to 356-50: R 103-45; D 253-5 (ND 174-4; SD 79-1), June 13, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
7 Shelby	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	X	?	?	?	X	#	?	?
2 ***Clausen***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	#	N	Y	Y	P	N	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
32 Anderson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
40 ***Badham***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	P	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	X	?	?	#	X	Y	Y
2 Wirth	?	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Giaimo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	X	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
15 Fascell	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Evans	?	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	N	?	?	?	?	#	?	?
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 ***Michel***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
21 ***Madigan***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 Price	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	X	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	N	Y	P	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Smith	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	N	Y	P	Y	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 221, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229

	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Natcher	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	X	#	?	?	?	#	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?
14 Nedzi	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	Y	P	Y	N	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Rodino	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	#	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	#	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Downey	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ferraro	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	?	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
20 Weiss	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	Y	+	Y	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
36 LaFalce	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
39 Lundine	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Preyer	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Gudger	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Luken	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Hall	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	Y	P	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	Y	P	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	X	?	?
9 Ashley	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
20 Oakar	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Synar	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Watkins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 English	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	#	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	#	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	N	N	Y	P	Y	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Boner	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
2 ***Marriott***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	N	N	Y	P	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Obey	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

212. HR 2444. Education Department. Waxman, D-Calif., amendment to delete from the bill transfer of health professions and nursing student assistance programs to the proposed department. Adopted 243-169: R 98-55; D 145-114 (ND 100-79; SD 45-35), June 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

213. HR 2444. Education Department. Jeffords, R-Vt., amendment to transfer job training programs under Titles II, III and IV of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) to the proposed department. Rejected 145-265: R 105-43; D 40-222 (ND 24-156; SD 16-66), June 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

214. HR 2444. Education Department. Harkin, D-Iowa, amendment to delete from the bill the transfer of science education programs from the National Science Foundation to the proposed department. Rejected 165-240: R 72-79; D 93-161 (ND 70-108; SD 23-53), June 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

215. HR 2444. Education Department. Dickinson, R-Ala., amendment to delete from the bill transfer of the employees of the overseas military dependent schools of the Department of Defense to the proposed education department. Rejected 173-225: R 111-37; D 62-188 (ND 31-140; SD 31-48), June 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

216. HR 2444. Education Department. Kildee, D-Mich., amendment to delete from the bill transfer of Indian education programs from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the proposed department. Adopted 235-170: R 81-70; D 154-100 (ND 123-53; SD 31-47), June 13, 1979.

217. HR 2444. Education Department. McClory, R-Ill., amendment to delete from the bill transfer of criminal justice education programs from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to the proposed department. Rejected 128-275: R 86-62; D 42-213 (ND 25-148; SD 17-65), June 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

218. HR 2444. Education Department. Goodling, R-Pa., amendment to add to the bill transfer of Head Start programs to the proposed department. Rejected 179-230: R 119-33; D 60-197 (ND 36-140; SD 24-57), June 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

219. HR 2444. Education Department. Obey, D-Wis., motion to strike the enacting clause of the bill (thus killing the bill). Rejected 146-266: R 102-50; D 44-216 (ND 35-144; SD 9-72), June 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
4 Bevill	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	?	?	N	N	Y	N	N	?
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Anthony	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	X	?	X	?	X	?	?	?
2 *Clausen*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Matsui	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Dellums	#	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	?
10 Edwards	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Royer*	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
16 Panetta	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
29 Hawkins	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Kogovsek	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Dodd	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Giaimo	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Fuqua	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	N	N	?	?	?	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	N	?	?	?	N	N	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
13 Lehman	N	N	N	?	?	N	N	N
14 Pepper	X	N	?	?	X	N	N	N
15 Fascell	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Mathis	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Brinkley	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Levitas	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	N	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
2 Akaka	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Russo	N	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Mikva	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
11 Annunzio	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	Y	N	Y	X	N	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N
17 *O'Brien*	N	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
20 *Findley*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
24 Simon	N	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
3 Brademas	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Smith	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239

	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Mazzoli	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	N	#	?	N	N	N	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	?	?	?	?	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Early	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
5 Shannon	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
6 Mavroules	N	N	+	-	+	-	-	-
7 Markey	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
10 ***Heckler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Studds	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	#	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Wolpe	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	N	?	N	?	?	?
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Kildee	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Traxler	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Albosta	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
11 ***Davis***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N	N
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	#	?	?	N
14 Nedzi	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
15 Ford	N	N	N	?	X	N	N	N
16 Dingell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Brodhead	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
18 Blanchard	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Vento	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Sabo	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Bowen	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	?	?	#	?	N	N
2 Young	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 Gephardt	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Skelton	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
10 Burlison	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Hughes	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Thompson	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Roe	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
10 Rodino	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Patten	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	N
3 Ambro	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Ferraro	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
16 Holtzman	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
17 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
23 Peyser	Y	N	?	?	?	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
39 Lundine	N	N	Y	N	?	?	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Andrews	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
7 Rose	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Hefner	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
9 Ashley	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	N
20 Oakar	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
21 Stokes	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
22 Vanik	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
2 Synar	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Steed	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Ullman	N	N	N	N	Y	N	?	?
3 Duncan	N	N	Y	?	Y	?	N	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Dougherty***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Kostmayer	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N
14 Moorhead	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
21 Bailey	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
22 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
24 ***Marks***	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
25 Atkinson	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Beard	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
6 Jenrette	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	N	Y	#	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
5 Boner	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Jones	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Ford	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	#	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Wilson,C.	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	?
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	N	N	?	N	N	N
9 Brooks	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
10 Pickle	N	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
13 Hightower	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 Gonzalez	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
24 Frost	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Marriott***	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	?	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Swift	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Bonker	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Foley	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
6 Dicks	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 Slack	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
4 Zablocki	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

220. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bevill, D-Ala., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill to appropriate fiscal 1980 funds for energy and water development programs. Motion agreed to 385-1: R 146-0; D 239-1 (ND 160-1; SD 79-0), June 14, 1979.

221. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Johnson, R-Colo., amendment, to the Dodd, D-Conn., amendment, to require that expense funds paid by the federal government to an intervenor in Federal Energy Regulatory Administration proceedings whose side lost be paid by the intervenor to the respondent. Adopted 257-156: R 143-9; D 114-147 (ND 50-126; SD 64-21), June 15, 1979. (The Dodd amendment, as amended, was rejected subsequently by voice vote.)

222. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Dingell, D-Mich., substitute amendment, to the Dodd, D-Conn., amendment, to set a limit of $550,000 on the amount of funds that could be used to pay the expenses of intervenors. Rejected 136-271: R 7-140; D 129-131 (ND 116-59; SD 13-72), June 15, 1979.

223. Procedural Motion. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, motion to approve the House *Journal* of Thursday, June 14, 1979. Motion agreed to 298-8: R 116-4; D 182-4 (ND 124-3; SD 58-1), June 15, 1979.

224. H Res 291. Inquiry on Energy Situation. Dingell, D-Mich., motion to table (kill) the resolution to direct the president to provide members of the House with information on crude oil and refined petroleum supplies. Rejected 4-338: R 0-128; D 4-210 (ND 3-141; SD 1-69), June 15, 1979.

225. H Res 291. Inquiry on Energy Situation. Adoption of the resolution to direct the president to provide members of the House with information on crude oil and refined petroleum supplies in the United States since Jan. 1, 1978. Adopted 340-4: R 129-1; D 211-3 (ND 145-2; SD 66-1), June 15, 1979.

226. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bevill, D-Ala., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 319-2: R 122-1; D 197-1 (ND 135-1; SD 62-0), June 15, 1979.

227. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Cavanaugh, D-Neb., amendment to delete $6 million from construction funding for the O'Neill unit, in northern Nebraska, of the Pick-Sloan Missouri Basin project. Rejected 106-210: R 22-96; D 84-114 (ND 73-64; SD 11-50), June 15, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	?	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Bethune***	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	X
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	?	#	X	?	?	?	?	X
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	X
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
12 ***McCloskey***	?	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 ***Goldwater***	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
21 Corman	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	P	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	?	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	?	N
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	N	?	N	Y	Y	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?	?
2 Dodd	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?	?
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	X
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
14 Pepper	?	N	N	?	?	?	?	X
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Hansen***	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
2 Murphy	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
3 Russo	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	?	?
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 ***Deckard***	?	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247

	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	?	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	X
8 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	?	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	?	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	X
3 Early	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	#
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
6 Mavroules	+	+	-	+	-	+	?	+
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	#
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	N	+	-	?	+	+
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	#
13 Diggs	?	N	Y	?	N	Y	?	#
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	?	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
16 Dingell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Bowen	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	#
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	P	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	Y	N	?	?	?	?	X
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	?	X	#	?	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
14 Guarini	P	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
3 Ambro	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	N	Y	?	?	?	?	#
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	#
14 Richmond	Y	X	#	?	?	?	?	#
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	N	Y	?	?	?	?	#
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	?	N	P	?	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
28 Stratton	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
39 Lundine	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
5 Neal	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
3 Hall	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
7 ***Brown***	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	?	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	?	Y	N	?	?	?	?	#
20 Oakar	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
2 Ullman	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Duncan	?	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	?	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
11 Flood	?	?	X	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
20 Gaydos	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	N	N	?	N	Y	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
5 Holland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	P
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	X
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

228. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Brown, D-Calif., amendment to delete $5.3 million in construction funding for a desalinization plant near Yuma, Ariz. Rejected 34-253: R 4-97; D 30-156 (ND 30-101; SD 0-55), June 15, 1979.

229. H Res 321. Southeast Asia Refugee Crisis. Adoption of the resolution to express the sense of the House of Representatives that the president should urge the secretary general of the United Nations to take appropriate measures to deal with the needs of refugees fleeing from Indochina. Adopted 336-0: R 123-0; D 213-0 (ND 147-0; SD 66-0), June 18, 1979.

230. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Glickman, D-Kan., amendment to add $5 million to appropriations for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for on-site inspectors at nuclear power plants. Adopted 350-10: R 127-7; D 223-3 (ND 156-2; SD 67-1), June 18, 1979.

231. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Kostmayer, D-Pa., amendment to delete language in the bill restricting to licensing operations the duties of additional employees of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, thus giving discretion to the commission for assigning responsibilities of the new employees. Adopted 350-12: R 130-5; D 220-7 (ND 156-3; SD 64-4), June 18, 1979.

232. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Weaver, D-Ore., amendment to prohibit use of Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) funds for issuance of operating licenses for a nuclear power plant in a state which had not submitted an emergency evacuation plan to the NRC. Rejected 147-235: R 25-115; D 122-120 (ND 108-58; SD 14-62), June 18, 1979.

233. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $10,685,930,000 for fiscal 1980 operations of the Energy Department, Army Corps of Engineers, Interior Department Bureau of Reclamation and seven independent agencies and commissions. Passed 359-29: R 134-7; D 225-22 (ND 151-20; SD 74-2), June 18, 1979. The president had requested $11,012,110,000 in new budget authority.

234. HR 4391. Military Construction Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $3,481,991,000 for military construction programs of the Defense Department for fiscal 1980. Passed 366-21: R 139-3; D 227-18 (ND 153-17; SD 74-1), June 18, 1979. The president had requested $3,872,061,000 in new budget authority.

235. HR 4387. Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Whitten, D-Miss., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill to appropriate $16,700,000,000 for fiscal 1980 for the Department of Agriculture. Motion agreed to 398-3: R 150-3; D 248-0 (ND 170-0; SD 78-0), June 19, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 Udall	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 *Royer*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	P	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
18 *Thomas*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *McKinney*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
5 Ratchford	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Kelly*	?	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y
6 *Young*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	N	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	Y
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
9 Jenkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
13 *McClory*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	?	?	?	X	?	?	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	N	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
23 Price	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255

	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	N	?	?	?	X	?	?	Y
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Leach	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	Y
8 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	Y	?	#	N	N	?
2 ***Pursell***	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	-	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Carr	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
7 Kildee	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	Y	?	N	Y	?	?
14 Nedzi	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	Y	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	?
16 Dingell	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
8 Ichord	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Roe	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Ambro	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	?	?	?	#	?	?	Y
13 Solarz	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	+	+	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	?	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
36 LaFalce	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
5 Neal	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 Preyer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	?
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	?	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
19 ***Williams***	?	?	?	?	#	?	?	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	N	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
2 Ullman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Duncan	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	?
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
10 ***McDade***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
15 ***Ritter***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	?	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	N	?	?	?	X	?	?	Y
7 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
9 Brooks	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	?	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
2 Staggers	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	?	?	?	#	?	?	Y
7 Obey	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

236. HR 4387. Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $16,700,815,000 in fiscal 1980 for the Agriculture Department and related agencies. Passed 391-30: R 133-21; D 258-9 (ND 175-8; SD 83-1), June 19, 1979. The president had requested $18,323,534,000 in new budget authority.

237. H Res 239. Petroleum Reserve Exploration. Adoption of the resolution to disapprove the administration's plan not to spend $1,792,000 for exploration and drilling for oil in the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska. Adopted 409-3: R 147-2; D 262-1 (ND 180-0; SD 82-1), June 19, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

238. HR 2444. Education Department. Brooks, D-Texas, motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill to establish a department of education. Motion agreed to 352-53: R 103-45; D 249-8 (ND 170-6; SD 79-2), June 19, 1979.

239. HR 2444. Education Department. Fascell, D-Fla., amendment to prevent the proposed department, during the first eight months of its existence, from withholding funds from a state because of failure to comply with legal requirements for operating certain programs through a single organizational unit (the amendment specifically applied to Florida's vocational rehabilitation program). Adopted 362-36: R 117-31; D 245-5 (ND 169-2; SD 76-3), June 19, 1979.

240. HR 2444. Education Department. Walker, R-Pa., amendment to require the proposed department to inform local education agencies of proposed regulations and to withdraw the regulations if a majority of the agencies stated in writing that they opposed them, except for regulations concerning civil rights. Rejected 159-243: R 109-39; D 50-204 (ND 22-154; SD 28-50), June 19, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	236	237	238	239	240
ALABAMA					
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA					
AL *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA					
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS					
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	?	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA					
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 *Moorhead*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	#
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	N	Y	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	N	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	?	?	?	?	#
COLORADO					
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT					
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE					
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA					
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ireland	?	?	?	?	?
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Pepper	Y	+	+	+	X
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA					
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII					
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO					
1 *Symms*	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	?	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS					
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Mikva	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	N	N	P
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	Y	Y	Y	?	N
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	?	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA					
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA					
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

	236	237	238	239	240
KANSAS					
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY					
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA					
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MAINE					
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND					
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS					
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	?	X
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill					
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN					
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	X
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	?	?	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	?	Y	Y	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	Y	Y	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA					
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI					
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI					
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	?	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	?	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA					
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA					
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA					
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY					
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Fenwick*	Y	?	Y	Y	N
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	Y	?	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO					
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
NEW YORK					
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 *Wydler*	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	?	Y	N
18 *Green*	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	?	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	?	N
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	N	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	?	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 Lee	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
35 *Conable*	N	Y	N	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y	Y	#
39 Lundine	Y	Y	?	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA					
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	?	?	?	?	?
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	?	?	?	?
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA					
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO					
1 *Gradison*	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Guyer*	?	?	?	?	#
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	?	?	?	?
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Miller*	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	?	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	?	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	?	?
23 Mottl	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA					
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON					
1 AuCoin	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Duncan	Y	Y	?	Y	N
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA					
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	?	?	?	?	#
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	?	?
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 *Ritter*	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	?	?	?	?
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	?	N
RHODE ISLAND					
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA					
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA					
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE					
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
TEXAS					
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Collins*	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	N	N	#
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	?	?	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	N	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH					
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VERMONT					
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA					
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Wampler*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON					
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	?	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA					
1 Mollohan	?	?	?	?	X
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	?	X
WISCONSIN					
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING					
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

241. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Murphy, D-N.Y., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal and to implement the Panama Canal treaties approved in 1978. Motion agreed to 399-7: R 148-4; D 251-3 (ND 170-3; SD 81-0), June 20, 1979.

242. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Bethune, R-Ark., motion to strike the bill's enacting clause, and thus kill the treaty implementing legislation. Rejected 97-315: R 70-81; D 27-234 (ND 11-166; SD 16-68), June 20, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

243. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Murphy, D-N.Y., amendment, to the Hanley, D-N.Y., amendment, to restore the original language in the bill providing for special retirement, pay and other benefits to U.S. Panama Canal employees. Adopted 277-142: R 119-36; D 158-106 (ND 110-69; SD 48-37), June 20, 1979. (The Hanley amendment, as amended by Murphy, subsequently was adopted by voice vote.)

244. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Biaggi, D-N.Y., amendment to prohibit the annual payments to Panama called for under the 1978 canal treaties unless Panama settled all outstanding expropriation claims by American companies. Rejected 194-227: R 106-49; D 88-178 (ND 42-139; SD 46-39), June 20, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

245. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Murphy, D-N.Y., amendment, to the Hansen, R-Idaho, amendment *(see vote 246, below)*, to restore the original language in the bill dealing with annual payments to Panama from canal revenues, property transfers to Panama and U.S. costs in implementing the 1978 canal treaties. Adopted 220-200: R 25-132; D 195-68 (ND 155-26; SD 40-42), June 20, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

246. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Hansen, R-Idaho, amendment, as amended *(see vote 245, above)*, to provide for annual payments to Panama from canal revenues, to authorize property transfers to Panama and to establish U.S. costs in implementing the 1978 treaties. Adopted 255-162: R 44-112; D 211-50 (ND 161-18; SD 50-32), June 20, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	241	242	243	244	245	246
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	N	?	N	Y	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	P	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	N	N	Y	N	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
36 Brown	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	N	Y	?	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	+	-	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Fascell	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 *McClory*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	N	N	N	N
16 *Anderson*	Y	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Price	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
9 Hamilton	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	241	242	243	244	245	246
KANSAS						
1 *Sebelius*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 *Winn*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA						
1 *Livingston*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Moore*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
MAINE						
1 *Emery*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND						
1 *Bauman*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Long	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	?	N	N	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Mitchell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 *Conte*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	?	?	?	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	P	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	?	?	X	X	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Albosta	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	?	Y	N	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	N	N	?	?	?
16 Dingell	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
MINNESOTA						
1 *Erdahl*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 Vento	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
7 *Stangeland*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	?	N	Y	N	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	N	N	N
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 *Bereuter*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 *Lujan*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Runnels	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
NEW YORK						
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 *Green*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	#	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
29 *Solomon*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
34 *Horton*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	N	N	N	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fountain	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Andrews	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Rose	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL *Andrews*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO						
1 *Gradison*	Y	N	N	N	N	N
2 Luken	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Hall	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 *Harsha*	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Brown*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Pease	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Applegate	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
19 *Williams*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
20 Oakar	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *McDade*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
16 *Walker*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
24 *Marks*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	Y	?
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE						
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Gore	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	N	N	?	?
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Mattox	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 *Archer*	?	?	?	#	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
12 Wright	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
16 White	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
18 Leland	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	N	N	?	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 *Marriott*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT						
AL *Jeffords*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 *Trible*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Butler*	P	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Harris	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 McCormack	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Obey	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING						
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

247. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Kramer, R-Colo., amendment to provide that Panamanians cannot be appointed to the Panama Canal Commission until a government is installed in Panama through free elections. Rejected 142-274: R 108-48; D 34-226 (ND 17-161; SD 17-65), June 21, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

248. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Montgomery, D-Miss., amendment to charge to Panama the $75 million cost of U.S. military construction incurred as a result of implementing the treaty. Rejected 210-213: R 137-19; D 73-194 (ND 25-157; SD 48-37), June 21, 1979. A "nay " was a vote supporting the president's position.

249. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. P. Crane, R-Ill., amendment to require congressional approval after Dec. 30, 1999, before the Panama Canal railroad or any other U.S. property in the Canal Zone could be transferred to Panama. Rejected 177-248: R 117-40; D 60-208 (ND 22-161; SD 38-47), June 21, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

250. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Bauman, R-Md., motion to recommit the bill to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee with instructions to report the bill back to the House with the original text of the Hansen, R-Idaho, amendment to require Panama to pay all U.S. costs in implementing the canal treaties. Rejected 210-216: R 134-23; D 76-193 (ND 28-155; SD 48-38), June 21, 1979. A "nay " was a vote supporting the president's position.

251. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Passage of the bill to implement the Panama Canal treaties by creating a Panama Canal Commission, requiring congressional approval of all spending by the canal and authorizing payments to Panama from canal revenues under certain restrictions. Passed 224-202: R 35-122; D 189-80 (ND 153-30; SD 36-50), June 21, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

252. HR 3173. Foreign Military Aid. Derwinski, R-Ill., motion to instruct the House conferees on the bill to authorize foreign military aid for fiscal 1980, to insist on its disagreement with a Senate amendment providing $50 million in grant military assistance to Turkey. Motion agreed to 303-107: R 98-49; D 205-58 (ND 157-24; SD 48-34), June 21, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	247	248	249	250	251	252
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Bevill	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Flippo	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	#	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Udall	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	#
3 Matsui	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	N	N	N	Y	?
6 Burton, P.	N	N	?	?	?	?
7 Miller	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	N	N	N	N	Y	?
13 Mineta	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Corman	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
32 Anderson	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
36 Brown	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	N	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 Stack	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	X	?	?	N	Y	Y
15 Fascell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	#
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Evans	N	N	N	N	Y	X
9 Jenkins	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Russo	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Fary	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Mikva	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
15 *Corcoran*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Railsback*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Price	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	N	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Sharp	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	247	248	249	250	251	252
KANSAS						
1 *Sebelius*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Winn*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA						
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Boggs	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	?	N	N	N	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Long	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MAINE						
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Snowe*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND						
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Long	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Barnes	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Early	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Carr	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
10 Albosta	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 Dingell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
1 *Erdahl*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Frenzel*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	N	?	N	N	?	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Hinson*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Young	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
7 *Taylor*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Volkmer	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
10 Burlison	N	N	N	N	Y	N
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA						
AL Santini	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Rodino	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Minish	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	N	N	N	N	N	Y
15 Patten	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK						
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	N	N	?	?	#
8 Rosenthal	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	N	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	N	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	N	N	N	N	Y	?
18 *Green*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 Weiss	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	N	N	N	N	Y	?
22 Bingham	N	N	N	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 *Horton*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
35 *Conable*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	N	N	N	N	Y	N
37 Nowak	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
39 Lundine	N	N	N	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	N	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Neal	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	N	N	N	N	Y	N
9 *Martin*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Broyhill*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Gudger	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO						
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Luken	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Kindness*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 *Stanton*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Pease	N	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Seiberling	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 Vanik	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Synar	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Watkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Steed	N	N	N	N	Y	N
5 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Duncan	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Weaver	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Gray	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *McDade*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 *Clinger*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 *Marks*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE						
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Gore	N	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Boner	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	N	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Ford	N	N	N	N	Y	N
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wilson,C.	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Mattox	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	?	N	N	N	Y	?
9 Brooks	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Wright	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	N	N	N	Y	N
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Frost	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VERMONT						
AL *Jeffords*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 *Trible*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Butler*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Harris	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 *Pritchard*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Swift	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Bonker	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Foley	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 Slack	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	N	N	N	N	Y	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING						
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

253. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Boland, D-Mass., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the bill to appropriate fiscal 1980 funds for the Department of Housing and Urban Development and independent agencies. Motion agreed to 350-6: R 132-3; D 218-3 (ND 147-2; SD 71-1), June 22, 1979.

254. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Ambro, D-N.Y., amendment to increase Environmental Protection Agency funds by $4 million for groundwater contamination research and by $6 million for research into methods of controlling hazardous substances. Rejected 129-237: R 34-100; D 95-137 (ND 76-77; SD 19-60), June 22, 1979.

255. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. LaFalce, D-N.Y., amendment to increase EPA funds by $10 million for research into and $10 million for emergency measures to control hazardous wastes. Rejected 136-219: R 34-94; D 102-125 (ND 85-67; SD 17-58), June 22, 1979.

256. HR 1046. Magistrate Act. Kastenmeier, D-Wis., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend the 1968 Magistrate Act to expand the authority of federal magistrates to try civil and federal misdemeanor cases and to provide for merit selection of magistrates in order to expedite litigation of minor cases in the U.S. district courts. Motion agreed to 374-42: R 133-20; D 241-22 (ND 163-15; SD 78-7), June 26, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (278 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

257. HR 4303. Food Stamps for the Elderly. Harkin, D-Iowa, motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to allow households containing a person who is aged 60 or older, or who receives Supplemental Security Income benefits, to deduct from income, for the purpose of computing food stamp benefits, any medical expenses in excess of $35 a month and all shelter costs that exceeded 50 percent of monthly income. Motion agreed to 405-8: R 144-7; D 261-1 (ND 179-0; SD 82-1), June 26, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (276 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

258. HR 3930. Defense Production Act. Dingell, D-Mich., amendment to limit the definition of energy production in the act only to that for defense purposes. Rejected 69-351: R 45-108; D 24-243 (ND 13-169; SD 11-74), June 26, 1979.

259. HR 3930. Defense Production Act. Moorhead, D-Pa., motion to end debate on the section defining the terms used in the bill at 6:40 p.m. Motion agreed to 209-183: R 22-128; D 187-55 (ND 119-45; SD 68-10), June 26, 1979.

260. HR 3930. Defense Production Act. Dingell, D-Mich., amendment to delete a sentence authorizing the president to command any fuel supplier to provide the government with synthetic fuels. Rejected 94-291: R 60-88; D 34-203 (ND 28-135; SD 6-68), June 26, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Dickinson***	?	?	X	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	?	X	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Udall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Stump	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	?	X	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	?	#	X	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Burton, P.	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	N	N	?	N	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 ***Goldwater***	?	Y	N	#	?	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
24 Waxman	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	?	N
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
33 ***Grisham***	Y	X	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
36 Brown	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	?	?	Y	Y	?	?	?
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
43 ***Burgener***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Johnson***	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Dodd	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fuqua	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Kelly***	Y	X	X	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ireland	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	C	C	C
11 Mica	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	?
3 Brinkley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 McDonald	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	?	N
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
2 Akaka	Y	N	N	#	Y	N	Y	?
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hansen***	Y	X	X	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Mikva	?	X	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 ***Michel***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 ***Findley***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
23 Price	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Quayle***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Evans	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	?	X	X	Y	?	N	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Harkin	?	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	N
6 Bedell	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282

	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	X	?	?	?	?
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	Y	Y	N	+	-
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
7 Perkins	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	?	X	X	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	?	X	X	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	N
8 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Barnes	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Boland	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Early	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	+	#	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	#	#	X	#	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	N
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	N	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Dingell	?	X	X	N	Y	Y	?	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Frenzel***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Vento	Y	#	#	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Montgomery	?	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Burlison	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Cleveland***	?	X	X	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Howard	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	N	N	#	X	?	?	?
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	?	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Guarini	?	#	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Patten	P	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Runnels	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
3 Ambro	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Addabbo	?	#	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Ferraro	?	#	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	?	#	#	Y	Y	N	N	?
15 Zeferetti	?	#	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
17 Murphy	?	#	?	Y	?	N	Y	?
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
20 Weiss	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	?	#	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Bingham	?	#	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	N	N	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	#	Y	Y	N	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	#	?	?	?	?
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fountain	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Andrews	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
5 Neal	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Rose	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	?	?	X	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	?	?	X	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Hall	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	N	X	N	Y	N	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	?	#	#	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Ullman	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Edgar	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
10 ***McDade***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Flood	?	X	X	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
19 ***Goodling***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	#	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Holland	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	?	X	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Collins***	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	N	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Mattox	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 Stenholm	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Swift	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	?	?
4 McCormack	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	?	X	X	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Rahall	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

261. HR 3930. Defense Production Act. Udall, D-Ariz., amendment to prohibit the eight largest oil companies from contracting with the government to provide synthetic fuels. Rejected 127-263: R 15-133; D 112-130 (ND 103-63; SD 9-67), June 26, 1979.

262. HR 3930. Defense Production Act. Passage of the bill to require the president, through purchase contracts, loans and loan guarantees and, if necessary, government-backed corporations, to encourage production of the oil equivalent of 500,000 barrels a day in synthetic fuels by 1985 and two million barrels a day by 1990. Passed 368-25: R 136-13; D 232-12 (ND 161-6; SD 71-6), June 26, 1979.

263. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Boland, D-Mass., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for the further consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 384-3: R 148-1; D 236-2 (ND 162-1; SD 74-1), June 27, 1979.

264. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Nelson, D-Fla., amendment to cut $685 million in general revenue sharing funds allocated to state governments. Rejected 102-302: R 29-121; D 73-181 (ND 36-134; SD 37-47), June 27, 1979.

265. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Weiss, D-N.Y., amendment to cut $14.7 million from National Aeronautics and Space Administration research funds earmarked for development of a commercial supersonic airliner. Rejected 113-292: R 13-137; D 100-155 (ND 89-82; SD 11-73), June 27, 1979.

266. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Miller, R-Ohio, motion to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to reduce spending by 2 percent across-the-board on programs not required by law. Rejected 170-243: R 115-35; D 55-208 (ND 26-152; SD 29-56), June 27, 1979.

267. HR 4394. HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $71,963,475,000 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and 20 independent agencies, including the Veterans Administration, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Passed 359-53: R 109-40; D 250-13 (ND 170-9; SD 80-4), June 27, 1979. The president had requested $72,722,746,750 in new budget authority.

268. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to prohibit payment of Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) funds to persons named by the General Accounting Office as violators of law. Rejected 191-222: R 132-21; D 59-201 (ND 19-157; SD 40-44), June 27, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Stark	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 *Royer*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	N	Y	?	N	Y	?	?	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 *Moorhead*	N	N	P	N	N	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
24 Waxman	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	#	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	X
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
40 *Badham*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	N
4 *Johnson*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Dodd	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	#	Y	?	?	#	?	?	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	P	P	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 Lehman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Jenkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Mikva	Y	?	?	?	X	?	?	N
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 *McClory*	X	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	N
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Price	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
24 Simon	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Hillis*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	P	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291

	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Winn*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Whittaker*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	+	+	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 *Snyder*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Carter*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Hopkins*	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	N
3 *Treen*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Leach	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 *Moore*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Long	X	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Holt*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	#	?	?	?	?	?	Y	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Stockman*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Sawyer*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	?	?	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
14 Nedzi	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 Dingell	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
5 *Lott*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Smith*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Hughes	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Thompson	#	?	?	#	#	?	?	X
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 *Rinaldo*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 Patten	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 *Lent*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 Holtzman	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N
17 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
18 *Green*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 Rangel	#	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
25 *Fish*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
34 *Horton*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
35 *Conable*	X	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
38 *Kemp*	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 *Martin*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
10 *Broyhill*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Guyer*	X	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Harsha*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	Y
8 *Kindness*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 *Miller*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 *Stanton*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 *Wylie*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	#
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Watkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Ullman	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Duncan	N	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	?	X	#	?	Y	N
3 Lederer	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	?
9 *Shuster*	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
10 *McDade*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	X	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
13 *Coughlin*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 *Ritter*	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
16 *Walker*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	#
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 *Spence*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	#
5 Holland	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Jenrette	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 *Beard*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	?	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Wyatt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
21 *Loeffler*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 *Marriott*	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Wampler*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Rahall	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 *Roth*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

269. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Symms, R-Idaho, amendment to reduce by $10.3 million the appropriation for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. Rejected 177-240: R 119-34; D 58-206 (ND 10-169; SD 48-37), June 27, 1979.

270. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Obey, D-Wis., amendment to prohibit use of funds in the bill to pay for abortions, unless the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term, in cases of rape or incest or in cases where two doctors certified that carrying the fetus to term would result in severe and long-lasting physical damage to the mother. Rejected 180-241: R 31-125; D 149-116 (ND 106-74; SD 43-42), June 27, 1979.

271. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Byron, D-Md., amendment to prohibit Occupational Safety and Health Administration inspectors from visiting a work-site within six months of an inspection by a state safety and health agency, with certain exceptions, including cases where a worker had been killed. Adopted 236-176: R 133-22; D 103-154 (ND 39-136; SD 64-18), June 27, 1979.

272. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Early, D-Mass., amendment to increase by $47 million the appropriation for the National Institutes of Health. Rejected 178-228: R 46-106; D 132-122; (ND 104-69; SD 28-53), June 27, 1979.

273. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Michel, R-Ill., amendment to reduce the appropriation for HEW by $500 million, with the reduction to be taken from programs identified by the HEW Inspector General as containing waste, fraud and abuse. Adopted 263-152: R 151-6; D 112-146 (ND 54-122; SD 58-24), June 27, 1979.

274. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Dodd, D-Conn., amendment, as amended by the Obey, D-Wis., amendment, to add $2 million to the appropriation for the Community Services Administration, to develop a plan for administration of the emergency fuel assistance program for the poor. Adopted 300-112: R 88-65; D 212-47 (ND 156-21; SD 56-26), June 27, 1979.

275. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bereuter, R-Neb., amendment to prohibit use of HEW funds to implement the System for Hospital Uniform Reporting (SHUR). Adopted 306-101: R 151-1; D 155-100 (ND 86-88; SD 69-12), June 27, 1979.

276. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $73.1 billion for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare, and related agencies, for fiscal year 1980. Passed 327-84: R 88-66; D 239-18 (ND 165-11; SD 74-7), June 27, 1979. The president had requested $73.8 billion.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Dellums	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	?	?	?	#	?	#	?	Y
10 Edwards	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 Corman	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Beilenson	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
25 Roybal	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Anderson	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	#	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	X	?	?	X	?	#	?	?
2 Murphy	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Russo	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fary	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
9 Yates	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 Annunzio	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 *McClory*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Price	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
24 Simon	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fithian	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Hamilton	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 296 298, 299

	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Winn*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Leach	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Long	N	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	#	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Long	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Shannon	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Markey	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 *Heckler*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Stockman*	?	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Albosta	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
13 Diggs	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
16 Dingell	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	?	Y
17 Brodhead	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Vento	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	Y
2 Young	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Volkmer	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	X	?	?	#	?	#	?	?
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Roe	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	Y	N	?	Y	#	Y	Y
10 Rodino	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Minish	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Patten	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Ambro	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Lent*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ferraro	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Biaggi	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	Y
13 Solarz	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 *Green*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
21 Garcia	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
25 *Fish*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
26 *Gilman*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
28 Stratton	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
34 *Horton*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
39 Lundine	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Luken	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	N	Y	?	Y	X	Y	N
9 Ashley	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Pease	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 Applegate	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 Vanik	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Ullman	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
4 Weaver	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Lederer	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Yatron	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 *McDade*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	X	?	X	?	?
12 Murtha	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
17 Ertel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
19 *Goodling*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 *Clinger*	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Beard	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Spence*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 *Paul*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Harris	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Zablocki	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Petri*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

277. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Adoption of the rule (H Res 336) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to tax profits oil companies would realize from decontrol of domestic oil prices. Adopted 292-118: R 79-76; D 213-42 (ND 150-23; SD 63-19), June 28, 1979.

278. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Ways and Means Committee amendments to provide for a tax rate of 70 percent and a permanent tax on price increases, adjusted for inflation plus 2 percent annually, of more than $17 a barrel. Adopted 230-185: R 15-140; D 215-45 (ND 173-7; SD 42-38), June 28, 1979.

279. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Jones, D-Okla., substitute amendment to provide for a tax rate of 60 percent, discontinuation of the windfall tax at the end of 1990 and other changes. Adopted 236-183: R 146-10; D 90-173 (ND 28-152; SD 62-21), June 28, 1979.

280. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Shannon, D-Mass., amendment to extend for 13 months the tax on oil discovered before 1973. Rejected 172-241: R 7-147; D 165-94 (ND 145-32; SD 20-62), June 28, 1979.

281. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Conable, R-N.Y., motion to recommit with instructions to add a "plowback" that would give oil companies a credit for 75 cents of every dollar reinvested in energy development in excess of historic investment patterns. Rejected 186-229: R 140-14; D 46-215 (ND 8-171; SD 38-44), June 28, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

282. HR 4439. U.S. Zimbabwe Rhodesia Policy. Broomfield, R-Mich., amendment to terminate the existing sanctions against Zimbabwe Rhodesia by Dec. 1, 1979, and to provide for a continuation of the sanctions past that date if Congress approved a presidential request for an extension. Rejected 147-242: R 117-26; D 30-216 (ND 4-164; SD 26-52), June 28, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

283. HR 4439. U.S. Zimbabwe Rhodesia Policy. Passage of the bill to terminate sanctions against Zimbabwe Rhodesia by Oct. 1, 1979, unless the president determined that it would not be in the national interest to do so and reported his views to Congress. Passed 350-37: R 114-27; D 236-10; (ND 163-4; SD 73-6), June 28, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	277	278	279	280	281	282	283
ALABAMA							
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA							
AL *Young*	X	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Stump	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 *Bethune*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	?	?	?	X	X	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
8 Dellums	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Stark	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	N	N	Y	N	Y	#	?
18 *Thomas*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
29 Hawkins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
DELAWARE							
AL *Evans*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Young*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
IDAHO							
1 *Symms*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
2 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 *McClory*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 *Myers*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	N	Y	X	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
IOWA							
1 *Leach*	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306

	277	278	279	280	281	282	283
KANSAS							
1 *Sebelius*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Winn*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 *Whittaker*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA							
1 *Livingston*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	N	Y	X	#	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MAINE							
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
MARYLAND							
1 *Bauman*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Holt*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Early	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
5 *Sawyer*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 *Broomfield*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA							
1 *Erdahl*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Lott*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Marlenee*	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
NEBRASKA							
1 *Bereuter*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Cleveland*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Thompson	?	?	?	#	X	?	?
5 *Fenwick*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO							
1 *Lujan*	N	N	Y	N	Y	#	X
2 Runnels	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK							
1 *Carney*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Lent*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	N	N	N	Y	#	?
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 Holtzman	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
18 *Green*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	?	?	#	?	?	?
20 Weiss	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
29 *Solomon*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
33 Lee	N	N	Y	N	Y	#	#
34 *Horton*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
38 *Kemp*	N	N	Y	N	Y	#	?
39 Lundine	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X	?
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL *Andrews*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	#	X
OHIO							
1 *Gradison*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
3 Hall	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Guyer*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
7 *Brown*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 *Miller*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	N	N	X	?
19 *Williams*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	X	#
20 Oakar	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Weaver	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Schulze*	N	N	Y	N	#	#	X
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Shuster*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	N	N	N	X	#
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
13 *Coughlin*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
15 *Ritter*	#	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Walker*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 *Goodling*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 *Clinger*	Y	C	C	C	C	N	Y
24 *Marks*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
2 *Spence*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
4 *Campbell*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	?	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 *Quillen*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
TEXAS							
1 Hall	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	N	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
5 Mattox	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Gramm	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Archer*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Leath	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 Hightower	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 White	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 Hance	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
UTAH							
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 *Marriott*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT							
AL *Jeffords*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 *Trible*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
3 Satterfield	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	X	?
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	Y	N	X	?
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Petri*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING							
AL *Cheney*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

284. HR 827. Postal Supervisors Arbitration. Clay, D-Mo., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to establish an arbitration board and procedures to settle disputes between postal supervisors and the U.S. Postal Service. Motion agreed to 306-94: R 74-71; D 232-23 (ND 167-6; SD 65-17), July 10, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (267 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

285. HR 3821. Fiscal 1979 Intelligence Agencies Supplemental. Mazzoli, D-Ky., amendment to require the president to publicly disclose on Nov. 1, 1979, the total amount appropriated for fiscal 1980 national foreign intelligence programs. Rejected 79-321: R 5-142; D 74-179 (ND 69-105; SD 5-74), July 10, 1979.

286. HR 4537. Trade Agreements Act. Passage of the bill to make changes in U.S. law to carry out multilateral trade (MTN) agreements limiting non-tariff barriers to trade, including export subsidies and customs valuation methods. Passed 395-7: R 148-2; D 247-5 (ND 171-5; SD 76-0), July 11, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

287. HR 2444. Education Department. Quayle, R-Ind., amendment to limit the department to 800 fewer employees than were currently working on programs to be transferred into it; to count consultants hired by the department as employees; and to remove the provision in the bill allowing the department to add 50 new employees each year without congressional approval. Adopted 263-143: R 138-11; D 125-132 (ND 70-105; SD 55-27), July 11, 1979.

288. HR 2444. Education Department. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to prohibit the department from providing facilities to institutions of higher education that used mandatory student fees to pay for abortions, except for those to save the life of the mother. Adopted 257-149: R 133-17; D 124-132 (ND 72-102; SD 52-30), July 11, 1979.

289. HR 2444. Education Department. Passage of the bill to establish a separate federal Department of Education. Passed 210-206: R 35-117; D 175-89 (ND 108-70; SD 67-19), July 11, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

290. H Res 231. Foreign Aid Reorganization. Adoption of the resolution to disapprove President Carter's reorganization plan no. 2 to reorganize most foreign aid programs under a new International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA), to be effective Oct. 1, 1979. Rejected (thus completing congressional action) 156-256: R 124-27; D 32-229 (ND 15-161; SD 17-68), July 11, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

291. HR 3363. State Department Authorization. Broomfield, R-Mich., motion to instruct the House conferees to agree to the Senate amendment expressing the sense of Congress that free and fair elections had been held in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and that the president should lift economic sanctions against that nation. Rejected 168-248: R 128-23; D 40-225 (ND 9-171; SD 31-54), July 11, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Stump	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Rudd***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Bethune***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Clausen***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N
7 Miller	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
14 ***Shumway***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
17 ***Pashayan***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
29 Hawkins	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
33 ***Grisham***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
36 Brown	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
37 ***Lewis***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
40 ***Badham***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
43 ***Burgener***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Johnson***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Dodd	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	?
3 Giaimo	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 ***McKinney***	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bennett	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
13 Lehman	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Mathis	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hansen***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
3 Russo	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Derwinski***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	?	?	#	N	N
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 ***McClory***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 ***Findley***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Quayle***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Deckard***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Sharp	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Tauke***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 307, 308, 309, 311, 313, 314, 315, 316

	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Natcher	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Hopkins***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	X	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	?	?	?	#	?	X	#	X
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Long	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 ***Holt***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Early	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	X	?	N	?	N
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Stockman***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
13 Diggs	Y	?	Y	X	?	Y	N	N
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
15 Ford	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
16 Dingell	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
19 ***Broomfield***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	?	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N
2 Young	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Skelton	?	?	Y	?	?	#	?	?
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	?	Y	#	?	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	N	Y	#	N	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Fenwick***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	X	N
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	N	+	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Ambro	?	N	?	?	?	N	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
9 Ferraro	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
12 Chisholm	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
15 Zeferetti	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
17 Murphy Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
18 ***Green***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	?	X	?	N	N	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
25 ***Fish***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	Y	#	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	Y	P	N	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
39 Lundine	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Andrews	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 Neal	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Rose	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Hefner	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 ***Martin***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	#
10 ***Broyhill***	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Gudger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	?	#	Y	N	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
10 ***Miller***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	#
12 ***Devine***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Watkins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Edwards***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 English	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	N	N	#	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Dougherty***	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	X	?	X	?	?
12 Murtha	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
15 ***Ritter***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
19 ***Goodling***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
20 Gaydos	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	Y	N	Y	X	Y	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Campbell***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Boner	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Beard***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Wilson, C.	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Brooks	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 Leath	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	?	?	Y	N	?	Y	N	?
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
19 Hance	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	P	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
21 ***Loeffler***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Marriott***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	Y	N	P	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Rahall	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 Baldus	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

292. HR 4057. Food Stamps. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to reduce to $280 million, from $620 million, the increase in the spending ceiling for the food stamp program for fiscal year 1979. Rejected 98-314: R 84-65; D 14-249 (ND 5-173; SD 9-76), July 11, 1979.

293. HR 4057. Food Stamps. Passage of the bill to increase by $620 million the spending ceiling for the food stamp program in fiscal 1979. Passed 335-81: R 84-67; D 251-14 (ND 176-3; SD 75-11), July 11, 1979.

294. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Slack, D-W.Va., amendment to add $41.2 million for United Nations technical assistance programs. Adopted 216-190: R 29-117; D 187-73 (ND 151-27; SD 36-46), July 12, 1979.

295. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to reduce appropriations for the State Department by 5 percent. Adopted 210-199: R 126-25; D 84-174 (ND 39-137; SD 45-37), July 12, 1979.

296. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Murphy, D-N.Y., amendment to add $69 million for Maritime Administration ship building and acquisitions programs. Rejected 135-272: R 26-120; D 109-152 (ND 90-90; SD 19-62), July 12, 1979.

297. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. P. Crane, R-Ill., amendment to eliminate all funding ($1.6 million) for the U.S. Metric Board. Rejected 122-280: R 72-75; D 50-205 (ND 21-155; SD 29-50), July 12, 1979.

298. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Collins, R-Texas, amendment to prohibit any use of appropriated funds for the Justice Department to be used to require the busing of school children, except for students requiring special education as a result of being mentally or physically handicapped. Adopted 209-190: R 114-33; D 95-157 (ND 46-128; SD 49-29), July 12, 1979.

299. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Slack, D-W.Va., amendment to add $41.2 million for United Nations technical assistance programs *(see vote 294, above)*. Adopted 198-197: R 14-133; D 184-64 (ND 151-20; SD 33-44), July 12, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Matsui	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
8 Dellums	N	Y	Y	X	N	N	N	Y
9 Stark	N	Y	?	N	Y	?	?	?
10 Edwards	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
11 *Royer*	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 *McCloskey*	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
13 Mineta	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	N	Y	X	?	?	?
15 Coelho	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	N	N	#	N	Y	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
24 Waxman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
25 Roybal	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
28 Dixon	N	Y	?	X	?	?	?	?
29 Hawkins	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	?	?	N	N	N	Y
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Wirth	?	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
3 Giaimo	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N	Y
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Moffett	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?
3 Bennett	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Young*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ireland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
9 Nelson	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N	Y
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Brinkley	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Fowler	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	N	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N
9 Jenkins	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	N	N	Y	X	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Collins	?	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	N	Y	Y	X	X	N	N	?
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 *McClory*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	?	N
19 *Railsback*	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y
20 *Findley*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Fithian	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Evans	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 319, 320, 322, 324, 326, 327, 328, 329

	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Winn*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Whittaker*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?
4 Snyder	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Carter*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 *Hopkins*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	N	Y	N	Y	#	?	?	?
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	N	Y	?	?	#	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Moore*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Breaux	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Long	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	?	?	?	#	#	?	?	?
2 *Snowe*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Boland	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Early	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Shannon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Mavroules	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Studds	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	X	X	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Wolpe	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 *Stockman*	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Carr	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Albosta	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
11 *Davis*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?
14 Nedzi	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 Dingell	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
5 *Lott*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
2 Young	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
4 Skelton	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Volkmer	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Thompson	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Rodino	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 *Courter*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Wydler*	N	Y	Y	#	N	N	Y	N
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Ferraro	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
18 *Green*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
20 Weiss	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
25 *Fish*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
26 *Gilman*	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	N
32 Hanley	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
34 *Horton*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
35 *Conable*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
36 LaFalce	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
38 *Kemp*	?	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
39 Lundine	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Fountain	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Andrews	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Neal	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Hefner	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
11 Gudger	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Luken	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Latta*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Brown*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Ashley	N	Y	?	?	N	N	N	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 *Devine*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
16 *Regula*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	Y	N
18 Applegate	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 Oakar	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 English	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Duncan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 *McDade*	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	X	#	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Ertel	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 *Goodling*	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 Gaydos	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 *Marks*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Beard	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Holland	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
2 *Duncan*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Boner	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 *Beard*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Jones	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Ford	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson, C.	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Collins*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Archer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
19 Hance	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 *Paul*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
24 Frost	N.	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Whitehurst*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Butler*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
9 *Wampler*	N	Y	N	#	N	N	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	N	Y	Y	N	#	?	?	?
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Foley	N	Y	?	N	Y	N	?	?
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Rahall	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Obey	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

300. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $7,695,007,000 in fiscal 1980 for the operations of the departments of State, Justice and Commerce, the Judiciary and 18 related agencies. Passed 299-93: R 81-63; D 218-30 (ND 156-18; SD 62-12), July 12, 1979. The president had requested $7,967,812,000 in new budget authority.

301. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Symms, R-Idaho, amendment to prohibit the use of Treasury Department appropriations for the collection of any tax imposed by the Internal Revenue Service unless the conduct of IRS employees complied with the provisions of the Fair Debt Collection Practices Act. Adopted 299-69: R 129-7; D 170-62 (ND 117-45; SD 53-17), July 13, 1979.

302. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to prohibit the use of any funds appropriated in the bill to formulate or carry out any rule or policy that would cause the loss of tax-exempt status of any private, religious or church-operated school, unless such rule or policy was in effect prior to Aug. 22, 1978. Adopted 297-63: R 132-1; D 165-62 (ND 107-49; SD 58-13), July 13, 1979.

303. HR 2282. Veterans Disability Compensation. Montgomery, D-Miss., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to provide a cost-of-living increase in compensation rates for disabled veterans and for their survivors. Motion agreed to 350-0: R 130-0; D 220-0 (ND 148-0; SD 72-0), July 16, 1979. A two-thirds vote (234 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

304. HR 3641. Health Information Programs. Waxman, D-Calif., motion to suspend the rules and pass a bill to authorize $45 million for federal health information programs for fiscal 1980-82; $7.5 million for federal physical fitness programs for fiscal 1982; $45 million for certain mental health programs for fiscal 1980; and to establish a national clearinghouse on digestive diseases, and authorize $5.7 million for fiscal 1980-82. Motion agreed to 317-35: R 102-30; D 215-5 (ND 144-2; SD 71-3), July 16, 1979. A two-thirds vote (242 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

305. HR 3951. Washington Metro Authorization. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to waive the Davis-Bacon Act wage requirements for laborers and mechanics for work performed on the Washington, D.C., rapid rail system. Rejected 127-260: R 87-54; D 40-206 (ND 5-165; SD 35-41), July 16, 1979.

306. HR 3951. Washington Metro Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize $1.7 billion for fiscal 1982-87 to complete construction of the 101-mile Metro rapid transit system of the National Capital region. Passed 261-125: R 71-69; D 190-56 (ND 146-24; SD 44-32), July 16, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

307. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bauman, R-Md., to prohibit the $50,000 appropriation for the expense allowance of the president to be expended for any other purpose and to require that any unused portion of the expense account shall revert to the Treasury Adopted 294-90: R 143-1; D 151-89 (ND 98-68; SD 53-21), July 16, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	C	Y	N	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	?	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	#	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	+	Y	N	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Stark	?	X	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	?	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	#
17 *Pashayan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 *Moorhead*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	X	X	?	?	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
37 *Lewis*	N	#	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
40 *Badham*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	X	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	?	X	X	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	Y	+	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
8 Ireland	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	+	+	Y	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	X
15 Fascell	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
10 Barnard	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	#	?	?	Y	X	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Mikva	?	N	+	+	+	−	+	−
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
23 Price	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	#	#	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 330, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338

	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	#	X	?
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	?	#	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Leach	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	?	#	#	?	?	#	#	?
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	?	X	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	#	?	?	N	Y	N
3 Early	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
10 ***Heckler***	Y	?	?	?	?	X	#	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	X	X	?	?	?	?	X
2 ***Pursell***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	#	?	Y	?	N	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	X
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
17 Brodhead	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	?	X	X	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	#
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
10 Burlison	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	++	N	Y	Y	
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Rodino	Y	?	?	?	?	X	?	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Chisholm	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	N	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	X	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
16 Holtzman	+	N	N	+	+	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	N	N	?	?	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	+	+	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	X	X	?	?	N	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	N	+	+	N	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	#	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	N	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	?	?	?	+	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	#	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Rose	Y	#	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	#	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Brown***	?	?	?	?	?	#	?	#
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	X	?	?	?	?	?
10 ***Miller***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	X	#	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	X	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Synar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Watkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	#	?	?	?	N	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	X
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	X	?	#
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	#
11 Flood	?	X	X	?	?	?	?	X
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
15 ***Ritter***	N	#	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
25 Atkinson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	Y	+	?	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Gore	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	#	#	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	N	?	?	N	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
13 Hightower	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	P	N	?	Y	?	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	N	N	?	?	X	?	?
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

308. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Ertel, D-Pa., amendment to prohibit the expenditure of funds appropriated for allowances and office staff of former presidents to be used for travel expenses. Rejected 156-232: R 18-125; D 138-107 (ND 98-72; SD 40-35), July 16, 1979.

309. HR 4393. Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $8,789,724,000 for the Treasury Department, the Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for fiscal 1980. Passed 344-49: R 119-27; D 225-22 (ND 149-21; SD 76-1), July 16, 1979. The president had requested $9,005,214,000 in new budget authority.

310. HR 4289. Fiscal 1979 Supplemental Appropriations. Adoption of the conference report to appropriate $13,783,822,100 for operations of various federal departments and agencies for fiscal 1979. Adopted 284-132, R 67-85; D 217-47 (ND 146-34; SD 71-13), July 17, 1979. The president had requested $16,921,679,900 in new budget authority.

311. HR 4580. District of Columbia Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Dornan, R-Calif., amendment to prohibit the denial of appropriated funds to save the life of a pregnant woman entitled to receive medical benefits under the act. Adopted 309-112: R 137-17; D 172-95 (ND 113-71; SD 59-24), July 17, 1979.

312. HR 4580. District of Columbia Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. C. Wilson, D-Texas, substitute amendment, to the Dornan, R-Calif., amendment, to limit appropriated funds for abortions to federal monies. Rejected 200-217: R 33-120; D 167-97 (ND 123-58; SD 44-39), July 17, 1979. (The Dornan amendment to prohibit use of funds appropriated in the bill for abortions was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

313. HR 4580. District of Columbia Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $1,810,751,100 for fiscal 1980 (the appropriation was composed of $327,525,700 in federal funds and $1,483,225,400 in revenues raised by the city). Passed 272-147: R 67-85; D 205-62 (ND 141-42; SD 64-20), July 17, 1979. The president had requested $2,057,179,000.

314. HR 2444. Education Department. Brooks, D-Texas, motion that the House insist on its amendments to the bill to create a Department of Education and request a conference with the Senate. Motion agreed to 263-156: R 42-112; D 221-44 (ND 152-30; SD 69-14), July 17, 1979.

315. HR 2444. Education Department. Walker, R-Pa., motion that the House conferees insist on the amendment *(see vote 195, p. 60-H)* to make one of the purposes of the department the goal of ensuring that no one is denied access to education on account of racial or sexual quotas. Adopted 214-202: R 132-21; D 82-181 (ND 43-138; SD 39-43), July 17, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Stump	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Rudd***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 ***Royer***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
14 ***Shumway***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 ***Pashayan***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 ***Moorhead***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 Beilenson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Rousselot***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
29 Hawkins	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
37 ***Lewis***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
43 ***Burgener***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Wirth	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Johnson***	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Dodd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Giaimo	N	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	N
4 ***McKinney***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Young***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Pepper	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Gingrich***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Evans	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
9 Jenkins	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Hansen***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Russo	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	N	P	Y	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Mikva	—	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	C	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 ***McClory***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 ***Findley***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 Price	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Quayle***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	?	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Smith	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347

	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	X	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Leach	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	N	Y	Y	#	N	Y	Y	N
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	?	?	?	?	X	?	X	#
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Holt***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	Y	N	#	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	#	?	?	X	#	?	#	X
2 ***Pursell***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Carr	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	#	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	X
14 Nedzi	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Young	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	#
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Volkmer	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Rodino	X	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	N	Y	N	Y	X	N	Y	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Rosenthal	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Biaggi	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	#	N
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 ***Green***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Bingham	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	N	Y	Y	+	N	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
38 ***Kemp***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
39 Lundine	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fountain	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Hefner	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	#
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Ashley	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 Applegate	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Duncan	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	#	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	X	?	?	?	?	?	#	X
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Holland	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Wright	?	?	Y	?	?	Y	Y	?
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	?	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Swift	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

316. H Res 369. Dress Code for Male House Members. Bauman, R-Md., motion to table (kill) the resolution to permit male House members to dispense with coats and ties during the period from June 1 through Labor Day for 1979 and subsequent years, so long as energy shortages persisted, as determined by the House Speaker. Motion agreed to 303-105: R 131-20; D 172-85 (ND 107-66; SD 65-19), July 17, 1979.

317. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Long, D-Md., motion that the House resolve itself in the Committee of the Whole to consider the bill to appropriate fiscal 1980 funds for foreign assistance programs. Motion agreed to 362-6: R 135-2; D 227-4 (ND 152-4; SD 75-0), July 18, 1979.

318. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. McHugh, D-N.Y., — Obey, D-Wis., substitute amendment, to the Young, R-Fla., amendment, to reduce by $17.7 million (2 percent of the committee-recommended amount) the appropriation for the Inter-American Development Bank. Adopted 413-4: R 152-1; D 261-3 (ND 178-3; SD 83-0), July 18, 1979. (The Young amendment, as amended, was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

319. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Lott, R-Miss., amendment to reduce by $144.9 million the appropriation for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). Adopted 219-196: R 124-27; D 95-169 (ND 40-142; SD 55-27), July 18, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

320. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Young, R-Fla., amendment, to the Smith, R-Neb., substitute amendment to the Obey, D-Wis., amendment *(see votes 321 and 322, below)*, to make an additional $1 million cut for the International Development Association (an arm of the World Bank). Adopted 242-177: R 125-29; D 117-148 (ND 55-128; SD 62-20), July 18, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

321. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Smith, R-Neb., substitute amendment, as amended *(see vote 320, above)*, to the Obey, D-Wis., amendment *(see vote 322, below)*, to reduce by $207 million the amount sought for the International Development Association (an arm of the World Bank). Rejected 207-210: R 119-32; D 88-178 (ND 34-149; SD 54-29), July 18, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

322. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Obey, D-Wis., amendment to cut $5.84 million (2 percent) of the $292 million appropriation sought for the fourth replenishment of funds to the International Developoment Association (an arm of the World Bank). Adopted 402-13: R 150-2; D 252-11 (ND 170-11; SD 82-0), July 18, 1979.

323. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Young, R-Fla., amendment to eliminate the $292 million appropriation sought for the fourth replenishment of funds for the International Development Association (an arm of the World Bank). Rejected 194-219: R 110-42; D 84-177 (ND 31-149; SD 53-28), July 18, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
7 Miller	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Dellums	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N
9 Stark	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N
24 Waxman	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y	N
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	P	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	?	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Johnson***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Dodd	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	Y	?	N	N	Y	?
4 ***McKinney***	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Ratchford	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	?	?	?	X	Y	N	Y	N
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hansen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	N
10 Mikva	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	P	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Railsback***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
20 ***Findley***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Quayle***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	N
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
6 Bedell	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355

	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	?	?	?	#	#	#	?	X
2 ***Snowe***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
6 Byron	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Markey	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	X	X	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Wolpe	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	N	X	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N
16 Dingell	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	?	?	?	#	#	#	?	#
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Thompson	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Ambro	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Ferraro	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?
12 Chisholm	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	?	N
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
17 Murphy	Y	?	?	X	#	?	?	N
18 ***Green***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
36 LaFalce	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Rose	N	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Luken	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Seiberling	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Duncan	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	N
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	?	?	N	N	N	N	N
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	#	X	X	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

324. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Young, R-Fla., amendment, as amended by McHugh, D-N.Y., to prohibit use of funds in the bill provided for the International Development Association to finance any assistance or reparations to Vietnam (the intent of the McHugh amendment was to ensure that the restriction on aid to Vietnam would not legally prohibit use of the funds by other nations). Adopted 291-122: R 137-13; D 154-109 (ND 80-99; SD 74-10), July 18, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

325. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Solomon, R-N.Y., amendment to prohibit a $359.5 million U.S. payment to the Asian Development Bank unless Taiwan were permitted to continue its membership in the bank. Adopted 244-164: R 135-12; D 109-152 (ND 52-127; SD 57-25), July 18, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

326. HR 3917. Health Planning and Resource Development. Adoption of the rule (H Res 305) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to revise and extend through fiscal 1982 the Health Planning and Resources Development Act of 1974 and to authorize a three-year total of $1.2 billion for planning activities and resources development. Adopted 395-10: R 139-8; D 256-2 (ND 176-0; SD 80-2), July 19, 1979.

327. HR 3917. Health Planning and Resource Development. Preyer, D-N-C., amendment, to the Satterfield, D-Va., amendment, to require state health planning agencies to receive comment on and publish their criteria for reviewing certificate-of-need applications for approval of medical service changes and to prohibit any conditional approvals that do not conform to the published review criteria. Rejected 203-211: R 11-138; D 192-73 (ND 154-29; SD 38-44), July 19, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Satterfield amendment, adopted subsequently by voice vote, limited the conditions a state agency could put on approval of a medical service change to those directly related to the need for that change.)

328. HR 3917. Health Planning and Resource Development. Livingston, R-La., amendment to make certain changes in membership requirements for health planning agencies (HSAs) and to convert private non-profit HSAs to public agencies. Rejected 135-274: R 105-46; D 30-228 (ND 12-161; SD 18-67), July 19, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

329. HR 3917. Health Planning and Resource Development. Paul, R-Texas, motion to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to add a provision that planning agencies must evaluate effects of their health plans on medical ethics as embodied in the Hippocratic oath. Rejected 55-364: R 44-109; D 11-255 (ND 6-175; SD 5-80), July 19, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

330. HR 3917. Health Planning and Resource Development. Passage of the bill to extend through fiscal 1982 and revise the Health Planning and Resources Development Act of 1974 and to authorize a three-year total of $1.2 billion for planning activities and resources development. Passed 374-45: R 114-37; D 260-8 (ND 179-3; SD 81-5), July 19, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	324	325	326	327	328	329	330
ALABAMA							
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	?	?	N	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
ALASKA							
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA							
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Fazio	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Miller	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Dellums	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Stark	N	X	?	Y	N	N	Y
10 Edwards	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Waxman	N	X	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
29 Hawkins	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
36 Brown	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	N	N	?	#	N	N	Y
3 Giaimo	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***McKinney***	X	X	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Moffett	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
DELAWARE							
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	#	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Fascell	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO							
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Hansen***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Murphy	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Yates	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
11 Annunzio	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Simon	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Brademas	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA							
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362

	324	325	326	327	328	329	330
KANSAS							
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA							
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MAINE							
1 ***Emery***	#	#	?	?	#	?	?
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND							
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	N	N	Y	N	?	N	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Spellman	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	?
6 Byron	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Barnes	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Drinan	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Shannon	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Markey	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	#	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Studds	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	X	X	?	#	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Wolpe	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	#	#	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Carr	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	?	Y	Y	N	?	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	N	?	Y	?	N	Y
14 Nedzi	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Ford	?	N	?	Y	N	N	Y
16 Dingell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Brodhead	N	N	Y	?	N	N	Y
18 Blanchard	?	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA							
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Sabo	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Bowen	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Gephardt	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	#	#	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Burlison	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA							
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Thompson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	?	N	N	N	Y
10 Rodino	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Patten	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO							
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK							
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	X	X	Y	Y	?	N	Y
13 Solarz	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Richmond	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 Holtzman	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Green***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Weiss	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
36 LaFalce	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	#	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
OHIO							
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
3 Hall	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 Pease	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	?	#	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	X	X	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
6 English	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	N	N	?	Y	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Duncan	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Gray	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	X	X	?	#	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	#	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	P	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	?	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TEXAS							
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
12 Wright	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 Leland	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
UTAH							
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	?	X	?	?	?
VERMONT							
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 ***Pritchard***	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Swift	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Reuss	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Obey	N	N	?	Y	N	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
WYOMING							
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

331. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Long, D-Md., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole to consider the bill to appropriate fiscal 1980 funds for foreign assistance programs. Motion agreed to 391-13: R 134-9; D 257-4 (ND 177-2; SD 80-2), July 19, 1979.

332. HR 4473. Foreign Aid Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Smith, R-Neb., amendment to reduce by $16.7 million the appropriation for the African Development Fund. Rejected 148-262: R 102-51; D 46-211 (ND 22-154; SD 24-57), July 19, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

333. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Adoption of the rule (H Res 368) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $42.1 billion for weapons procurement and military research in fiscal 1980. Adopted 219-158: R 96-42; D 123-116 (ND 57-104; SD 66-12), July 19, 1979.

334. HR 7. Bank Reserve Requirements. Passage of the bill to reduce reserve requirements for Federal Reserve System members and provide a system of mandatory universal reserve requirements for checking accounts in the event the total amount of checking account deposits subject to reserve requirements dropped below 67.5 percent. Passed 340-20: R 122-9; D 218-11 (ND 151-5; SD 67-6), July 20, 1979.

335. H Res 359. House Staffing Authorization. Adoption of the resolution to permit each House member to add to his clerk-hire payroll up to four employees — if they fell into one of five specified categories — without violating the existing ceiling in House rules of 18 permanent clerks per member. Adopted 214-120: R 34-87; D 180-33 (ND 124-18; SD 56-15), July 20, 1979.

336. HR 4440. Transportation Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Duncan, D-Ore., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill to appropriate fiscal 1980 funds for the Department of Transportation and related agencies. Motion agreed to 214-4: R 70-2; D 144-2 (ND 92-1; SD 52-1), July 23, 1979.

337. HR 4034. Export Administration. Bingham, D-N.Y., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill to revise and extend the Export Administration Act. Motion agreed to 217-5: R 66-3; D 151-2 (ND 97-1; SD 54-1), July 23, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	331	332	333	334	335	336	337
ALABAMA							
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA							
AL ***Young***	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA							
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
7 Miller	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
9 Stark	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
10 Edwards	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?
21 Corman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
24 Waxman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
25 Roybal	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
28 Dixon	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
36 Brown	Y	N	?	Y	?	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
40 ***Badham***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Wirth	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Dodd	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
3 Giaimo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 ***McKinney***	?	N	?	Y	?	?	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE							
AL ***Evans***	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	+	Y	Y	+	+
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 McDonald	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Akaka	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
IDAHO							
1 ***Symms***	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
2 ***Hansen***	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
10 Mikva	?	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	?	N	?	Y	N	Y	?
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	?	Y	?	?	?
20 ***Findley***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	Y	N	N	N	?	?
23 Price	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	C	?	?	?
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	C	N	Y	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA							
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 369, 370

	331	332	333	334	335	336	337
KANSAS							
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
8 Long	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
MAINE							
1 ***Emery***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
MARYLAND							
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
3 Mikulski	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
7 Mitchell	N	N	N	P	Y	?	N
8 Barnes	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Boland	Y	N	?	Y	?	?	?
3 Early	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
4 Drinan	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Markey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	?	N	?	Y	Y	?	?
3 Wolpe	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
6 Carr	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
7 Kildee	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	N	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
15 Ford	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
16 Dingell	Y	?	Y	?	?	?	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	?	Y	N	?	?
MINNESOTA							
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	?	Y	?	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
8 Oberstar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 Bowen	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	?
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
MONTANA							
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA							
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
3 Howard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
4 Thompson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
10 Rodino	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
NEW MEXICO							
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK							
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Downey	Y	N	?	Y	Y	?	?
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
5 ***Wydler***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
6 Wolff	?	N	?	?	?	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
12 Chisholm	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
13 Solarz	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
17 Murphy	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?
18 ***Green***	Y	N	?	Y	Y	?	?
19 Rangel	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?
21 Garcia	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
25 ***Fish***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
27 McHugh	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
34 ***Horton***	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
37 Nowak	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 Andrews	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Rose	Y	N	?	N	Y	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
OHIO							
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	?
3 Hall	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
13 Pease	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
20 Oakar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	?	Y	?	Y	?
22 Vanik	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Gray	Y	N	?	Y	Y	?	?
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?	?
6 Yatron	?	N	N	?	?	Y	Y
7 Edgar	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	Y	?	Y	?	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	N	C	Y	Y	?
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
TEXAS							
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Wilson, C.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Brooks	Y	N	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
12 Wright	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
UTAH							
1 McKay	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Marriott***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VERMONT							
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 ***Trible***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Lowry	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Slack	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Baldus	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	?
7 Obey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING							
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?

Democrats ***Republicans***

338. Procedural Motion. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, motion to approve the House *Journal* of Monday, July 23, 1979. Motion agreed to 369-6: R 132-2; D 237-4 (ND 159-3; SD 78-1), July 24, 1979.

339. H J Res 74. School Busing Amendment. Mottl, D-Ohio, motion to discharge the House Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the joint resolution to propose an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit compelling students to attend a school other than the one nearest their home. Motion agreed to 227-183: R 124-23; D 103-160 (ND 54-125; SD 49-35), July 24, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

340. H J Res 74. School Busing Amendment. Stokes, D-Ohio, motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate and further amendments) on the joint resolution to propose an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit compelling students to attend a school other than the one nearest their home. Motion rejected 172-251: R 18-135; D 154-116 (ND 127-58; SD 27-58), July 24, 1979.

341. HJ Res 74. School Busing Amendment. Passage of the joint resolution to propose an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit compelling students to attend a school other than the one nearest their home to achieve racial desegregation. Rejected 209-216: R 114-40; D 95-176 (ND 48-138; SD 47-38), July 24, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (284 in this case) is required for passage of a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

342. HR 4453. Saccharin Extension. Waxman, D-Calif., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to extend a moratorium on the Food and Drug Administration ban on the artificial sweetener saccharin through June 30, 1981, and to require studies and health warnings on saccharin-flavored products and in stores selling the products. Motion agreed to 394-22: R 153-0; D 241-22 (ND 157-21; SD 84-1), July 24, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (278 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

343. HR 3996. Amtrak Reorganization. Gore, D-Tenn.,-Fowler, D-Ga., amendment, to the Eckhardt, D-Texas, amendment, to provide for a one-year moratorium on any Amtrak route cuts. Rejected 197-214: R 64-90; D 133-124 (ND 88-88; SD 45-36), July 24, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Eckhardt amendment, as amended, to provide regional balance in passenger service and to extend for two years certain short haul trains if they met more liberalized criteria was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	338	339	340	341	342	343
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	?	?	?	?	?	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	?	?	N	N	Y	N
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	N	Y	N	Y	X
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Stark	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	N	Y	N	?	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Dodd	?	X	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	?	N	N	N	Y	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	N	Y	X
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	?	#	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 *McClory*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	N	N	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376

	338	339	340	341	342	343
KANSAS						
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Treen*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE						
1 *Emery*	?	#	?	?	?	?
2 *Snowe*	?	X	Y	N	Y	N
MARYLAND						
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	?	Y	X	N	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	Y	N	Y	#
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 *Conte*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Early	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	?	X	Y	N	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	N	Y	N	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
MINNESOTA						
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 *Bereuter*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	X
4 Thompson	?	X	#	?	?	X
5 *Fenwick*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	N	?	N
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK						
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Lent*	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Chisholm	?	N	Y	N	N	N
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
18 *Green*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Weiss	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	?	N	Y	N	Y	?
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
25 *Fish*	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	?	#	Y	N	Y	N
33 Lee	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
34 *Horton*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
35 *Conable*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
39 Lundine	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Rose	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OHIO						
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 *Kindness*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	?	X	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	?	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Flood	?	X	#	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	?	#	N	Y	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
24 *Marks*	P	N	Y	N	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	?	?	Y	N	Y	?
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE						
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Mattox	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	N	N	N	Y	#
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Marriott*	?	#	?	?	?	N
VERMONT						
AL *Jeffords*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA						
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Butler*	?	#	X	N	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON						
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING						
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

344. HR 3996. Amtrak Reorganization Act of 1979. Florio, D-N.J., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 387-5: R 153-1; D 234-4 (ND 160-2; SD 74-2), July 25, 1979.

345. HR 3996. Amtrak Reorganization Act of 1979. Hagedorn, R-Minn., amendment to require Amtrak to establish fares that would produce revenues equal to 40 percent of total Amtrak expenses in fiscal 1980, 45 percent in 1981 and 50 percent in 1982. Rejected 168-250: R 120-36; D 48-214 (ND 12-166; SD 36-48), July 25, 1979.

346. HR 3996. Amtrak Reorganization Act of 1979. Passage of the bill to authorize $1,115,000,000 for fiscal 1980, $940.5 million for fiscal 1981, and $958.5 million for fiscal 1982, and to set formulas for retaining some trains scheduled for elimination under the Carter administration's plan. Passed 397-18: R 137-15; D 260-3 (ND 180-1; SD 80-2), July 25, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

347. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Adoption of the rule (H Res 384) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize the president to impose conservation measures in the event of a national energy shortage. Adopted 326-85: R 74-77; D 252-8 (ND 174-4; SD 78-4), July 25, 1979.

348. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Ottinger, D-N.Y., amendment to permit gasoline rationing when there is a 15 percent shortage — instead of a 20 percent shortage — in petroleum supplies for 30 days. Rejected 93-329: R 6-150; D 87-179 (ND 77-105; SD 10-74), July 25, 1979.

349. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Broyhill, R-N.C., amendment to require the president to submit a standby gasoline rationing plan to Congress within 180 days of enactment and then giving Congress 60 days to approve the plan. Rejected 185-234: R 149-5; D 36-229 (ND 15-167; SD 21-62), July 25, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

350. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Gilman, R-N.Y., amendment to give either house of Congress 30 days to veto a standby gasoline rationing plan submitted by the president. Adopted 232-187: R 152-4; D 80-183 (ND 36-145; SD 44-38), July 25, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

351. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Dingell, D-Mich., motion that the Committee of the Whole rise. Motion agreed to 249-162: R 2-154; D 247-8 (ND 173-2; SD 74-6), July 25, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Stark	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	#	Y	N
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 Waxman	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
26 *Roussalot*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	N	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
3 Giaimo	?	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	F	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 *Findley*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 Simon	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Jacobs	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 *Treen*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	?	?	N
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	?	#	?	?	X	#	#	?
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Early	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	#	X	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	Y	Y	#	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 Ford	?	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
16 Dingell	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Skelton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	X	?
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Forsythe*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	#	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
18 *Green*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
34 *Horton*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
35 *Conable*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
39 Lundine	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Rose	?	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 *Regula*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 *Ashbrook*	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	Y	X	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
21 Stokes	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Gray	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 *McDade*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 *Coughlin*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	?	?	?	?	#	X	X	?
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 *Clinger*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
24 *Marks*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
25 Atkinson	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	N	Y	N	X	?	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 McCormack	?	X	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	#	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Staggers	?	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

352. HR 3920. Unemployment Compensation Commission. Stark, D-Calif., amendment to delete language extending through Jan. 1, 1982, the exemption to employers from paying federal unemployment insurance tax for certain temporary alien farm workers. Rejected 85-325: R 3-148; D 82-177 (ND 76-101; SD 6-76), July 25, 1979.

353. H Res 317. Romanian Emigration. Adoption of the resolution to disapprove (thus revoking trade benefits) the president's request to extend for 12 months a waiver of the freedom of emigration provisions of the 1974 Trade Act with respect to Romania. Rejected 126-271: R 95-52; D 31-219 (ND 18-154; SD 13-65), July 25, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

354. HR 3000. Energy Department - Civilian Programs. Adoption of the rule (H Res 379) providing for floor consideration of the bill to authorize $6.9 billion in fiscal 1980 for civilian programs of the Energy Department. Adopted 404-6: R 148-4; D 256-2 (ND 174-2; SD 82-0), July 26, 1979.

355. HR 3000. Energy Department - Civilian Programs. Fuqua, D-Fla., amendment to allow for termination of the Clinch River, Tenn., fast breeder reactor and to authorize $107 million to carry out a study and design for an alternative breeder reactor. Rejected 182-237: R 27-127; D 155-110 (ND 126-56; SD 29-54), July 26, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	352	353	354	355
ALABAMA				
1 ***Edwards***	N	N	+	N
2 ***Dickinson***	N	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	N	?	Y	N
4 Bevill	N	N	Y	N
5 Flippo	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Buchanan***	N	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	N	N	Y	N
ALASKA				
AL ***Young***	N	?	?	N
ARIZONA				
1 ***Rhodes***	?	N	Y	N
2 Udall	?	?	Y	Y
3 Stump	N	?	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS				
1 Alexander	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Bethune***	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	N	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA				
1 Johnson	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	N	Y	Y	N
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	Y	?	?	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	N	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	?	N	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	N	Y	Y	N
12 ***McCloskey***	N	N	Y	N
13 Mineta	N	N	Y	N
14 ***Shumway***	N	Y	Y	N
15 Coelho	N	N	Y	N
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	N	Y	Y	N
18 ***Thomas***	?	?	Y	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	Y	Y	N
20 ***Goldwater***	N	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	N	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	N	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	N	?	Y
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	N	Y	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	N	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	Y	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	?	Y	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	?	Y	N
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	N	Y	Y	N
34 ***Lungren***	N	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	Y	N
36 Brown	N	N	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	N	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	N	N	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	Y	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	N	Y	Y	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	N	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	N	Y	Y	N
COLORADO				
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT				
1 Cotter	N	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	N	Y	N
4 ***McKinney***	?	?	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	?	?	Y
DELAWARE				
AL ***Evans***	N	N	Y	N
FLORIDA				
1 Hutto	N	N	Y	N
2 Fuqua	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kelly***	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Young***	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	N	N	Y	N
8 Ireland	N	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	N	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	N	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	N	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	N	?	?	Y
15 Fascell	N	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA				
1 Ginn	N	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	N
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	N	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	N	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	N	Y	?	N
8 Evans	N	N	Y	N
9 Jenkins	N	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	N	Y	Y
HAWAII				
1 Heftel	N	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	N	N	Y	N
IDAHO				
1 ***Symms***	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Hansen***	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS				
1 Stewart	Y	N	Y	?
2 Murphy	N	N	Y	N
3 Russo	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Derwinski***	N	N	Y	N
5 Fary	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	N	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	N	?	Y	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	N	Y	N	X
13 ***McClory***	N	Y	Y	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	N	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	N	N	Y	N
16 ***Anderson***	N	N	Y	N
17 ***O'Brien***	N	N	Y	N
18 ***Michel***	N	N	Y	N
19 ***Railsback***	N	?	Y	N
20 ***Findley***	N	N	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	Y	N	X
23 Price	N	N	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA				
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	N	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	N	?	Y	Y
5 ***Hillis***	N	Y	Y	N
6 Evans	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Myers***	N	Y	Y	N
8 ***Deckard***	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	N	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA				
1 ***Leach***	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	N	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

	352	353	354	355
KANSAS				
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	N	Y	Y	N
4 Glickman	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY				
1 Hubbard	N	N	Y	N
2 Natcher	N	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	N	Y	?
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	N	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA				
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	N	?	?	N
4 Leach	N	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	N	Y	N
7 Breaux	N	N	Y	N
8 Long	N	N	Y	Y
MAINE				
1 ***Emery***	?	?	?	Y
2 ***Snowe***	N	N	Y	N
MARYLAND				
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	N	N
2 Long	N	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	N	?	Y	N
6 Byron	N	N	Y	N
7 Mitchell	Y	N	?	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS				
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	N	Y	Y
3 Early	N	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	N	?	Y
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill				
9 Moakley	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	N	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	N	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN				
1 Conyers	?	?	?	#
2 ***Pursell***	N	Y	Y	?
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	Y	Y	N
10 Albosta	N	N	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	N	Y	N
16 Dingell	N	N	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA				
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	N	N	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI				
1 Whitten	N	N	Y	N
2 Bowen	N	N	Y	N
3 Montgomery	N	?	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI				
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	N	N	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Taylor***	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	N	N	Y	N
10 Burlison	N	N	Y	N
MONTANA				
1 Williams	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA				
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	?	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	Y	N
NEVADA				
AL Santini	N	Y	?	X
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
1 D'Amours	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY				
1 Florio	N	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	?	?	?
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	?	Y	N
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Minish	N	N	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	N	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	N	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	N	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO				
1 ***Lujan***	N	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK				
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	N	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	?	Y
9 Ferraro	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	N	N	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	N	?	#
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	N	N	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	N	N	Y	N
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	N	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	N	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	N	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	N	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	N	N	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	N	Y	N
33 ***Lee***	N	N	?	N
34 ***Horton***	N	Y	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	N	N	Y	N
36 LaFalce	N	N	Y	Y
37 Nowak	N	N	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	N	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	?	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
1 Jones	N	N	Y	N
2 Fountain	N	N	Y	N
3 Whitley	N	N	Y	N
4 Andrews	?	?	Y	N
5 Neal	N	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	N	N	Y	N
7 Rose	N	N	Y	Y
8 Hefner	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	N	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	N	N	Y	N
11 Gudger	N	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA				
AL ***Andrews***	N	N	Y	N
OHIO				
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	Y	N
2 Luken	N	N	Y	N
3 Hall	N	N	?	Y
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Brown***	N	N	Y	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	?	N	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	N	Y	Y	N
11 ***Stanton***	N	N	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	N	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	N	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	N	N	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	?	?	Y	N
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	N	N	?	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Vanik	N	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
1 Jones	N	N	Y	N
2 Synar	N	N	Y	Y
3 Watkins	N	N	Y	N
4 Steed	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	N	Y	Y	N
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y
OREGON				
1 AuCoin	N	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	N	N	Y	N
3 Duncan	?	?	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA				
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	N	N	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	N	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	X
12 Murtha	N	N	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	N	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	?	?	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	?	Y	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	?	N
17 Ertel	N	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	?	?	?	#
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	?	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	N	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	N	N	Y	#
25 Atkinson	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND				
1 St Germain	N	?	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA				
1 Davis	?	?	?	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Campbell***	N	?	Y	N
5 Holland	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	N	N	Y	?
SOUTH DAKOTA				
1 Daschle	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE				
1 ***Quillen***	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	N	N	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	N
5 Boner	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	N	N	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	?	Y	Y
TEXAS				
1 Hall	N	N	Y	N
2 Wilson, C.	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	N	N	Y	N
5 Mattox	N	N	Y	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	N	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	N	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	N	N	Y	N
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	?	?	Y	N
13 Hightower	N	N	Y	N
14 Wyatt	N	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	N	N	Y	N
16 White	N	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	N	N	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	N	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	N	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	N	Y	N
24 Frost	N	N	Y	Y
UTAH				
1 McKay	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y	Y	N
VERMONT				
AL ***Jeffords***	N	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA				
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	N	N	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON				
1 ***Pritchard***	N	?	Y	Y
2 Swift	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	N
5 Foley	N	N	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA				
1 Mollohan	N	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	N	N	Y	N
3 Slack	N	N	Y	N
4 Rahall	N	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN				
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	N	N	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING				
AL ***Cheney***	N	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

356. HR 2462. Maritime Authorization. McCloskey, R-Calif., amendment to reduce the construction differential subsidy authorization to $32 million from the $101 million contained in the bill. Rejected 139-246: R 99-46; D 40-200 (ND 25-141; SD 15-59), July 27, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

357. HR 2462. Maritime Authorization. McCloskey, R-Calif., amendment to prohibit the use of construction differential subsidies for vessels manned by crews that numbered greater than 50 percent of the minimum, which was determined by the Coast Guard to be necessary for safe operation. Adopted 196-183: R 122-21; D 74-162 (ND 39-126; SD 35-36), July 27, 1979.

358. HR 3633. Nurse Training. Dannemeyer, R-Calif., amendment to reduce fiscal 1980 authorizations for special projects and nurse practitioner training and eliminate other authorizations for nursing school grants, loans, construction aid and financial aid for students. Rejected 12-341: R 10-118; D 2-223 (ND 1-154; SD 1-69), July 27, 1979.

359. HR 3633. Nurse Training. Passage of the bill to extend through fiscal 1980 authorization for capitation, construction and other types of grants to nurse training schools, and loans and other financial aid for nursing students, for a one-year total of $103 million. Passed 344-6: R 124-5; D 220-1 (ND 152-0; SD 68-1), July 27, 1979.

360. HR 3509. Safe Drinking Water Amendments. Waxman, D-Calif., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize $236.6 million and extend from fiscal 1980-82 the provisions of the 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act. Motion agreed to 319-76: R 94-51; D 225-25 (ND 156-12; SD 69-13), July 30, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (264 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

361. H Res 391. Diggs Expulsion. Brademas, D-Ind., motion to table (kill) the resolution calling for the expulsion of Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., from the House of Representatives. Motion agreed to 205-197: R 12-134; D 193-63 (ND 145-30; SD 48-33), July 30, 1979.

362. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Bauman, R-Md., amendment to instruct House conferees to the House-Senate conference committee on the bill to insist on certain House provisions of the legislation to implement the 1978 Panama Canal treaties. Motion agreed to 308-98: R 145-3; D 163-95 (ND 91-84; SD 72-11), July 30, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

363. H Con Res 168. Congressional Adjournment. Adoption of the concurrent resolution to provide for a House recess from Aug. 2 to Sept. 5, 1979, and a Senate recess from Aug. 3 to Sept. 5, 1979. Adopted 338-70: R 104-47; D 234-23 (ND 160-15; SD 74-8), July 30, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
2 Udall	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Dellums	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Edwards	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
21 Corman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
32 Anderson	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Giaimo	?	?	N	Y	?	?	N	Y
4 *McKinney*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	N	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Stack	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Pepper	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fowler	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Murphy	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fary	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	N	Y	?	-	Y	N
7 Collins	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	?	Y	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Annunzio	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Price	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Smith	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 392, 393, 395, 396, 398, 399, 400, 401

	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Natcher	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Snyder*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Perkins	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Moore*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	N	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y
8 Long	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y
2 *Snowe*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Long	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Shannon	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Traxler	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
10 Albosta	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Bonior	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Vento	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Lott*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	N	N	?	?	Y	?	Y
2 Young	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Howard	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Thompson	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
7 Maguire	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
8 Roe	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Minish	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
4 *Lent*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ferraro	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Chisholm	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Solarz	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Murphy	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Green*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
22 Bingham	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
26 *Gilman*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Stratton	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 Lee	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
39 Lundine	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	?	?
10 *Broyhill*	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
11 Gudger	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Hall	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Harsha*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	N	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 *Williams*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
20 Oakar	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Mottl	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Ullman	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	N	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Lederer	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	?	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Yatron	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Edgar	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Moorhead	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gaydos	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 *Marks*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 *Spence*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Holland	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Wilson, C.	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
9 Brooks	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
13 Hightower	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 White	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Leland	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	N	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 *Wampler*	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Swift	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Dicks	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Roth*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

364. HR 4930. Interior Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $10,230,003,000 for fiscal 1980 for the Interior Department, the Energy Department and related agencies. Passed 344-42: R 115-30; D 229-12 (ND 157-6; SD 72-6), July 30, 1979. The president had requested $8,440,770,000 in new budget authority.

365. Procedural Motion. Sensenbrenner, R-Wis., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Monday, July 30, 1979. Motion agreed to 389-9: R 141-5; D 248-4 (ND 169-4; SD 79-0), July 31, 1979.

366. H Res 378. Diggs Censure. Adoption of the resolution to censure Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., D-Mich., to order Diggs to repay the Treasury $40,031.60 and to require Diggs' employees to certify to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct for the remainder of the 96th Congress that they are being paid by Diggs in full compliance with House rules. Adopted 414-0: R 153-0; D 261-0 (ND 178-0; SD 83-0), July 31, 1979.

367. H Con Res 80. Martin Luther King Jr. Statue. Nedzi, D-Mich., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize $25,000 from House contingent funds for a statue of Martin Luther King Jr. to be placed in the Capitol building. Motion agreed to 408-11: R 146-8; D 262-3 (ND 179-2; SD 83-1), July 31, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (280 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

368. S 391. Speedy Trial Act Amendments. Gudger, D-N.C., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to delay until July 1, 1980, from July 1, 1979, the effective date of the 1974 Speedy Trial Act dismissal sanctions. Motion agreed to 416-1: R 152-0; D 264-1 (ND 181-1; SD 83-0), July 31, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (278 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

369. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Stockman, R-Mich., amendment to provide for a one-house veto over a standby gasoline rationing plan proposed by the president, but deleting the provision for a one-house veto of implementation of rationing. Rejected 192-232: R 152-3; D 40-229 (ND 23-161; SD 17-68), July 31, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

370. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Wright, D-Texas, amendment to delete the requirement of the previously adopted Gilman, R-N.Y., amendment *(see vote 350, p. 102-H)* that either house could veto a proposed standby plan. Adopted 234-189: R 3-151; D 231-38 (ND 162-22; SD 69-16), July 31, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

371. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Marks, R-Pa., amendment to delete the requirement that a 20 percent shortage of petroleum exist before gasoline rationing could be imposed. Rejected 63-356: R 5-149; D 58-207 (ND 54-126; SD 4-81), July 31,

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Nichols	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Udall	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *McCloskey*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Corman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	-
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
40 *Badham*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	?	?	?	Y	+	N	Y	N
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Collins	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Railsback*	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Price	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 408, 409, 410

	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Moore*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Holt*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Mitchell	?	N	P	?	Y	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Stockman*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	?	Y	P	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Ford	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 Dingell	Y	?	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Frenzel*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Marlenee*	?	?	?	?	?	#	X	?
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Forsythe*	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	-
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 *Courter*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 *Green*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	Y	P	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
29 *Solomon*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
33 *Lee*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
35 *Conable*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
38 *Kemp*	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 *Martin*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Luken	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Latta*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	N	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *Devine*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Williams*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
20 Oakar	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Edwards*	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Ullman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	X	#	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 *Coughlin*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 Walgren	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Holland	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	+	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wilson, C.	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Collins*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Archer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Wright	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Paul*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Harris	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Slack	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

372. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Kramer, R-Colo., amendment to provide that the president's rationing and conservation powers be valid until Sept. 30, 1980, instead of until Sept. 31, 1981. Rejected 162-250: R 144-10; D 18-240 (ND 11-165; SD 7-75), July 31, 1979.

373. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Wylie, R-Ohio, amendment to require an exemption from restrictions on the heating and cooling of buildings for a building operator who achieved an equivalent reduction in energy consumption by means other than controlling thermostats. Adopted 267-152: R 148-3; D 119-149 (ND 62-121; SD 57-28), July 31, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

374. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Dingell, D-Mich., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 390-4: R 143-2; D 247-2 (ND 168-1; SD 79-1), Aug. 1, 1979.

375. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Hughes, D-N.J., amendment to the Rinaldo, R-N.J., amendment *(see vote 376, below)*, to delete language in the bill suggesting that the president adopt as a standby conservation measure a plan that requires a car owner not to drive one day of the week, with the non-driving day selected by the car owner (the Rinaldo amendment would have prevented the president from restricting driving one day of the week). Adopted 413-3: R 154-0; D 259-3 (ND 175-2; SD 84-1), Aug. 1, 1979.

376. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Moffett, D-Conn., substitute amendment, to the Rinaldo, R-N.J., amendment, to restore the language suggesting a non-driving day as a conservation measure, with the requirement that governors be consulted as to the special needs of rural areas. Rejected 107-306: R 4-149; D 103-157 (ND 79-97; SD 24-60), Aug. 1, 1979. (The Rinaldo amendment, as amended by the Hughes, D-N.J., amendment *(see vote 375, above)*, was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

377. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Stockman, R-Mich., amendment to prohibit a federal conservation plan from restricting the operating hours of a business. Rejected 190-224: R 142-8; D 48-216 (ND 22-157; SD 26-59), Aug. 1, 1979.

378. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Loeffler, R-Texas, amendment to prohibit a federal conservation plan from regulating the operation of any energy production, exploration, processing or transportation facility unless the facility were first given a chance to save energy through other measures. Rejected 203-209: R 145-7; D 58-202 (ND 19-158; SD 39-44), Aug. 1, 1979.

379. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Brown, R-Ohio, amendment to exempt health care facilities from federal conservation measures. Adopted 244-170: R 149-2; D 95-168 (ND 53-127; SD 42-41), Aug. 1, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	#	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	#
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	?	#	N	N	N
4 Fazio	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Burton, P.	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Miller	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Dellums	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
9 Stark	N	N	Y	?	?	?	N	N
10 Edwards	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 Mineta	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	N	Y	?	X	N	N	N
16 Panetta	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	#	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	N	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
24 Waxman	?	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	X
29 Hawkins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
36 Brown	N	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Kogovsek	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Dodd	N	Y	?	?	?	?	X	X
3 Giaimo	N	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Moffett	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ireland	N	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Nelson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Stack	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Pepper	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
15 Fascell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Jenkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Akaka	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	N	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Yates	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Mikva	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
11 Annunzio	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	#	#	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	Y	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
17 *O'Brien*	#	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	?	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Fithian	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Brademas	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419

	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	#
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	X	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Barnes	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Early	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Drinan	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	X	N
5 Shannon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Mavroules	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Markey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 *Heckler*	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Studds	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	X	X	X
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Kildee	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	X	X	X
14 Nedzi	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
15 Ford	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
16 Dingell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 Brodhead	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
18 Blanchard	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Vento	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Nolan	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	#
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Young	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Gephardt	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
4 Skelton	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Burlison	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 *Marlenee*	#	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	N	Y	?	?	N	N	N
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Hughes	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Thompson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	X	N
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
7 Maguire	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y
11 Minish	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Patten	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Ambro	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	#
8 Rosenthal	?	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Ferraro	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Biaggi	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Chisholm	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 Solarz	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Richmond	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
16 Holtzman	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
17 Murphy	?	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
18 *Green*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 Weiss	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 Garcia	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
22 Bingham	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 Peyser	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Ottinger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 *McEwen*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
35 *Conable*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Whitley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Andrews	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Neal	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
6 Preyer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Rose	N	N	Y	?	?	N	N	N
8 Hefner	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	N	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Hall	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	#	Y
9 Ashley	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	?	?	?	#	#	?
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 Stokes	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Mottl	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Watkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 English	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Duncan	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
4 Weaver	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Lederer	X	#	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Kostmayer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	X	?	?	?	X	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
21 Bailey	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Beard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Boner	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ford	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
2 Wilson, C.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	?
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	N	?	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Brooks	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	N	N	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Dicks	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Staggers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Rahall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Baldus	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Reuss	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

380. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Dingell, D-Mich., motion to end debate on Section 3 of the bill at 3:45 p.m. Motion agreed to 247-164: R 12-139; D 235-25 (ND 164-13; SD 71-12), Aug. 1, 1979.

381. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Tauke, R-Iowa, amendment to require that the president, upon finding a supply shortage, set aside middle distillate oil in order to provide supplies for agricultural production. Adopted 229-191: R 140-15; D 89-176 (ND 46-136; SD 43-40), Aug. 1, 1979.

382. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Moffett, D-Conn., amendment to require that the president, upon finding a supply shortage, set aside heating oil in order to provide supplies to homeowners. Adopted 233-187: R 89-65; D 144-122 (ND 122-61; SD 22-61), Aug. 1, 1979.

383. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Gilman, R-N.Y., motion to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to reinsert language providing for a one-house veto of a standby rationing plan. Rejected 177-246: R 145-9; D 32-237 (ND 19-165; SD 13-72), Aug. 1, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

384. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Passage of the bill to authorize the president, with the consent of Congress, to require rationing of gasoline during a 20 percent oil shortage and to impose conservation measures on uncooperative states during a 10 percent oil shortage. Passed 263-159: R 32-123; D 231-36 (ND 162-20; SD 69-16), Aug. 1, 1979.

385. HR 4388. Energy and Water Development Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Breaux, D-La., motion that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment to prevent construction of the Tellico Dam and reservoir in Tennessee. Rejected 156-258: R 31-120; D 125-138 (ND 105-76; SD 20-62), Aug. 1, 1979.

386. HR 4388. Energy/Water Appropriations, Fiscal 1980-Hart Office Building. Bevill, D-Ala., motion that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment (no. 37) to appropriate $57,480,700 with a total construction ceiling of $142,627,700 for the Hart Senate office building and that the Senate vacate offices in certain non-federal buildings. Rejected 173-236: R 28-119; D 145-117 (ND 102-77; SD 43-40), Aug. 1, 1979.

387. HR 4388. Energy/Water Appropriations, Fiscal 1980-Hart Office Building. Bevill, D-Ala., motion that the House recede from its disagreement with Senate amendment 37 *(see vote 386, above)*. Motion agreed to 214-184: R 34-109; D 180-75 (ND 116-60; SD 64-15), Aug. 1, 1979. (The House subsequently by voice vote concurred in Senate amendment 37 with an amendment to appropriate $52,583,400 with a ceiling of $137,730,400 for the Hart Senate office building.)

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 ***Rudd***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?
10 Edwards	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
11 ***Royer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
14 ***Shumway***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
17 ***Pashayan***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
18 ***Thomas***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
20 ***Goldwater***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
21 Corman	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
27 ***Dornan***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
28 Dixon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
32 Anderson	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
40 ***Badham***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Giaimo	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 ***Young***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Bafalis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Mica	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Pepper	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
4 Levitas	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Gingrich***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	N	N
9 Jenkins	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Hansen***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Derwinski***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Fary	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
13 ***McClory***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
16 ***Anderson***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
18 ***Michel***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
20 ***Findley***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Price	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Brademas	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 ***Myers***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
10 Sharp	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Tauke***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Grassley***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427

	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
3 ***Winn***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
2 ***Snowe***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Long	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Mitchell	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 Studds	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Stockman***	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Carr	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	X	?	X	#	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?
4 ***Hinson***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Taylor***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ichord	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	N
10 Burlison	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Marlenee***	?	#	?	?	X	?	?	?
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Runnels	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	N	N
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
34 ***Horton***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Luken	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	N
3 Hall	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 ***Brown***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Pease	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
15 ***Wylie***	?	#	?	#	?	?	?	?
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
19 ***Williams***	?	Y	Y	?	N	?	?	?
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Watkins	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
3 Duncan	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 ***McDade***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Roberts	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
5 Mattox	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Satterfield	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

388. Procedural Motion. Rousselot, R-Calif., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Wednesday, Aug. 1, 1979. Motion agreed to 306-9: R 136-4; D 170-5 (ND 118-4; SD 52-1), Aug. 2, 1979.

389. HR 4057. Food Stamps. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to increase by $620 million the spending ceiling for the food stamp program in fiscal 1979, and to provide elderly and disabled recipients increased deductions for medical and shelter costs. Adopted (thus cleared for the president) 336-72: R 92-57; D 244-15 (ND 170-4; SD 74-11), Aug. 2, 1979.

390. HR 3324. Foreign Economic Aid. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize $1.979 billion in fiscal 1980 for bilateral economic aid programs and the Peace Corps. Adopted (thus cleared for the president) 223-181: R 46-102; D 177-79 (ND 147-26; SD 30-53), Aug. 2, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

391. HR 4392. State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the conference report to appropriate $8,345,091,000 for the Departments of State, Justice and Commerce, the federal judiciary and 18 related agencies for fiscal 1980. Adopted 291-106: R 81-66; D 210-40 (ND 147-23; SD 63-17), Aug. 2, 1979. The president had requested $8,526,868,000 in new budget authority.

392. HR 3434. Social Services and Child Welfare. Adoption of the rule (H Res 365) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to raise to $3.1 billion, from $2.5 billion, the permanent ceiling on federal matching expenditures for state social service programs (the rule did not allow floor amendments to the bill). Adopted 251-154: R 13-136; D 238-18 (ND 166-7; SD 72-11), Aug. 2, 1979.

393. HR 3434. Social Services and Child Welfare. Michel, R-Ill., motion to recommit the bill to the Ways and Means Committee with instructions to report it back immediately with an amendment to delete the provision to establish the $266 million authorization for assistance to state child welfare programs on an entitlement basis rather than on an authorization and appropriations basis. Motion agreed to 204-199: R 145-2; D 59-197 (ND 14-160; SD 45-37), Aug. 2, 1979.

394. HR 3434. Social Services and Child Welfare. Passage of the bill to amend the Social Security Act to raise to $3.1 billion, from $2.5 billion, the permanent ceiling on federal matching expenditures for state social service programs. Passed 401-2: R 144-1; D 257-1 (ND 174-1; SD 83-0), Aug. 2, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	388	389	390	391	392	393	394
ALABAMA							
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	?	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA							
AL ***Young***	?	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Anthony	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
8 Dellums	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	Y	?	?	?	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Moffett	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE							
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ireland	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Stack	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Lehman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Pepper	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
IDAHO							
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Russo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***Derwinski***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Annunzio	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
18 ***Michel***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Price	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Simon	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Quayle***	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
IOWA							
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434,

	388	389	390	391	392	393	394
KANSAS							
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA							
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE							
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND							
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Byron	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 ***Conte***	?	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X	?
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Dingell	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	?	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	?	Y	N	N	N	#	?
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Gephardt	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
NEBRASKA							
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	?	?	N	?	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Minish	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Patten	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO							
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
NEW YORK							
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Ambro	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
5 ***Wydler***	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
6 Wolff	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
9 Ferraro	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Chisholm	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	?	?	X	?
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Hefner	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO							
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Stokes	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	?	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 English	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Ullman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	?	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Lederer	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	N	?	?	#	?
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Walgren	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	?	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	#	?
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS							
1 Hall	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Hightower	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH							
1 McKay	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
VERMONT							
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 McCormack	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Dicks	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Slack	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WYOMING							
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

395. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Long, D-Md., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 362-6; R 129-5; D 233-1 (ND 157-0; SD 76-1), Sept. 5, 1979.

396. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Young, R-Fla., amendment to reduce appropriations for the United Nations Development Program to the fiscal 1979 level of $126,050,000. Adopted 234-139: R 118-8; D 116-131 (ND 53-117; SD 63-14), Sept. 5, 1979.

397. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bauman, R-Md., amendment to prohibit the use of funds for economic or military assistance to Panama except for food and medical assistance. Adopted 247-128: R 128-3; D 119-125 (ND 55-111; SD 64-14), Sept. 5, 1979.

398. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Lott, R-Miss., amendment to remove the appropriation of $23,750,000 for the Institute for Scientific and Technological Cooperation. Rejected 166-234: R 103-42; D 63-192 (ND 20-152; SD 43-40), Sept. 5, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

399. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. McHugh, D-N.Y., substitute for the Young, R-Fla., amendment *(see vote 400, below)* to stipulate that the Young amendment not prevent use of U.S. funds to aid Israel, Egypt or any other country not specifically barred by HR 4473 from receiving U.S. assistance. Rejected 153-244: R 8-137; D 145-107 (ND 124-46; SD 21-61), Sept. 5, 1979.

400. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Young, R-Fla., amendment to bar use of funds in the bill for indirect aid as well as direct aid to Angola, the Central African Empire, Cambodia, Laos or Vietnam. Adopted 281-117: R 136-8; D 145-109 (ND 73-100; SD 72-9), Sept. 5, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	395	396	397	398	399	400
ALABAMA						
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	?	Y	Y	N	?
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA						
AL ***Young***	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA						
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Miller	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Dellums	?	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	?	?	?	X	N	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	N	N	?	?	?
26 ***Rousselot***	?	?	?	?	?	?
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	?	N	N	N	?	N
3 Giaimo	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	?	N	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE						
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	Y	?	X	N	?	?
15 Fascell	?	?	?	?	Y	N
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Mathis	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
IDAHO						
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hansen***	?	?	?	#	?	?
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Russo	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Collins	Y	N	?	N	?	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Mikva	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	?	?	#	Y	N	Y
23 Price	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	?	?	N	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA						
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	N	N	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440,

	395	396	397	398	399	400
KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	?	?	?	#	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Mitchell	?	?	X	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	?	N	?	N	Y	N
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	+	+	+	-	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Albosta	?	?	#	?	?	?
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	?	?	?	N	Y	N
14 Nedzi	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	N	N	?	?	Y
16 Dingell	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 ***Frenzel***	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
2 Young	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	+	N	N	N	N	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA						
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	?	?	?	N	N	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Howard	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Maguire	?	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	-	+	X	-	+
10 Rodino	?	?	X	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Wolff	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
12 Chisholm	?	N	N	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	?	?	?	?	?	?
24 Ottinger	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	+
27 McHugh	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	N	?	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	?	?	#	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	?	Y	Y	?	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Ullman	Y	N	?	N	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Weaver	?	?	?	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	?	?	N	N	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Moorhead	?	?	?	N	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	?	?	?	N	?	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	?	?	?	#	?	?
7 Jones	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	?	?	?	X	?	?
2 Swift	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 Zablocki	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	?	?	?	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

401. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Long, D-Md., motion that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill. Agreed to 360-11: R 132-6; D 228-5 (ND 151-3; SD 77-2), Sept. 6, 1979.

402. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Miller, R-Ohio, amendment to the Obey, D-Wis., substitute amendment to an earlier Miller amendment *(see vote 404, below)*, to reduce the appropriation by 5 percent across-the-board. Rejected 178-228: R 109-38; D 69-190 (ND 23-151; SD 46-39), Sept. 6, 1979. (The Obey substitute amendment provided for a 2 percent reduction. The original Miller amendment provided for a 5 percent reduction but exempted appropriations for Israel and Egypt from the cuts.)

403. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Conte, R-Mass., amendment to the Obey substitute to the first Miller amendment to provide that appropriations for Israel, Egypt, disaster relief, refugee assistance and nutrition programs be exempt from reduction. Agreed to 395-12: R 147-2; D 248-10 (ND 163-10; SD 85-0), Sept. 6, 1979.

404. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Miller, R-Ohio, amendment to the Obey substitute to the first Miller amendment to reduce the appropriation by 4 percent rather than 2 percent as provided by the Obey amendment. Agreed to 254-144: R 129-15; D 125-129 (ND 61-112; SD 64-17), Sept. 6, 1979. (The Obey substitute and the first Miller amendment, as amended by the Obey substitute, subsequently were adopted by voice vote.)

405. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bauman, R-Md., amendment to prohibit any aid to Nicaragua without prior congressional approval. Rejected 189-221: R 116-33; D 73-188 (ND 29-149; SD 44-39), Sept. 6, 1979.

406. HR 4473. Foreign Assistance Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $7.7 billion for foreign aid programs in fiscal 1980. Passed 224-183: R 54-93; D 170-90 (ND 144-34; SD 26-56), Sept. 6, 1979. The president had requested $9,109,799,404.

407. HR 3236. Disability Insurance. Passage of the bill to revise the Social Security Disability Insurance program by placing a cap on the amount of benefits received by workers who become disabled in the future and providing additional assistance to disabled workers who attempt to return to work. Passed 235-162: R 108-36; D 127-126 (ND 64-107; SD 63-19), Sept. 6, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	401	402	403	404	405	406	407
ALABAMA							
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA							
AL ***Young***	?	#	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA							
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Miller	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Stark	?	N	N	N	N	Y	?
10 Edwards	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
25 Roybal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
26 ***Rousselot***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
27 ***Dornan***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	?
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Johnson***	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Dodd	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
DELAWARE							
AL ***Evans***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	#	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	?	X	?	X	?	#	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	?	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	#	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
IDAHO							
1 ***Symms***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
2 ***Hansen***	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	Y	N	N	N	N	?	N
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	#
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	?	X	?	X	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Mikva	Y	N	Y	-	N	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	Y	N	Y	N	N	#	Y
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Price	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA							
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447

	401	402	403	404	405	406	407
KANSAS							
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Carter***	?	?	?	?	?	X	X
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
LOUISIANA							
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	#
2 Boggs	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MAINE							
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND							
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Mikulski	P	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	?	#	?	?	?	X	?
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	N	N	N	#	X
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 ***Heckler***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	Y	N	N	X	?	#	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	?	X	?	X	N	Y	N
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 Ford	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
16 Dingell	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	?	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Young	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
3 Gephardt	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA							
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA							
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	-	+	#	-	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	X	?	X	N	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO							
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK							
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	?	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Chisholm	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	?	Y	N	?	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	#	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO							
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	#
20 Oakar	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	X
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 Jenrette	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Beard***	?	#	?	#	?	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
TEXAS							
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	?
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH							
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT							
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA							
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	#	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
2 Swift	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	N	N	N	N	-
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING							
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

408. HR 79. Postal Service Reorganization. Adoption of the rule (H Res 386) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to reorganize the U.S. Postal Service. Adopted 343-2: R 125-2; D 218-0 (ND 151-0; SD 67-0), Sept. 7, 1979.

409. HR 79. Postal Service Reorganization. C.H. Wilson, D-Calif., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill to reorganize the Postal Service. Motion agreed to 341-3: R 127-1; D 214-2 (ND 144-2; SD 70-0), Sept. 7, 1979.

410. HR 79. Postal Service Reorganization. Courter, R-N.J., amendment to authorize $920 million annually through fiscal 1984 as a public service subsidy for the Postal Service. Rejected 125-242: R 99-39; D 26-203 (ND 17-142; SD 9-61), Sept. 7, 1979.

411. HR 79. Postal Service Reorganization. Passage of the bill to increase the Postal Service public service subsidy authorization to $1.3 billion by fiscal 1982, abolish the Postal Board of Governors and mandate the Postmaster General's appointment by the president. Passed 350-14: R 125-11; D 225-3 (ND 156-2; SD 69-1), Sept. 7, 1979.

412. S 1019. Aid to Uganda. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to amend the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1978 and the fiscal 1979 Foreign Aid Appropriations Act by repealing the prohibition on U.S. foreign economic and security supporting assistance to Uganda (the bill did not remove the existing prohibition on military aid to that country) and lifting the embargo on trade with Uganda. Adopted 280-69: R 87-47; D 193-22 (ND 138-9; SD 55-13), Sept. 7, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

413. HR 4986. Consumer Checking Account Equity Act. St Germain, D-R.I., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize all depository institutions to provide interest-bearing accounts which may also be used to make payments to third parties. Passed 367-39: R 127-18; D 240-21 (ND 168-10; SD 72-11), Sept. 11, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (274 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

414. HR 4034. Export Administration Act. Ichord, D-Mo., amendment to require the Defense Department to complete a list of critical military technologies by Oct. 1, 1980. Adopted 273-145: R 134-18; D 139-127 (ND 66-114; SD 73-13), Sept. 11, 1979.

415. HR 4034. Export Administration Act. Ichord, D-Mo., amendment to delete the section of the bill that allowed the secretary of commerce to periodically remove from the export control list goods or technology that had become obsolete, unless another government agency objected. Rejected 201-206: R 114-36; D 87-170 (ND 33-140; SD 54-30), Sept. 11, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?
4 *Rudd*	?	?	#	?	?	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Bethune*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Burton, J.	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Miller	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
8 Dellums	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Stark	?	?	X	?	?	Y	N	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	#
21 Corman	?	?	X	?	?	Y	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
25 Roybal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
37 *Lewis*	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
2 Dodd	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
8 Ireland	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	+	+	#	+	+	Y	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	#
7 McDonald	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	?	?	#	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Murphy	?	?	X	?	?	Y	N	X
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Mikva	-	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	#	?	?	?	Y	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	P	Y	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
22 *Crane, D.*	?	?	#	?	?	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	Y	?
24 Simon	Y	?	?	?	?	N	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	X	?	?	Y	N	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 448, 449, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456

	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 *Winn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	P	Y	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Carter*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
6 *Hopkins*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	?	?	#	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Holt*	?	?	#	?	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	X
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
3 Early	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Heckler*	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	X	?	?	Y	N	N
2 *Pursell*	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	Y	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Ford	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Brodhead	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
4 Vento	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Sabo	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
6 Nolan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Hinson*	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	N	N
2 Young	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	P	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Marlenee*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	N
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	?	?	?	P	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
5 *Fenwick*	?	?	+	+	+	Y	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N
10 Rodino	Y	?	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	+	+	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	?	?	X	?	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Chisholm	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	X
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Murphy	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 *Green*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 Bingham	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 *McEwen*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
35 *Conable*	Y	P	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Neal	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Rose	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 *Wylie*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
19 *Williams*	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 *Edwards*	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
2 Ullman	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
3 Duncan	Y	P	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	X
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y	N	N
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	#	X
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	?	?	X	?	?	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	P	Y	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Wampler*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 Foley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	#

Democrats *Republicans*

416. HR 4034. Export Administration. Miller, R-Ohio, amendment to provide that rules for the control of critical technologies should reflect the difficulties associated with end-use statements and other assurances that technology will not be diverted to military use. Adopted 271-138: R 143-9; D 128-129 (ND 64-109; SD 64-20), Sept. 11, 1979.

417. HR 4034. Export Administration. Dornan, R-Calif., amendment to require government agencies involved in national security export control cases to retain a complete set of records on each application decision. Rejected 109-296: R 82-68; D 27-228 (ND 11-161; SD 16-67), Sept. 11, 1979.

418. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Stratton, D-N.Y., motion to resolve into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill to authorize fiscal 1980 funds for weapons procurement and research. Motion agreed to 363-2: R 138-0; D 225-2 (ND 148-2; SD 77-0), Sept. 12, 1979.

419. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Beard, R-Tenn., amendment to establish a Congressional Study Commission on Defense Readiness and Mobilization Capability to study military manpower requirements and the adequacy of the all-volunteer armed forces and to report its findings within nine months. Rejected 144-268: R 86-63; D 58-205 (ND 43-139; SD 15-66), Sept. 12, 1979.

420. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Montgomery, D-Miss., substitute amendment, to the Schroeder, D-Colo., amendment *(see vote 421, below)*, to provide for mandatory draft registration by 18-year-old men. Rejected 163-252: R 71-80; D 92-172 (ND 33-151; SD 59-21), Sept. 12, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

421. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Schroeder, D-Colo., amendment to delete the provision in the bill as reported by the Armed Services Committee requiring mandatory draft registration and providing for a presidential study of the issue. Adopted 259-155: R 83-68; D 176-87 (ND 154-30; SD 22-57), Sept. 12, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	416	417	418	419	420	421
ALABAMA						
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Bevill	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Flippo	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA						
AL ***Young***	?	?	?	#	?	?
ARIZONA						
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Udall	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	?	?	?	X	+	-
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Miller	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Dellums	N	N	?	N	N	Y
9 Stark	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Edwards	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Waxman	N	?	?	N	N	Y
25 Roybal	?	?	?	?	?	?
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	N	N	?	X	?	#
29 Hawkins	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	#	N	Y	N	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Johnson***	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	?	?	?	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***McKinney***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
6 Moffett	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE						
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	N	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Stack	N	N	?	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	Y	N	?	X	?	#
15 Fascell	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO						
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Hansen***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Murphy	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	#	?	?	?	?	?
5 Fary	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Collins	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	N	-	Y	-	N	Y
11 Annunzio	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	?	#	?	?
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 Price	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
24 Simon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Brademas	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
IOWA						
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Smith	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	N	N	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462

	416	417	418	419	420	421
KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Glickman	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	#	?	?	#	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Boggs	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Long	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mikulski	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Spellman	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
7 Mitchell	X	?	?	N	N	Y
8 Barnes	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Early	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Drinan	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Shannon	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	N	N	?	N	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Studds	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	N	Y	?	N	N	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
3 Wolpe	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Carr	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	?	N	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	N	N	Y
14 Nedzi	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 Ford	?	N	?	N	N	Y
16 Dingell	N	N	?	N	Y	N
17 Brodhead	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Blanchard	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	Y	#	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Sabo	?	?	?	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Young	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Gephardt	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Skelton	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Bolling	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
9 Volkmer	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Thompson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Rodino	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Minish	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Patten	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Ambro	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	N	?	N	N	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	N	N	?	N	N	Y
13 Solarz	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Richmond	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 Holtzman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
18 ***Green***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
20 Weiss	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	N	N	?	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	N	?	X
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	?	?	?	X
7 Rose	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Hall	N	N	?	N	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Ashley	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Pease	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 Applegate	?	?	?	?	?	?
19 ***Williams***	N	Y	?	N	N	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	?	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Gray	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	X	?	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	?	N	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	X	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	N	?	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Beard	X	?	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Derrick	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Campbell***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
5 Holland	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	N	?	N	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	N	N	?	N	N	?
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	N	?	N	Y	N
2 Wilson, C.	?	?	?	N	Y	N
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 Wright	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	N	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 Leland	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Harris	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 McCormack	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
5 Foley	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	?	?	N	Y
4 Zablocki	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	?	?	?	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

422. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. White, D-Texas, motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill to authorize 1980 funds for weapons procurement. Motion agreed to 370-2: R 140-1; D 230-1 (ND 153-1; SD 77-0), Sept. 13, 1979.

423. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Fazio, D-Calif., amendment, as a substitute for the committee amendment *(see vote 424, below)*, to authorize $1.8 billion for an oil-power aircraft carrier instead of $2.1 billion for another nuclear-powered carrier. Rejected 96-309: R 5-142; D 91-167 (ND 87-91; SD 4-76), Sept. 13, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

424. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Dellums, D-Calif., amendment, as a substitute for the committee amendment, to delete the $2.1 billion in the bill for a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. Rejected 112-286: R 14-131; D 98-155 (ND 93-82; SD 5-73), Sept. 13, 1979. (The committee amendment to authorize $6.8 billion for the naval vessels category was adopted by voice vote.)

425. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Dellums, D-Calif., amendment to delete $670 million for development of the M-X missile. Rejected 86-305: R 6-135; D 80-170 (ND 76-96; SD 4-74), Sept. 13, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

426. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Santini, D-Nev., amendment to prohibit deployment of the M-X missile system if more than 25 percent of the launch sites were in any one state. Rejected 84-289: R 21-110; D 63-179 (ND 61-105; SD 2-74), Sept. 13, 1979.

427. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. C. H. Wilson, D-Calif., amendment to delete the provision in the bill authorizing $10 million for the military services to provide logistical support for the 1980 winter Olympics at Lake Placid, N.Y. Rejected 112-247: R 31-102; D 81-145 (ND 52-102; SD 29-43), Sept. 14, 1979.

428. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Skelton, D-Mo., amendment to authorize a $990-million civil defense program for fiscal 1980-84, instead of the committee-recommended authorization of $138 million for fiscal 1980. Adopted 189-149: R 89-34; D 100-115 (ND 47-102; SD 53-13), Sept. 14, 1979.

429. HR 4040. Defense Procurement. Passage of the bill to authorize $41,453,143,000 for fiscal 1980 weapons procurement, military research and civil defense programs. Passed 282-46: R 116-4; D 166-42 (ND 104-42; SD 62-0), Sept. 14, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429
ALABAMA								
1 Edwards Ala.	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Dickinson	Y	N	N	X	N	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	?
4 Bevill	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	?	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y
7 Shelby	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Bethune***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Stark	?	?	X	X	#	?	?	?
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?	?
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?	?
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?	?
23 Beilenson	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 Roybal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	?	#	#	#	?	?	?
29 Hawkins	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?	?
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
43 ***Burgener***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?
2 Dodd	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	?	N	N	?	N	Y
4 ***McKinney***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Moffett	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	?	X	?	?	?	?	?
2 Fuqua	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
3 Bennett	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	N	N	-	+	+
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
11 Mica	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Pepper	?	?	X	X	X	?	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 McDonald	?	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	?
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Murphy	?	N	X	X	X	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Fary	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	?	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	?	?	N	?	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Mikva	Y	N	Y	Y	+	Y	N	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?	?	?	N	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	N	N	N	?	N	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	?	N	N	N	?	N	?	?
20 ***Findley***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
24 Simon	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	?	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	-	+
4 ***Quayle***	Y	N	?	N	Y	?	?	?
5 ***Hillis***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
6 Evans	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 463, 465, 466, 467, 468, 470, 471, 472

	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	N	N	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	+	N	N	N	N	-	-	+
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	Y
5 Huckaby	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y	?
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	?	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	#	#	#	#	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	?	?
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	?
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Diggs	?	N	#	Y	#	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Ford	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
16 Dingell	?	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Nolan	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
8 Ichord	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	N	N	N	Y	N	N	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
8 Roe	Y	N	?	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Runnels	?	N	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?
5 ***Wydler***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Wolff	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Addabbo	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?
11 Scheuer	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	N	N	N	X	?	?
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	-	-	?
17 Murphy	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 Garcia	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 Peyser	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	?	N	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
2 Fountain	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	N	N	?	N	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	?	?	X	X	X	?	?	?
7 Rose	Y	N	?	N	N	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?
8 ***Kindness***	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	?	N	N	N	N	N	?	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	N	?	N	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
18 Applegate	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?
4 Steed	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	?	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
6 English	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	N	#	N	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	+
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?
2 Beard	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	N	?	N	N	N	Y	?
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
19 Hance	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	+
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	?	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
10 Fisher	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Swift	?	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y
4 McCormack	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	?	?	?	N	?	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
2 Staggers	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	?
5 Reuss	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

430. HR 51. Fuels Transportation Safety Act Amendments. Markey, D-Mass., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to strengthen federal regulation of pipeline transportation and storage of liquefied natural gas, liquefied petroleum gas and natural gas. Motion agreed to 357-20: R 124-16; D 233-4 (ND 165-1; SD 68-3), Sept. 18, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (252 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

431. S 428. Defense Procurement. Price, D-Ill., motion to close to the public the House-Senate conference committee on the differing versions of the fiscal 1980 Defense Department authorization bill at such times as classified national security information was under consideration, but to allow any member of Congress to attend any of the closed sessions. Motion agreed to 389-0: R 144-0; D 245-0; (ND 172-0; SD 73-0), Sept. 18, 1979.

432. HR 4440. Transportation Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Anderson, D-Calif., amendment to add $6 million for bicycle projects. Rejected 111-296: R 28-122; D 83-174 (ND 75-107; SD 8-67), Sept. 18, 1979.

433. HR 4440. Transportation Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Dingell, D-Mich., amendment to prohibit use of fiscal 1980 funds to enforce regulations requiring air bags in passenger motor vehicles, but permit use to continue research on air bags. Adopted 228-185: R 123-28; D 105-157 (ND 56-127; SD 49-30), Sept. 18, 1979.

434. HR 4440. Transportation Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $9,841,015,782 for fiscal 1980 programs of the Department of Transportation, including funds to continue some Amtrak passenger trains scheduled for elimination and more funds for urban mass transit and highway programs. Passed 335-71: R 100-49; D 235-22 (ND 162-16; SD 73-6), Sept. 18, 1979. The president had requested $9,674,968,782 in new budget authority.

435. HR 4034. Export Administration. Findley, R-Ill., amendment to establish a petition procedure to allow representatives of the scrap metal industry to request Commerce Department hearings on the monitoring or control of scrap metal exports. Adopted 238-165: R 101-45; D 137-120 (ND 103-72; SD 34-48), Sept. 18, 1979.

436. HR 4034. Export Administration. Shannon, D-Mass., amendment to limit exports of cattle hides to the percentage of exports in the 1974-78 period, unless domestic supplies were adequate or foreign nations lifted their embargoes on hide exports. Rejected 186-218: R 56-93; D 130-125 (ND 113-63; SD 17-62), Sept. 18, 1979.

437. Procedural Motion. Murtha, D-Pa., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Tuesday, Sept. 18, 1979. Motion agreed to 388-10: R 141-3; D 247-7 (ND 165-6; SD 82-1), Sept. 19, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	?	?	?	#	?	?	X	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
6 Burton, P.	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	?	?	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	C	P
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	?
21 Corman	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
25 Roybal	?	?	?	N	Y	N	?	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
28 Dixon	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	P	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Kelly***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	?
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	C	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	N	X	?	?	#	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Evans	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Hansen***	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	N	+	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	N	X	?	?	#	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	?	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480

	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	?	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	?	?	#	?	?	X	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	?	Y	N	+	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Early	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	Y	Y	N	+	Y	Y	?
2 ***Pursell***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	?	?	?	#	?	?	?	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	?
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	?
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	P
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	+	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	+	+	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
39 Lundine	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fountain	+	+	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	?	?	?	N	Y	N	N	P
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Rose	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
8 Hefner	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	?
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	C	Y
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	?	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
19 ***Williams***	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Steed	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	?
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	+	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
25 Atkinson	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	Y	?	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	X	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Boner	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	?
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 Leland	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

438. H J Res 399. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Lungren, R-Calif., amendment to prohibit remodeling of the gallery of the Capitol's statuary hall. Adopted 371-31: R 140-1; D 231-30 (ND 155-24; SD 76-6), Sept. 19, 1979.

439. H J Res 399. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the joint resolution to continue appropriations for existing programs through Dec. 31, 1979, for federal agencies that had not yet received their fiscal 1980 appropriations, and to raise pay 7 percent for members of Congress (to $61,525 from $57,500), federal judges and other top-level federal workers. Rejected 191-219: R 36-109; D 155-110 (ND 112-69 SD 43-41), Sept. 19, 1979.

440. H Con Res 186. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Latta, R-Ohio, amendment to set 1980 budget totals as follows: budget authority, $594.7 billion; outlays, $529.8 billion; revenues, $510 billion; deficit, $19.8 billion; and provide for a $13 billion fiscal year tax cut. Rejected 187-230: R 148-4; D 39-226 (ND 13-169; SD 26-57), Sept. 19, 1979.

441. H Con Res 186. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Stratton, D-N.Y., amendment to increase 1980 defense spending to $141.2 billion in budget authority and $129 billion in outlays (an increase of $3 billion and $400 million respectively over the levels recommended by the House Budget Committee). Rejected 191-221: R 113-37; D 78-184 (ND 21-158; SD 57-26), Sept. 19, 1979.

442. H Con Res 186. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Mattox, D-Texas, amendment to decrease budget authority and outlays by $550 million, representing elimination of funds included in the budget for anti-recession fiscal assistance programs for state and local governments. Rejected 183-220: R 115-33; D 68-187 (ND 15-162; SD 53-25), Sept. 19, 1979.

443. H Con Res 186. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Coughlin, R-Pa., amendment to reduce budget authority by $400 million, outlays by $100 million and revenues by $250 million, representing elimination of an expected supplemental appropriation for Basic Educational Opportunity Grants and establishment of tuition tax credits. Adopted 221-176: R 142-8; D 79-168 (ND 52-118; SD 27-50), Sept. 19, 1979.

444. H Con Res 186. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Rousselot, R-Calif., amendment to set 1980 budget totals as follows: budget authority, $600 billion; outlays, $518 billion; revenues, $518 billion. Rejected 181-224: R 128-21; D 53-203 (ND 20-156; SD 33-47), Sept. 19, 1979.

445. H Con Res 186. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Adoption of the amended concurrent resolution to set 1980 budget totals as follows: budget authority, $631.8 billion; outlays, $548.6 billion; revenues, $519.2 billion; and deficit, $29.3 billion. Rejected 192-213: R 4-146; D 188-67 (ND 135-42; SD 53-25), Sept. 19, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	N	N	N	?	?	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	N	N	N	N	P	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
16 Panetta	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 ***Goldwater***	?	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	-	?	?	?	?	?
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
24 Waxman	N	Y	N	?	N	?	N	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
29 Hawkins	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	?	?	?	?	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	?	?	+	?	?	?	?	?
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	N	N	N	P	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***McKinney***	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	?
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Young***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brinkley	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Mikva	P	?	N	N	N	N	?	?
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Price	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 ***Hillis***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?	Y	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Tauke***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488

	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	?	?	+	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	?	?	+	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Long	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	N	N	N	?	N	N
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	?	X	-	?	?	N	N	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
7 Markey	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	N	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?	N
3 Wolpe	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	N	N	N	?	N	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	?	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?
2 Bowen	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Young	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Skelton	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Howard	?	#	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N
7 Maguire	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	?	?	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?
7 Addabbo	?	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
13 Solarz	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	-	?	?	?	N	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
21 Garcia	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	N	N	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
3 Hall	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Brown***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Watkins	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 English	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	?	#	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	?	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	-	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Gore	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	?
5 Boner	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	?	?	+	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	?
4 McCormack	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	+	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	N	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

446. Procedural Motion. Danielson, D-Calif., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Wednesday, Sept. 19, 1979. Motion agreed to 361-18: R 136-8; D 225-10 (ND 157-6; SD 68-4), Sept. 20, 1979.

447. H J Res 399. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Volkmer, D-Mo., motion to reconsider the vote *(see vote 439, p. 128-H)* by which the House rejected the joint resolution to continue appropriations for federal agencies for which appropriations bills had not been enacted before Oct. 1, 1979. Motion agreed to 214-196: R 42-109; D 172-87 (ND 119-58; SD 53-29), Sept. 20, 1979.

448. H J Res 399. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the joint resolution to continue appropriations for existing programs, through Dec. 31, 1979 — the end of the first quarter of fiscal 1980, of federal agencies for which appropriations bills had not been enacted before Oct. 1, 1979, and to raise pay 7 percent for members of Congress (to $61,525 from $57,500), federal judges and other top-level federal workers. Rejected 196-212: R 39-112; D 157-100 (ND 112-63; SD 45-37), Sept. 20, 1979.

449. HR 5229. Public Debt Limit. Adoption of the rule (H Res 411) providing for House floor consideration of the bill. Adopted 258-151: R 21-131; D 237-20 (ND 166-11; SD 71-9), Sept. 20, 1979.

450. HR 5229. Public Debt Limit. Ullman, D-Ore., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 330-54: R 100-49; D 230-5 (ND 159-3; SD 71-2), Sept. 20, 1979.

451. HR 5229. Public Debt Limit. Fisher, D-Va., amendment, to the committee substitute amendment, to change the date for extension of the temporary debt limit to July 31, 1980, from March 31, 1981, and reduce the proposed debt ceiling by $44 billion. Adopted 408-1: R 149-0; D 259-1 (ND 180-1; SD 79-0), Sept. 20, 1979. (The substitute amendment, as amended, to the bill *(see vote 452, below)* was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

452. HR 5229. Public Debt Limit. Passage of the bill to provide for an increase in the public debt limit to $885 billion through July 31, 1980. Rejected 200-215: R 3-145; D 197-70 (ND 148-36; SD 49-34), Sept. 20, 1979.

453. S 544. Health Planning and Resource Development. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize $987 million for health planning and resource development grants and related activities for fiscal 1980-82. Adopted 362-45: R 107-41; D 255-4 (ND 175-2; SD 80-2), Sept. 20, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Dellums	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
40 ***Badham***	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Young***	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	N	N	N	?	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fowler	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	?	?	#	#	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 ***Deckard***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496

	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Spellman	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Wolpe	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Bonior	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	Y	Y	#	?	?	Y	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Bowen	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	#	?
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	?	?	X	?	?	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Maguire	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Downey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	P	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?
8 ***Kindness***	?	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	P	?	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
18 Applegate	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 English	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Duncan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
10 ***McDade***	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Leath	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Obey	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

454. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to implement the Panama Canal treaties, by establishing a Panama Canal Commission and providing for operation and maintenance of the canal through 1999. Rejected 192-203: R 19-125; D 173-78 (ND 141-29; SD 32-49), Sept. 20, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

455. HR 3642. Emergency Medical Services. Adoption of the rule (H Res 331) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $231 million for grants for emergency medical services and related activities for fiscal 1980-82. Adopted 345-1: R 129-0; D 216-1 (ND 147-0; SD 69-1), Sept. 21, 1979.

456. HR 4034. Export Administration Act. Preyer, D-N.C., substitute amendment, to the Dornan, R-Calif., amendment, to continue the confidentiality of export licensing information until June 30, 1980, after which it would be subject to the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act. Adopted 318-29: R 104-23; D 214-6 (ND 145-3; SD 69-3), Sept. 21, 1979. (The Dornan amendment, as amended, was adopted subsquently by voice vote.)

457. HR 5163. Sale of Naval Ships. Bennett, D-Fla., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize the sale of 14 older naval vessels to Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Greece, South Korea, Mexico, Peru, the Philippines and Spain. Motion agreed to 379-25: R 147-3; D 232-22 (ND 151-21; SD 81-1), Sept. 25, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (270 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

458. HR 5218. Caribbean Hurricane Relief. Zablocki, D-Wis., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize $25 million for the Dominican Republic and Dominica to be used for relief and rehabilitation for damage caused by Hurricanes David and Frederic. Motion agreed to 370-27: R 129-19; D 241-8 (ND 164-4; SD 77-4), Sept. 25, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (265 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

459. H Con Res 167. Soviet Nondelivery of Mail. Bonker, D-Wash., motion to suspend the rules and adopt the concurrent resolution to express the sense of Congress that the president protest to the Soviet Union concerning the nondelivery of personal mail to certain Soviet addresses. Motion agreed to 401-0: R 150-0; D 251-0 (ND 172-0; SD 79-0), Sept. 25, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (268 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

460. H J Res 404. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Whitten, D-Miss., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate and the possibility of further amendments) on the resolution to continue appropriations for certain federal agencies for the first quarter of fiscal 1980. Motion agreed to 209-200: R 12-139; D 197-61 (ND 142-33; SD 55-28), Sept. 25, 1979.

461. H J Res 404. Congressional Pay Raise/Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the joint resolution to continue appropriations for existing programs, through Dec. 31, 1979 — the end of the first quarter of fiscal 1980, of federal agencies for which appropriations bills had not been enacted before Oct. 1, 1979, and to raise pay 5.5 percent for members of Congress (to $60,662.50 from $57,500), federal judges and other top-level federal workers. Passed 208-203: R 44-108; D 164-95 (ND 117-59; SD 47-36), Sept. 25, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Stump	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Fazio	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Burton, J.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Dellums	Y	?	?	N	?	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	N	?	?	Y	?	Y	?	N
18 *Thomas*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
21 Corman	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	#	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
37 *Lewis*	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
40 *Badham*	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Johnson*	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Giaimo	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Chappell	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 *Young*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Nelson	X	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Bafalis*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Mica	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	+	+	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	#	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Mikva	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
13 *McClory*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	Y	Y	+	+	+	-	-
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Michel*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Hillis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
8 *Deckard*	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Grassley*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 504, 505

	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	N	N
5 ***Carter***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Huckaby	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	N	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Snowe***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	X
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Pursell***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	?	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Taylor***	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	X	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Rodino	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Runnels	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Downey	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Wolff	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?	#
7 Addabbo	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	#
8 Rosenthal	?	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	#	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	?	?	+	-	-
17 Murphy	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
33 ***Lee***	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Horton***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 ***Kemp***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	N	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Luken	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Brown***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Williams***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Oakar	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Watkins	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	#	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***McDade***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 Gaydos	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Holland	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?	X
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wilson, C.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	X	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
19 Hance	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

462. HR 4034. Export Administration Act. Dannemayer, R-Calif., amendment to allow exports of Alaskan oil in exchange for oil imports from Mexico unless the major oil-producing nations imposed severe restrictions on the export of oil to the United States. Rejected 61-340: R 37-111; D 24-229 (ND 16-156; SD 8-73), Sept. 25, 1979.

463. HR 111. Panama Canal Treaties Implementation. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to implement the Panama Canal treaties, by establishing a Panama Canal Commission and providing for the operation and maintenance of the canal through 1999. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 232-188: R 36-118; D 196-70 (ND 157-25; SD 39-45), Sept. 26, 1979. A "yea" was a vote in support of the president's position.

464. HR 5369. Public Debt Limit. Rousselot, R-Calif., amendment to delete Title II of the bill, establishing a procedure by which the debt limit in the future would become the amount specified in the most recently approved congressional budget resolution. Rejected 132-283: R 112-40; D 20-243 (ND 11-168; SD 9-75), Sept. 26, 1979.

465. HR 5369. Public Debt Limit. Passage of the bill to increase the public debt limit to $879 billion through May 31, 1980. Passed 219-198: R 5-146; D 214-52 (ND 155-26; SD 59-26), Sept. 26, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	462	463	464	465
ALABAMA				
1 ***Edwards***	N	N	N	N
2 ***Dickinson***	?	N	Y	N
3 Nichols	N	N	N	N
4 Bevill	N	N	N	Y
5 Flippo	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	N	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	N	N	N	N
ALASKA				
AL ***Young***	Y	N	Y	N
ARIZONA				
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	N	N
2 Udall	N	Y	N	Y
3 Stump	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS				
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Bethune***	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA				
1 Johnson	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	N	N	Y	N
3 Matsui	N	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	?	Y	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	Y	N	N
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	N	N
8 Dellums	N	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	N	Y	N	Y
10 Edwards	N	Y	N	Y
11 ***Royer***	N	Y	N	N
12 ***McCloskey***	N	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	N	Y	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	N	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	N	Y	N	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	N	Y	N	N
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	N	Y	N
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	N	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	N	N	Y	N
23 Beilenson	N	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	?	Y	?	Y
25 Roybal	N	Y	N	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	N	N	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	Y	N
28 Dixon	N	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	N	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	N	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	Y	N	Y
32 Anderson	N	N	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	N	N	Y	N
34 ***Lungren***	N	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	N	Y
37 ***Lewis***	N	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	N	Y	N	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	N	Y	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	N	N	Y	N
COLORADO				
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kramer***	N	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT				
1 Cotter	N	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	N	Y	N	Y
3 Giaimo	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***McKinney***	N	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	N	Y
6 Moffett	N	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE				
AL ***Evans***	Y	N	Y	N
FLORIDA				
1 Hutto	N	N	N	Y
2 Fuqua	N	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	N	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	N	N	N	N
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Young***	N	N	Y	N
7 Gibbons	?	Y	N	Y
8 Ireland	N	N	N	N
9 Nelson	N	N	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	N	N	Y	N
11 Mica	N	Y	N	Y
12 Stack	N	Y	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Pepper	N	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	N	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA				
1 Ginn	N	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	?	N	Y	N
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	N
8 Evans	N	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	N	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	N	N	N	N
HAWAII				
1 Heftel	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	N	Y	N	Y
IDAHO				
1 ***Symms***	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	Y	N
ILLINOIS				
1 Stewart	N	Y	N	Y
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	N	N	Y	N
7 Collins	N	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	N	Y
9 Yates	N	Y	N	Y
10 Mikva	?	Y	N	Y
11 Annunzio	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***McClory***	N	Y	Y	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	?	X
15 ***Corcoran***	-	N	Y	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	Y	Y	Y
17 ***O'Brien***	N	N	N	N
18 ***Michel***	Y	N	N	N
19 ***Railsback***	N	Y	N	N
20 ***Findley***	N	Y	N	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	N	Y	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	Y	N
23 Price	N	Y	N	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	Y
INDIANA				
1 Benjamin	N	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	N	Y	N	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Quayle***	N	N	N	N
5 ***Hillis***	N	N	Y	N
6 Evans	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Myers***	?	X	?	X
8 ***Deckard***	?	N	Y	N
9 Hamilton	N	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	N
IOWA				
1 ***Leach***	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Tauke***	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Grassley***	N	N	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	N	N
6 Bedell	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

	462	463	464	465
KANSAS				
1 ***Sebelius***	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Jeffries***	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	X
4 Glickman	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	Y	N
KENTUCKY				
1 Hubbard	N	N	N	N
2 Natcher	N	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	?	X	?	X
6 ***Hopkins***	N	N	Y	N
7 Perkins	N	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA				
1 ***Livingston***	N	N	Y	N
2 Boggs	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	X	?	?
4 Leach	N	N	Y	N
5 Huckaby	N	N	N	N
6 ***Moore***	N	N	N	N
7 Breaux	N	Y	N	N
8 Long	N	N	N	Y
MAINE				
1 ***Emery***	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Snowe***	N	N	N	N
MARYLAND				
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	Y	N
2 Long	N	Y	N	Y
3 Mikulski	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	N	Y	N
5 Spellman	N	Y	N	Y
6 Byron	N	N	N	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	N	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS				
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	N	N
2 Boland	N	Y	N	Y
3 Early	N	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	N	Y	N	Y
5 Shannon	N	Y	N	Y
6 Mavroules	N	Y	N	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill				
9 Moakley	N	Y	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	N	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	?	N	N	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN				
1 Conyers	N	Y	?	#
2 ***Pursell***	N	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	?	Y	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	N	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	N	Y	N
10 Albosta	N	Y	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	N	N	Y	N
12 Bonior	N	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	Y	?	#
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	N	Y	N	Y
16 Dingell	N	Y	N	Y
17 Brodhead	N	Y	N	Y
18 Blanchard	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA				
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	N	N
4 Vento	N	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	N	Y
6 Nolan	N	Y	?	#
7 ***Stangeland***	N	N	Y	N
8 Oberstar	N	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI				
1 Whitten	N	N	N	Y
2 Bowen	N	Y	N	N
3 Montgomery	N	N	N	N
4 ***Hinson***	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	?	N	Y	N
MISSOURI				
1 Clay	N	Y	N	Y
2 Young	N	Y	N	Y
3 Gephardt	N	Y	N	Y
4 Skelton	N	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Taylor***	N	N	Y	N
8 Ichord	N	N	Y	N
9 Volkmer	N	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	N	Y	N	Y
MONTANA				
1 Williams	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	N	N	Y	N
NEBRASKA				
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Smith***	N	N	Y	N
NEVADA				
AL Santini	N	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
1 D'Amours	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Cleveland***	N	N	Y	N
NEW JERSEY				
1 Florio	N	Y	N	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	N	N
3 Howard	N	Y	N	Y
4 Thompson	?	Y	N	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	N	Y	N	Y
8 Roe	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	#	?	#
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	N	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	N	N	N	N
14 Guarini	N	Y	N	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO				
1 ***Lujan***	N	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	N	N	Y	N
NEW YORK				
1 ***Carney***	N	N	Y	N
2 Downey	N	Y	N	Y
3 Ambro	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	?	Y	N	N
7 Addabbo	?	Y	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	N	Y
9 Ferraro	?	Y	N	Y
10 Biaggi	?	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Chisholm	?	Y	N	Y
13 Solarz	N	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	N	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	?	+	-	+
17 Murphy	N	Y	N	Y
18 ***Green***	N	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	N	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	N	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	N	Y	N	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	N	Y	N	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	Y	?	X
26 ***Gilman***	N	N	Y	N
27 McHugh	N	Y	N	Y
28 Stratton	N	N	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	N	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	Y	N	N	N
31 ***Mitchell***	N	N	Y	N
32 Hanley	N	#	-	#
33 ***Lee***	N	N	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	N	N	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	N	Y	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	N	N
39 Lundine	N	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
1 Jones	N	N	N	Y
2 Fountain	N	N	N	N
3 Whitley	N	N	N	Y
4 Andrews	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	N	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	N	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	?	?	?	?
8 Hefner	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	N	?
10 ***Broyhill***	N	N	N	N
11 Gudger	N	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA				
AL ***Andrews***	N	N	N	N
OHIO				
1 ***Gradison***	N	N	N	N
2 Luken	N	N	N	Y
3 Hall	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	N	N	N	N
7 ***Brown***	N	N	N	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	Y	N
9 Ashley	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Miller***	N	N	Y	N
11 ***Stanton***	N	Y	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	N	N	Y	N
13 Pease	N	Y	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	N	N	Y	N
16 ***Regula***	N	N	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	N	Y	N
18 Applegate	N	N	N	N
19 ***Williams***	N	N	Y	N
20 Oakar	N	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	N	Y
22 Vanik	N	Y	N	Y
23 Mottl	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA				
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	N	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	N	N	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	N	Y	N
6 English	N	N	N	N
OREGON				
1 AuCoin	N	Y	N	Y
2 Ullman	N	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	#	N	Y
4 Weaver	N	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA				
1 Myers	N	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	N	Y
3 Lederer	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	N	N
6 Yatron	N	N	Y	N
7 Edgar	N	Y	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	N	N	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	N	N	N
14 Moorhead	N	Y	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	N	N	N	N
16 ***Walker***	N	N	Y	N
17 Ertel	N	Y	N	N
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	N	N	Y	N
20 Gaydos	N	N	N	N
21 Bailey	N	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	N	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	N	N	N
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	N	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
1 St Germain	N	Y	N	Y
2 Beard	N	N	N	N
SOUTH CAROLINA				
1 Davis	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	N	Y	N
3 Derrick	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	N	N	N
5 Holland	N	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	N	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA				
1 Daschle	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	N	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE				
1 ***Quillen***	?	X	?	X
2 ***Duncan***	N	N	Y	N
3 Bouquard	N	Y	N	N
4 Gore	N	Y	N	Y
5 Boner	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	N	N
7 Jones	N	Y	N	N
8 Ford	N	Y	N	Y
TEXAS				
1 Hall	N	N	?	N
2 Wilson, C.	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	Y	N
4 Roberts	?	N	N	Y
5 Mattox	N	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	N	N	N	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	N	?	N	Y
9 Brooks	N	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	N	Y	N	Y
11 Leath	N	N	N	N
12 Wright	?	Y	N	Y
13 Hightower	N	N	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	N	N	N
16 White	N	N	N	Y
17 Stenholm	N	N	N	N
18 Leland	N	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	N	N	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	N	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	N	N	N	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	N	Y
UTAH				
1 McKay	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	N	Y	N
VERMONT				
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA				
1 ***Trible***	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	N	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	N	N	Y	N
8 Harris	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	N	N	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON				
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	N	Y	N	Y
3 Bonker	N	Y	N	Y
4 McCormack	N	Y	N	Y
5 Foley	N	Y	N	Y
6 Dicks	N	Y	N	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA				
1 Mollohan	N	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	N	N	N	Y
3 Slack	N	N	?	Y
4 Rahall	N	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN				
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	Y	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	N	Y	N
7 Obey	N	Y	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	N	Y	N
WYOMING				
AL ***Cheney***	N	N	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

466. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Derrick, D-S.C., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate and further amendment) on the rule (H Res 427) providing for House floor consideration of the budget resolution. Motion agreed to 289-119: R 44-108; D 245-11 (ND 172-6; SD 73-5), Sept. 27, 1979.

467. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Giaimo, D-Conn., substitute amendment to establish the following budget totals for fiscal 1980: budget authority, $631.8 billion; outlays, $548.2 billion; revenues, $519.3 billion; and deficit, $28.9 billion. Adopted 212-206: R 0-154; D 212-52 (ND 157-25; SD 55-27), Sept. 27, 1979.

468. S 210. Education Department. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to create a new cabinet-level Department of Education. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 215-201: R 30-124; D 185-77 (ND 122-57; SD 63-20), Sept. 27, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

469. HR 4394. HUD/Independent Agencies Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Stokes, D-Ohio, motion that the House recede from its disagreement with and concur in the Senate amendment to appropriate $3 million in fiscal 1980 for the livable cities program. Rejected 128-278: R 11-139; D 117-139 (ND 103-74; SD 14-65), Sept. 27, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

470. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Dickinson, R-Ala., amendment to merge Navy basic training for helicopter pilots with basic training for military helicopter pilots under Army control at Ft. Rucker, Ala. Rejected 131-244: R 101-36; D 30-208 (ND 21-141; SD 9-67), Sept. 27, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

471. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. White, D-Texas, amendment to add $10 million deleted by the committee for Army hospital operations. Adopted 217-147: R 64-68; D 153-79 (ND 88-71; SD 65-8), Sept. 27, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	466	467	468	469	470	471
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	N	N	Y	N	N	?
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	N	?	?	?
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Stump	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	N	N	N	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 *Bethune*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	?	?	#	?	X	?
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Royer*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	N	N	?	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	N	N	N	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	N	N	N	N	Y
28 Dixon	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
40 *Badham*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Kramer*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 *Young*	N	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 *Bafalis*	N	N	N	N	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	N	X	?
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	N	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	?	?	#	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Vacancy*						
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	N	N	N	N	N	?
13 *McClory*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
15 *Corcoran*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
17 *O'Brien*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
18 *Michel*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	N	N	N	N
20 *Findley*	Y	N	?	N	N	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
22 *Crane, D.*	N	N	N	N	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 *Myers*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	?	N	N	N	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Jacobs	N	N	N	N	N	Y
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 512, 513, 515, 516, 518, 519

	466	467	468	469	470	471
KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	N	N	N	N	?	?
2 ***Jeffries***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	N	N	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	N	N	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	?	X	?	?	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	N	?	?	?
4 Leach	N	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
6 ***Moore***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	N	N	N	N	N	N
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
3 Early	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	N	N	?	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 ***Davis***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	#	#	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	?	Y	Y	?	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	N	N	N	N	Y	?
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	Y	N	N	?
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
7 ***Stangeland***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Bowen	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	N	N	N	X	?
5 ***Lott***	N	N	N	N	N	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
5 Bolling	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	Y	N	?	?
3 ***Smith***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
2 ***Cleveland***	N	N	N	N	#	?
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	?	#	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Ambro	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	N	?	#	?
5 ***Wydler***	N	N	N	N	#	?
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	X	Y	N	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	?	?	X	?	?	?
17 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	N	N	N	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	N	N	N	N	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
35 ***Conable***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	X	Y	N	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
38 ***Kemp***	N	N	N	N	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	?	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Rose	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Hefner	?	?	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Martin***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
7 ***Brown***	N	N	N	N	?	?
8 ***Kindness***	N	N	N	N	#	?
9 Ashley	Y	Y	N	N	X	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	N	N	?	?
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	N	X	?
5 ***Edwards***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
6 English	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	N	N	?	N
4 Weaver	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
19 ***Goodling***	N	N	N	N	?	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	N	N	N	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	N	Y	Y	?	N	?
2 ***Spence***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	N	N	N	#	?
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	N	N	N	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	?	X	?	?	?	?
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Wilson, C.	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 Roberts	?	?	X	?	?	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Leath	N	N	N	N	N	?
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
14 Wyatt	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
16 White	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Marriott***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	N	N	N	N	Y	?
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	N	N	N	N	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	#	Y	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	?
6 ***Petri***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 ***Roth***	N	N	N	N	+	+
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	N	N	N	N	N
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y

**Abner J. Mikva, D-Ill., resigned Sept. 26, 1979. The last vote he was eligible for was CQ 465.*

Democrats ***Republicans***

472. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Addabbo, D-N.Y., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 337-2: R 122-1; D 215-1 (ND 144-1; SD 71-0), Sept. 28, 1979.

473. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Addabbo, D-N.Y., amendment to delete from the bill a prohibition on paying price differentials on Defense Department contracts — the so-called Maybank provision — in order to relieve economic dislocations. Rejected 174-187: R 47-83; D 127-104 (ND 124-33; SD 3-71), Sept. 28, 1979.

474. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the bill to appropriate $129,974,064,000 for programs of the Department of Defense in fiscal 1980. Passed 305-49: R 125-3; D 180-46 (ND 109-45; SD 71-1), Sept. 28, 1979. The president had requested $132,340,665,000.

475. S 737. Export Administration Act. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to extend through Sept. 30, 1983, government authority to control exports for national security or foreign policy reasons, or because of inadequate domestic supplies. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 321-19: R 104-15; D 217-4 (ND 148-2; SD 69-2), Sept. 28, 1979.

476. S 237. Magistrate Act. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to give federal magistrates expanded authority to handle jury and non-jury civil trials and criminal misdemeanors if the parties consent. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 273-38: R 88-19; D 185-19 (ND 123-10; SD 62-9), Sept. 28, 1979.

477. HR 2795. U. S. Travel Service. Passage of the bill to authorize $8 million in fiscal 1980 for the U.S. Travel Service and to reduce the number of its employees in the District of Columbia so not to exceed 40 percent of the total as of Dec. 31, 1978. Passed (thus clearing the bill for the president) 239-48: R 62-31; D 177-17 (ND 116-9; SD 61-8). Sept. 28, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

478. HR 3642. Emergency Medical Services. Passage of the bill to authorize $231 million for grants for emergency medical services and related activities for fiscal 1980-82. Passed 245-12: R 74-11; D 171-1 (ND 107-0; SD 64-1), Sept. 28, 1979.

479. HR 2859. Domestic Volunteers. Beilenson, D-Calif., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate and further amendments) on the rule (H Res 367) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to extend the authorization for domestic volunteer programs of ACTION. Rejected 16-235: R 3-78; D 13-157 (ND 9-98; SD 4-59), Sept. 28, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Udall	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	?	?
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 *Clausen*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
8 Dellums	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
9 Stark	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
11 *Royer*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
21 Corman	?	?	#	?	?	?	?	?
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
25 Roybal	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	?	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
28 Dixon	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
36 Brown	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
40 *Badham*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *McKinney*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	?	#	X	?	?	X	?	?
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ireland	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	-
10 *Bafalis*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Hansen*	?	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
7 Collins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
18 *Michel*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 *Hillis*	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Jeffries*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
3 *Winn*	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
4 *Snyder*	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 *Carter*	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Hopkins*	Y	N	Y	Y	+	+	+	-
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Moore*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
2 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Holt*	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
5 Spellman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
7 Mitchell	N	Y	N	Y	#	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	X	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
15 Ford	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Dingell	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Lott*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Young	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
4 Skelton	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 *Marlenee*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	N	Y	Y	+	+	+	-
2 Cavanaugh	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 *Smith*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
9 *Hollenbeck*	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
11 Minish	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 *Rinaldo*	?	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Runnels	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Lent*	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Wydler*	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Wolff	?	#	#	?	?	?	?	?
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	+
10 Biaggi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
14 Richmond	Y	#	X	?	?	?	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
18 *Green*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	?	?	X	?	?	#	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 *Fish*	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
35 *Conable*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
38 *Kemp*	Y	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
39 Lundine	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Rose	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Martin*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *Guyer*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 *Latta*	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 *Brown*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 *Kindness*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
12 *Devine*	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	?	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
15 *Wylie*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
21 Stokes	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 English	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Ullman	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Duncan	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
19 *Goodling*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 *Marks*	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Spence*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Duncan*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Beard*	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Collins*	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
4 Roberts	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Mattox	Y	N	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Archer*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Eckhardt	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Hance	?	X	#	?	?	?	?	?
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 *Loeffler*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
22 *Paul*	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Marriott*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Whitehurst*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Wampler*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
2 Swift	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Petri*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 *Roth*	+	-	+	+	+	+	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?

Democrats *Republicans*

480. HR 2859. Domestic Volunteers. Adoption of the rule (H Res 367), as amended, providing for House floor consideration of the bill to extend the authorization for domestic volunteer programs of ACTION. Adopted 236-15: R 67-14; D 169-1 (ND 106-1; SD 63-0), Sept. 28, 1979.

481. HR 2859. Domestic Volunteers. Simon, D-Ill., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill to extend the authorization for domestic volunteer programs of ACTION. Motion agreed to 214-28: R 52-24; D 162-4 (ND 101-2; SD 61-2), Sept. 28, 1979.

482. HR 2172. International Sugar Agreement/Price Supports. Adoption of the rule (H Res 393) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to implement the International Sugar Agreement and increase domestic price supports for sugar. Adopted 216-12: R 69-6; D 147-6 (ND 92-4; SD 55-2), Sept. 28, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	480	481	482
ALABAMA			
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	?	?	?
3 Nichols	Y	Y	?
4 Bevill	?	?	?
5 Flippo	?	?	?
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	?
ALASKA			
AL *Young*	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA			
1 *Rhodes*	?	?	?
2 Udall	?	?	?
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	?	?	?
ARKANSAS			
1 Alexander	?	?	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA			
1 Johnson	?	?	?
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	?	Y	Y
7 Miller	?	?	?
8 Dellums	?	?	?
9 Stark	?	?	?
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	?	?	?
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	?
17 *Pashayan*	?	?	?
18 *Thomas*	?	?	?
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	?	?	?
21 Corman	?	?	?
22 *Moorhead*	?	?	?
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	?	?	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	?	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?
32 Anderson	?	?	?
33 *Grisham*	?	?	?
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	?	?	?
36 Brown	N	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	?
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO			
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	P
4 *Johnson*	?	?	?
5 *Kramer*	?	?	?
CONNECTICUT			
1 Cotter	?	?	?
2 Dodd	?	?	?
3 Giaimo	?	?	?
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	?	?	?
DELAWARE			
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	?
FLORIDA			
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	?	?	?
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	?	?	?
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	?	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	?	?	?
9 Nelson	+	+	+
10 *Bafalis*	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	?	?	?
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y
15 Fascell	?	?	?
GEORGIA			
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	?	?	?
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	?	?	?
HAWAII			
1 Heftel	?	?	?
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO			
1 *Symms*	?	?	?
2 *Hansen*	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS			
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	?	?	?
3 Russo	?	?	?
4 *Derwinski*	N	N	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	?	?	?
7 Collins	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	?	?	?
9 Yates	?	Y	Y
10 Vacancy			
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	?	?	?
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	?	?	?
18 *Michel*	Y	N	Y
19 *Railsback*	?	?	?
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	?	?	?
23 Price	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA			
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	?	?	?
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	?	?	?
5 *Hillis*	?	?	?
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	N	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	?	Y
9 Hamilton	?	?	?
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y
IOWA			
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	N	Y
4 Smith	?	?	?
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	480	481	482
KANSAS			
1 *Sebelius*	?	?	?
2 *Jeffries*	Y	N	Y
3 *Winn*	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY			
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	?	?	?
4 *Snyder*	?	?	?
5 *Carter*	?	?	?
6 *Hopkins*	+	+	+
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA			
1 *Livingston*	?	?	?
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	?	?	?
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	?	?	?
8 Long	Y	Y	Y
MAINE			
1 *Emery*	?	?	?
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND			
1 *Bauman*	?	?	?
2 Long	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	?
4 *Holt*	?	?	?
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	?	?	?
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS			
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	?	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	?	?	?
8 O'Neill			
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	?	?	?
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	?
12 Studds	?	?	?
MICHIGAN			
1 Conyers	?	?	?
2 *Pursell*	?	?	?
3 Wolpe	?	?	?
4 *Stockman*	Y	?	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	?	?	?
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	?
9 *Vander Jagt*	?	?	?
10 Albosta	?	?	?
11 *Davis*	?	?	?
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	?	?	?
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	?	?	?
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	?	?	Y
MINNESOTA			
1 *Erdahl*	?	?	?
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y
3 *Frenzel*	Y	N	?
4 Vento	?	?	?
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	?
7 *Stangeland*	?	?	?
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI			
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	?
4 *Hinson*	?	?	?
5 *Lott*	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI			
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	?	?	?
3 Gephardt	?	?	?
4 Skelton	?	?	?
5 Bolling	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	?
7 *Taylor*	N	?	?
8 Ichord	?	?	?
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA			
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	?	?	?
NEBRASKA			
1 *Bereuter*	+	+	+
2 Cavanaugh	?	?	?
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA			
AL Santini	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
1 D'Amours	?	?	?
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY			
1 Florio	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	Y	N	N
7 Maguire	?	?	?
8 Roe	?	?	?
9 *Hollenbeck*	?	?	?
10 Rodino	?	?	?
11 Minish	?	?	?
12 *Rinaldo*	?	?	?
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO			
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK			
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	?	?	?
3 Ambro	Y	?	Y
4 *Lent*	?	?	?
5 *Wydler*	?	?	?
6 Wolff	?	?	?
7 Addabbo	?	?	?
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	+	+	+
10 Biaggi	?	?	?
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	?	?
13 Solarz	?	?	?
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	?	?	?
17 Murphy	?	?	?
18 *Green*	?	?	?
19 Rangel	Y	Y	?
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	?
23 Peyser	?	?	?
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	?
25 *Fish*	?	?	?
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	?	Y	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	?	?
31 *Mitchell*	?	?	?
32 Hanley	?	?	?
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y
34 *Horton*	?	?	?
35 *Conable*	?	?	?
36 LaFalce	?	?	?
37 Nowak	?	?	?
38 *Kemp*	?	?	?
39 Lundine	?	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA			
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	?
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	N	N	Y
10 *Broyhill*	N	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA			
AL *Andrews*	Y	N	Y
OHIO			
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	?	?	?
4 *Guyer*	?	?	?
5 *Latta*	?	?	?
6 *Harsha*	?	?	?
7 *Brown*	?	?	?
8 *Kindness*	?	?	?
9 Ashley	?	?	?
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y
11 *Stanton*	?	?	?
12 *Devine*	?	?	?
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	?	?	?
15 *Wylie*	?	?	?
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	?	?	?
18 Applegate	Y	?	Y
19 *Williams*	?	?	?
20 Oakar	?	?	?
21 Stokes	?	?	?
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	?	?	?
OKLAHOMA			
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	?	?	?
5 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y
OREGON			
1 AuCoin	?	?	?
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	?	Y
4 Weaver	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA			
1 Myers	Y	Y	?
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	?	?	?
6 Yatron	Y	Y	?
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	?
9 *Shuster*	?	?	?
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	?	?	?
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y
16 *Walker*	N	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	?
18 Walgren	?	?	?
19 *Goodling*	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	?
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	?	?	?
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND			
1 St Germain	?	?	?
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA			
1 Davis	?	?	?
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	?	?	?
5 Holland	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA			
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	?	?	?
TENNESSEE			
1 *Quillen*	?	?	?
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	?	?	?
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	?	?	?
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS			
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y
3 *Collins*	?	?	?
4 Roberts	?	?	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y	?
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	N	?
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	?	?	?
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	?	?	?
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	?	?	?
22 *Paul*	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y
UTAH			
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	?	?	?
VERMONT			
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA			
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	?	?	?
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	N
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	?
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON			
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	?	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA			
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	?	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN			
1 Aspin	Y	Y	?
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	?	?	?
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	N	Y
WYOMING			
AL *Cheney*	?	?	?

Democrats *Republicans*

483. HR 5224. Fringe Benefit Regulations. Rostenkowski, D-Ill., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to prohibit the Treasury Department from issuing final regulations governing taxation of fringe benefits or commuting expenses until June 1, 1981, and to extend a special rule for taxation of state legislators' travel expenses until Jan. 1, 1981. Motion agreed to 347-14: R 121-0; D 226-14 (ND 154-10; SD 72-4), Oct. 9, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (259 in this case, with 27 voting present) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

484. HR 3777. Congressional Frank. Udall, D-Ariz., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to amend the United States Code to limit the use of the congressional frank, a privilege permitting members of Congress to send official mail free of charge. (The bill was intended to write into law restrictions that already were in congressional rules.) Motion agreed to 319-68: R 112-25; D 207-43 (ND 146-24; SD 61-19), Oct. 9, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (258 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

485. HR 3949. Public Notice of Tire Defects. Scheuer, D-N.Y., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to require tire manufacturers in certain circumstances to provide public notice of tire defects. Motion agreed to 380-9: R 128-7; D 252-2 (ND 171-1; SD 81-1), Oct. 9, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (260 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

486. HR 5048. Manassas National Battlefield Park. P. Burton, D-Calif., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize $20 million for acquisition of 1,715 acres of Civil War historical sites to be added to the existing Manassas National Battlefield Park in Virginia. Motion agreed to 349-39: R 115-26; D 234-13 (ND 159-8; SD 75-5), Oct. 9, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (259 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

487. H J Res 413. Labor-HEW Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980/Abortion. Dicks, D-Wash., amendment to prohibit use of federal funds for abortion except where the life of the mother would be endangered, or in cases of reported rape or incest, or where two physicians certified that the continued pregnancy would cause severe and long-lasting physical damage to the mother. (This language would have replaced stricter anti-abortion language in the bill allowing federal funding of abortions only when that was necessary to save the life of the mother.) Rejected 162-234: R 26-116; D 136-118 (ND 100-73; SD 36-45), Oct. 9, 1979.

488. HR 2859. Domestic Volunteers. Edwards, R-Okla., amendment to delete authority for the ACTION "national grant" program. Rejected 177-209: R 131-7; D 46-202 (ND 23-149; SD 23-53), Oct. 9, 1979.

489. HR 2859. Domestic Volunteers. Kramer, R-Colo., amendment to allow local elected officials to veto VISTA projects within their jurisdictions. Adopted 229-178: R 146-1; D 83-177 (ND 31-145; SD 52-32), Oct. 10, 1979.

490. HR 2859. Domestic Volunteers. Passage of the bill to extend the authorization for domestic volunteer programs of the ACTION agency. Passed 307-106: R 82-72; D 225-34 (ND 165-10; SD 60-24), Oct. 10, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	C	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Fazio	C	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Stark	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 *Royer*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Mineta	?	?	?	?	#	?	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Waxman	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	?
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	C	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	#	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	C	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	?	?	?	?	X	?	Y	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
8 Ireland	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	N	N	+	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	N	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	?	?	?	?	#	?	X	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Brademas	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 540, 541

	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Jeffries*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Winn*	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
6 *Hopkins*	C	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	C	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Mavroules	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Pursell*	C	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Stockman*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
10 Albosta	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 *Davis*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	?	?	?	?	X	?	X	?
13 Diggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	?
5 Sabo	C	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
4 Skelton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	#	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Forsythe*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Maguire	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	?	?	?	?	#	?	N	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y
18 *Green*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Weiss	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	?	?	?	?	N	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	C	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
33 *Lee*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Neal	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Hall	C	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
8 *Kindness*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	?	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
19 *Goodling*	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	Y
20 Gaydos	C	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	C	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	X	?
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	?	?	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Campbell*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Boner	C	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	C	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 Hance	C	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y.	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Petri*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 *Roth*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

491. HR 2061. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Extension. Volkmer, D-Mo., amendment to provide for LEAA funds to small communities to purchase equipment up to $1,000. Rejected 181-224: R 88-63; D 93-161 (ND 38-134; SD 55-27), Oct. 10, 1979.

492. HR 2061. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Extension. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, amendment to delete authorization for the proposed Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics, an office to oversee the LEAA and two new agencies. Adopted 237-169: R 136-15; D 101-154 (ND 49-125; SD 52-29), Oct. 10, 1979.

493. Procedural Motion. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, motion to approve the House *Journal* for Wednesday, Oct. 10, 1979. Motion agreed to 358-6: R 136-3; D 222-3 (ND 149-2; SD 73-1), Oct. 11, 1979.

494. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Fuqua, D-Fla., motion to resolve into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 376-4: R 134-3; D 242-1 (ND 162-1; SD 80-0), Oct. 11, 1979.

495. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Moffett, D-Conn., amendment to prohibit use of funds appropriated by the bill for expenditures related to lifting price controls on certain types of domestic crude oil. Rejected 135-257: R 7-137; D 128-120 (ND 119-53; SD 9-67), Oct. 11, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

496. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Kostmayer, D-Pa., amendment to restore price controls on heating oil and diesel fuel by restricting the profit margin allowed to refineries. Rejected 124-243: R 8-123; D 116-120 (ND 107-54; SD 9-66), Oct. 11, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	491	492	493	494	495	496
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 Bevill	Y	Y	?	?	?	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	Y	?	?	?	N	?
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Udall	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	P	Y	N	N
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Clausen*	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *McCloskey*	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
13 Mineta	N	N	P	Y	N	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 Panetta	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
21 Corman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	N	N	?	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	Y	Y	?	N	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
28 Dixon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	N	N	?	?	?	?
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	N	N	N
36 Brown	N	N	?	Y	N	?
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
40 *Badham*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?	?	?	?
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kramer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	N	?	?	N	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
5 Ratchford	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
8 Ireland	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 Stack	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
15 Fascell	?	?	?	?	?	?
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Akaka	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	N	N	?	Y	Y	#
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fary	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Collins	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 Yates	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy						
11 Annunzio	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	N	Y	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	N	N	Y	?	N	N
14 *Erlenborn*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
15 *Corcoran*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 *Michel*	N	N	Y	Y	X	X
19 *Railsback*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Findley*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 *Madigan*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Price	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	N	N	Y	?	Y	N
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Hillis*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Bedell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 543, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549

	491	492	493	494	495	496
KANSAS						
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Winn*	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Mazzoli	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	#
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA						
1 *Livingston*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	N	N	Y	Y	X	X
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	N	N
4 Leach	Y	?	?	?	X	X
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Long	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
MAINE						
1 *Emery*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND						
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Long	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	?	?	Y	#
6 Byron	Y	Y	?	?	N	N
7 Mitchell	N	N	?	?	Y	Y
8 Barnes	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 *Conte*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Sawyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Carr	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Kildee	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
12 Bonior	?	?	?	?	#	?
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	N	N	?	Y	N	N
15 Ford	N	N	?	?	Y	N
16 Dingell	N	?	Y	Y	N	N
17 Brodhead	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
19 *Broomfield*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
MINNESOTA						
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Frenzel*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	#	?
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	N	?	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Burlison	Y	N	?	Y	N	N
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA						
1 *Bereuter*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	N	N	?	?	#	#
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Forsythe*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Maguire	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	P	Y	?	?
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	N	N	Y	?	Y	?
11 Minish	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
NEW MEXICO						
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK						
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Downey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	N	N	?	?	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
7 Addabbo	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
9 Ferraro	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
13 Solarz	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
16 Holtzman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
18 *Green*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
20 Weiss	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	?	N	Y	Y	N	N
26 *Gilman*	N	Y	Y	Y	#	+
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
29 *Solomon*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
31 *Mitchell*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 *Horton*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
35 *Conable*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	N	N	?	?	Y	Y
37 Nowak	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
39 Lundine	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Andrews	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Neal	N	Y	P	Y	N	N
6 Preyer	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Rose	N	N	?	Y	N	N
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Martin*	Y	?	?	?	?	?
10 *Broyhill*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Gudger	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO						
1 *Gradison*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 *Latta*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 *Brown*	?	?	?	Y	N	N
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	N	N	?	Y	N	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Stanton*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *Devine*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Pease	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Regula*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
19 *Williams*	N	Y	?	?	N	N
20 Oakar	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	N	N	?	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	?	N	Y	Y	?	?
3 Duncan	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	N	Y	?	Y	?
3 Lederer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	N	N	P	Y	Y	Y
9 *Shuster*	N	Y	Y	Y	X	?
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 *Coughlin*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
14 Moorhead	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	?	N	?
17 Ertel	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Walgren	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 *Clinger*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
24 *Marks*	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	?	?	?	?	#	?
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE						
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Gore	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ford	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
2 Wilson,C.	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Collins*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 Mattox	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Wright	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
18 Leland	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Paul*	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Frost	?	?	Y	Y	X	?
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Marriott*	N	Y	?	?	?	N
VERMONT						
AL *Jeffords*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA						
1 *Trible*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Butler*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Harris	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON						
1 *Pritchard*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Foley	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Dicks	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	N	N	Y	Y	N	?
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Reuss	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Obey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING						
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats *Republicans*

497. Procedural Motion. Wright, D-Texas, motion to approve the House *Journal* of Thursday, Oct. 11, 1979. Motion agreed to 321-8: R 125-3; D 196-5 (ND 132-4; SD 64-1), Oct. 12, 1979.

498. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Courter, R-N.J., amendment to prohibit the use of funds to allocate or control the price of gasoline. Adopted 191-188: R 130-12 D 61-176 (ND 26-136; SD 35-40), Oct. 12, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

499. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Eckhardt, D-Texas, amendment, to the Gramm, D-Texas, amendment *(see vote 500, below)*, to authorize the president in an emergency to reimpose the gasoline allocation system and price controls. Rejected 182-191: R 13-124; D 169-67 (ND 134-26; SD 35-41), Oct. 12, 1979.

500. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Gramm, D-Texas, amendment to authorize the president in an emergency to allocate gasoline to agriculture and other priority users. Adopted 257-119: R 116-24; D 141-95 (ND 74-86; SD 67-9), Oct. 12, 1979.

501. HR 3916. Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Act. Adoption of the rule (H Res 307) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $221.5 million for alcohol abuse programs and $206 million for drug abuse programs in fiscal year 1980. Adopted 350-6: R 127-5; D 223-1; (ND 152-0; SD 71-1), Oct. 12, 1979.

502. HR 2061. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Extension. Gudger, D-N.C., motion to resolve the House into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill to extend and reorganize the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Motion agreed to 320-15: R 120-6; D 200-9 (ND 137-6; SD 63-3), Oct. 12, 1979.

503. HR 2061. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Extension. McClory, R-Ill., amendment to allow California to use previously awarded LEAA block grants to fund the 1980 Sixth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders. Rejected 127-203: R 19-103; D 108-100 (ND 87-57; SD 21-43), Oct. 12, 1979.

504. HR 2061. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Extension. Volkmer, D-Mo., amendment to allow use of formula grant funds to buy photographic and fingerprint equipment for law enforcement purposes. Rejected 149-174: R 60-62; D 89-112 (ND 55-83; SD 34-29), Oct. 12, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Buchanan*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 *McCloskey*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Panetta	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
36 Brown	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
40 *Badham*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Wirth	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Dodd	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Giaimo	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Fascell	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Mathis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	?	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Collins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 *Michel*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	?
23 Price	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N
4 *Quayle*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Deckard*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Bedell	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 550, 551, 553, 554, 555, 556, 558, 560

	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Winn*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Mazzoli	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
8 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mikulski	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
4 *Holt*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Spellman	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Early	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
10 *Heckler*	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Traxler	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
12 Bonior	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Dingell	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	?	N
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	N	?	N	?	Y	Y	?
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Hagedorn*	P	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	?	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
2 Young	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
4 Skelton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	P	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
10 Rodino	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
3 Ambro	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
12 Chisholm	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N
13 Solarz	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
15 Zeferetti	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	+	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Green*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31 *Mitchell*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
35 *Conable*	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
39 Lundine	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Fountain	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Andrews	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	P	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
9 *Martin*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Gudger	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
4 *Guyer*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Latta*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 *Brown*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	?
13 Pease	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
21 Stokes	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	+	-	-
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Edwards*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Duncan	?	Y	N	Y	?	?	N	?
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
10 *McDade*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
13 *Coughlin*	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
16 *Walker*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 *Marks*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Beard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Boner	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Ford	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Mattox	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Paul*	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Butler*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	?	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

505. HR 2061. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Extension. Sensenbrenner, R-Wis., amendment to delete authorization for a new national priority grant program that would be used to fund projects the LEAA determined had been successful and should be continued. Rejected 85-197: R 67-46; D 18-151 (ND 8-111; SD 10-40), Oct. 12, 1979.

506. HR 2061. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Extension. Sensenbrenner, R-Wis., amendment to delete the mini-block grant program, which provides qualified localities a share of LEAA formula grant funds allocated to a state. Rejected 40-246: R 0-86; D 40-160 (ND 33-115; SD 7-45), Oct. 12, 1979.

507. HR 2061. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Extension. Neal, D-N.C., amendment to extend coverage of the Public Safety Officers Death Benefits Act administered by the LEAA to rescue squad personnel. Adopted 180-99: R 63-48; D 117-51 (ND 72-45; SD 45-6), Oct. 12, 1979.

508. HR 2061. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Extension. Passage of the bill to create a National Institute of Justice and a Bureau of Justice Statistics to handle the research and statistical functions of the LEAA and authorize $800 million annually for fiscal 1980 through 1982 for the three agencies. Passed 220-54: R 85-27; D 135-27 (ND 94-20; SD 41-7), Oct. 12, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

509. HR 5288. Veterans' Education and Rehabilitation. Hefner, D-N.C., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to revise the vocational rehabilitation program for disabled veterans, to allow the Veterans' Administration to release information to private debt collection agencies, and to make changes in the administration of GI Bill educational benefits. Motion agreed to 405-1: R 150-1; D 255-0 (ND 173-0; SD 82-0), Oct. 16, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (272 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

510. HR 3173. Foreign Military Aid. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize $2.8 billion in foreign military aid programs for fiscal 1980. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 256-147: R 71-78; D 185-69 (ND 139-33; SD 46-36), Oct. 16, 1979.

511. HR 3033. Justice Department Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize $1.95 billion in fiscal 1980 for Justice Department and related agency programs. Passed 386-24: R 137-16; D 249-8 (ND 173-1; SD 76-7), Oct. 16, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

512. HR 3916. Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention. Passage of the bill to authorize $221.5 million for alcohol abuse programs and $206 million for drug abuse programs for fiscal year 1980. Passed 396-8: R 142-6; D 254-2 (ND 171-1; SD 83-1), Oct. 16, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	?
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	N	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	?	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
18 *Thomas*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
21 Corman	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
28 Dixon	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	?
29 Hawkins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y
32 Anderson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	?	?	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	N	N	?	?	N	Y
40 *Badham*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 *McKinney*	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	N	N	N	?	X	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	N	N	+	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Mica	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Fascell	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	#	+	-	-	Y	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	?	?	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y
10 Barnard	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	N	N	Y	N	?	?	?	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
9 Yates	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
13 *McClory*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	?	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
18 *Michel*	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
19 *Railsback*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Price	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 562, 564, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571

	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Natcher	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
5 Huckaby	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Long	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	X	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	N	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Barnes	N	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	N	N	N	?	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
10 Albosta	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?
14 Nedzi	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	?	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	?	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	N	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Maguire	N	N	N	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	N	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	#	?
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	N	N	Y	+	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Solarz	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	N	-	?	+	+	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
18 ***Green***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	N	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Fountain	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
5 Neal	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Preyer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Hefner	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Gudger	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	?	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
13 Pease	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	?	?
16 ***Regula***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Applegate	N	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Stokes	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
23 Mottl	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Synar	-	+	+	-	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Watkins	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
4 Steed	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	N	?	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
10 ***McDade***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
20 Gaydos	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
3 Bouquard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Jones	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	?	N	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
16 White	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N	N
23 Kazen	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	N	N	Y	Y	Y	#	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Slack	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Rahall	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	N	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Obey	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

513. S 832. Federal Election Campaign Act. Adoption of the rule (H Res 414) to allow consideration of the Obey, D-Wis., amendment *(see vote 515, below)* to the bill with a provision that only certain amendments to the amendment be considered. Adopted 228-182: R 22-131; D 206-51 (ND 159-14; SD 47-37), Oct. 17, 1979.

514. S 832. Federal Election Campaign Act. Thompson, D-N.J., amendment, to the Obey, D-Wis., amendment *(see vote 515, below)*, to prohibit extension of credit for direct mail solicitations and to limit to not more than 60 days the time for extension of credit by advertising firms and other companies that provide advertising services to candidates. Adopted 298-114: R 58-94; D 240-20 (ND 174-4; SD 66-16), Oct. 17, 1979.

515. S 832. Federal Election Campaign Act. Obey, D-Wis., amendment to 1) limit the amount a House candidate may receive from political action committees (PAC) during a two-year election cycle to $70,000 and to $85,000 if the candidate also faced a runoff election; 2) limit the amount a PAC could contribute to a House candidate to $6,000 for primary and general elections combined, and $9,000 for a primary, runoff and general election; and 3) prohibit a House candidate from using campaign funds to repay a personal loan of more than $35,000 from the candidate to his campaign. Adopted 217-198: R 29-124; D 188-74 (ND 152-26; SD 36-48), Oct. 17, 1979.

516. S 832. Federal Election Campaign Act. Campbell, R-S.C., motion to recommit the bill to the House Administration Committee with instructions to delete the provision limiting to $70,000 the amount a House candidate may receive from political action committees. Motion rejected 189-222: R 124-26; D 65-196 (ND 19-158; SD 46-38), Oct. 17, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	513	514	515	516
ALABAMA				
1 ***Edwards***	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	N	N	N	Y
3 Nichols	N	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	?	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	N	Y
ALASKA				
AL ***Young***	N	?	N	Y
ARIZONA				
1 ***Rhodes***	N	N	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Stump	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Rudd***	N	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS				
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Bethune***	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	N	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA				
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	N	N	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	N
11 ***Royer***	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	N	N	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	N
14 ***Shumway***	N	N	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	N
17 ***Pashayan***	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	N	N	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	N	Y	N
20 ***Goldwater***	N	N	N	Y
21 Corman	#	?	?	?
22 ***Moorhead***	N	N	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Rousselot***	N	N	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	N	N	N	Y
28 Dixon	?	?	?	?
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	N	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	N	N	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	N	N	N	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	?	Y	Y	N
37 ***Lewis***	N	N	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	N
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	N	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	N	N	N	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	N	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	N
43 ***Burgener***	N	N	N	Y
COLORADO				
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	?	Y	N	N
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kramer***	N	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT				
1 Cotter	N	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE				
AL ***Evans***	N	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA				
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Kelly***	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Young***	N	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ireland	N	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	N	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	?	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA				
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Mathis	N	N	N	Y
3 Brinkley	N	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fowler	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Gingrich***	N	N	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	N	Y
8 Evans	N	N	N	Y
9 Jenkins	N	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII				
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO				
1 ***Symms***	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Hansen***	N	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS				
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Derwinski***	N	N	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	N	N	N	Y
7 Collins	?	?	#	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Vacancy				
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	N	N	N	Y
13 ***McClory***	N	N	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	N	N	?
15 ***Corcoran***	N	N	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	Y	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	X	N	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	N	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	N
20 ***Findley***	N	N	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	N	Y	Y	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	N	N	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA				
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Quayle***	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	N	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	N	N	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	N	N	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA				
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Tauke***	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	N	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

	513	514	515	516
KANSAS				
1 ***Sebelius***	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	X	?	X	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY				
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA				
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	N	Y	N	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE				
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Snowe***	N	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND				
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	N	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	N	N	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	N	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS				
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill				
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN				
1 Conyers	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	N	N	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Traxler	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	N	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	N	N	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Diggs	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Dingell	N	Y	N	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	N	N	N	Y
MINNESOTA				
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	N	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	?	Y	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	N	N	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI				
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	N
2 Bowen	N	N	N	Y
3 Montgomery	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	N	N	Y
MISSOURI				
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	N	N	Y
8 Ichord	N	N	N	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	N	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA				
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA				
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	N	N	N	Y
NEVADA				
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	N	N	N	Y
NEW JERSEY				
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	N	N	N	Y
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	#	?	#	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	?	?	?	?
NEW MEXICO				
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	N	Y
NEW YORK				
1 ***Carney***	N	N	N	Y
2 Downey	?	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	N	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	?	?	#	?
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	#	?	#	?
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Garcia	?	?	#	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	N	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	N	N	N	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	N
33 ***Lee***	N	N	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	N	N	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA				
1 Jones	?	?	X	?
2 Fountain	N	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	N	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	X	N	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA				
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	N	Y
OHIO				
1 ***Gradison***	N	N	N	Y
2 Luken	N	N	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	?	X	?
7 ***Brown***	N	N	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	N	N	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N
10 ***Miller***	N	N	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	N	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	N	N	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	N	N	Y
18 Applegate	?	Y	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	N	Y	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA				
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	N	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON				
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Duncan	Y	Y	N	N
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA				
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	N	?	X	?
5 ***Schulze***	N	N	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	N	?	X	?
10 ***McDade***	N	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	N	?
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	N	N	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	N	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	N	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	N	N	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA				
1 Davis	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	N	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Campbell***	N	N	N	Y
5 Holland	N	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA				
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE				
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	N	N	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	N
TEXAS				
1 Hall	Y	N	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	N	N	N	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Leath	N	N	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Hightower	N	N	N	Y
14 Wyatt	N	N	N	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	N	Y
16 White	N	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	N	N	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	?	Y	N
19 Hance	N	N	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	N	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	N	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	N	Y
UTAH				
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	N	N	Y
VERMONT				
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA				
1 ***Trible***	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	N	N	Y
3 Satterfield	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	N	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	N	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	N	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	N	N	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON				
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA				
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN				
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	N	N	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	N	N	Y
WYOMING				
AL ***Cheney***	N	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

517. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Sharp, D-Ind., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 391-3: R 148-2; D 243-1 (ND 170-1; SD 73-0), Oct. 18, 1979.

518. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Lujan, R-N.M., amendment to require that the Energy Department, in its selection of nuclear waste disposal sites, give top priority to sites in states where existing disposal sites or nuclear test sites were located. Adopted 208-197: R 129-26; D 79-171 (ND 40-128; SD 39-43), Oct. 18, 1979.

519. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Fuqua, D-Fla., motion to end debate on the Kostmayer, D-Pa., amendment *(see vote 520, below)* at 5 p.m. Motion agreed to 252-133: R 35-112; D 217-21 (ND 144-15; SD 73-6), Oct. 18, 1979.

520. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Kostmayer, D-Pa., amendment, to the McCormack, D-Wash., substitute amendment to the Kostmayer amendment, to require that 12 percent of research and development contracts let by the Energy Department go to small businesses unless the secretary determined meeting that goal was impracticable. Adopted 220-168: R 52-96; D 168-72 (ND 128-34; SD 40-38), Oct. 18, 1979. (The McCormack substitute and original Kostmayer amendments were adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

521. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Fuqua, D-Fla., motion that all debate on the bill and amendments to it conclude in 15 minutes. Motion agreed to 267-107: R 47-95; D 220-12 (ND 151-6; SD 69-6), Oct. 18, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	517	518	519	520	521
ALABAMA					
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Nichols	P	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	?	?
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	?	?
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA					
AL ***Young***	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA					
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS					
1 Alexander	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA					
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	N	?	?	?
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y	?
8 Dellums	?	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	?	N	?	?	?
10 Edwards	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	N	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	?	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	Y	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	N	N	N
28 Dixon	?	?	?	?	?
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	N	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	N	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	N	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	?	?	?
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	N	N	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	Y	N	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
COLORADO					
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	?	?	?
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	?	N	N	N	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
CONNECTICUT					
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	Y	?
DELAWARE					
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
FLORIDA					
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ireland	?	Y	?	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA					
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Fowler	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Evans	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	?	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	?	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII					
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO					
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Hansen***	Y	Y	N	N	N
ILLINOIS					
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	?	?
3 Russo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Collins	?	?	?	?	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy					
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	Y	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	N	N	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	N	N	N	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	N	N	N
16 ***Anderson***	Y	Y	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	N	N	N	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	N	N	?
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 Price	Y	N	Y	N	Y
24 Simon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA					
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	?	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N	Y	N
IOWA					
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

	517	518	519	520	521
KANSAS					
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY					
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA					
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Boggs	Y	N	?	?	?
3 ***Treen***	?	Y	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MAINE					
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	N	N	N
MARYLAND					
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	?	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	?	N	P	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS					
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	?	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	Y	N	+	+	+
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	Y	?
8 O'Neill					
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	?	Y	N	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN					
1 Conyers	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	?	?	?
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	Y	N	N	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	?	?	Y	?	Y
16 Dingell	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
MINNESOTA					
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	?	N	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	N	Y	?
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI					
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
MISSOURI					
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	Y	N	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	?	?	?	?
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MONTANA					
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA					
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEVADA					
AL Santini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE					
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY					
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	?	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	X	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO					
1 ***Lujan***	?	Y	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
NEW YORK					
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y	?
3 Ambro	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	?	?	?
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	?	?	?	?
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	N	N	?
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	?	?	?
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y	?
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	N	N	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	N	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	?	Y	?	N	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	?	?	?
34 ***Horton***	Y	?	?	?	?
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	?	?	?
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	N	N	?
39 Lundine	Y	N	?	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA					
1 Jones	?	#	?	X	?
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	?	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	N	Y	N	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA					
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	N	N	N
OHIO					
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Ashley	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	?	N	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	?	?	?
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA					
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 ***Edwards***	?	Y	N	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON					
1 AuCoin	Y	N	?	?	?
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	?	?	N	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA					
1 Myers	Y	N	?	?	?
2 Gray	Y	N	?	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	N	N	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	N	N
RHODE ISLAND					
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA					
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	N	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA					
1 Daschie	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE					
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	?	?	?
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	?	N	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS					
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	?	?	?
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	Y	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	?	N	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	P
16 White	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	N	N	N
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH					
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VERMONT					
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
VIRGINIA					
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	?	Y	N	N	?
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Harris	?	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON					
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	?	?	?	?
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA					
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN					
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING					
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	N	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

522. Procedural Motion. Guyer, R-Ohio, motion to approve the House *Journal* of Thursday, Oct. 18, 1979. Motion agreed to 309-8: R 125-3; D 184-5 (ND 119-4; SD 65-1), Oct. 19, 1979.

523. HR 595. Strategic Materials Stockpile. Bennett, D-Fla., motion to close to the public, at such times as classifed national security information was under consideration, but to allow any member of Congress to attend any of the closed sessions, the House-Senate conference on the bill to authorize the General Services Administration to dispose of tin in the national and supplemental stockpiles. Motion agreed to 358-0: R 139-0; D 219-0 (ND 145-0; SD 74-0), Oct. 19, 1979.

524. HR 2218. Endangered Species Act. Adoption of the rule (H Res 417) providing for floor consideration of the bill to authorize fiscal 1980-82 funds to carry out the provisions of the Endangered Species Act. Adopted 320-9: R 126-1; D 194-8 (ND 129-6; SD 65-2), Oct. 19, 1979.

525. HR 3683. Consolidated Farm and Rural Development. Foley, D-Wash., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill to authorize lending levels for the Farmers Home Administration farm and rural development loan programs. Motion agreed to 298-3: R 119-0; D 179-3 (ND 117-2; SD 62-1), Oct. 19, 1979.

526. HR 4943. New York-New Jersey Port Authority Pact. Danielson, D-Calif., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to grant the consent of Congress, as provided by the Constitution, to the compact between New York and New Jersey providing for coordination and promotion of commerce in the Port of New York District by the financing of industrial development projects. Motion agreed to 412-0: R 152-0; D 260-0 (ND 180-0; SD 80-0), Oct. 23, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (276 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

527. S 1030. Emergency Energy Conservation. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to give states primary responsibility for energy conservation and to provide a reduced congressional role in approval of a standby gasoline rationing plan. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 301-112: R 71-82; D 230-30 (ND 157-20; SD 73-10), Oct. 23, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

528. HR 2172. International Sugar Agreement/Sugar Price Supports. Frenzel, R-Minn., amendment, to the Vanik, D-Ohio, amendment, to prohibit direct federal payments to sugar producers as part of a sugar price support program. Rejected 200-212: R 96-53; D 104-159 (ND 82-97; SD 22-62), Oct. 23, 1979. (The Vanik amendment, which was a technical one providing conforming language, was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

529. HR 2172. International Sugar Agreement/Sugar Price Supports. Passage of the bill to implement the International Sugar Agreement, mandate the use of import fees to support the domestic price of sugar at 15.8 cents a pound in 1979 (with up to 7 percent increases in 1980 and 1981), provide for up to a half-cent a pound federal payment to producers (with a limit of $50,000 per producer) and raise minimum wages for sugar field workers. Rejected 158-249: R 56-92; D 102-157 (ND 51-126; SD 51-31), Oct. 23, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Bevill	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 Flippo	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Buchanan*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
36 Brown	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Wirth	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ireland	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Pepper	?	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Mathis	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	?	Y	N	N	X	N	Y	N
8 Evans	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Collins	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	?
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	?
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
20 *Findley*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Simon	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	?	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591

	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Long	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Spellman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Byron	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
2 Boland	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 Early	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	P	Y	Y	N
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Carr	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Bonior	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
16 Dingell	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	?	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	?	?	?	Y	?	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	?
11 Minish	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***Courter***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
3 Ambro	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Biaggi	?	?	?	?	Y	?	N	N
11 Scheuer	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Chisholm	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
15 Zeferetti	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	?	+	+	+	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Murphy	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	?	#	Y	N	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
21 Garcia	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
33 ***Lee***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
37 Nowak	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
39 Lundine	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 Applegate	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	?	?	?	?	Y	N	?	?
20 Oakar	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Ullman	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Dougherty***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***Coughlin***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	P	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	N
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Derrick	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	?
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Pickle	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bonker	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	N
4 Rahall	?	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Zablocki	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

530. Procedural Motion. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, motion to approve the House *Journal* of Tuesday, Oct. 23, 1979. Motion agreed to 354-19: R 137-8; D 217-11 (ND 150-11; SD 67-0), Oct. 24, 1979.

531. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Peyser, D-N.Y., amendment to require the Energy Department to acquire and share with the public information on oil company activities. Adopted 264-143: R 66-86; D 198-57 (ND 154-25; SD 44-32), Oct. 24, 1979.

532. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Courter, R-N.J., amendment to prohibit the use of funds to allocate or control the price of gasoline. Rejected 189-225: R 128-23; D 61-202 (ND 23-159; SD 38-43), Oct. 24, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

533. HR 3000. Energy Department Authorization — Civilian Programs. Passage of the bill to authorize $6.6 billion for civilian programs of the Energy Department for fiscal 1980. Passed 263-150: R 52-98; D 211-52 (ND 149-33; SD 62-19), Oct. 24, 1979.

534. HR 3947. Military Construction. Passage of the bill to authorize $3.8 billion for military construction programs of the Defense Department for fiscal 1980. Passed 381-26: R 149-2; D 232-24 (ND 153-22; SD 79-2), Oct. 24, 1979.

535. HR 3683. Consolidated Farm and Rural Development. Madigan, R-Ill., amendment to authorize guaranteed farm loans at negotiated interest rates, to require farmers to seek a guaranteed loan for operating needs before seeking an insured loan, and to require written evidence that a loan applicant had been unable to obtain private credit elsewhere. Adopted 326-84: R 146-3; D 180-81 (ND 134-45; SD 46-36), Oct. 24, 1979.

536. HR 3683. Consolidated Farm and Rural Development. Passage of the bill to establish specific annual lending levels for the Farmers Home Administration farm and rural development loan programs in 1980-82. Passed 393-14: R 138-11; D 255-3 (ND 174-2; SD 81-1), Oct. 24, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	530	531	532	533	534	535	536
ALABAMA							
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA							
AL *Young*	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ARIZONA							
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	?	Y	N	N	X	N	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	Y	Y	#	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	Y	N	Y	?	N	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
40 *Badham*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE							
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Mathis	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO							
1 *Symms*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Vacancy							
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 *McClory*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	+	-	+	+	+	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
23 Price	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	+	+
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
IOWA							
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 592, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599

	530	531	532	533	534	535	536
KANSAS							
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	?	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MAINE							
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND							
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	?
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Dingell	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	?
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA							
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
4 Skelton	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA							
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Thompson	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	?	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	N	N	?	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO							
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Runnels	?	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y
NEW YORK							
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Chisholm	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	+	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
5 Neal	P	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Hefner	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO							
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 Beard	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS							
1 Hall	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
UTAH							
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT							
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 McCormack	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING							
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

537. H J Res 430. Urgent Supplemental Appropriations — Emergency Fuel Aid. Adoption of the rule (H Res 464) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to appropriate $1.35 billion in fiscal 1980 supplemental funds to help low-income people pay their fuel bills. Adopted 355-47: R 121-29; D 234-18 (ND 165-6; SD 69-12), Oct. 25, 1979.

538. H J Res 430. Urgent Supplemental Appropriations — Emergency Fuel Aid. Hughes, D-N.J., amendment, to the Green, R-N.Y., amendment, to allow payments to renters whose heat was supplied by electricity. Adopted 381-17: R 137-13; D 244-4 (ND 162-1; SD 82-3), Oct. 25, 1979. (The Green amendment, to direct states to provide assistance to people whose fuel costs came in the form of increased rents, was subsequently adopted by voice vote.)

539. H J Res 430. Urgent Supplemental Appropriations — Emergency Fuel Aid. Michel, R-Ill., amendment to distribute the entire $1.35 billion in the bill in the form of block grants to states, which would use the money to set up their own programs of fuel assistance to the poor. Rejected 183-207: R 136-11; D 47-196 (ND 15-149; SD 32-47), Oct. 25, 1979.

540. H J Res 430. Urgent Supplemental Appropriations — Emergency Fuel Aid. Passage of the joint resolution to make a $1.35 billion fiscal 1980 supplemental appropriation to help poor people pay their heating bills, to be distributed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Community Services Administration. Passed 290-105: R 90-59; D 200-46 (ND 158-6; SD 42-40), Oct. 25, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

541. HR 4955. Supplemental Refugee Assistance. Fascell, D-Fla., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill to authorize supplemental fiscal 1980 funds for refugee assistance. Motion agreed to 342-8: R 138-6; D 204-2 (ND 137-1; SD 67-1), Oct. 25, 1979.

542. HR 4955. Supplemental Refugee Assistance. Zablocki, D-Wis., amendment to add $30 million to provide emergency assistance, through international relief agencies, to relieve starvation in Cambodia. Adopted 362-10: R 135-6; D 227-4 (ND 155-2; SD 72-2), Oct. 25, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

543. HR 4955. Supplemental Refugee Assistance. Passage of the bill to authorize $207.3 million in fiscal 1980 and $203.6 million in fiscal 1981 for assistance to refugees, and $30 million in fiscal 1980 for emergency aid to relieve starvation in Cambodia. Passed 301-69: R 111-31; D 190-38 (ND 149-7; SD 41-31), Oct. 25, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	537	538	539	540	541	542	543
ALABAMA							
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	+	?	?	?
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
ALASKA							
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
ARIZONA							
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	N	?	?	X	?	?	X
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	X	?	?	?	?
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
32 Anderson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
DELAWARE							
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
5 ***Kelly***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?
15 Fascell	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
6 ***Gingrich***	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO							
1 ***Symms***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
2 ***Hansen***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy							
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	#	+	-	#	+	+	+
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA							
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606

	537	538	539	540	541	542	543
KANSAS							
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Jeffries***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
1 ***Livingston***	?	?	#	X	?	?	?
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	X	?	?	X	?	?	X
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Breaux	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE							
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND							
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Young	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Bolling	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA							
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
7 Maguire	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Roe	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
10 Rodino	Y	?	?	#	?	?	?
11 Minish	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
15 Patten	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW MEXICO							
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
NEW YORK							
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	#
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
4 Andrews	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO							
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	+	-	+	+	+	+
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS							
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
3 ***Collins***	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?
5 Mattox	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
10 Pickle	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	?	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N
17 Stenholm	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH							
1 McKay	X	?	?	X	?	?	?
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VERMONT							
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
5 Foley	?	?	?	#	?	?	#
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	+	+	-	+	+	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	?	#	?	?	?
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING							
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

544. HR 2313. Federal Trade Commission Authorization. Adoption of the rule (H Res 456) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize funds for the Federal Trade Commission and provide for congressional veto of commission regulations. Adopted 273-61: R 78-53; D 195-8 (ND 134-5; SD 61-3), Oct. 26, 1979.

545. HR 4167. Milk Price Support Act. Adoption of the rule (H Res 385) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to extend milk price supports at not less than 80 percent of parity through Sept. 30, 1981. Adopted 327-3: R 128-1; D 199-2 (ND 138-1; SD 61-1), Oct. 26, 1979.

546. HR 4387. Agriculture Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate $16,697,854,000 for fiscal 1980 programs of the Department of Agriculture and related agencies. Adopted 304-25: R 112-17; D 192-8 (ND 130-7; SD 62-1), Oct. 26, 1979. The president had requested $18,323,534,000 in new budget authority.

547. S 428. Defense Procurement. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize for fiscal 1980 an active duty military force of 2,051,700 and $41,390,500,000 for Department of Defense military procurement programs, including $27.8 billion for procurement, $13.5 billion for research and development and $106.8 million for civil defense. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 300-26: R 129-1; D 171-25 (ND 111-24; SD 60-1), Oct. 26, 1979.

548. HR 1885. Indian Bureau Employee Retirement. Passage of the bill to provide special civil service retirement preference to non-Indian employees of the Indian Affairs Bureau and Indian Health Service who had been adversely affected by federal policies that gave preference to Indians for positions and promotions in the two agencies. Passed 175-120: R 30-88; D 145-32 (ND 105-14; SD 40-18), Oct. 26, 1979.

549. Procedural Motion. Ashbrook, R-Ohio, motion to approve the House *Journal* of Monday, Oct. 29, 1979. Motion agreed to 370-10: R 138-6; D 232-4 (ND 160-4; SD 72-0), Oct. 30, 1979.

550. HR 4389. Labor-HEW Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Wright, D-Texas, motion that the House recede from its disagreement with and concur in the Senate position that would retain existing law for federally funded abortions, with an amendment to narrow existing guidelines to permit government-financed abortions only when required to save the mother's life or in cases of promptly reported rape or incest. Motion rejected 187-219: R 30-118; D 157-101 (ND 115-62; SD 42-39), Oct. 30, 1979.

551. HR 5472. Passenger Ship Industry Revitalization. Murphy, D-N.Y., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to revitalize the pleasure cruise industry by amending the Merchant Marine Acts of 1920 and 1930 to allow several passenger ships to carry a limited amount of freight. Motion agreed to 405-0: R 147-0; D 258-0 (ND 177-0; SD 81-0), Oct. 30, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (270 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
3 Nichols	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	?	?	X	X	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 *McCloskey*	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 *Thomas*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	#	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	X	?
21 Corman	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	+	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X	?
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	#	?
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
13 *McClory*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 *Anderson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	#	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 614, 615

	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Jeffries*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Winn*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Carter*	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
6 *Moore*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
3 Early	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	+	+	+	-	+	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	#	?
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 *Sawyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Frenzel*	N	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
4 *Hinson*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Lott*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Skelton	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Taylor*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	N	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	#	Y
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 *Forsythe*	N	Y	?	?	?	P	Y	Y
7 Maguire	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Minish	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 *Courter*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X	?
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Wydler*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	?	?	?	#	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
11 Scheuer	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
18 *Green*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	+	+	+	?	+	Y	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
32 Hanley	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
33 *Lee*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
35 *Conable*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?
36 LaFalce	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	#	?
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	P	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 *Kindness*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
12 *Devine*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 *Williams*	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
22 Vanik	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	[illegible]	Y	?	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Dougherty*	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	+	+	+	?	?	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 *McDade*	?	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
13 *Coughlin*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X	?
14 Moorhead	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 *Clinger*	N	Y	Y	Y	+	–	N	Y
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Jones	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 *Collins*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 *Archer*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?
9 Brooks	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
22 *Paul*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Butler*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	?	?	#	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

552. H J Res 341. **Milwaukee Railroad.** Adoption of the rule (H Res 439) providing for House floor consideration of the resolution to keep the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad's western lines in service for a limited time and give shippers and employees a chance to prepare a plan to take over the railroad. Adopted 373-33: R 123-25; D 250-8 (ND 173-4; SD 77-4), Oct. 30, 1979.

553. HR 4985. **Energy Mobilization Board.** Santini, D-Nev., amendment to the Commerce Committee version of the bill to delete the board's authority to waive state and local laws for a project designated a priority by the proposed Energy Mobilization Board. Adopted 415-1: R 151-1; D 264-0 (ND 182-0; SD 82-0), Oct. 31, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

554. HR 4985. **Energy Mobilization Board.** Corcoran, R-Ill., amendment to establish the Energy Mobilization Board within the Energy Department. Rejected 56-357: R 36-116: D 20-241 (ND 19-161; SD 1-80), Oct. 31, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	552	553	554
ALABAMA			
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N
ALASKA			
AL *Young*	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA			
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	Y	N
3 Stump	Y	Y	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS			
1 Alexander	Y	Y	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA			
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N
7 Miller	?	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	N
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	N
12 *McCloskey*	Y	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	N
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	N
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	?	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	N	Y	N
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	?
28 Dixon	Y	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	?	N
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	N
COLORADO			
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT			
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N
2 Dodd	Y	Y	N
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	?
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE			
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA			
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	N
6 *Young*	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	N
8 Ireland	?	Y	N
9 Nelson	Y	Y	N
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N
14 Pepper	Y	?	N
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N
GEORGIA			
1 Ginn	Y	Y	N
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	N	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	N
HAWAII			
1 Heftel	N	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N
IDAHO			
1 Symms	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS			
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	Y	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	?	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	?	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	N
10 Vacancy			
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	?	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	Y	N
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	N
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA			
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	N
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N
IOWA			
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	N
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

	552	553	554
KANSAS			
1 *Sebelius*	Y	Y	N
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y
3 *Winn*	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	N
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	N
KENTUCKY			
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	N
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	N
6 *Hopkins*	Y	?	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA			
1 *Livingston*	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N
3 *Treen*	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N
8 Long	Y	Y	N
MAINE			
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	N
2 *Snowe*	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND			
1 *Bauman*	N	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N
4 *Holt*	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	?	N
7 Mitchell	?	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS			
1 *Conte*	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	N
3 Early	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill			
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N
10 *Heckler*	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	N
MICHIGAN			
1 Conyers	Y	Y	?
2 *Pursell*	?	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	N
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	N
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	N
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	N
16 Dingell	N	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N
19 *Broomfield*	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA			
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	N
5 Sabo	?	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	Y	N
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI			
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	N
5 *Lott*	N	Y	N
MISSOURI			
1 Clay	Y	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	N
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	N
7 *Taylor*	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	N
MONTANA			
1 Williams	Y	Y	N
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA			
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	N
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	N
NEVADA			
AL Santini	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N
2 *Cleveland*	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY			
1 Florio	Y	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N
5 *Fenwick*	Y	Y	N
6 *Forsythe*	Y	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	N
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	N
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	N
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	N
NEW MEXICO			
1 *Lujan*	Y	Y	N
2 Runnels	N	Y	?
NEW YORK			
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	N
5 *Wydler*	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	Y	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	?	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	N
18 *Green*	C	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	N
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	N
30 *McEwen*	Y	Y	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	?	N
32 Hanley	Y	Y	N
33 *Lee*	Y	Y	N
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	N
35 *Conable*	?	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N
38 *Kemp*	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA			
1 Jones	?	?	?
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	Y	N
9 *Martin*	N	Y	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA			
AL *Andrews*	Y	Y	N
OHIO			
1 *Gradison*	Y	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	N
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	N
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	N
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	N
7 *Brown*	Y	Y	N
8 *Kindness*	N	Y	N
9 Ashley	Y	Y	N
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	N
12 *Devine*	N	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	N
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	N
17 *Ashbrook*	N	?	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA			
1 Jones	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	?	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	N
5 *Edwards*	Y	?	?
6 English	Y	Y	N
OREGON			
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	N
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N
3 Duncan	Y	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA			
1 Myers	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	N
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	?
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N
13 *Coughlin*	?	Y	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N
23 *Clinger*	Y	Y	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND			
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA			
1 Davis	Y	Y	N
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	N
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA			
1 Daschle	Y	Y	N
2 *Abdnor*	?	Y	N
TENNESSEE			
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	N	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	N
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	N
TEXAS			
1 Hall	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	N
3 *Collins*	N	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	N	Y	N
7 *Archer*	N	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	?	?
11 Leath	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	N
16 White	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	N	Y	N
18 Leland	?	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	N
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	N
22 *Paul*	N	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	Y	N
UTAH			
1 McKay	Y	Y	N
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	N
VERMONT			
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA			
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N
6 *Butler*	N	Y	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	N
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON			
1 *Pritchard*	Y	Y	N
2 Swift	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA			
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN			
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N
6 *Petri*	N	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	N
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	N
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	Y	Y
WYOMING			
AL *Cheney*	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

555. Procedural Motion. Symms, R-Idaho, motion to approve the House *Journal* of Wednesday, Oct. 31, 1979. Motion agreed to 355-12: R 137-5; D 218-7 (ND 145-7; SD 73-0), Nov. 1, 1979.

556. HR 4985. Energy Mobilization Board. Udall, D-Ariz., substitute to authorize the Energy Mobilization Board to waive only procedural laws and to authorize the president to act in place of federal, state or local agencies only after first taking the agency to court. Rejected 192-215: R 58-89; D 134-126 (ND 117-61; SD 17-65), Nov. 1, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

557. HR 4985. Energy Mobilization Board. Eckhardt, D-Texas, amendment to eliminate the authority of the Energy Mobilization Board to waive substantive laws. Rejected 153-250: R 27-121; D 126-129 (ND 112-63; SD 14-66), Nov. 1, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

558. HR 4985. Energy Mobilization Board. Passage of the bill to establish an Energy Mobilization Board to expedite construction of priority energy projects. Passed 299-107: R 107-43; D 192-64 (ND 116-60; SD 76-4), Nov. 1, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

559. HR 4904. Welfare Reform. Derrick, D-S.C., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate) on the rule (H Res 465) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to establish a national minimum for welfare benefits, require states to provide coverage to unemployed two-parent families with children, reduce state costs, and make administrative changes designed to reduce benefits to some recipients. Motion agreed to 209-177: R 1-139; D 208-38 (ND 153-14; SD 55-24), Nov. 1, 1979.

560. HR 4904. Welfare Reform. Adoption of the rule (H Res 465) providing for floor consideration of the bill to establish a national minimum for welfare benefits, require states to provide coverage to two-parent families with children, reduce state costs, and make administrative changes designed to reduce benefits to some recipients. Adopted 202-181: R 1-139; D 201-42 (ND 148-16; SD 53-26), Nov. 1, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	555	556	557	558	559	560
ALABAMA						
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Dickinson***	N	X	N	Y	N	N
3 Nichols	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
ALASKA						
AL ***Young***	?	N	?	Y	X	X
ARIZONA						
1 ***Rhodes***	?	?	?	?	X	?
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
12 ***McCloskey***	?	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	?	?	?	?	X	X
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	?	Y	Y	N	#	#
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	?	N	Y	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
DELAWARE						
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Young***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	N	?	Y	N	N
3 Brinkley	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Levitas	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	?	?	#	#
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 Barnard	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO						
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Hansen***	?	N	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	N	N	Y	#	#
3 Russo	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Fary	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Collins	Y	?	?	?	#	#
8 Rostenkowski	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Vacancy						
11 Annunzio	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
16 ***Anderson***	Y	#	#	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
18 ***Michel***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	?	N	Y	N	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
23 Price	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	?	Y	N	N	?	?
5 ***Hillis***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Evans	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	N	N	N
IOWA						
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Smith	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626

	555	556	557	558	559	560
KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	X	X
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Carter***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Boggs	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Huckaby	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Breaux	?	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Long	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Long	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	?	N	N	Y	N	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Markey	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neil						
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 Albosta	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	N	?	Y	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	X	?	?	X
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Montgomery	Y	?	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	N	Y	N	X
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	N	#	#
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Ichord	?	N	N	Y	N	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	P	N	N	N	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	?	#	#	?	?	#
11 Minish	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Runnels	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	?	N	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Wydler***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Wolff	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Addabbo	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	-	+	+	+
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	?	X	?	?	?	?
2 Fountain	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	?	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Neal	P	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Luken	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	N	N	X	X
18 Applegate	?	N	?	Y	?	?
19 ***Williams***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	N	#	#
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Steed	?	N	N	Y	Y	?
5 ***Edwards***	?	?	?	Y	N	N
6 English	Y	N	N	?	?	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	N	X	#	#	#
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	N	N	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	N	N	+	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
24 ***Marks***	?	N	N	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Holland	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	X
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
7 Jones	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	N	N	Y	N	N
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
12 Wright	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Marriott***	?	?	?	?	X	X
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
3 Satterfield	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	N	Y	X	?
10 Fisher	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Swift	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	Y	N	Y	Y	?
4 McCormack	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	N	N	Y	?	?
2 Staggers	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

561. Procedural Motion. Sensenbrenner, R-Wis., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Thursday, Nov. 1, 1979. Motion agreed to 269-10: R 104-7; D 165-3 (ND 112-3; SD 53-0), Nov. 2, 1979.

562. HR 5192. Higher Education Reauthorization. Petri, R-Wis., amendment to allow forgiveness of federal student loan program debts for former students who enlisted in the military, either for active duty or the reserves. Adopted 236-115: R 100-27; D 136-88 (ND 81-70; SD 55-18), Nov. 2, 1979.

563. HR 4007. Unemployment Insurance Loan Repayments. Adoption of the rule (H Res 363) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to provide an alternative method for repayment by states of federal unemployment insurance loans. Adopted 362-24: R 125-21; D 237-3 (ND 160-1; SD 77-2), Nov. 7, 1979.

564. HR 4007. Unemployment Insurance Loan Repayments. Passage of the bill to permit states with outstanding federal unemployment insurance loans to avoid automatic reductions in the federal tax credit for employers either by repaying the full amount of the loan, as provided under existing law, or by repaying out of state unemployment insurance funds the amount that would be collected if the tax credit reduction were to take place. Passed 402-1: R 148-0; D 254-1 (ND 174-1; SD 80-0), Nov. 7, 1979.

565. HR 4904. Welfare Reform. Jeffords, R-Vt., amendment to allow states to ask the Agriculture Department to provide cash, in lieu of food stamps, to households containing only persons aged 65 or older and who were not eligible for Supplemental Security Income payments. Adopted 406-2: R 148-1; D 258-1 (ND 178-0; SD 80-1), Nov. 7, 1979.

566. HR 4904. Welfare Reform. Archer, R-Texas, motion to recommit the bill to the Ways and Means Committee, with instructions to report it back with an amendment establishing a demonstration program providing eight states and three counties with block grants to run welfare programs according to their own design, and to allow all states to establish their own work requirements for welfare recipients, as long as they did not require work from parents who were caring for children under six years old, unless adequate day care was available. Motion rejected 200-205: R 148-0; D 52-205 (ND 12-165; SD 40-40), Nov. 7, 1979.

567. HR 4904. Welfare Reform. Passage of the bill to establish a national minimum welfare benefit, require states to provide coverage to unemployed two-parent families with children, reduce state costs, and make administrative changes designed to reduce benefits to some recipients. Passed 222-184: R 29-118; D 193-66 (ND 165-15; SD 28-51), Nov. 7, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

568. HR 5192. Higher Education Reauthorization. Passage of the bill to extend for fiscal years 1981 through 1985, the authorization for federal programs of assistance to higher education. Passed 385-15: R 136-10; D 249-5 (ND 177-1; SD 72-4), Nov. 7, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	?	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	#	?
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	?	?	?	?	?	#	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	P	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	?	?	Y	Y	?	X	#	?
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
25 Roybal	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	?	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	?	?	?	X	#	?
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
40 ***Badham***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wirth	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Kramer***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Chappell	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Kelly***	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 Nelson	+	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Fascell	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Mathis	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Evans	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Akaka	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	?	?	?	?	X	?
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	?	?	?	#	?	?
18 ***Michel***	Y	N	?	?	?	#	X	?
19 ***Railsback***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 ***Madigan***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	?	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 627, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635

	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	+	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Huckaby	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	?	?	?	#	X	?
5 Spellman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	#	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	N	+	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	N	?	?	?	X	#	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	?	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Dingell	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	?	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	P	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X	Y
2 Runnels	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	?	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
9 Ferraro	+	+	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	N	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	?	Y	Y	+	Y	N	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	#	X	?
2 Fountain	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Neal	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
18 Applegate	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Stokes	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Vanik	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Ullman	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Edgar	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	?	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Mattox	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
12 Wright	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
18 Leland	Y	?	?	?	?	X	#	?
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	?
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

569. S Con Res 36. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Giaimo, D-Conn., motion to approve binding fiscal 1980 budget levels recommended by Senate-House conferees, but excluding Senate reconciliation instructions that directed various committees to achieve $3.6 billion in spending cuts (the conference version of the resolution set the following budget levels: budget authority, $638 billion; outlays, $547.6 billion; revenues, $517.8 billion; and deficit, $29.8 billion). Motion agreed to 205-190: R 0-145; D 205-45 (ND 146-26; SD 59-19), Nov. 8, 1979.

570. HR 4167. Milk Price Supports. Passage of the bill to extend until Sept. 30, 1981, the requirement that the price of milk be supported at not less than 80 percent of parity (parity is an index designed to maintain farmer's buying power at the same level as the 1910-14 base period). Passed 310-64: R 110-29; D 200-35 (ND 133-30; SD 67-5), Nov. 8, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	569	570
ALABAMA		
1 ***Edwards***	N	?
2 ***Dickinson***	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	?
4 Bevill	?	?
5 Flippo	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	N	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y
ALASKA		
AL ***Young***	?	?
ARIZONA		
1 ***Rhodes***	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	?
3 Stump	N	Y
4 ***Rudd***	N	Y
ARKANSAS		
1 Alexander	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA		
1 Johnson	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	X	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	?
8 Dellums	N	N
9 Stark	N	?
10 Edwards	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	N	?
12 ***McCloskey***	N	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	?
16 Panetta	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	N	Y
18 ***Thomas***	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	N
20 ***Goldwater***	N	Y
21 Corman	Y	?
22 ***Moorhead***	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	N
24 Waxman	#	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	X	?
27 ***Dornan***	N	Y
28 Dixon	#	?
29 Hawkins	#	?
30 Danielson	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	N	?
35 Lloyd	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	N	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	N	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N
43 ***Burgener***	N	Y
COLORADO		
1 Schroeder	?	?
2 Wirth	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	N	N
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y
CONNECTICUT		
1 Cotter	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	N	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N
DELAWARE		
AL ***Evans***	N	Y
FLORIDA		
1 Hutto	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	N	N
6 ***Young***	N	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N
8 Ireland	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	?
15 Fascell	Y	N
GEORGIA		
1 Ginn	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	Y
3 Brinkley	N	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	N
8 Evans	?	?
9 Jenkins	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y
HAWAII		
1 Heftel	?	?
2 Akaka	Y	Y
IDAHO		
1 ***Symms***	?	?
2 ***Hansen***	N	N
ILLINOIS		
1 Stewart	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	N	N
5 Fary	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	N	N
7 Collins	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N
10 Vacancy		
11 Annunzio	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?
13 ***McClory***	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	N
15 ***Corcoran***	N	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	N	N
21 ***Madigan***	X	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	N
23 Price	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y
INDIANA		
1 Benjamin	N	Y
2 Fithian	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	?	Y
5 ***Hillis***	N	Y
6 Evans	N	Y
7 ***Myers***	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	N	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	N
IOWA		
1 ***Leach***	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

	569	570
KANSAS		
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	N	Y
4 Glickman	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y
KENTUCKY		
1 Hubbard	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y
LOUISIANA		
1 ***Livingston***	N	?
2 Boggs	#	?
3 ***Treen***	?	?
4 Leach	N	Y
5 Huckaby	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y
MAINE		
1 ***Emery***	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	X	?
MARYLAND		
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y
2 Long	Y	N
3 Mikulski	#	?
4 ***Holt***	X	?
5 Spellman	#	?
6 Byron	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS		
1 ***Conte***	N	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N
8 O'Neill		
9 Moakley	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	X	?
11 Donnelly	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	N
MICHIGAN		
1 Conyers	N	Y
2 ***Pursell***	N	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y
6 Carr	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	N	N
MINNESOTA		
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI		
1 Whitten	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	Y
MISSOURI		
1 Clay	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	?
8 Ichord	N	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y
MONTANA		
1 Williams	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y
NEBRASKA		
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	-	+
3 ***Smith***	N	Y
NEVADA		
AL Santini	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
1 D'Amours	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y
NEW JERSEY		
1 Florio	Y	N
2 Hughes	N	Y
3 Howard	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	-	-
6 ***Forsythe***	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	N
13 ***Courter***	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N
NEW MEXICO		
1 ***Lujan***	X	?
2 Runnels	X	?
NEW YORK		
1 ***Carney***	N	N
2 Downey	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	N	N
5 ***Wydler***	N	N
6 Wolff	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	#	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N
12 Chisholm	Y	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	#	?
17 Murphy	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	N	N
19 Rangel	#	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y
30 ***McEwen***	N	?
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	N	Y
36 LaFalce	?	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	N	N
39 Lundine	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA		
1 Jones	Y	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y
5 Neal	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA		
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y
OHIO		
1 ***Gradison***	N	?
2 Luken	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	N	?
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	N	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	N	N
16 ***Regula***	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	X	?
18 Applegate	N	Y
19 ***Williams***	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N
23 Mottl	N	N
OKLAHOMA		
1 Jones	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	+
3 Watkins	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y
OREGON		
1 AuCoin	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	?
3 Duncan	Y	?
4 Weaver	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA		
1 Myers	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	N	Y
11 Flood	#	?
12 Murtha	Y	?
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	?
15 ***Ritter***	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y
17 Ertel	N	Y
18 Walgren	N	?
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y
20 Gaydos	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND		
1 St Germain	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA		
1 Davis	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	?
SOUTH DAKOTA		
1 Daschle	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y
TENNESSEE		
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y
5 Boner	?	?
6 ***Beard***	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y
TEXAS		
1 Hall	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y
10 Pickle	N	?
11 Leath	?	?
12 Wright	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?
16 White	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	?	?
18 Leland	Y	Y
19 Hance	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y
UTAH		
1 McKay	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y
VERMONT		
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y
VIRGINIA		
1 ***Trible***	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	N	Y
10 Fisher	N	N
WASHINGTON		
1 ***Pritchard***	N	N
2 Swift	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	?
4 McCormack	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA		
1 Mollohan	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y
WISCONSIN		
1 Aspin	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y
WYOMING		
AL ***Cheney***	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

571. **HR 2335. Solar Power Satellite.** Adoption of the rule (H Res 458) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $25 million for additional research into the solar power satellite concept. Adopted 319-1: R 116-0; D 203-1 (ND 142-0; SD 61-1), Nov. 9, 1979.

572. **HR 2603. Energy Authorization - National Security Programs.** Passage of the bill to authorize $2,889,927,000 for nuclear weapons and energy projects of the Department of Energy in fiscal 1980. Passed 304-28: R 121-2; D 183-26 (ND 123-25; SD 60-1), Nov. 9, 1979.

573. **S 673. Energy Authorization - National Security Programs.** Price, D-Ill., motion to close to the public House-Senate conference meetings on the bill (S 673/HR 2603) when classified information was being considered, except that all members of Congress could attend at any time. Motion agreed to 325-0: R 121-0; D 204-0 (ND 143-0; SD 61-0), Nov. 9, 1979.

574. **HR 2335. Solar Power Satellite.** Fuqua, D-Fla., motion that the House resolve itself into the committee of the whole for consideration of the bill to authorize $25 million for additional research into the solar power satellite concept. Motion agreed to 311-13: R 115-5; D 196-8 (ND 136-7; SD 60-1), Nov. 9, 1979.

575. **HR 4930. Interior/Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980.** Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate $30,304,887,000 in fiscal 1980 for the Departments of Interior and Energy and related agencies. Adopted 271-46: R 87-29; D 184-17 (ND 131-8, SD 53-9), Nov. 9, 1979. The president had requested $30,079,538,000 in new budget authority.

576. **HR 4930. Interior/Energy Appropriations, Fiscal 1980.** Yates, D-Ill., motion that the House concur in a Senate amendment with an amendment to specify a formula weighted toward states with colder weather to be used to distribute $1.35 billion in fuel assistance funds for the poor. Motion agreed to 182-103: R 70-39; D 112-64 (ND 106-17, SD 6-47), Nov. 9, 1979.

577. **House Adjournment.** Brademas, D-Ind., motion that the House, at the close of business Nov. 9, adjourn until Tuesday, Nov. 13. Motion agreed to 161-89: R 30-70; D 131-19 (ND 97-8; SD 34-11), Nov. 9, 1979.

578. **HR 5461. Martin Luther King Jr. Birthday.** Garcia, D-N.Y., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to designate Jan. 15, Martin Luther King Jr.'s birth date, a legal public holiday. Motion rejected 252-133: R 39-101; D 213-32 (ND 156-15; SD 57-17), Nov. 13, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (257 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Nichols	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 Udall	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 *Rudd*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	+	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 *Clausen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
11 *Royer*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
12 *McCloskey*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 Coelho	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 *Goldwater*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
21 Corman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Waxman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
27 *Dornan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	P	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
29 Hawkins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
34 *Lungren*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
40 *Badham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
4 *Johnson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 Dodd	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	?	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
4 *McKinney*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
6 *Young*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
8 Ireland	Y	?	?	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	N	N	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	P	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 Mathis	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
8 Evans	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
20 *Findley*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	N
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 642, 643, 644, 645, 647, 648, 649, 651

	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578
KANSAS								
1 *Sebelius*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
2 *Jeffries*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 *Winn*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
4 Glickman	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	Y
5 *Whittaker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 *Snyder*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 *Carter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 *Livingston*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
2 Boggs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
3 *Treen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Huckaby	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	X
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 *Emery*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Snowe*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
MARYLAND								
1 *Bauman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 *Holt*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
5 Spellman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Mitchell	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 *uConte*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Early	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
2 *Pursell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
5 *Sawyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Carr	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
11 *Davis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	Y	?	?	?	Y	?	Y
14 Nedzi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
15 Ford	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 *Erdahl*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 *Frenzel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
2 Bowen	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 *Hinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 *Lott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 Skelton	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
6 *Coleman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 *Taylor*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	?	Y
2 *Marlenee*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Cleveland*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
5 *Fenwick*	?	+	?	?	+	+	?	+
6 *Forsythe*	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Maguire	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Courter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 *Lujan*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
2 Runnels	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
NEW YORK								
1 *Carney*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Wydler*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	N	?	Y	Y	?	?	Y
13 Solarz	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
16 Holtzman	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	#
17 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
18 *Green*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	+	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 *Gilman*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 *Solomon*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 *McEwen*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
31 *Mitchell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
33 *Lee*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	X
34 *Horton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 *Kemp*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	?	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
10 *Broyhill*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL *Andrews*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
OHIO								
1 *Gradison*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Guyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Latta*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?	N
6 *Harsha*	?	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	N
7 *Brown*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
8 *Kindness*	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?	N
9 Ashley	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
10 *Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 *Stanton*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	N
16 *Regula*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N
17 *Ashbrook*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	?	N
19 *Williams*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 Synar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Edwards*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Gray	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
7 Edgar	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	+
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 *Shuster*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
10 *McDade*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *Coughlin*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
15 *Ritter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
16 *Walker*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 *Clinger*	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	N
24 *Marks*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 *Spence*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 *Abdnor*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE								
1 *Quillen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 *Collins*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?	?
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
10 Pickle	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
11 Leath	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
12 Wright	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
22 *Paul*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N
2 *Marriott*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N
VERMONT								
AL *Jeffords*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 *Trible*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N	N
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Butler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 *Robinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
8 Harris	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Wampler*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 *Pritchard*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	#
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Baldus	+	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Roth*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	-
9 *Sensenbrenner*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
WYOMING								
AL *Cheney*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	N

Democrats *Republicans*

579. H Con Res 200. Baltic States and Soviet Union Citizenship Claims. Fithian, D-Ind., motion to suspend the rules and adopt the concurrent resolution expressing the opposition of Congress toward continued Soviet domination of the Baltic States, and directing the president to warn the Soviet Union against implementing a Soviet law which made citizenship claims on millions of U.S. citizens who were born in the United States or naturalized. Motion agreed to 390-0: R 142-0; D 248-0 (ND 172-0; SD 76-0), Nov. 13, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (260 in this case) is required for adoption of a resolution under suspension of the rules.

580. HR 5235. Military Health Services Pay. Nichols, D-Ala., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to revise special pay provisions for doctors, dentists and certain other health professionals in the uniformed services. Motion agreed to 377-10: R 139-2; D 238-8 (ND 164-7; SD 74-1), Nov. 13, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (259 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

581. HR 5359. Defense Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Addabbo, D-N.Y., motion to close to the public the House-Senate conference meetings on the bill to appropriate fiscal 1980 funds for the Defense Department when classified material was being discussed, except that all members of Congress could attend at any time. Motion agreed to 381-0: R 140-0; D 241-0 (ND 165-0; SD 76-0), Nov. 13, 1979.

582. H J Res 440. Continuing Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Bauman, R-Md., amendment to prohibit use of any funds provided in the resolution for military or economic aid to Iran. Adopted 379-0: R 133-0; D 246-0 (ND 171-0; SD 75-0), Nov. 13, 1979.

583. HR 2727. Meat Import Act. Adoption of the rule (H Res 454) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to revise the formula for determining annual meat import quotas. Adopted 372-5: R 132-2; D 240-3 (ND 167-3; SD 73-0), Nov. 13, 1979.

584. Procedural Motion. Thomas, R-Calif., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Tuesday, Nov. 13, 1979. Motion agreed to 332-14: R 112-7; D 220-7 (ND 150-7; SD 70-0), Nov. 14, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	579	580	581	582	583	584
ALABAMA						
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA						
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?
ARIZONA						
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
9 Stark	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
15 Coelho	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
20 ***Goldwater***	?	?	?	?	?	?
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 ***Johnson***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE						
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	?	?	?	?	?	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO						
1 ***Symms***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hansen***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy						
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	Y	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	?	?	?	?	?	Y
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IOWA						
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657

	579	580	581	582	583	584
KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	?	?	?	?	?	Y
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	?	?	?	?	?	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
13 Diggs	Y	Y	P	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	N	?	Y	Y	?
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	+	+	+	+	+	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	P
7 Maguire	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	?	?	?	?	?	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	P
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	?	?	?	?	?	?
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
38 ***Kemp***	?	?	?	?	?	?
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Fountain	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	?	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
20 Oakar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Gray	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	+	+	+	+	+	Y
8 Kostmayer	?	?	?	?	?	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	?	?	?	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	C	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	?	?	?	?	?	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Reuss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	+	+	+	+	+	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

585. HR 2727. Meat Import Act. Gradison, R-Ohio, amendment, to the Frenzel, R-Minn., amendment, to raise the minimum level of meat imports to 1.3 billion pounds, from 1.2 billion pounds. Rejected 136-266: R 31-113; D 105-153 (ND 96-83; SD 9-70), Nov. 14, 1979. (The Frenzel amendment, which raised the level to 1.25 billion pounds, was subsequently adopted by voice vote.)

586. HR 2727. Meat Import Act. Passage of the bill to revise the formula for determining annual meat import quotas, modify the president's discretionary authority to suspend or increase the quotas, and permit a minimum level of meat imports of 1.25 billion pounds. Passed 352-48: R 132-13; D 220-35 (ND 146-31; SD 74-4), Nov. 14, 1979.

587. HR 2063. Public Works and Economic Development. Adoption of the rule (H Res 474) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to amend and extend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. Adopted 382-10: R 133-8; D 249-2 (ND 174-0; SD 75-2), Nov. 14, 1979.

588. HR 2063. Public Works and Economic Development. Bauman, R-Md., amendment to delete sections of the bill relating to the regional development planning process, federal coordination of regional programs, state and substate planning, and technical assistance to regional development commissions by the secretary of commerce. Rejected 137-262: R 104-40; D 33-222 (ND 13-163; SD 20-59), Nov. 14, 1979.

589. HR 2063. Public Works and Economic Development. Snyder, R-Ky., motion to recommit the bill to the Public Works and Transportation Committee with instructions to delete language authorizing $2 billion for a standby local public works program, to take effect when the national unemployment rate exceeds 6.5 percent for at least a calendar quarter. Motion rejected 148-250: R 106-36; D 42-214 (ND 15-161; SD 27-53), Nov. 14, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

590. HR 2063. Public Works and Economic Development. Passage of the bill to extend public works and development financing programs for economically depressed areas for two years, through fiscal 1981; authorize regional development commissions to replace the existing system of regional action planning commissions; extend the Appalachian Regional Development Act; and establish a standby local public works program to be activated in periods of high unemployment. Passed 301-99: R 69-74; D 232-25 (ND 167-10; SD 65-15), Nov. 14, 1979.

591. HR 2313. Federal Trade Commission. Russo, D-Ill., amendment to prohibit the Federal Trade Commission from regulating the funeral home industry. Adopted 223-147: R 115-14; D 108-133 (ND 46-118; SD 62-15), Nov. 14, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	585	586	587	588	589	590	591
ALABAMA							
1 ***Edwards***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA							
AL ***Young***	N	Y	?	#	?	?	?
ARIZONA							
1 ***Rhodes***	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Rudd***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 ***Royer***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
12 ***McCloskey***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
13 Mineta	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
17 ***Pashayan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 ***Thomas***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
21 Corman	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
22 ***Moorhead***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
26 ***Rousselot***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
27 ***Dornan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	N	X	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	X	N	Y	N
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
37 ***Lewis***	N	Y	Y	X	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
40 ***Badham***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	?	?	Y	N	N	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
43 ***Burgener***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Wirth	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Johnson***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE							
AL ***Evans***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Chappell	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Young***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Ireland	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
11 Mica	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	?	+	?	N	N	Y	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
IDAHO							
1 ***Symms***	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hansen***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
3 Russo	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Vacancy							
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?	?	#	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Railsback***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	?	?	?	Y	N	?	Y
21 ***Madigan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Price	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Quayle***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 ***Hillis***	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IOWA							
1 ***Leach***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Tauke***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
6 Bedell	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 659, 660, 661, 663, 664, 665, 666

	585	586	587	588	589	590	591
KANSAS							
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	#	#	?	?
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA							
1 ***Livingston***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	?	?	?	#	?	?	#
8 Long	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MAINE							
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	C
MARYLAND							
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
4 ***Holt***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
3 Wolpe	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	Y	X	#	?	?
6 Carr	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	C
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	Y	?	?	X	X	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 Ford	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
16 Dingell	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	?
17 Brodhead	Y	?	Y	X	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA							
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Young	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA							
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	+	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO							
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	X	Y	N	?
NEW YORK							
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	X	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Chisholm	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	N	-	+	N
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	Y	N	X	?	X
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y
32 Hanley	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	C
33 ***Lee***	?	?	?	#	#	?	?
34 ***Horton***	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	P
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	#	?	?	?
39 Lundine	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	?	?	?	X	X	?	#
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Preyer	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO							
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Hall	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	?	?	?	#	#	?	?
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Ullman	N	Y	Y	X	N	Y	N
3 Duncan	N	Y	Y	N	?	?	N
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	?
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Edgar	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
18 Walgren	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Beard	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Boner	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
7 Jones	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	N	Y	Y	X	N	Y	P
TEXAS							
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Gramm	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
UTAH							
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y	Y	#	#	?	?
VERMONT							
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	?	?	?	N	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON							
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	X
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	?	?	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Obey	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	?
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WYOMING							
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

592. HR 2626. Hospital Cost Control. Adoption of the rule (H Res 486) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to establish a standby program of mandatory federal controls on hospital revenues. (The rule provided for consideration of two similar bills, reported by the Ways and Means and Commerce committees, and of a substitute amendment to the Commerce bill.) Adopted 259-129: R 35-105; D 224-24 (ND 159-10; SD 65-14), Nov. 15, 1979.

593. HR 2626. Hospital Cost Control. Gephardt, D-Mo. substitute amendment, to the Commerce Committee substitute, to establish for three years a national study commission on hospital costs, and to authorize $10 million in fiscal 1980 and sums as needed for fiscal 1981-82 to state hospital cost control programs. Adopted 234-166: R 135-8; D 99-158 (ND 43-137; SD 56-21), Nov. 15, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. (The Commerce Committee substitute, as amended by Gephardt, was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

594. HR 2626. Hospital Cost Control. Passage of the bill to create a national study commission on hospital costs, and to authorize $10 million in fiscal 1980 and such sums as needed in fiscal 1981-82 for grants to state hospital cost control programs. Passed 321-75: R 91-50; D 230-25 (ND 166-12; SD 64-13), Nov. 15, 1979.

595. HR 4440. Transportation Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Duncan, D-Ore., motion to insist on the House appropriation of $463,887,000 million for operation of the Panama Canal in fiscal 1980, rather than the Senate figure of $511,427,000. Motion agreed to 366-10: R 133-0; D 233-10 (ND 164-8; SD 69-2), Nov. 15, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	592	593	594	595
ALABAMA				
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA				
AL *Young*	?	?	#	?
ARIZONA				
1 *Rhodes*	N	?	?	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	?	#	?	?
ARKANSAS				
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA				
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	N	+	?
5 Burton, J.	?	N	Y	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	N	Y	N
9 Stark	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	N	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	N	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	N	N	Y	?
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	?	?	?	?
16 Panetta	Y	N	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	N	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	N	Y	X	?
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	N	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	?
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	N	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	Y
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	N	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	N	Y
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	#	?
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	N	Y
40 *Badham*	N	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	Y	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO				
1 Schroeder	?	?	?	?
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	N	Y	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	?	?	X	?
CONNECTICUT				
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Dodd	?	N	N	Y
3 Giaimo	?	N	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	N	Y
DELAWARE				
AL *Evans*	N	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA				
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	N	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	N	Y	?
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA				
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	N	Y	N	Y
7 McDonald	N	Y	N	?
8 Evans	N	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII				
1 Heftel	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO				
1 *Symms*	?	Y	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS				
1 Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	Y	X	?	?
6 *Hyde*	Y	#	?	?
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Vacancy				
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	X	?
13 *McClory*	N	Y	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	N	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	#	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	N	Y	N	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	N	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	N	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	N	Y
23 Price	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA				
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	?	?
5 *Hillis*	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	N	N	Y
IOWA				
1 *Leach*	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	N	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	592	593	594	595
KANSAS				
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	#	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY				
1 Hubbard	Y	N	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	?
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y
LOUISIANA				
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	?	#	?	?
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE				
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND				
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	N	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS				
1 ***Conte***	?	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	X	?	?
7 Markey	?	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill				
9 Moakley	Y	N	?	Y
10 ***Heckler***	?	N	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN				
1 Conyers	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	N	?
5 ***Sawyer***	?	?	#	?
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	N	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	N	?
MINNESOTA				
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Nolan	?	N	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	-	+	+
MISSISSIPPI				
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI				
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	N	Y	?
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	Y
MONTANA				
1 Williams	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA				
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA				
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY				
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	+	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	N	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO				
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	?	Y	N	?
NEW YORK				
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	?	N	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	X	?	?
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	N	Y	?
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	?	?	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	Y	N	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Lee***	?	?	X	?
34 ***Horton***	N	N	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	N	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	?	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA				
1 Jones	?	?	?	?
2 Fountain	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	?	?	?	?
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	N	?
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA				
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	Y	Y
OHIO				
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	N	?	?	?
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	N	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	?	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA				
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	Y	Y	?
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON				
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA				
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Gray	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	#	X	?
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	?	N	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	?	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	?	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND				
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA				
1 Davis	Y	N	N	?
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	N	Y	N	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	N	N	?
SOUTH DAKOTA				
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE				
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	?
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	Y	?
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	X	?	?
TEXAS				
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	Y	#	?	?
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	?	?	#	?
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	N	Y	N	?
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH				
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	?	?	X	?
VERMONT				
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA				
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	N	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	?
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	Y
WASHINGTON				
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	N	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA				
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	Y
WISCONSIN				
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING				
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

596. HR 2440. Airport and Airway Development Act. Harsha, R-Ohio, motion to instruct House members to the House-Senate conference to agree to the Senate amendment to restrict solicitation by individuals and groups at airports. Motion agreed to 247-106: R 102-29; D 145-77 (ND 82-72; SD 63-5), Nov. 16, 1979.

597. HR 4391. Military Construction Appropriations, Fiscal 1980. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate $3,770,152,000 for military construction projects in fiscal 1980. Adopted 318-33: R 126-4; D 192-29 (ND 124-29; SD 68-0), Nov. 16, 1979. The president had requested $3,872,061,000 in new budget authority.

598. HR 2335. Solar Power Satellite. Passage of the bill to authorize $25 million for additional research into the solar power satellite concept. Passed 201-146: R 86-42; D 115-104 (ND 61-91; SD 54-13), Nov. 16, 1979.

599. S 1319. Military Construction Authorization. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize $3,838,846,000 for military construction projects in fiscal 1980. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 306-33: R 120-5; D 186-28 (ND 121-28; SD 65-0), Nov. 16, 1979.

600. HR 3994. Solid and Hazardous Waste Disposal. Adoption of the rule (H Res 473) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize $156.5 million in fiscal 1980 for the Environmental Protection Agency for hazardous waste disposal management, development and implementation of solid waste plans and rural community assistance programs. Adopted 333-0: R 128-0; D 205-0 (ND 141-0; SD 64-0), Nov. 16, 1979.

601. HR 3546. Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act. Adoption of the rule (H Res 416) providing for House floor consideration of a bill to authorize $66 million in fiscal 1980 for FIFRA programs. Adopted 328-1: R 125-0; D 203-1 (ND 141-0; SD 62-1), Nov. 16, 1979.

602. HR 3580. Rural Development Policy. Adoption of the rule (H Res 438) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to provide for the establishment and coordination of a rural development policy. Adopted 318-3: R 121-2; D 197-1 (ND 141-0; SD 56-1), Nov. 16, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	596	597	598	599	600	601	602
ALABAMA							
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA							
AL *Young*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA							
1 *Rhodes*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Udall	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	Y	Y	+	+	+	+	+
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
5 Burton, J.	N	N	N	N	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Stark	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Panetta	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
23 Beilenson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	N	?	N	Y	?	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
29 Hawkins	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	N	–	-	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	N	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
38 Patterson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
4 *Johnson*	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?
5 *Kramer*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?
2 Dodd	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Giaimo	?	Y	?	Y	?	?	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	Y	N	?	Y	?	?
5 Ratchford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE							
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	#	?	#	?	?	?	?
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Kelly*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO							
1 *Symms*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy							
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA							
1 *Leach*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Smith	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

	596	597	598	599	600	601	602
KANSAS							
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
LOUISIANA							
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
8 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE							
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MARYLAND							
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Spellman	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Drinan	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Sawyer***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Carr	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Nedzi	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
17 Brodhead	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
MINNESOTA							
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	N	N	?	?	?	?	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Bowen	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA							
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Maguire	N	N	N	N	Y	?	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
11 Minish	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO							
1 ***Lujan***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Runnels	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
NEW YORK							
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	N	N	?	Y	?
13 Solarz	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
18 ***Green***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
22 Bingham	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
33 ***Lee***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	X	?	?	?	?
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
2 Fountain	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Neal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHIO							
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Hall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	N	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
20 Oakar	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
21 Stokes	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Synar	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Steed	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Edwards***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Duncan	P	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
4 Weaver	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	X	?	#	?	?	?	?
2 Gray	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	Y	-	?	?	?	?
8 Kostmayer	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	#	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Ford	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS							
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Mattox	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
13 Hightower	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Wyatt	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
15 de la Garza	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
UTAH							
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VERMONT							
AL ***Jeffords***	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Fisher	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	X	?	?	?	?
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING							
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

603. HR 5537. District of Columbia Borrowing Authority. Passage of the bill to extend for one year until Oct. 1, 1980, the authority of the District of Columbia to borrow from the U.S. Treasury to complete construction projects for which funds were authorized or appropriated by Congress before Oct. 1, 1979. Passed 283-99: R 69-71; D 214-28 (ND 157-8; SD 57-20), Nov. 27, 1979.

604. HR 4546. District of Columbia (D.C.) Redevelopment Act Amendments. R. Daniel, R-Va., substitute amendment to amend the D.C. code to provide that any modifications to any redevelopment land tract be approved in writing by the owners or lessees of the property, as well as owners of bordering property, unless the modification was approved by the National Capital Planning Commission. Adopted 224-158: R 140-4; D 84-154 (ND 29-134; SD 55-20), Nov. 27, 1979.

605. HR 2313. Federal Trade Commission Authorization. Andrews, R-N.D., amendment to prohibit the Federal Trade Commission from investigating or prosecuting antitrust cases against agricultural cooperatives or investigating agricultural marketing orders. Adopted 245-139: R 129-12; D 116-127 (ND 57-107; SD 59-20), Nov. 27, 1979.

606. HR 2313. Federal Trade Commission Authorization. Passage of the bill to authorize $75 million for Federal Trade Commission operations in fiscal 1980; $80 million in 1981 and $85 million in 1982; and to allow for a one-house veto (provided the other house did not overturn the action within 30 days) of the commission's regulatory actions. Passed 321-63: R 138-2; D 183-61 (ND 110-56; SD 73-5), Nov. 27, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

607. HR 2608. NRC Authorization. Adoption of the rule (H Res 472) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize fiscal 1980 programs for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Adopted 296-77: R 77-61; D 219-16 (ND 148-11; SD 71-5), Nov. 27, 1979.

608. S Con Res 53. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Latta, R-Ohio, motion to commit the resolution to the House Budget Committee with instructions to cut 2 percent from all areas but defense and veterans' affairs. Motion rejected 187-207: R 141-3; D 46-204 (ND 18-153; SD 28-51), Nov. 28, 1979.

609. S Con Res 53. Fiscal 1980 Binding Budget Levels. Adoption of the resolution to set fiscal 1980 binding budget levels as previously approved by the Senate and House in the conference version of S Con Res 36 (budget authority, $638 billion; outlays, $547.6 billion; revenues, $517.8 billion; and deficit, $29.8 billion) and to state the sense of Congress that there shall be no third fiscal 1980 budget resolution, except to meet unforeseen emergencies, and call upon committees to make budget cuts originally ordered in the Senate version of S Con Res 36. Adopted 206-186: R 3-140; D 203-46 (ND 141-28; SD 62-18), Nov. 28, 1979.

610. HR 3546. Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act. Committee amendment to relax for one year the ban on aerial spraying of the pesticide Mirex to control fire ants in nine southern states. Rejected 167-224: R 94-46; D 73-178 (ND 18-152; SD 55-26), Nov. 28, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610
ALABAMA								
1 *Edwards*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	#	X	?
2 *Dickinson*	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Buchanan*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL *Young*	N	Y	?	?	?	#	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 *Rhodes*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
2 Udall	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	+	+	+	+	?	N	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	?	?	?	?	?	#	X	?
3 *Hammerschmidt*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Anthony	?	X	?	?	?	X	#	#
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Clausen*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Miller	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Dellums	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
9 Stark	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
10 Edwards	Y	?	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	?	?	?	?	#	X	N
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	#	?
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	?	?
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Thomas*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 *Moorhead*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
25 Roybal	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
26 *Rousselot*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	Y	N	X	?	?	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	Y	N	N	N	Y	X	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	?
32 Anderson	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 Patterson	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
40 *Badham*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	X	?
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
4 *Johnson*	?	?	?	?	?	N	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Dodd	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
DELAWARE								
AL *Evans*	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ireland	?	?	#	?	?	?	?	?
9 Nelson	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Pepper	?	?	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 McDonald	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Akaka	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 *Symms*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 *Hansen*	?	?	?	?	?	#	X	?
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Murphy	Y	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	X
3 Russo	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fary	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Collins	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	N	Y	Y	X	#	?
9 Yates	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	#	X	Y
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	#	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	?	?	?	?	?	#	X	?
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
19 *Railsback*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	?
20 *Findley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 *Madigan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Price	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
24 Simon	?	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Brademas	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 *Quayle*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Hillis*	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 *Myers*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Deckard*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Jacobs	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
IOWA								
1 *Leach*	?	?	?	?	?	#	X	?
2 *Tauke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 *Grassley*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 679, 681, 682, 683, 684, 686, 687, 688

	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	#	X	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Mikulski	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Spellman	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	Y	N
3 Early	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Markey	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Kildee	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	?	N	X	?	?	X	#	?
14 Nedzi	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 Dingell	N	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	?	?	?	?	?	#	N	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Young	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	?
7 ***Taylor***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	#	?
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
3 ***Smith***	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Howard	Y	N	?	?	?	X	#	?
4 Thompson	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***Courter***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	?	Y	N	?	?	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Downey	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Wydler***	?	?	X	?	?	#	X	?
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Addabbo	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	X	#	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	N	N	N	Y	X	#	?
11 Scheuer	Y	C	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Chisholm	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	N	X	?	?	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	Y	N	N	Y	Y	X	#	N
15 Zeferetti	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
17 Murphy	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
18 ***Green***	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
21 Garcia	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
26 ***Gilman***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Horton***	?	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	N	P	N	Y	N	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	N	Y	Y	+	Y	Y	N	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Hall	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?
13 Pease	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Stokes	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
23 Mottl	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Watkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N	N
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	?	N	N	N	Y	?	?	N
2 Ullman	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	?	?	?	N	#	X
2 Gray	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	#	?
12 Murtha	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	X	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
6 Jenrette	?	?	#	?	?	X	#	#
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	?	?	?	#	N	Y
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	N	P	Y	N	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	P	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Gramm	?	#	?	?	?	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	N	N	Y	X	Y	N
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Frost	?	?	?	?	?	N	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	?	?	#	?	?	#	N	N
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bonker	?	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
4 McCormack	?	?	#	?	?	X	#	?
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	?	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Baldus	?	?	+	+	?	N	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 Obey	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

611. HR 3546. Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act. Committee amendment to allow a one-house congressional veto of any Environmental Protection Agency regulation regarding pesticides. Adopted 278-121: R 143-5; D 135-116 (ND 69-101; SD 66-15), Nov. 28, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

612. HR 2222. Hospital Housestaff Unionization. Passage of the bill to bring housestaff (interns and residents) of non-public hospitals under the National Labor Relations Act, thus giving them the right to organize and bargain collectively. Rejected 167-227: R 19-127; D 148-100 (ND 130-39; SD 18-61), Nov. 28, 1979.

613. H Res 493. Release of U.S. Hostages in Iran. Adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of the House that the people and the U.S. Congress insist that the Ayatollah Khomeini and the government of Iran release the American citizens held captive in the U.S. Embassy in Iran. Adopted 386-0: R 144-0; D 242-0 (ND 166-0; SD 76-0), Nov. 28, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

614. HR 2608. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Bingham, D-N.Y., amendment to require a report from the NRC to Congress in 120 days after enactment of the bill on whether operating reactors are in compliance with current safety rules. Adopted 217-161: R 38-103; D 179-58 (ND 140-21; SD 39-37), Nov. 29, 1979.

615. HR 2608. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Markey, D-Mass., amendment to put a moratorium on NRC issuance of new nuclear plant construction permits through April 1, 1980 (the first six months of fiscal 1980). Rejected 135-254: R 23-121; D 112-133 (ND 105-60; SD 7-73), Nov. 29, 1979.

616. S 239. Domestic Volunteers. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize such sums as necessary for domestic volunteer programs of the ACTION agency in fiscal 1979-81. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 214-152: R 26-111; D 188-41 (ND 143-10; SD 45-31), Nov. 29, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	611	612	613	614	615	616
ALABAMA						
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	N	Y	X	?	?
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
ALASKA						
AL ***Young***	?	N	Y	N	N	?
ARIZONA						
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Udall	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Bethune***	?	?	?	X	?	?
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Anthony	?	X	?	?	X	?
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	?	Y	N	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Stark	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Edwards	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***McCloskey***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	?	#	?	Y	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
15 Coelho	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Beilenson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Waxman	N	Y	Y	#	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
28 Dixon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
29 Hawkins	N	Y	Y	#	#	?
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	?	N	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	N	Y	X	N	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	#	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE						
AL ***Evans***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Young***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Gibbons	N	N	Y	?	?	Y
8 Ireland	?	?	?	Y	N	N
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
11 Mica	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	N	?	?	?	?	?
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
3 Brinkley	Y	N	?	?	N	?
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO						
1 ***Symms***	Y	?	?	X	?	?
2 ***Hansen***	?	?	?	N	N	N
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	?	#	?	X	?	?
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
7 Collins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy						
11 Annunzio	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	N	Y	X	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	N	Y	X	X	?
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	?	X	?	X	?	?
18 ***Michel***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	?	?	?	N	N	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Price	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Hillis***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
7 ***Myers***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA						
1 ***Leach***	?	X	?	?	?	?
2 ***Tauke***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Smith	N	Y	?	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694

	611	612	613	614	615	616
KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	N	Y	#	#	?
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	Y	N	+
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Boggs	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	N	X	N
8 Long	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Spellman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	N	?	?	?	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	+	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	?	Y	?	#	Y	?
14 Nedzi	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	N	Y	Y	#	N	?
16 Dingell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Gephardt	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Skelton	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 Bolling	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
9 Volkmer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Burlison	?	?	?	#	?	?
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Maguire	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
10 Rodino	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Runnels	?	?	?	X	X	?
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	+	-	-
2 Downey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Wydler***	?	?	?	X	?	?
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	Y	#	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	#	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	?	#	?	#	#	?
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
16 Holtzman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
18 ***Green***	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
32 Hanley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	?	?	N	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	?	?	?	N	N	N
36 LaFalce	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	?	N	N
39 Lundine	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fountain	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
7 Rose	?	?	?	Y	N	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	?	?	N	N	N
9 Ashley	N	N	Y	?	?	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	Y	#	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	#	?	?
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Steed	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 English	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
4 Weaver	N	?	?	?	?	?
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	?	?	?	#	?	?
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
6 Yatron	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Edgar	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	#	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
19 ***Goodling***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	?	?	?	N	?	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Jenrette	?	?	?	X	X	?
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Bouquard	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Jones	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wilson,C.	Y	N	Y	?	N	?
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Mattox	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
9 Brooks	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
12 Wright	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	N	Y	N	N	?
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Harris	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
4 McCormack	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	Y	N	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

617. HR 3352. Fluorspar Duty Suspension. Vanik, D-Ohio, motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to suspend duty on fluorspar, classified as a critical and strategic mineral and used in steel, aluminum and fluorocarbon chemical manufacture, through June 30, 1982. Motion rejected 240-163: R 108-40; D 132-123 (ND 78-97; SD 54-26), Dec. 4, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (269 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

618. HR 5892. Wind Energy Research and Development. Fuqua, D-Fla., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize $100 million in fiscal 1981 for research, development and demonstration of wind energy systems. Motion agreed to 383-23: R 133-17; D 250-6 (ND 172-3; SD 78-3), Dec. 4, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (271 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

619. HR 2743. Materials Policy, Research and Development. Fuqua, D-Fla., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to develop a national policy to promote research and development programs to provide an adequate and stable supply of strategic and industrial materials and to require the Interior Department to attain the goals set forth in the 1970 Mining and Minerals Policy Act. Motion agreed to 398-8: R 142-6; D 256-2 (ND 176-1; SD 80-1), Dec. 4, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (271 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

620. HR 2608. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Passage of the bill to authorize $426,821,000 in fiscal 1980 appropriations for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Passed 398-9: R 146-4; D 252-5 (ND 173-5; SD 79-0), Dec. 4, 1979.

621. Procedural Motion. Bauman, R-Md., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Tuesday, Dec. 4, 1979. Motion agreed to 353-12: R 129-7; D 224-5 (ND 151-5; SD 73-0), Dec. 5, 1979.

622. HR 3948. Pilots' Retirement Age. Adoption of the rule (H Res 455) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to allow pilots to fly airliners for 1-1/2 years beyond their 60th birthday and to require a study by the National Institutes of Health on the effects of aging on pilots. Adopted 399-2: R 145-0; D 254-2 (ND 172-2; SD 82-0), Dec. 5, 1979.

623. HR 3948. Pilots' Retirement Age. Howard, D-N.J., substitute amendment to authorize $600,000 for a one-year NIH study of the effect of aging on airline pilots (the effect of the amendment eliminated a provision allowing pilots to fly airliners for 1-1/2 years beyond their 60th birthday). Adopted 240-165: R 92-55; D 148-110 (ND 100-76; SD 48-34), Dec. 5, 1979.

624. HR 5461. Martin Luther King Jr. Birthday. McClory, R-Ill., amendment to designate a national holiday in honor of Martin Luther King Jr. on the third Monday in January each year, rather than on Jan. 15, King's birthday *(see vote 625, p. 186-H)*. Adopted 291-106: R 71-73; D 220-33 (ND 162-10; SD 58-23), Dec. 5, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Deliums	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
21 Corman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Beilenson	N	?	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
28 Dixon	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 Patterson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Johnson***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Kramer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X
2 Dodd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Giaimo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***McKinney***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Moffett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kelly***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
6 ***Young***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ireland	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Pepper	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	#
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Hansen***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	#
4 ***Derwinski***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 ***Michel***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 Bedell	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702

	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Shannon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Frenzel***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Nolan	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Bowen	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	N	Y	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
7 Maguire	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Rodino	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Ambro	?	?	?	?	?	?	X	?
4 ***Lent***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Wolff	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Ferraro	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	?
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 Holtzman	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	#	?
20 Weiss	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Luken	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 ***Edwards***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	?
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Holland	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Roberts	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
9 Brooks	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Wright	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 ***Paul***	?	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	X
UTAH								
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Marriott***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Butler***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Swift	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 McCormack	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Foley	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

625. HR 5461. Martin Luther King Jr. Birthday. Beard, R-Tenn., substitute amendment, to the McClory, R-Ill., amendment *(see vote 624, p. 184-H)*, to designate the third Sunday of January each year a national holiday in honor of Martin Luther King Jr., but not subject to provisions of existing law for paying federal workers or granting them leave when a holiday falls on a Sunday. Adopted 207-191: R 124-21; D 83-170 (ND 35-137; SD 48-33), Dec. 5, 1979.

626. HR 5461. Martin Luther King Jr. Birthday. Garcia, D-N.Y., motion to rise from the Committee of the Whole (thus providing for no further immediate action on the bill and leaving it unresolved). Motion agreed to 231-164: R 22-122; D 209-42 (ND 159-11; SD 50-31), Dec. 5, 1979.

627. HR 2977. Domestic Violence. Adoption of the rule (H Res 498) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to provide for federal and state programs to prevent domestic violence and assist victims of such violence. Adopted 358-32: R 117-24; D 241-8 (ND 168-3; SD 73-5), Dec. 6, 1979.

628. HR 4962. Child Health (Medicaid). Waxman, D-Calif., motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for further consideration of the bill. Motion agreed to 357-18: R 121-15; D 236-3 (ND 160-2; SD 76-1), Dec. 6, 1979.

629. HR 4962. Child Health (Medicaid). Waxman, D-Calif., substitute amendment, to the Volkmer, D-Mo., substitute amendments *(see vote 630, below)* to committee amendments, to prohibit Medicaid payments for abortions except those to save the life of the mother, or in cases of rape or incest, if the rape or incest were promptly reported to a law enforcement agency or public health service. Rejected 180-209: R 33-110; D 147-99 (ND 111-59; SD 36-40), Dec. 6, 1979.

630. HR 4962. Child Health (Medicaid). Volkmer, D-Mo., substitute amendments, considered en bloc, to the committee amendments, to prohibit Medicaid payments for all abortions except those to save the life of the mother. Adopted 217-169: R 109-32; D 108-137 (ND 65-103; SD 43-34), Dec. 6, 1979. (The committee amendments were adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

631. HR 4962. Child Health (Medicaid). Stockman, R-Mich., amendment to authorize $3.15 billion for fiscal 1980-82 for new health services and broadened eligibility under Medicaid for children and pregnant women. (The authorization would replace a proposed permanent entitlement, under Medicaid, for the new coverage). Rejected 152-226: R 110-28; D 42-198 (ND 14-156; SD 28-42), Dec. 6, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	625	626	627	628	629	630	631
ALABAMA							
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA							
AL *Young*	N	N	?	Y	?	?	Y
ARIZONA							
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Stump	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	?
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 *Clausen*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Burton, J.	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
6 Burton, P.	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
7 Miller	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Dellums	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Stark	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Edwards	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 *Royer*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
13 Mineta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	Y	?	?	?	N	N
16 Panetta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
25 Roybal	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
28 Dixon	N	Y	#	?	Y	N	N
29 Hawkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	Y	?	Y	?	N
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
33 *Grisham*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
37 *Lewis*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
38 Patterson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
43 *Burgener*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Wirth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Johnson*	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	X	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Dodd	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
3 Giaimo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
5 Ratchford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Moffett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
DELAWARE							
AL *Evans*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	X
10 *Bafalis*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Mica	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Stack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Lehman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Pepper	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Fowler	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Barnard	X	?	Y	Y	?	Y	N
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Akaka	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
IDAHO							
1 *Symms*	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *Derwinski*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 *Hyde*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Collins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Yates	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Vacancy							
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 *Crane, P.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	?	?	N	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 *Michel*	#	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 *Findley*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 *Madigan*	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Price	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
24 Simon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 *Quayle*	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
5 *Hillis*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	#	?	?	?	?	?	#
8 *Deckard*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IOWA							
1 *Leach*	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Smith	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Harkin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Bedell	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 703, 704, 705, 706, 708, 709, 710

	625	626	627	628	629	630	631
KANSAS							
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Snyder***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
LOUISIANA							
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MAINE							
1 ***Emery***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND							
1 ***Bauman***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Holt***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Spellman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	Y	N	Y	X	N
8 Barnes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Early	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Shannon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Mavroules	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
10 ***Heckler***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 Studds	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
2 ***Pursell***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Wolpe	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Carr	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Kildee	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	?	?	?	?	X
12 Bonior	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	N
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N
15 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N
16 Dingell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
18 Blanchard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MINNESOTA							
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Nolan	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Young	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Coleman***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MONTANA							
1 Williams	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
NEBRASKA							
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	#
NEVADA							
AL Santini	N	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Hughes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Howard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Thompson	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	N
5 ***Fenwick***	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Rodino	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	X
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Patten	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO							
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
NEW YORK							
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Ambro	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Wolff	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
10 Biaggi	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Scheuer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Chisholm	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Richmond	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 Holtzman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
18 ***Green***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	X	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 Weiss	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 Garcia	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	X
22 Bingham	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
24 Ottinger	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
25 ***Fish***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
26 ***Gilman***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	N	Y	N	N	?	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
32 Hanley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
33 ***Lee***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
35 ***Conable***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	N
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Martin***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL ***Andrews***	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
OHIO							
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Luken	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Guyer***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	N	N	?	N	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y	Y
9 Ashley	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	?
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
14 Seiberling	N	?	Y	?	Y	N	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	N	?	?	?	?	#
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Steed	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 English	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Weaver	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Gray	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Lederer	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Edgar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Shuster***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
15 ***Ritter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Goodling***	?	?	Y	?	N	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
24 ***Marks***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	N	Y	#	?	?	#	X
2 Beard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
2 ***Spence***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 ***Campbell***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	#
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?	#
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Boner	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	X
8 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
TEXAS							
1 Hall	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
3 ***Collins***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	?
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Gramm	Y	N	X	?	?	?	#
7 ***Archer***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 Brooks	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
11 Leath	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Wright	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
14 Wyatt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
19 Hance	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
24 Frost	X	?	Y	Y	?	N	N
UTAH							
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
VERMONT							
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA							
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	X	?	?	?	#
6 ***Butler***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Robinson***	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Harris	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WASHINGTON							
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Bonker	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Lowry	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Staggers	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Rahall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 Baldus	N	Y	?	?	?	?	X
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 ***Petri***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 Obey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WYOMING							
AL ***Cheney***	Y	N	?	?	?	?	#

Democrats ***Republicans***

632. HR 5870. Air Traffic Controllers' Training. Udall, D-Ariz., motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to improve the second career training program for air traffic controllers. Rejected 200-180: R 52-88; D 148-92 (ND 108-53; SD 40-39), Dec. 11, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (254 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

633. HR 4962. Child Health (Medicaid). Bauman, R-Md., amendment to prohibit payments for abortions from federal Medicaid funds, except for abortions to save the life of the mother, and to stipulate that nothing in title XIX of the Social Security Act (Medicaid) shall be construed to require any state funds to be used to pay for any abortions. Adopted 235-155: R 119-23; D 116-132 (ND 66-105; SD 50-27), Dec. 11, 1979.

634. HR 4962. Child Health (Medicaid). Symms, R-Idaho, amendment making clear that amendments made by the bill to title XIX of the Social Security Act (Medicaid) shall expire Sept. 30, 1984. Adopted 226-162: R 128-14; D 98-148 (ND 46-123; SD 52-25), Dec. 11, 1979.

635. HR 4962. Child Health (Medicaid). Dannemeyer, R-Calif., motion to recommit the bill to the House Commerce Committee with instructions to report it back to the House with an amendment requiring parental consent before family planning services authorized by the bill could be dispensed to minors. Rejected 163-225: R 103-39; D 60-186 (ND 19-150; SD 41-36), Dec. 11, 1979.

636. S 423. Dispute Resolution Act. Butler, R-Va., amendments (en bloc) to delete creation of a board to advise the attorney general on the dispute resolution resource center and grant program. Rejected 170-208: R 119-23; D 51-185 (ND 19-144; SD 32-41), Dec. 11, 1979.

637. HR 595. Strategic Materials Stockpile/Silver. McDonald, D-Ga., motion to delete the section of the bill authorizing the sale of five million troy ounces of silver from the strategic and critical materials stockpile. Motion agreed to 272-122: R 129-22; D 143-100 (ND 82-83; SD 61-17), Dec. 12, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	632	633	634	635	636	637
ALABAMA						
1 *Edwards*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 *Buchanan*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	#	?	?	?	?	Y
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Stump	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Rudd*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	?	N	N	Y	Y
2 *Bethune*	N	Y	?	?	?	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 *Clausen*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 Fazio	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Miller	N	N	N	N	N	Y
8 Dellums	?	X	X	?	?	?
9 Stark	Y	N	N	N	?	?
10 Edwards	?	X	X	?	?	?
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
13 Mineta	Y	N	N	N	N	N
14 *Shumway*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	N	N	N	N	N	N
16 Panetta	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Thomas*	?	X	#	X	?	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 *Goldwater*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	Y	N	N	N	N	N
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	Y	N	N	N	N	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
25 Roybal	Y	N	N	N	N	N
26 *Rousselot*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	?	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
33 *Grisham*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 *Lungren*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	N	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	N	N	N	?
37 *Lewis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
40 *Badham*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
43 *Burgener*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Wirth	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Kramer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Dodd	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
3 Giaimo	N	N	N	N	N	N
4 *McKinney*	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	Y	N	N	N
6 Moffett	N	N	N	N	?	Y
DELAWARE						
AL *Evans*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	?	?	?	#	?	Y
5 *Kelly*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Young*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
8 Ireland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Stack	Y	N	N	N	N	N
13 Lehman	Y	N	N	N	N	N
14 Pepper	Y	N	N	N	N	N
15 Fascell	Y	N	N	N	N	N
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	#	?	?	?	?	Y
7 McDonald	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
8 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	?	?	X	?	?	Y
IDAHO						
1 *Symms*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Hansen*	N	Y	#	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	N	N	N	N	N	?
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	?	#	?	X	?	?
4 *Derwinski*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	N	N	N	N	N
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
9 Yates	N	N	N	N	N	N
10 Vacancy						
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
12 *Crane, P.*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 *McClory*	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 *Erlenborn*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 *Corcoran*	+	+	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 *Anderson*	?	X	?	X	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Railsback*	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
20 *Findley*	N	N	Y	N	N	N
21 *Madigan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
24 Simon	Y	N	N	N	N	N
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Fithian	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	N	N	?	N
4 *Quayle*	N	?	Y	N	Y	Y
5 *Hillis*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Hamilton	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	N	Y	?
IOWA						
1 *Leach*	?	?	?	?	?	Y
2 *Tauke*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Grassley*	?	?	?	?	?	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Bedell	?	?	?	?	?	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 711, 712, 713, 714, 716, 717

	632	633	634	635	636	637
KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
4 Glickman	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 ***Whittaker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	N	N	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	?	?	?	?	?	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	N	N	N	N
8 Barnes	N	N	N	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Boland	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Early	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Drinan	N	N	N	N	N	N
5 Shannon	N	N	N	N	N	N
6 Mavroules	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Markey	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	N	Y	N	N	N	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 Studds	Y	N	N	N	N	N
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	Y	N	N	N	N	?
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 ***Stockman***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
9 ***Vander Jagt***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Diggs	Y	N	N	N	N	?
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
15 Ford	Y	N	N	N	N	N
16 Dingell	N	N	N	N	N	N
17 Brodhead	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	N	N	N	N
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 Vento	N	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Sabo	N	N	N	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	N	?	?	N	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	Y	N	N	N	N	N
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Gephardt	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	Y	N	N	N	N	N
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	N	N	N	N
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA						
AL Santini	?	Y	Y	N	N	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Cleveland***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	N	N	?
2 Hughes	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Howard	Y	N	N	N	N	N
4 Thompson	Y	N	N	N	N	N
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
7 Maguire	Y	N	N	N	N	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
10 Rodino	?	Y	N	N	N	N
11 Minish	N	Y	N	N	N	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	N	N	N	N
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	#	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	N	N	?	?
8 Rosenthal	?	X	X	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	N	N	N	N
10 Biaggi	?	?	?	?	?	N
11 Scheuer	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	?	N	N	N	?	N
13 Solarz	Y	N	N	N	N	N
14 Richmond	N	N	N	N	N	N
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	N	N	N	N	N	N
17 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
18 ***Green***	N	N	N	N	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	N	N	N	N
20 Weiss	Y	N	N	N	?	?
21 Garcia	Y	N	N	?	N	N
22 Bingham	Y	N	N	N	N	N
23 Peyser	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	N	N	N	N	N	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y
32 Hanley	?	#	?	X	?	?
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	N	N	N	N
35 ***Conable***	?	?	?	?	?	N
36 LaFalce	N	Y	N	N	N	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
38 ***Kemp***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
39 Lundine	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Broyhill***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Gudger	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	?	?	?	?	?	?
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Luken	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Hall	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	X	#	#	#	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
8 ***Kindness***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	?	N	Y	N	N	N
10 ***Miller***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 ***Stanton***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Regula***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	X	#	Y	N	N	Y
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	?	N	N	N	N	N
22 Vanik	N	N	N	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 Watkins	N	Y	?	?	?	?
4 Steed	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
5 ***Edwards***	?	?	?	?	?	Y
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	N	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Weaver	Y	N	N	N	N	N
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	?	?	X	#	?	N
2 Gray	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
4 ***Dougherty***	#	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Kostmayer	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	Y	#	?	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	?	Y	?	Y	N	?
13 ***Coughlin***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	N	N	N	N	N
15 ***Ritter***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
18 Walgren	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
25 Atkinson	?	#	Y	N	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Beard	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	N	N	N	?	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
6 Jenrette	?	N	Y	N	N	?
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Jones	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	N	N	N	?
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Mattox	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	Y	?	?	N	N	N
9 Brooks	Y	N	N	N	N	N
10 Pickle	Y	N	N	N	Y	?
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 White	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	?	#	?	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	N	N	-	Y
19 Hance	?	?	?	?	?	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	N	N	?	N
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Paul***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Marriott***	?	?	#	?	?	?
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	Y	N	N	N	N	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	N	N	N	N
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	#	?	?	?	?	N
2 Swift	Y	N	N	N	N	N
3 Bonker	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
4 McCormack	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	?	?	?	?	?	N
7 Lowry	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 Slack	N	N	N	N	N	Y
4 Rahall	?	N	N	N	N	N
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	N	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	N	N	N	N
3 Baldus	N	Y	N	N	N	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 Reuss	Y	N	N	N	N	N
6 ***Petri***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	N	N	?	N	N
8 ***Roth***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

638. S 423. Dispute Resolution Act. Butler, R-Va., amendment to cut the yearly authorization for the dispute resolution resource center from $3 million to $1 million. Adopted 238-156: R 134-14; D 104-142 (ND 52-118; SD 52-24), Dec. 12, 1979.

639. S 423. Dispute Resolution Act. Butler, R-Va., motion to recommit the bill with instructions to report it back with a $10 million yearly authorization for the dispute resolution grant program. Motion agreed to 203-197: R 132-18; D 71-179 (ND 27-141; SD 44-38), Dec. 12, 1979.

640. S 423. Dispute Resolution Act. Passage of the bill to authorize $10 million annually for fiscal 1980 through fiscal 1984 for a federal grant program to help states develop local systems to settle minor domestic and consumer disputes and to authorize $1 million annually for the same time period to create a dispute resolution resource center within the Justice Department. Passed 207-195: R 25-124; D 182-71 (ND 145-27; SD 37-44), Dec. 12, 1979.

641. HR 2977. Domestic Violence. Walker, R-Pa., substitute amendment, to the bill, to establish a program of block grants to state domestic violence programs and to consolidate existing federal programs in the National Clearinghouse on Domestic Violence. Rejected 148-247: R 111-34; D 37-213 (ND 9-160; SD 28-53), Dec. 12, 1979.

642. HR 2977. Domestic Violence. Kramer, R-Colo., amendment to allow state legislatures to veto federal funding of domestic violence projects in their states. Rejected 142-251: R 111-34; D 31-217 (ND 9-160; SD 22-57), Dec. 12, 1979.

643. HR 2977. Domestic Violence. Passage of the bill to establish a new, three-year program, authorized at a total of $65 million, for grants to state and local efforts to prevent domestic violence and aid its victims. Passed 292-106: R 73-75; D 219-31 (ND 164-5; SD 55-26), Dec. 12, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	638	639	640	641	642	643
ALABAMA						
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Nichols	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Bevill	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Flippo	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ALASKA						
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA						
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Udall	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	N	N	N	?	N	N
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y
3 Matsui	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Fazio	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	N	Y	N	?	?
6 Burton, P.	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Miller	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Dellums	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Stark	N	?	Y	N	N	Y
10 Edwards	?	X	#	?	?	?
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	N	N	?	?	Y	Y
13 Mineta	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 Coelho	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
21 Corman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Waxman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
25 Roybal	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
27 ***Dornan***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?
28 Dixon	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
29 Hawkins	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
30 Danielson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	?	N	Y	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
35 Lloyd	N	N	N	N	N	Y
36 Brown	?	X	#	?	?	?
37 ***Lewis***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
42 Van Deerlin	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Dodd	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	?	?	?	N	N
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Ratchford	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Moffett	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
DELAWARE						
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 Mica	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 Stack	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Lehman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Pepper	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Fascell	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Mathis	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Fowler	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Evans	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
9 Jenkins	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
10 Barnard	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
2 Akaka	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
IDAHO						
1 ***Symms***	Y	#	X	?	?	X
2 ***Hansen***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	?	X	#	?	?	?
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Collins	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	?	X	#	?	?	?
9 Yates	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Vacancy						
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	Y	Y	N	?	?	X
13 ***McClory***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 ***Michel***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
19 ***Railsback***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 ***Madigan***	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Price	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Simon	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Brademas	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
IOWA						
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Smith	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Harkin	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Bedell	N	N	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 719, 720, 721, 723, 724, 725

	638	639	640	641	642	643
KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	?	#	X	?	?	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N
4 Glickman	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Long	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Mikulski	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Spellman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Mitchell	N	N	Y	?	N	Y
8 Barnes	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Boland	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Early	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Drinan	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Shannon	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Mavroules	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Markey	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	N	N	#
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
12 Studds	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	?	?	?	N	N	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
3 Wolpe	N	N	Y	N	N	?
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Sawyer***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Kildee	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Traxler	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Albosta	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Bonior	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Diggs	N	N	Y	N	?	Y
14 Nedzi	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Ford	N	N	N	N	?	Y
16 Dingell	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 Brodhead	N	N	Y	N	?	Y
18 Blanchard	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	+
4 Vento	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Sabo	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	N	N	Y	?	N	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Oberstar	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	Y	N	N	?	N
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Young	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Bolling	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?
9 Volkmer	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Burlison	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA						
AL Santini	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Howard	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Thompson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Maguire	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	N	Y	N	?	Y
10 Rodino	N	X	#	N	N	Y
11 Minish	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Guarini	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Patten	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	Y	?	N	?	Y	Y
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
2 Downey	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
6 Wolff	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Rosenthal	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Scheuer	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
12 Chisholm	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Solarz	N	N	Y	N	N	?
14 Richmond	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
16 Holtzman	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
17 Murphy	?	N	Y	N	N	?
18 ***Green***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
20 Weiss	?	?	?	?	?	?
21 Garcia	?	?	Y	N	N	Y
22 Bingham	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Peyser	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
24 Ottinger	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
25 ***Fish***	?	?	?	N	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	N	N	Y	-	N	Y
27 McHugh	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	?	X	#	?	?	?
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Horton***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
37 Nowak	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
38 ***Kemp***	?	#	X	?	?	?
39 Lundine	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
3 Whitley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Andrews	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Preyer	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Rose	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
11 Gudger	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	?	#	X	?	?	?
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Hall	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
13 Pease	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Oakar	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
21 Stokes	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Vanik	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
23 Mottl	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	?	Y	N	Y	N	N
2 Synar	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Watkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 English	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Duncan	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Weaver	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Gray	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Lederer	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	N	#	Y	?	N	Y
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
21 Bailey	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 ***Spence***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	?	?	?	?	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	N	N	Y	N	?	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	?	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Gore	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
5 Boner	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Jones	?	Y	N	N	N	N
8 Ford	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
TEXAS						
1 Hall	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 ***Collins***	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Roberts	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Mattox	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Gramm	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Eckhardt	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 Brooks	N	Y	?	N	?	Y
10 Pickle	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 Leath	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 White	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
18 Leland	?	N	Y	N	N	Y
19 Hance	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
22 ***Paul***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 ***Marriott***	?	#	X	?	?	?
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Swift	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bonker	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 McCormack	N	N	Y	?	?	?
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
2 Staggers	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Rahall	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Baldus	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
5 Reuss	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Obey	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

644. HR 5860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Adoption of the rule (H Res 505) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize federal loan guarantees for the Chrysler Corp. Adopted 391-5: R 145-2; D 246-3 (ND 168-0; SD 78-3), Dec. 13, 1979.

645. HR 3282. Asbestos in Schools. Goodling, R-Pa., substitute amendment, to the bill, to allow states to use up to 1 percent of their federal elementary and secondary education funds for detection and control of asbestos in school buildings, provided that no more than 5 percent of the funds for individual education programs be diverted for such purposes. Rejected 133-262: R 108-37; D 25-225 (ND 13-155; SD 12-70), Dec. 13, 1979.

646. HR 3282. Asbestos in Schools. Passage of the bill to authorize for fiscal 1980-82 $330 million in grants and loans to school districts seeking to detect and control asbestos in school buildings. Passed 336-63: R 106-39; D 230-24 (ND 161-10; SD 69-14), Dec. 13, 1979.

647. S 241. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize $1 billion for fiscal 1980-83 and to restructure the LEAA by creating the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) to handle research and statistical work formerly done by the LEAA, and by creating the Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics to set policy jointly with the LEAA and to coordinate administration for the LEAA, BJS and NIJ. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 304-83: R 93-47; D 211-36 (ND 145-20; SD 66-16), Dec. 13, 1979.

648. Procedural Motion. Bauman, R-Md., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Thursday, Dec. 13, 1979. Motion agreed to 255-14: R 96-5; D 159-9 (ND 102-7; SD 57-2), Dec. 14, 1979.

649. HR 5980. Anti-recession Aid. Zeferetti, D-N.Y., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate) on the rule (H Res 506) providing for House floor consideration of the bill to authorize a $1 billion program of anti-recession aid and targeted fiscal assistance to state and local governments. Motion agreed to 271-83: R 60-73; D 211-10 (ND 146-3; SD 65-7), Dec. 14, 1979.

650. HR 5980. Anti-recession Aid. Adoption of the rule (H Res 506) providing for House floor consideration of the bill. Adopted 240-115: R 35-98; D 205-17 (ND 148-2; SD 57-15), Dec. 14, 1979.

651. HR 5980. Anti-recession Aid. Frost, D-Texas, motion to table (kill) the Zeferetti, D-N.Y., motion to reconsider the vote *(see vote 650, above)* by which the rule was adopted. Motion to table agreed to 242-107: R 33-100; D 209-7 (ND 147-1; SD 62-6), Dec. 14, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	N
3 Nichols	?	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Bevill	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
7 Shelby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
4 ***Rudd***	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Burton, J.	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Burton, P.	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Dellums	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Stark	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Edwards	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
12 ***McCloskey***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Shumway***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
15 Coelho	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
16 Panetta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
18 ***Thomas***	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
23 Beilenson	Y	N	Y	N	?	?	?	?
24 Waxman	Y	?	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
27 ***Dornan***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
28 Dixon	?	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
30 Danielson	Y	N	Y	Y	+	+	+	+
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	?	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
33 ***Grisham***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	N
35 Lloyd	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
37 ***Lewis***	?	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
39 ***Dannemeyer***	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N	N
40 ***Badham***	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
41 ***Wilson, B.***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N
42 Van Deerlin	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
43 ***Burgener***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Wirth	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 ***Kramer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Dodd	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Giaimo	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
2 Fuqua	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Young***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Gibbons	N	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	N	Y	N	+	+	+	+
10 ***Bafalis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
14 Pepper	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
15 Fascell	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Mathis	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Levitas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
7 McDonald	N	Y	N	N	?	N	N	N
8 Evans	N	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?
9 Jenkins	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Barnard	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	?	#	X	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Hansen***	Y	Y	N	?	Y	N	N	N
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
5 Fary	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	?	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	#	X	?	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
15 ***Corcoran***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	N	Y
18 ***Michel***	?	#	?	?	Y	N	N	N
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
20 ***Findley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
22 ***Crane, D.***	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N	N
23 Price	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
24 Simon	?	N	Y	N	?	P	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Evans	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Tauke***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 Harkin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bedell	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 726, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734

	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Jeffries***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
4 Glickman	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	Y	Y	+	+	+	+
4 ***Snyder***	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
5 ***Carter***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Moore***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Snowe***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
5 Spellman	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
8 Barnes	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Stockman***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6 Carr	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Traxler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
13 Diggs	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
15 Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
16 Dingell	Y	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	?	#	#	?	?	?	?	N
3 ***Frenzel***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Oberstar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 ***Hinson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
5 ***Lott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
7 ***Taylor***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Ichord	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y	Y
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	N	Y	N	?	N	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	?	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Howard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	Y	N	Y	N	P	N	N	N
7 Maguire	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Roe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Courter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Runnels	?	Y	N	N	Y	?	?	?
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Ambro	?	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Wydler***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
15 Zeferetti	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Murphy	Y	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
18 ***Green***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 McHugh	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
32 Hanley	?	X	#	?	?	?	?	?
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
39 Lundine	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
2 Fountain	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Preyer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	Y	?	?	?	Y	?	?	?
8 Hefner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
10 ***Broyhill***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 Gudger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Luken	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Hall	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
5 ***Latta***	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Brown***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 ***Kindness***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Miller***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	Y	Y	N	N	?	?	?	?
13 Pease	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	N	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	N	Y	Y	P	Y	Y	Y
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	?	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
4 Steed	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Edwards***	Y	N	N	N	?	N	N	N
6 English	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Duncan	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
4 Weaver	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Gray	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
5 ***Schulze***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 Yatron	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Shuster***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
14 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
16 ***Walker***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
18 Walgren	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
20 Gaydos	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 ***Clinger***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 ***Spence***	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	N	N
3 Derrick	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
5 Holland	Y	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Abdnor***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ford	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	N	N	?	N	N	N
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Archer***	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Eckhardt	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Pickle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Wright	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
16 White	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
19 Hance	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	N	N
22 ***Paul***	N	#	N	N	Y	N	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH								
1 McKay	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	Y	N	?	?	N	N	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 Satterfield	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
5 Daniel, D.	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Butler***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
7 ***Robinson***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Harris	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Swift	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Bonker	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
4 McCormack	?	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y	+	+	+	+
3 Baldus	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Petri***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	Y	Y	N	N	?	N	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

652. HR 5980. Anti-recession Aid. Brooks, D-Texas, motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole for consideration of the bill to authorize a $1 billion program of anti-recession aid and targeted fiscal assistance to state and local governments. Motion agreed to 272-79: R 60-71: D 212-8 (ND 148-2; SD 64-6), Dec. 14, 1979.

653. HR 5980. Anti-recession Aid. Brooks, D-Texas, amendment to substitute calendar 1975-78 data for fiscal 1976-79 data in determining the excess unemployment factor for allocation of targeted fiscal assistance. Adopted 245-97: R 39-88; D 206-9 (ND 147-1; SD 59-8), Dec. 14, 1979.

654. HR 5980. Anti-recession Aid. Fountain, D-N.C., amendment to reduce to $150 million from $250 million the authorization for the targeted fiscal assistance program. Adopted 184-153: R 103-25; D 81-128 (ND 26-116; SD 55-12), Dec. 14, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

655. H Con Res 221. U.S. Hostages in Iran. Bingham, D-N.Y., motion to suspend the rules and adopt the concurrent resolution to express congressional concern for the hostages held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and to declare that they will be compensated by the United States for their sufferings. Motion agreed to 369-4: R 134-2; D 235-2 (ND 158-0; SD 77-2), Dec. 18, 1979. A two-thirds majority vote (253 in this case) is necessary for adoption of resolutions under suspension of the rules.

656. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax. Conable, R-N.Y., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate) on the Conable motion to instruct House conferees *(see vote 657, below)* on the bill to tax excess profits of oil companies. Motion agreed to 293-106: R 146-1; D 147-105 (ND 76-96; SD 71-9), Dec. 18, 1979.

657. HR 3919. Windfall Profits Tax/Carry-over Basis. Conable, R-N.Y., motion to instruct House conferees on the bill to concur in the Senate amendment repealing the "carry-over basis" rule, governing the taxation of inherited property established by the 1976 Tax Reform Act. Motion agreed to 326-77: R 148-1; D 178-76 (ND 103-69; SD 75-7), Dec. 18, 1979. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position.

658. HR 5860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Brademas, D-Ind., amendment, to the Moorhead, D-Pa., substitute *(see vote 659, below)*, to require $100 million in wage concessions from non-union Chrysler Corp. employees as a condition of federal loan guarantees. Adopted 407-1: R 148-1; D 259-0 (ND 176-0; SD 83-0), Dec. 18, 1979.

659. HR 5860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Quayle, R-Ind., substitute amendment, to the Moorhead, D-Pa., substitute, to increase to $900 million from $400 million the wage concessions required of Chrysler's unionized workers as a condition of federal loan guarantees, reduce the maximum amount of loan guarantees to $1.25 billion from $1.5 billion, and increase the employee stock ownership plan to $250 million from $150 million. Rejected 107-296: R 92-54; D 15-242 (ND 4-170; SD 11-72), Dec. 18, 1979. (The Moorhead substitute, as amended, subsequently was adopted by voice vote.)

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659
ALABAMA								
1 ***Edwards***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Dickinson***	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Nichols	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Buchanan***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ALASKA								
AL ***Young***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?
ARIZONA								
1 ***Rhodes***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Stump	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Rudd***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Bethune***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Johnson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Fazio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Burton, J.	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Burton, P.	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	X
7 Miller	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 Dellums	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Stark	?	?	X	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Edwards	?	?	X	?	?	?	?	?
11 ***Royer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 ***Shumway***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Coelho	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 ***Pashayan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 ***Thomas***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Lagomarsino***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 ***Goldwater***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	#
21 Corman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 ***Moorhead***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Beilenson	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
24 Waxman	?	?	?	Y	N	?	Y	?
25 Roybal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
26 ***Rousselot***	?	?	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 ***Dornan***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	?	N	?	N	N	Y	N
29 Hawkins	?	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
30 Danielson	+	+	-	Y	N	N	Y	N
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	?	?	Y	?	?	?	?
32 Anderson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
33 ***Grisham***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
34 ***Lungren***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
36 Brown	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N
37 ***Lewis***	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
40 ***Badham***	?	?	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
41 ***Wilson, B.***	N	?	N	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
43 ***Burgener***	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Johnson***	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Cotter	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Dodd	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Ratchford	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Moffett	Y	?	?	?	N	N	Y	N
DELAWARE								
AL ***Evans***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fuqua	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Chappell	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Kelly***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Young***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ireland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Nelson	+	+	#	+	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Bafalis***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Mica	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Stack	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
14 Pepper	Y	?	X	?	?	?	Y	N
15 Fascell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
GEORGIA								
1 Ginn	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	?	X
2 Mathis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Levitas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Fowler	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Gingrich***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Evans	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Jenkins	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII								
1 Heftel	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Akaka	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
IDAHO								
1 ***Symms***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	#
2 ***Hansen***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Stewart	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Derwinski***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fary	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Hyde***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Collins	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Rostenkowski	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Yates	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
10 Vacancy								
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 ***Crane, P.***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
13 ***McClory***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 ***Erlenborn***	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	?
15 ***Corcoran***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 ***Michel***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Railsback***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 ***Findley***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Price	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
24 Simon	?	Y	N	?	N	N	?	?
INDIANA								
1 Benjamin	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Brademas	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Quayle***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Hillis***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Evans	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Myers***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 ***Deckard***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Jacobs	Y	Y	Y	P	N	N	Y	N
IOWA								
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Tauke***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Smith	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Harkin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Bedell	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 735, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744

	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659
KANSAS								
1 ***Sebelius***	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?	#
2 ***Jeffries***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Winn***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Whittaker***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Snyder***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Hopkins***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Perkins	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
LOUISIANA								
1 ***Livingston***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Treen***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Moore***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Long	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MAINE								
1 ***Emery***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Snowe***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MARYLAND								
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 ***Holt***	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
5 Spellman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Barnes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 ***Conte***	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boland	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
3 Early	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Drinan	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Shannon	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
7 Markey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 O'Neill								
9 Moakley	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
10 ***Heckler***	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Donnelly	?	?	?	?	N	Y	Y	N
12 Studds	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 ***Pursell***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Stockman***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Sawyer***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Carr	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
7 Kildee	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Traxler	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Vander Jagt***	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Bonior	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 Diggs	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	X
14 Nedzi	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 Ford	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
16 Dingell	?	Y	N	?	?	Y	Y	N
17 Brodhead	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
18 Blanchard	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 ***Broomfield***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MINNESOTA								
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 ***Frenzel***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Vento	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Sabo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 Nolan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
7 ***Stangeland***	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N
2 Bowen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Hinson***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Lott***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	?	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Young	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
6 ***Coleman***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Taylor***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Ichord	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Marlenee***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEBRASKA								
1 ***Bereuter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Cavanaugh	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Smith***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEVADA								
AL Santini	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 D'Amours	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Cleveland***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW JERSEY								
1 Florio	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Hughes	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Thompson	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 ***Fenwick***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Maguire	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Hollenbeck***	?	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Rodino	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Minish	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 ***Courter***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Guarini	Y	Y	N	P	N	N	Y	N
15 Patten	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
NEW MEXICO								
1 ***Lujan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Runnels	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NEW YORK								
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Downey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
3 Ambro	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Lent***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Wydler***	?	?	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Wolff	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Addabbo	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
8 Rosenthal	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Ferraro	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
10 Biaggi	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
11 Scheuer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
12 Chisholm	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
13 Solarz	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
15 Zeferetti	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 Holtzman	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
17 Murphy	?	?	X	Y	N	Y	Y	N
18 ***Green***	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
19 Rangel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
20 Weiss	?	?	X	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 Garcia	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 Bingham	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Peyser	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Ottinger	Y	Y	-	Y	N	N	Y	N
25 ***Fish***	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
26 ***Gilman***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
27 McHugh	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
28 Stratton	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 ***McEwen***	?	?	?	P	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 ***Mitchell***	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32 Hanley	?	?	X	?	?	?	?	X
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
35 ***Conable***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
37 Nowak	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
38 ***Kemp***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
39 Lundine	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	N	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Whitley	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	Y	N
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Rose	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL ***Andrews***	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
OHIO								
1 ***Gradison***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	C	C
2 Luken	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Hall	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Guyer***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Latta***	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Harsha***	?	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Brown***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Kindness***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Ashley	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Miller***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 ***Stanton***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Devine***	?	?	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Pease	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N
14 Seiberling	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Regula***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	?	#	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Applegate	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Oakar	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
21 Stokes	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
22 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
23 Mottl	Y	Y	?	Y	N	N	Y	N
OKLAHOMA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Watkins	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 ***Edwards***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 English	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	N
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Weaver	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Myers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Gray	Y	Y	N	?	N	N	Y	N
3 Lederer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 ***Dougherty***	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	N
5 ***Schulze***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Yatron	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Edgar	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
8 Kostmayer	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Shuster***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Ritter***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Walker***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Ertel	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Walgren	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
19 ***Goodling***	?	?	?	?	?	?	Y	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	N	P	Y	Y	Y	N
21 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
22 Murphy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
23 ***Clinger***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	N	P	N	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND								
1 St Germain	Y	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	N
2 Beard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA								
1 Davis	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Spence***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Derrick	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 ***Campbell***	?	?	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Holland	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Jenrette	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH DAKOTA								
1 Daschle	Y	?	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Abdnor***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE								
1 ***Quillen***	Y	N	#	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Duncan***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Beard***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
TEXAS								
1 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wilson,C.	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 ***Collins***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Gramm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Eckhardt	?	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
9 Brooks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
11 Leath	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
13 Hightower	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
15 de la Garza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 White	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
18 Leland	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
19 Hance	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
21 ***Loeffler***	N	N	Y	?	?	?	?	#
22 ***Paul***	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
23 Kazen	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
24 Frost	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
UTAH								
1 McKay	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
VERMONT								
AL ***Jeffords***	?	?	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
VIRGINIA								
1 ***Trible***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Butler***	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Robinson***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Harris	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Fisher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
WASHINGTON								
1 ***Pritchard***	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Swift	Y	Y	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	P	N	Y	Y	N
4 McCormack	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Lowry	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
WEST VIRGINIA								
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Staggers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Rahall	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
WISCONSIN								
1 Aspin	Y	Y	N	?	?	?	Y	N
2 Kastenmeier	+	+	-	?	N	Y	Y	N
3 Baldus	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
5 Reuss	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
6 ***Petri***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
8 ***Roth***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WYOMING								
AL ***Cheney***	?	?	#	?	?	Y	Y	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

660. HR 5860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Stanton, R-Ohio, motion to recommit the bill to the House Banking Committee with instructions to require a three-year wage freeze for Chrysler Corp. employees as a condition of federal loan guarantees. Motion rejected 114-295: R 88-62; D 26-233 (ND 7-170; SD 19-63), Dec. 18, 1979.

661. HR 5860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Passage of the bill, as amended, to authorize $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees for the Chrysler Corp., to be matched by $1.93 billion from other sources, including $400 million in wage concesssions by the company's unionized workers and $100 million by other employees. Passed 271-136: R 62-88; D 209-48 (ND 154-21; SD 55-27), Dec. 18, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

662. S 673. Energy Department — National Security Programs. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize $3,054,000,000 for defense-related projects of the Department of Energy in fiscal 1980. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 359-32: R 143-0; D 216-32 (ND 137-31; SD 79-1), Dec. 19, 1979.

663. HR 3875. Housing and Community Development. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize funds for housing and community development programs in fiscal 1980. Adopted (thus clearing the bill for the president) 361-29: R 119-23; D 242-6 (ND 163-4; SD 79-2), Dec. 19, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

664. HR 2585. National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Stockman, R-Mich., amendment to prevent enforcement of a federal standard requiring passive restraints to be installed in automobiles unless the customer was given the choice of passive or voluntary restraints. Adopted 320-73: R 141-3; D 179-70 (ND 114-56; SD 65-14), Dec. 19, 1979.

665. HR 3927. National Visitors Center. Passage of the bill to authorize $39 million to complete repairs at the National Visitor Center and the Union Station rail terminal in Washington, D.C. Rejected 139-247: R 14-125; D 125-122 (ND 97-71; SD 28-51), Dec. 19, 1979.

666. HR 5295. Social Security Earnings Test. Passage of the bill to amend the Social Security Act to allow certain individuals to use a monthly, rather than annual, earnings test to determine eligibility to receive benefits; to amend technical requirements for Medicare coverage; and to change earnings limitation calculations. Passed 383-0: R 140-0; D 243-0 (ND 168-0; SD 75-0), Dec. 19, 1979.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay)
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	660	661	662	663	664	665	666
ALABAMA							
1 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Dickinson*	Y	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y
3 Nichols	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Bevill	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Buchanan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA							
AL *Young*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ARIZONA							
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Udall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Rudd*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
ARKANSAS							
1 Alexander	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Bethune*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Anthony	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA							
1 Johnson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Clausen*	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
3 Matsui	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Fazio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Burton, J.	N	Y	?	?	N	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	?	#	?	?	?	?	?
7 Miller	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
8 Dellums	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	X	N	Y	N	N	Y
10 Edwards	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 *Royer*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *McCloskey*	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
13 Mineta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
15 Coelho	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Panetta	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Thomas*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 *Goldwater*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Corman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 *Moorhead*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
25 Roybal	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
26 *Rousselot*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
27 *Dornan*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
29 Hawkins	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
30 Danielson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	N	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y
32 Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 *Grisham*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
34 *Lungren*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
35 Lloyd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 *Lewis*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 Patterson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
39 *Dannemeyer*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
40 *Badham*	Y	N	+	+	Y	N	Y
41 *Wilson, B.*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
43 *Burgener*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
COLORADO							
1 Schroeder	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wirth	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Kogovsek	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Johnson*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Kramer*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT							
1 Cotter	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Dodd	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 *McKinney*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Ratchford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Moffett	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
DELAWARE							
AL *Evans*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA							
1 Hutto	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Chappell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Kelly*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Young*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
8 Ireland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Nelson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 *Bafalis*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Mica	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Stack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Lehman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Pepper	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Fascell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA							
1 Ginn	?	#	?	?	?	?	?
2 Mathis	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Levitas	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Fowler	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 McDonald	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
8 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HAWAII							
1 Heftel	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	N	+	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO							
1 *Symms*	#	X	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Hansen*	Y	Y	?	N	Y	N	?
ILLINOIS							
1 Stewart	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 *Derwinski*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
5 Fary	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Hyde*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Yates	X	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Vacancy							
11 Annunzio	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 *Crane, P.*	#	X	?	?	?	?	?
13 *McClory*	Y	Y	?	?	?	?	?
14 *Erlenborn*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Corcoran*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Anderson*	N	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
17 *O'Brien*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Railsback*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 *Findley*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
21 *Madigan*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 *Crane, D.*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Price	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Simon	X	#	?	?	?	?	?
INDIANA							
1 Benjamin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fithian	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Brademas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Quayle*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Hillis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Evans	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Myers*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Deckard*	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
9 Hamilton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Sharp	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Jacobs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA							
1 *Leach*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Tauke*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Grassley*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Bedell	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

Corresponding to Congressional Record Votes 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751

	660	661	662	663	664	665	666
KANSAS							
1 *Sebelius*	#	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 *Jeffries*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 *Winn*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Glickman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Whittaker*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
KENTUCKY							
1 Hubbard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Snyder*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Carter*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Hopkins*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Perkins	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
LOUISIANA							
1 *Livingston*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boggs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Treen*	?	?	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 Leach	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
5 Huckaby	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Moore*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Breaux	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MAINE							
1 *Emery*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Snowe*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MARYLAND							
1 *Bauman*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Long	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mikulski	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 *Holt*	?	X	?	?	?	?	?
5 Spellman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Byron	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Mitchell	N	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
8 Barnes	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MASSACHUSETTS							
1 *Conte*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Early	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Drinan	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Shannon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Mavroules	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Markey	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 O'Neill							
9 Moakley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Heckler*	N	Y	?	?	?	?	Y
11 Donnelly	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Studds	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							
1 Conyers	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 *Pursell*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Wolpe	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Stockman*	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Sawyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Carr	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Kildee	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Traxler	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 *Vander Jagt*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Albosta	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 *Davis*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Bonior	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Diggs	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
14 Nedzi	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 Ford	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
16 Dingell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Blanchard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 *Broomfield*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
MINNESOTA							
1 *Erdahl*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Hagedorn*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 *Frenzel*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Vento	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	?
5 Sabo	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
6 Nolan	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 *Stangeland*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Oberstar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI							
1 Whitten	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Bowen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Montgomery	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Hinson*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Lott*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MISSOURI							
1 Clay	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Young	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Skelton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Bolling	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Coleman*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Taylor*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ichord	Y	N	Y	Y	?	N	Y
9 Volkmer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Burlison	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA							
1 Williams	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Marlenee*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEBRASKA							
1 *Bereuter*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 *Smith*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEVADA							
AL Santini	N	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
NEW HAMPSHIRE							
1 D'Amours	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Cleveland*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NEW JERSEY							
1 Florio	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?
2 Hughes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Howard	N	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Thompson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 *Fenwick*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
6 *Forsythe*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Maguire	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Roe	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Hollenbeck*	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
10 Rodino	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *Rinaldo*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 *Courter*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Guarini	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
15 Patten	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO							
1 *Lujan*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Runnels	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
NEW YORK							
1 *Carney*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
3 Ambro	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Lent*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Wydler*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
6 Wolff	X	#	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Rosenthal	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Ferraro	N	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
10 Biaggi	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Chisholm	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Solarz	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
15 Zeferetti	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
16 Holtzman	N	Y	-	+	?	-	Y
17 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 *Green*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
19 Rangel	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Weiss	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Garcia	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Bingham	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
23 Peyser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Ottinger	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
25 *Fish*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
26 *Gilman*	N	Y	+	Y	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
29 *Solomon*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 *McEwen*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 *Mitchell*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
33 *Lee*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
34 *Horton*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
35 *Conable*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
36 LaFalce	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
37 Nowak	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 *Kemp*	N	N	Y	?	Y	N	?
39 Lundine	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH CAROLINA							
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fountain	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Whitley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Neal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Preyer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Rose	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Hefner	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Martin*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Broyhill*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
NORTH DAKOTA							
AL *Andrews*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
OHIO							
1 *Gradison*	C	C	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Luken	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 *Guyer*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Latta*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 *Harsha*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 *Brown*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Kindness*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Ashley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 *Miller*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
11 *Stanton*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *Devine*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Pease	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
14 Seiberling	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
15 *Wylie*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Regula*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 *Ashbrook*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
18 Applegate	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
19 *Williams*	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
20 Oakar	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
22 Vanik	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	N	C	Y	N	N	N	Y
OKLAHOMA							
1 Jones	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Synar	Y	N	?	?	?	?	?
3 Watkins	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Steed	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 *Edwards*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
6 English	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
OREGON							
1 AuCoin	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
2 Ullman	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
4 Weaver	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
PENNSYLVANIA							
1 Myers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Gray	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Lederer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Dougherty*	N	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
5 *Schulze*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Yatron	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Edgar	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Kostmayer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 *Shuster*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *McDade*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
13 *Coughlin*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Ritter*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 *Walker*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Ertel	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Walgren	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
19 *Goodling*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Bailey	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 Murphy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
23 *Clinger*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 *Marks*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND							
1 St Germain	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	N	?	?	?	N	Y
SOUTH CAROLINA							
1 Davis	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 *Spence*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 *Campbell*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Holland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Jenrette	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	?
SOUTH DAKOTA							
1 Daschle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
2 *Abdnor*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
TENNESSEE							
1 *Quillen*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Duncan*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5 Boner	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Beard*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	?
7 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
TEXAS							
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
3 *Collins*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
4 Roberts	N	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Mattox	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Archer*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Eckhardt	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Brooks	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Pickle	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
12 Wright	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 de la Garza	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
16 White	N	N	?	?	?	?	?
17 Stenholm	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Leland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gonzalez	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 *Loeffler*	#	X	?	?	?	?	?
22 *Paul*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
23 Kazen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Frost	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
UTAH							
1 McKay	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Marriott*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT							
AL *Jeffords*	Y	N	?	?	?	N	Y
VIRGINIA							
1 *Trible*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Whitehurst*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Satterfield	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Daniel, R.W.*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Daniel, D.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Butler*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 *Robinson*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Harris	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
9 *Wampler*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WASHINGTON							
1 *Pritchard*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
2 Swift	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bonker	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?
4 McCormack	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Foley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Dicks	N	Y	Y	?	N	N	Y
7 Lowry	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
WEST VIRGINIA							
1 Mollohan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
WISCONSIN							
1 Aspin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Kastenmeier	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Baldus	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Reuss	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 *Petri*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Obey	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	?
8 *Roth*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 *Sensenbrenner*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
WYOMING							
AL *Cheney*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats *Republicans*

667. H J Res 467. Chrysler Loan Guarantee Appropriation, Fiscal 1980. Passage of the joint resolution to appropriate $1,518,000 in administrative expenses for the Chrysler Corp. loan guarantee program and to commit up to $1,500,000,000 for loan guarantees in fiscal 1980. Passed 252-141: R 53-91; D 199-50 (ND 150-22; SD 49-28), Dec. 20, 1979. The president had requested $1.5 billion in loan guarantees.

668. HR 2440. Aviation Safety and Noise Abatement. Adoption of the rule (H Res 511) to provide for House floor consideration of the conference report on the bill to authorize some discretionary airport development funds and ease some federal noise rules. Adopted 195-192: R 61-84; D 134-108 (ND 72-95; SD 62-13), Dec. 20, 1979.

669. H Res 512. Use of Chemical Weapons in Indochina. Adoption of the resolution urging the president to take diplomatic action at the United Nations to persuade Vietnam to stop using poison gas and chemical weapons in Cambodia and against the H'mong tribesmen in Laos. Adopted 378-1: R 142-0; D 236-1 (ND 165-1; SD 71-0), Dec. 20, 1979.

670. HR 2816. Refugee Policy. Passage of the bill to provide a permanent and systematic procedure for the admission of refugees; increase the number of refugees admitted annually to 50,000, from 17,400, for fiscal 1980-82; authorize such sums as necessary for initial settlement assistance for Indochinese refugees and $200 million for other programs in fiscal 1980-81. Passed 328-47: R 108-32; D 220-15 (ND 160-3; SD 60-12), Dec. 20, 1979.

671. S Con Res 228. District of Columbia Chanceries Act. Stark, D-Calif., motion that debate be limited to 20 minutes on the resolution to disapprove the Location of Chanceries Amendment Act, passed by the District of Columbia Council. Motion agreed to 190-144: R 46-74; D 144-70 (ND 88-59; SD 56-11), Dec. 20, 1979. (The disapproval resolution was adopted subsequently by voice vote.)

672. HR 5860. Chrysler Loan Guarantees. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to authorize $1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees, to be matched by $1.43 billion from other sources, and to establish a $162.5 million employee stock ownership plan. Adopted 241-124: R 50-82; D 191-42 (ND 139-20; SD 52-22), Dec. 20, 1979. A "yea" was a vote supporting the president's position.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- - Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

	667	668	669	670	671	672
ALABAMA						
1 ***Edwards***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Dickinson***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
3 Nichols	N	Y	?	?	?	?
4 Bevill	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Flippo	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Buchanan***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Shelby	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
ALASKA						
AL ***Young***	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARIZONA						
1 ***Rhodes***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Stump	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Rudd***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Bethune***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Hammerschmidt***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
4 Anthony	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CALIFORNIA						
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Clausen***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Matsui	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Burton, J.	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Burton, P.	?	?	?	?	?	?
7 Miller	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Dellums	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
10 Edwards	?	?	?	?	?	?
11 ***Royer***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 ***McCloskey***	?	?	?	?	?	X
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 ***Shumway***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
15 Coelho	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
16 Panetta	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
17 ***Pashayan***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Thomas***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 ***Lagomarsino***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
20 ***Goldwater***	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
21 Corman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 ***Moorhead***	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
23 Beilenson	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
24 Waxman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Roybal	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
26 ***Rousselot***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
27 ***Dornan***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
28 Dixon	?	?	?	?	?	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 Danielson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Wilson, C.H.	Y	?	?	Y	?	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
33 ***Grisham***	N	N	Y	N	N	N
34 ***Lungren***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
35 Lloyd	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
37 ***Lewis***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
38 Patterson	Y	?	?	Y	?	?
39 ***Dannemeyer***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
40 ***Badham***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
41 ***Wilson, B.***	?	?	?	?	?	?
42 Van Deerlin	?	?	?	?	?	?
43 ***Burgener***	N	N	Y	?	?	X
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Wirth	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Kogovsek	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Johnson***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 ***Kramer***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CONNECTICUT						
1 Cotter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Dodd	Y	Y	?	?	?	?
3 Giaimo	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 ***McKinney***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
5 Ratchford	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Moffett	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
DELAWARE						
AL ***Evans***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fuqua	Y	?	?	?	?	?
3 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 Chappell	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Kelly***	N	N	Y	N	N	N
6 ***Young***	N	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Gibbons	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
8 Ireland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 ***Bafalis***	N	N	Y	N	N	N
11 Mica	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
12 Stack	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Lehman	?	?	?	?	?	?
14 Pepper	#	?	?	?	?	Y
15 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA						
1 Ginn	#	?	?	?	?	#
2 Mathis	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
3 Brinkley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Levitas	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
5 Fowler	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Gingrich***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 McDonald	N	N	Y	N	N	N
8 Evans	Y	?	Y	Y	?	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	?	Y	?	Y
10 Barnard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
HAWAII						
1 Heftel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO						
1 ***Symms***	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 ***Hansen***	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
ILLINOIS						
1 Stewart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Murphy	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Russo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Derwinski***	Y	N	Y	?	?	#
5 Fary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Hyde***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
9 Yates	?	?	?	?	?	?
10 Vacancy						
11 Annunzio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Crane, P.***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
13 ***McClory***	X	#	?	?	?	#
14 ***Erlenborn***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
15 ***Corcoran***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Anderson***	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 ***O'Brien***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 ***Michel***	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
19 ***Railsback***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
20 ***Findley***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
21 ***Madigan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
22 ***Crane, D.***	N	N	Y	N	?	X
23 Price	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
24 Simon	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
INDIANA						
1 Benjamin	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Fithian	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Brademas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Quayle***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	#
5 ***Hillis***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 ***Myers***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 ***Deckard***	?	#	?	?	?	#
9 Hamilton	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Jacobs	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
IOWA						
1 ***Leach***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Tauke***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Grassley***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Smith	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Harkin	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 Bedell	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y

Democrats ***Republicans***

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KANSAS						
1 ***Sebelius***	?	#	?	?	?	X
2 ***Jeffries***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
3 ***Winn***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	#
4 Glickman	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5 ***Whittaker***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
KENTUCKY						
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Mazzoli	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
4 ***Snyder***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5 ***Carter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Hopkins***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
LOUISIANA						
1 ***Livingston***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 ***Treen***	N	?	?	?	?	?
4 Leach	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Moore***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Breaux	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Long	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MAINE						
1 ***Emery***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Snowe***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
MARYLAND						
1 ***Bauman***	N	N	Y	N	N	N
2 Long	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Mikulski	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Holt***	X	X	?	?	?	X
5 Spellman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Byron	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
7 Mitchell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Barnes	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
MASSACHUSETTS						
1 ***Conte***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Early	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Drinan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Shannon	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
6 Mavroules	Y	N	?	Y	N	Y
7 Markey	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
8 O'Neill						
9 Moakley	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
10 ***Heckler***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Donnelly	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Studds	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
MICHIGAN						
1 Conyers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 ***Pursell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Wolpe	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Stockman***	N	N	Y	Y	?	X
5 ***Sawyer***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Kildee	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Vander Jagt***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
10 Albosta	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
11 ***Davis***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Bonior	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 Diggs	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
14 Nedzi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Ford	Y	N	Y	?	?	Y
16 Dingell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Brodhead	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
18 Blanchard	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
19 ***Broomfield***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA						
1 ***Erdahl***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
2 ***Hagedorn***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
3 ***Frenzel***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
4 Vento	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Sabo	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
7 ***Stangeland***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI						
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
2 Bowen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Montgomery	N	?	?	N	Y	N
4 ***Hinson***	X	Y	Y	?	N	N
5 ***Lott***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
MISSOURI						
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
4 Skelton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 ***Coleman***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Taylor***	?	#	?	?	?	?
8 Ichord	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Burlison	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
MONTANA						
1 Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	N	?
2 ***Marlenee***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEBRASKA						
1 ***Bereuter***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
2 Cavanaugh	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 ***Smith***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
NEVADA						
AL Santini	N	N	?	?	?	?
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
1 D'Amours	N	N	Y	Y	Y	?
2 ***Cleveland***	N	?	Y	Y	?	X
NEW JERSEY						
1 Florio	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hughes	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
3 Howard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
5 ***Fenwick***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 ***Forsythe***	N	N	Y	Y	?	N
7 Maguire	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 ***Hollenbeck***	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Minish	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 ***Rinaldo***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
13 ***Courter***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
14 Guarini	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 Patten	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEW MEXICO						
1 ***Lujan***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
2 Runnels	?	?	?	?	?	?
NEW YORK						
1 ***Carney***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Downey	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Ambro	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 ***Lent***	Y	N	?	?	?	#
5 ***Wydler***	#	X	?	?	?	X
6 Wolff	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Addabbo	Y	N	Y	?	?	#
8 Rosenthal	Y	N	?	?	?	?
9 Ferraro	Y	N	Y	?	?	?
10 Biaggi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Scheuer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
12 Chisholm	?	X	Y	Y	?	Y
13 Solarz	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Richmond	?	?	?	?	?	?
15 Zeferetti	?	X	?	?	?	?
16 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
18 ***Green***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
19 Rangel	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Weiss	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Garcia	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Bingham	Y	N	Y	Y	?	?
23 Peyser	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Ottinger	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 ***Fish***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
26 ***Gilman***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
27 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
29 ***Solomon***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
30 ***McEwen***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
31 ***Mitchell***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Hanley	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
33 ***Lee***	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
34 ***Horton***	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
35 ***Conable***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
36 LaFalce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	#
37 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
38 ***Kemp***	?	N	Y	Y	Y	N
39 Lundine	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Fountain	N	Y	Y	N	?	N
3 Whitley	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Andrews	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Neal	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Preyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Rose	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Hefner	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Martin***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10 ***Broyhill***	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
11 Gudger	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NORTH DAKOTA						
AL ***Andrews***	?	?	?	?	?	?
OHIO						
1 ***Gradison***	C	N	Y	Y	N	C
2 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
4 ***Guyer***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Latta***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Harsha***	Y	Y	?	N	?	?
7 ***Brown***	?	?	?	?	?	X
8 ***Kindness***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y
10 ***Miller***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
11 ***Stanton***	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
12 ***Devine***	N	N	Y	N	?	X
13 Pease	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Seiberling	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
15 ***Wylie***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 ***Regula***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
17 ***Ashbrook***	N	?	Y	N	N	N
18 Applegate	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Williams***	Y	Y	Y	?	?	#
20 Oakar	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 Stokes	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
23 Mottl	C	N	Y	N	?	#
OKLAHOMA						
1 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Synar	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Watkins	N	Y	?	Y	Y	N
4 Steed	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y
5 ***Edwards***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
6 English	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
OREGON						
1 AuCoin	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
3 Duncan	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
4 Weaver	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
PENNSYLVANIA						
1 Myers	Y	?	?	Y	?	?
2 Gray	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Lederer	Y	?	?	Y	N	Y
4 ***Dougherty***	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y
5 ***Schulze***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
6 Yatron	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Edgar	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Kostmayer	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 ***Shuster***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10 ***McDade***	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
11 Flood	?	?	?	?	?	?
12 Murtha	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
13 ***Coughlin***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 ***Ritter***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 ***Walker***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
17 Ertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
18 Walgren	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
19 ***Goodling***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Gaydos	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
21 Bailey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
22 Murphy	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
23 ***Clinger***	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N
24 ***Marks***	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Atkinson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
RHODE ISLAND						
1 St Germain	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Beard	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
SOUTH CAROLINA						
1 Davis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Spence***	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Derrick	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 ***Campbell***	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Holland	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?
6 Jenrette	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SOUTH DAKOTA						
1 Daschle	?	?	?	?	?	?
2 ***Abdnor***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
TENNESSEE						
1 ***Quillen***	Y	Y	Y	N	?	#
2 ***Duncan***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Bouquard	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Gore	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Boner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 ***Beard***	N	Y	Y	?	?	X
7 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Ford	?	?	?	?	?	?
TEXAS						
1 Hall	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Wilson,C.	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
3 ***Collins***	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 Roberts	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Mattox	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Gramm	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Archer***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
8 Eckhardt	Y	N	Y	Y	?	Y
9 Brooks	?	?	?	?	?	N
10 Pickle	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Leath	N	Y	Y	?	?	?
12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Hightower	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Wyatt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
15 de la Garza	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
16 White	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 Stenholm	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Leland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 Hance	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
20 Gonzalez	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21 ***Loeffler***	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
22 ***Paul***	N	N	Y	N	?	X
23 Kazen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
24 Frost	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
UTAH						
1 McKay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 ***Marriott***	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
VERMONT						
AL ***Jeffords***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
VIRGINIA						
1 ***Trible***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 ***Whitehurst***	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Satterfield	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
4 ***Daniel, R.W.***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
5 Daniel, D.	N	N	Y	N	?	?
6 ***Butler***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 ***Robinson***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
8 Harris	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
9 ***Wampler***	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Fisher	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
WASHINGTON						
1 ***Pritchard***	N	Y	Y	Y	?	N
2 Swift	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Bonker	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Dicks	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Lowry	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
WEST VIRGINIA						
1 Mollohan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Slack	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Rahall	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
WISCONSIN						
1 Aspin	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Baldus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Zablocki	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Reuss	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 ***Petri***	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Obey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 ***Roth***	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
9 ***Sensenbrenner***	N	N	Y	N	N	N
WYOMING						
AL ***Cheney***	N	N	Y	Y	N	N

Democrats ***Republicans***

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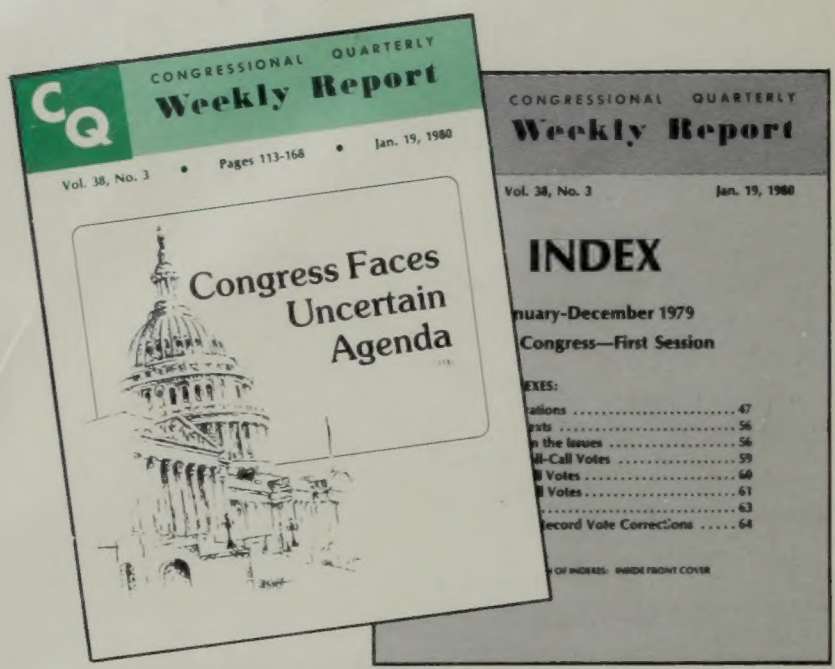

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